

1. TO THE COLONIAL-BORN INDIAN

Those of our Colonial-born friends who have not read the special contribution¹ to this journal on the Native Industries Exhibition in Durban, and [*sic*] published last week, we trust, will hasten to read it and ponder over it. It is written by one who is himself an idealist and who knows thoroughly what he is writing about. He is, moreover, a friend and fellow-worker in the Indian cause. Our contributor's remarks are therefore worthy of careful consideration by every Indian whose life-mould has not yet been cast or, if it is already cast, does not give real satisfaction. Our future in South Africa depends largely upon the conduct of those who are born in this country and to whom India is merely a geographical expression.

We associate ourselves with the remarks of our contributor that "lolling on stools in lawyers' offices" is no "*useful ambition*". A moment's thought ought to convince our friends that a nation cannot be built out of clerks or even merchants. "Back to the land" is General Botha's advice even to the Europeans who, after all, do follow many useful occupations. The world lives on its farmers and those who are indispensable to farmers, e.g., carpenters, shoemakers, blacksmiths, masons, bricklayers, tailors, barbers, etc. It is a sad fact that very few Colonial-born Indians are found willing enough to learn or take up these truly noble (because useful) professions. We all live upon the great industry of the Natives and Indians engaged in useful occupations in this country. In this sense they are more civilized than any of us, not excluding European non-producers, inhabiting this continent. Every speculator may leave the country; every lawyer may shut down his office, every merchant may wind up his business; and yet we should live comfortably on this land endowed by nature with a beneficent climate. But if the great Native races were to stop work for a week, we should probably be starving. It must, then, be a privilege for us to be able to copy their productive industry and their ability as matters of useful handicraft. We assure our friends that, even if all the

¹ The witer had praised the Natives' industry, manual skill and intelligence which were in the evidence at the exhibition. He felt that Colonial-born Indians had no desire to be useful, that education would merely serve to produce clerks among them and that practical training in agriculture or a useful trade was the best way to equip them for public service as well as for life. *Indian Opinion*, 8-7-1911.

galling disabilities which we labour under in South Africa were to be removed at a stroke the pen, our condition would in no wise be satisfactory until our Colonial-born friends direct their undoubted ability and energy in the channels pointed out in the contribution we have drawn attention to.

Indian Opinion, 15-7-1911

2. INDIA'S SORRY PLIGHT

The news that we have had of a complete settlement is satisfying. A campaign which called forth such sacrifices could have had only one result. [Yet] reflecting over the outcome, one is moved to sorrow at our unfortunate state here. Things are so bad that it would seem an edifice had rotted and lay about in ruins. If you still see a vestige of form[about it], it is then due to its solid foundations. People have been enfeebled in body and mind, and economically. Extreme poverty prevails all around. There is a [Gujarati] saying about the idle barber who keeps himself busy shaving wooden seats; likewise you must have also heard the one about “the weak husband who is brave with his wife”. Sin is the fruit of the tree of poverty. The economic situation has greatly deteriorated. People ask in despair how they can make a living. Here you will [of course] say that agriculture is the best of all. But that is for men who are patient and of a steady temperament. People are in an abject state because of wranglings over affairs of caste, and unhealthy rivalry in regard to communal dinners and social customs; [people's] tendency to be satisfied with the earnings of a few hours' work, say four, six, eight or ten hours; and to waste the rest; such misguided contentment, the terror of the plague, etc. Education, which is believed to be a means for promoting happiness has become instrumental in bringing about the worst state of misery. The strain of learning leaves one a physical wreck. The methods of learning are such that they wholly wear one out in body, in mind, and financially. Add to this the burden of [keeping up] status in society. By the time a man is mature and knowing and tries to hold his head high, he is weighed down with the responsibilities of family.

We find these reflections in a letter by a certain experienced and educated Indian of South Africa to another. The correspondent has

given a faithful and vivid picture of conditions in India. We thought it necessary to cite these views and comment on them for the benefit of readers. A patriot's first duty is to know the state of his country. Having done so, his next duty is to search for a remedy. This done, his third duty is to give effect to the remedy. The state of the country is as set forth above. One cannot question that description. Once the remedy is known, it is up to the readers to put it into practice. Our function is to help them to discover the remedy.

In the very process of setting forth the country's sorry plight, the correspondent mentioned some of the reasons. Let us consider them further. Starvation is not a cause of misery. It is itself misery. The contentment men find in service is not a cause of degradation; it is degradation in itself. Wranglings over affairs of caste, hypocrisy, unhealthy rivalries, the terror of the plague—these are not causes of a fallen state; they constitute that state. [In fact] there is a single cause for all these. *We have forsaken our duty*. We have forgotten God and we worship Satan. A man's duty is to worship God. Telling one's beads is no symbol of that worship; neither is going to mosque or temple, nor saying the *namaz*¹ or the *gayatri*². These things are all right as far as they go. It is necessary to do the one or the other according to one's religion. But by themselves they are no indication of one's being devoted to God in worship. He alone truly adores God who finds his happiness in the happiness of others, speaks evil of none, does not waste his time in the pursuit of riches, does nothing immoral, who acquits himself with others as with a friend, does not fear the plague or any human being. Such a one will not, for fear of his caste, give communal dinners; if he is young, he will not, for fear of his men of his caste, marry before he is old enough or until he feels the need for it, and, if a father, he will not, for fear of men of his caste, ruin his son's and daughter's future. Such a one will not pause, in deciding on any course of action, to think of what any individual or community would think of it. He will only ask himself: 'What will God within me say of this deed of mine?' The upshot of all this is that all of us, whether Hindus, Muslims, Parsis or Christians, have forsaken our true religion. If this view is right, what we need is not remedies against the plague or revolt against the British rule; neither big associations with their ostentatious ways of doing things, nor societies

¹ The Islamic prayer

² The Rigvedic hymn to the Sun God

nor meetings; neither will it be any use to keep looking at one another., waiting to act till others give us the lead. One thing alone is needful; all of us, having learnt our duty; must persevere in it till the moment of death. If this view is right, we need help from none save God. We can then do our duty in the midst of a conflagration, can still do it even if placed on the edge of a sword. The worst then that can happen is that we lose our mortal bodies. Why fear this? Fear will not keep the body alive. It will perish, when the appointed hour comes.

If we do our duty in this manner, so easy if only we will think of it, we shall know the rest as we go on. The first need of a man lost in a thick wood at night is light. He may then bide without fear till he finds the road. When he does find it, he will take it straightaway. If he finds any institutions on the way, he will use them as bridges for crossing rivers and streams. If the bridges are in disrepair, he will examine them with the aid of the light and call attention to the cracks of other defects. This light of duty is easy for anyone to acquire and once it is acquired, the way will be found forthwith; even a child will admit that.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 15-7-1911

3. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

*Monday night [July 17, 1911]*¹

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Your letter regarding the trust and other matters came to hand only today. It will be better if you address your letters to the Farm hereafter. I propose going to Johannesburg only once a week, that is, on Monday.

¹ The Somali, by which Chhaganlal Gandhi sailed from India, was first expected to arrive at Durban on July 15, 1911, according to the German East African Line advertisement in *Indian Opinion*, 15-7-1911. A news-item appearing in the Gujarati section the same week, however, mentions that the boat would arrive on July 18, 1911, instead. Actually she arrived on July 20, 1911, *Indian Opinion* 22-7-1911. From Gandhiji's letter of July 12, 1911 to Maganlal Gandhi (p.123), it is clear that he has heard from Chhaganlal Gandhi but is awaiting a cable from him, presumably about his arrival. It was therefore, on a Monday following July 12, 1911, that this letter was written, that is, on July 17, 1911. On this Monday, it was still believed that s.s. *Somali* would arrive on July 18, 1911. Thus it is that Gandhiji says later in the letter that Chhaganlal and the others must have arrived by the time Maganlal got this letter.

The arrangement about the Library is all right. Do not order books for the present. It is better just to collect money.

I also think it is no longer necessary to keep a separate account of the profits from the store. If the matter cannot be settled just now, we shall dispose of it when I go there [next]. Please make a note of this.

And now to the main part of your letter. With a little reflection, you will be able to see that the question who should send out whom just does not arise. When Phoenix is really in difficulties, there will be no question of sending out or retaining anybody. He alone will stay on there who has got into the true spirit. The problem then will be whether anyone will stay at all. No salaries are paid today, but only a kind of maintenance allowance. Who will remain, prepared to have this reduced, to face extreme suffering and live on plain bread—that will be the problem. This means that the problem will not arise. We shall know then who the true mother is and who the false. The doubt that has occurred to you is pointless.

And so are your fears about the children. India, being a land of virtue, has sports of wickedness. So also, other countries, though lands of sin, have oases by way virtuous spots. We are, however, doing our work with our eyes fixed on India. Where is the room, then, for any question about the children? Phoenix will have, and has, a constitution which will enable all children who so desire to visit India. And how can anyone say that [the spirit of] Phoenix will remain confined to Phoenix alone? Wherever the aims of Phoenix are present, there you will have Phoenix. Do you forget that we are all preparing ourselves for India? Should you and your children, however, lay down their lives for India in Phoenix itself, what harm will there be?

If we live in Phoenix as we would in India, there will be only this difference between India and Phoenix: we shall have adopted the virtuous practices of India and eschewed the evils that obtain there today. Is this anything to be sorry about? I shall write more on hearing from you.

If you consider my *atman*¹ to have great power, yours, too., has it. There is no difference between us in respect of our *atmans*. The moment you rid yourself of whatever in you is foreign to the nature of the *atman*—timidity, doubt, irresolution, etc.—we are equals, The

¹ The individual self which neither does nor suffers anything

only difference lies in the fact that I have, with great effort, got rid of many of my defects. If you make the bid with a determined mind, you, too will be able to cleanse yourself of all such defects and more.

Chhaganlal, Anandlal, Jamnadas¹ and others may possibly be there before this letter reaches you. I for one am very glad that they are all coming;

You ask to have a test; but that you cannot have from me. When the time is ripe, you will get it without asking for it. Readiness is all.

It does not seem likely that any member [of the party coming] will have difficulty in landing. All the same, I have made the necessary recommendation² to the office.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

[P.S.] I hope a copy of the Trust Deed will be in your hand next week. It is only a draft.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5091. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

4. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

Sunday night [July 23, 1911]³

MY DEAR HENRY,

The first news I must give you now is that Foolabhai's letter tells me that *I.O.* is suppressed in India. You know Foolabhai of Potchefstroom. The news lacks confirmation. But if it is true, it is nothing surprising. They could not very well suppress my translations⁴ of Ruskin's *Unto This Last* and not suppress *I.O.* which either in the English or the Gujarati columns re-echoes those views more or less forcibly. If the paper is suppressed, my first thought is that I must accept the challenge and go to India at the earliest possible moment. This may alter our or my plans. It is evident that sooner or later the Andamans must be my home. And why not? That home should be as sweet as any other if it be purchased with duty done. But what about

¹ A brother of the addressee

² This letter to the Registrar of Asiatics is not available.

³ From the following item

⁴ Entitled "Universal Dawn"; vide "Our Publications", 7-5-1910.

you? You and Millie must consider the thing. Of course, you are not at [all] bound to follow me in my expanded activity. Phoenix ought still to continue. But with me wandering in India or being taken to the Andamans you will have to ensure your own living. If you have sufficient faith in Truth of course your living is assured. 'Look at the lily of the valley, etc.' Of course it may be that I am agitating you quite uselessly. And yet it is not so. This position is bound to arise sooner or later. The sooner probably the better, if it is in its own time. This does not in any way alter your immediate programme. You will continue your honeymoon together with your work there and go to India in October. Only I thought I must pass on the news with my reflections. You will have with this copy of the draft Trust Deed. Please let me have your criticism in detail. A copy is going to Dr.Mehta too. Every settler is also having a copy for consideration. I propose to attach to the Deed a schedule containing the signatures of [the] settlers.¹ Please let me have yours. It should be on foolscap-size paper so that I may be able to use the very paper for the other signatures.

I hope you have now Gregg's opinion. There was no delay after I understood your cable.

With love to you all,

BHAI

[PS.]

Kallenbach will probably leave² next week by s. s. *Armada* *Castle*. I hope you will make it a point to meet him at Waterloo. He is travelling 3rd-class throughout. I am anxious that he should meet Miss Winterbottom³, Aylmer Maude and such other men and women.

BHAI

From the original: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ *Vide* also Appendix Extracts from Immigrants Restriction Bill (1912) and Orange Free State Constitution", 3-2-1912.

² For Europe, mainly to visit his family in Germany

³ Florence A. Winterbottom, Corresponding Secretary of the Union of Ethical Societies, London

5. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]

Ashadh Vad O [July 25, 1911]¹

CHI. HARILAL,

There should have been a letter from you from India. You met Chi. Chhaganlal there, and he is now already here. I do hope there will be one by next mail.

Chhaganlal has brought news that Revashankerbhai advised you to join some commercial class in Bombay, deprecating [the idea of your going to] Ahmedabad. Chhaganlal also told me that you, on the other hand, continued to prefer Ahmedabad, up to the time he left. I still consider Ahmedabad to be better. It serves our purpose better. Though English may be less easy to learn in Ahmedabad, Gujarati, Sanskrit, etc., can certainly be done well there. I personally do not like Bombay at all. You may, however, do what you think best.

I see from Chanchi's letter that Manilal² is suffering from a serious illness. Please try if you can to persuade him to come here. Let him and Bali both come. Open air and nutritious but simple food is the only remedy for a tuberculosis patient. Please write to Chanchi not to expect regular letter from me. The burden on me at present is especially heavy, I go to Johannesburg only on Mondays. This is how things go on: physical labour on the farm up to 10 a.m.; teaching work at the school from 1.00 to 4.30 p.m.; meal at 5.30 p.m. and office and other correspondence at night. As I do everything single-handed, I have no time left and I do writing work till late at night. It is 9.45 p.m. now as I write this and I have more letters to write yet.

Mr. & Mrs. John, Rambhabhai³, Mrs. Phillips, Mr. K. Naidoo and his wife are at the Farm. There are five boys and two girls in my school. But as they all belong to different standards, even these few are too many.

I am still on saltless diet. I personally feel better for it and as for Ba, it appears her very life has been saved. So far as I can see, she is a

¹ Chhaganlal Gandhi, who is referred to in this letter as having already arrived, returned to South Africa in 1911, and in that year *Ashadh Vad O* corresponds to July 25. The zero date also written as *Vad 30* is peculiar to the lunnar Vikram calendar and denotes the last day of the dark fortnight.

² Manilal Lakshmidhanda Adalaja; husband of Balibehn, Harilal's sister-in-law.

³ Rambhabai Sodha

new woman altogether. Even the children take saltless diet on alternate weeks. It is possible they might, by and by, adopt it for good. Mr. Kallenbach has also started the experiment of saltless diet. I have a feeling that it purifies the blood to a very high degree.

Manilal is at Phoenix. It seems to me his mind is quite at peace there.

I saw Mr. Smuts again¹ as Mr. Quinn's comrades have not yet been released. I still hope that they will be. Only two persons remain now. Smuts talked about the new Bill also. I found him quite amenable, in conversation at least. Perhaps he might even repeal the tax on women in Natal. I took occasion to raise this issue as well.

Let me know how Chanchi and Rami are doing. You may send both here whenever you feel inclined to. Take the money required from Revashankerbhai.. Ba simply longs for them, I told her that as you were in India the decision regarding their coming here should be left to you.

Could you read anything while on board ship? Was your luggage inspected on your landing at Bombay? Give me all such details;

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 9535

6. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[About July 25, 1911]²

. . .³ Nowadays I am chained to the school. The school works regularly from 1 to 4.30 p.m. Only on Mondays I let it off since I go to Johannesburg on that day. It is kept working on Sundays too. We have something like school for three hours in the morning as well, but only manual labour is done—either domestic chores or work on the farm. Because of these things, I see the bodies and minds of the children improving from day to day.

¹ Although there is no record of this visit, it must have been after May 20; *vide* "Letter to Minister of Interior", 20-5-1911.

² Judging from the similarity of contents between paragraph 1 of this letter and paragraph 4 of the preceding items, this was written about the same time. In any case, it was written soon after July 20 when Jamnadas Gandhi arrived in Natal with Chhaganlal Gandhi.

³ The first few pages of the letter are not available

Until you put your heart in the work, you won't be able to study. If you cannot do this here, please do not imagine you can do it in England. My impression is that Jamnadas is also your schoolfellow. If so, the two of you, I feel, should be able to get on very well. Do look after him and see that he does not bored there.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 102. Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

7. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

Saturday night [July 29, 1911]¹

MY DEAR HENRY,

There is yet no confirmation from India of the alleged proscription of *I.O.* So after all Foolabhai may have been misinformed. Kallenbach leaves by the same mail as this. I have nothing new to tell you and I am tired of writing. I have been writing to Aylmer Maude and others about K.'s visit to London and his desire to see them. They will insist on presenting him an address. He has refused to accept it at a public meeting. I have not interfered at all. I have simply carried out your instructions even in Publishing his portrait². The Hindus are presenting him with a set of Russian books and the Chinese with a set of Carlyle.

Chhaganlal and Anandlal³ have now returned. Chh. has brought your pet Jamnadas⁴.

With love all round,

Yours,

BHAI

From the original: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ Inferred from Kallenbach's departure for London; vide "Reception to Mr. Kallenbach", 5-8-1911.

² As a supplement to the issue of Indian Opinion dated 5-8-1911; *ibid.*, p. 136.

³ Son of Amritlal Gandhi, a cousin of Gandhiji

⁴ Cousin of Gandhiji

8. AN AGREEMENT

[July 29, 1911]¹

Articles of Agreement between Lower House and Upper House.

Lower House is to proceed to Europe on a sacred pilgrimage to the members of his family during the month of August next. Lower House is not to spend any money beyond necessities befitting the position of a simple-living poor farmer.

Lower House is not to contract any marriage tie during his absence. Lower House shall not look lustfully upon any woman.

Lower House is to travel 3rd-class whether by sea or land. Lower House may, if the exigencies of his business in Johannesburg permit it, visit India with Dr. Mehta. In the event of his so doing he will travel the same class as Dr. Mehta.

Lower House will not tarry long in London or any other place, save the homes of the members of the family.

The consideration for all the above tasks imposed by Lower House on himself is more love and yet more love between the two Houses such love as, they hope, the world has not seen. In witness whereof the parties hereto solemnly affix their signatures in the presence of the Maker of all this 29th day of July at Tolstoy Farm.

UPPER HOUSE

LOWER HOUSE²

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

9. ADDRESS TO H. KALLENBACH³

JOHANNESBURG,

July 31, 1911

TO

HERMANN KALLENBACH, ESQ.

On behalf of the Transvaal British Indian Association, we, the Chairman and Honorary Secretary, ask your acceptance of this small token of the affection and esteem your whole-hearted and brotherly

¹ From the contents; *vide* also *vide* "Reception to Mr. Kallenbach", 5-8-1911.

² The signature is in Kallenbach's hand.

³ This was presented to Kallenbach on July 31, 1911, when he left for Europe; *vide* "Reception to Mr. Kallenbach", 5-8-1911.

co-operation has won from the British Indians of the Transvaal.

Yours help during the long struggle that was forced upon us by reason of the immigration and registration laws was the more valuable because it was spontaneous.

Your timely generosity in placing Tolstoy Farm at the disposal of the passive resisters proved an invaluable aid to us. The acts of personal service rendered by you to our people in adversity can never be repaid.

We thank you also for your work as Hon. Secretary of the Transvaal European Committee.

All these things and many more have made the Indian community your life-long debtors, and we pray that God may bless you for them.

A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN
M. K. GANDHI
HON. SECRETARY
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Indian Opinion, 5-8-1911

10. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

JOHANNESBURG,
*Shravan Sud 7 [August 1, 1911]*¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

It appears from your letter that you are upset again. I see no reason why you should be.

Chi. Jamnadas cap, if he so desires, appear for Cape Matric or the London Matric, though I do not know what he will gain thereby. The time he will spend in studying for the examination, things which are to be later forgotten, will be as good as wasted. The point to be considered is what Jamnadas ultimately wants to do. Do you intend to fix him up in Phoenix or have you brought him here just for the sake of his health? Whatever may have been your intention, you have acted wisely in bringing him over. . . .² used to find out and develop the

¹Chhaganlal Gandhi brought Jamnadas with him when he arrived in July; *vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 7-7-1911. The letter was therefore written in 1911 in which year Shravan Sud 7 corresponds to August 1. The date is confirmed by Chhaganlal Gandhi to whom we owe this letter.

²Two pages are missing here.

general abilities of their pupils. Modern education seems to me to be a thorough fraud. I sighed when I read the prospectus of Davar's School¹; such is the state of my mind at present.

I am aware that the debt to Revashankerbhai is increasing. I am wondering how to repay it. It is for me to think about the debt you have incurred. It will benefit us both if you do not take upon yourself the burden unnecessarily. Make up your mind not to incur any debt hereafter. Please let me know how much you will need to draw every month, including the sum that you must send to Khushalbhai and leaving the debt incurred you out of account. I think the, Phoenix constitution [needs to be] amended. Please think it over and write to me frankly. Do not mind if I express my views in strong terms. In my present state of mind I can hardly express my ideas in gentle words or through hints. Just fancy how a pauper will dance for joy if he comes upon the philosophers' stone. Such . . .² is not possible all at once.

I read *Indian Idylls* (Edwin Arnold's) to the boys. It has excellent transactions of narrative poems from the *Mahabharata*. Amongst them I read "The Enchanted Lake" and found it to be superb. What is its sanskrit title? Please let me know if you or anyone else there knows it . I have been thinking that we should have a free translation made into Gujarati verse by Ambaram³ and publish it. All the Pandavas go to a lake in the hope of finding water. But in their impatience they drink from the lake without answering questions [put to them] by the Yaksha, the guardian spirit of the lake, and fall down unconscious. Yudhishtira goes last and drinks water after giving the answers. All his answers relate to [the nature of] obligation, but they are very ingenious. Perhaps you know the dialogue.

It will be a good thing if you start writing in English gradually. If you understand *Letters of John Chairman*⁴ fully, you may translate it. I shan't have the time for it. I re-read the book recently. It is invaluable.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati original: C.W. 5092 Courtesy: Chhaganlal Gandhi.

¹ Davar's College of Commerce.

² Four pages are missing here.

³ Ambaram Bhatt, who wrote poems about satyagraha

⁴ By Lowes Dickinson.

11. RECEPTION TO MR. KALLENBACH

Mr. Kallenbach had intended to slip away from Johannesburg quietly and without any demonstration from the Indian community. But God willed otherwise. As soon as it became known that Mr. Kallenbach was to leave for Europe, leading passive resisters began to discuss among themselves the desirability of “doing something”. They felt that the owner of Tolstoy Farm, who had done so much for them in his own inimitable way, could not be allowed to leave unhonoured by the community. It was by an accident that the day of Mr. Kallenbach’s departure became known. The time was short. But subscriptions were at once raised. It was decided to present him with an illuminated address, enclosed in a solid silver casket. The idea was incongruous enough. Mr. Kallenbach, who had given up most of his luxuries, and had taken to a simple life on Tolstoy Farm where he entirely shared the life of poor passive resisters, often drinking and eating with them, using a verandah as his chair and his lap for a dinner table, to be presented with a solid silver casket! Where was he to keep it? That was no concern of the enthusiastic admirers. So the address was illuminated and a silver casket ordered and prepared. At practically the last minute, Mr. Kallenbach was informed that he was to be presented with an address. Mr. Kallenbach laughed. “What have I done? You owe me nothing, and if you do, I do not wish to collect my debt just yet.” This happened on Saturday when he was on his way to the Farm. He was to leave on Monday.¹ But the determined men who had done duty as pickets would not have ‘no’ for an answer. Mr. Kallenbach said; “I cannot receive any public acknowledgment.” His interviewers said; “You must.” Thus they parted, Mr. Kallenbach thinking the storm had blown over. But on Monday morning, on his way from Lawley, Mr. Kallenbach was picketed and intercepted by a zealous band, headed by Mr. Thambi Naidoo, who had all run from Vrededorp to Canada, a distance of five miles, to meet him in his own compartment. Others met him at Fordsburg station. What could Mr. Kallenbach do against such determination. He had to yield. Passive resistance (love) and picketing were once more triumphant. Mr. Kallenbach hurried to the Rev. Phillip’s Hall. Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer presided. He related Mr. Kallenbach’s services

¹ July 31, 1911

in a few well-chosen words. Mr. Thambi Naidoo read the address which is as follows.¹

Mr. Easton², on behalf of the Cantonese Club, presented him with the complete works of Carlyle in a beautiful silver-mounted case, and Mr. Morarji with the works of Ruskin in a similar case on behalf of the Hindu Association. Mr. Kallenbach then, in the course of his reply, said that he did not consider his friends, who had done him so singular an honour, owed him anything at all. It was he who was the debtor. It was a matter of privilege to him to be able to do what he did during the struggle that lasted five years. And he did it for his own sake. He sincerely believed that he had gained much through the struggle. At the end of it he found himself a better and stronger man. He assured his hearers that it was through the struggle that he had overcome many of his prejudices and his weaknesses. If ever again the struggle was revived, he was prepared to do what little he could and he knew that whatever he did in such a struggle he would be the gainer. After giving renewed thanks for the gifts, Mr. Kallenbach resumed his seat amid applause. Mr. Cachalia, was absent, being obliged to go to Warmbaths to attend a sick friend. Mr. Ritch, Mrs. Vogl, Miss Schlesin and Mr. Isaac³ supported the Chair on the platform. At the station there was representative gathering of Indians besides his European friends to see Mr. Kallenbach off. In order to gain experience and still further to simplify his life and to discipline himself, Mr. Kallenbach travelled 3rd class by the train, much to the surprise of his many friends who had always seen him enjoy all “the good things of life”. Mr. Kallenbach is travelling 3rd class on the steamer also.

All the settlers on Tolstoy Farm were at Lawley station to see Mr. Kallenbach off.

¹ For the text, *vide* “Address to H. Kallenbach”. 31-7-1911.

² Martin Easton; Acting Chairman, Chinese Association and Quinn’s successor to that office; associated himself with Gandhiji’s protest against the racial discrimination implied in the Union Immigrant’ Restriction Bill; *vide* “Telegram to Secretary to Minister of Interior”, 18-3-1911.

³ Gabriel I. Isaac; English Jew and jeweller; a practising vegetarian associated with the Johannesburg vegetarian restaurant; sometime member of Phoenix settlements; travelled collecting subscriptions and advertisements for *Indian Opinion* and was ever ready to be of use to the journal and to Gandhiji; in 1908 offered to become nominal owner of satyagrahis; shops, following the Government’s policy of auctioning their goods; in June, 1909, was sent by Gandhiji to Delagoa Bay to assist satyagrahis being deported to India; *vide* “Johannesburg Letter”, 31-8-1908. He went to jail as a satyagrahi during the Great March of 1913.

We understand that Mr. Kallenbach does not intend to keep the address and the casket himself; but will hand them to his sister in Germany

Indian Opinion, 5-8-1911

12. MR. KALLENBACH

Our readers will be glad to possess a portrait, which we issue this week as a supplement, of Mr. H. Kallenbach whom they best know as the owner of Tolstoy Farm, of which he gave the free use to passive resisters families and which is still being used for the purpose. Mr. Kallenbach is leaving for Europe principally for sake of meeting the many members of his family in Germany and expects to return within six months. Our readers will recollect that, when both Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Polak were absent, Mr. Kallenbach acted as the Honorary Secretary of the British Indian Association—a most critical time in the history of the struggle.

Indian Opinion, 5-8-1911

13. TUBERCULOSIS

We invite the special attention of our Natal Indian readers to Dr. Murison's¹ letter to Mr. Gandhi on the campaign that he, with the assistance of Dr. Adams, the specialist, is conducting in the Durban Borough against tuberculosis. This fell disease is no respecter of persons and affect all the communities residing in Durban. If its progress is not arrested in time, it is difficult to estimate the damage it may cause to precious human lives. It is then only proper that Mr. Jameson and his Committee should seek and command the co-operation of all the communities in their endeavour to root out the disease. At the desire of Mr. Jameson a small Indian Committee has been already formed to render the necessary assistance to his Committee to assist ourselves. But the establishment of the Committee is not enough.

¹ Dr. Murison, Medical Officer of Health, Durban. During the 1904 plague, Gandhiji found him "sympathetic and ready to help"; *vide* "The Plague Peg", 16-7-1904 & "From Pillar to Post", 30-7-1904. On July 10, 1911 he wrote in reply to Gandhiji's of July 4, 1911 (not available), suggesting that an Indian Committee and about twenty volunteers co-operate with Durban Health Department's anti-tuberculosis campaign so that the Borough bye-laws for the prevention of infectious diseases might not be invoked. *Indian Opinion*, 5-8-1911.

We have no doubt that Dr. Murison ought to be besieged by Indian volunteers who would place themselves at his disposal to do inspection and visiting work. They may become angels of mercy in the truest sense of the term. We feel sure that the work that Dr. Murison expect (and rightly) from us can only be performed by volunteers and not paid workers. Who can reason with our consumptives except our leaders? Dr. Adams preaches the gospel of open air, first and last, in the treatment of this disease. It will require all the ability and persuasive powers of those whom the people trust before the latter will adopt the treatment which is so incredibly¹ simple and yet, unless it is understood, so difficult of adoption. Those who are afraid of catching cold if they breathed the fresh but cold air of the fields rather than the hot but contaminated and carbon-loaded atmosphere of a stuffy room are not to be easily persuaded that their salvation—freedom from consumption—lies in breathing pure and invigorating fresh air even as we drink pure and health giving water rather than poisoned water vomited by others. We trust that every influential Indian will have his name registered is a volunteer worker in the crusade of the Durban Corporation against tuberculosis.

Indian Opinion, 5-8-1911

14. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

August 6, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your very good letter from Hutchinson. Hope you received my letter on board as also a joint wire from here (the Farm).

Before I received your cheque book, I had paid out, of course from your account, £ 25 to A.R.M. Roodepoort, £ 15 Partidge & 0-4-0 Shimwell Bros. There was a notice from the A.R.M. saying that you should deposit a further £ 25.

The engine is still working on the same hole. I do not know what is going to happen. I visit the works daily. They have not measured, they say, but have gone down more than 300 ft. I think. The soil varies from day to day. They got from Pretoria a new coil of rope.

Albrecht² thought he would first prune the fruit trees. I did not

¹ The original has "incredibly".

² This, the correct spelling of the German name, is variously spelt by Gandhiji as "Albert" and "Albret", wherever it occurs.

interfere. He has now nearly finished pruning. There is only one native boy working. He is certainly a splendid boy. He asked that we should feed him too. I thought I would not haggle. He therefore has food from the kitchen beyond 30/- per month. John wanted me to give him some ground within the fence, as he said he had not the means of ploughing the ground outside. In spite of your expressed wish to the contrary, I thought I would use my discretion in this case. I thought I should not go wrong if I let him make use of the ground for one year only. I have therefore pegged out a small portion hardly 30 acres beyond the fruit trees. He is to pay £ 15 for the year. I have also given him permission to use the small plot in front of the trees to the right or the left as we pass out at the first gate going to the station for planting potatoes. I thought we could but do better than at least having the ground cleared out. I hope the arrangement will commend itself to you. We have the right to get potatoes for household use.

The native boy has been working at weeding. He is now clearing up the trees. Strict instructions have been given not to use him for household or any other work.

Fencing is likely to commence on Tuesday. Everything will depend upon our friend Albrecht who I may add has been keeping very well indeed.

I have not seen nor heard from Kennedy.

Quinn has been on the Farm for the last three days. I think his people are worrying him as his two men are not yet released. He is likely to be here yet for some days. He works at the garden. Govindji, the piles patient, goes tomorrow (Monday) completely cured. Miss Schlesin came here today chiefly to discuss your letter to her and to discuss her own future. We discussed over the dinner her affairs and your letter. You will be perhaps angry. If I had not done so, how could I have taken my school which in my opinion is daily progressing. No, my dear L.H., we may not use even our dinner hour for our pleasure. Every minute of ours is pre-mortgaged, seeing that we are born debtors. We are born only because we owe. We come into the world again and again until we have paid out what we have incurred on the score of Karma. Life is Duty.

Have not heard further about Call.

Mrs. John leaves us tomorrow, Mrs. Phillip will do so in 3 or 4

days. Krishnaswamy will probably stay. He is the brightest and most promising student, so far as learning goes. The boys again begin saltless diet tomorrow. They alternate. Krishnaswamy and Ramdas have remained saltless through and through. They took *dhol* for today. But they revert to the saltless diet tomorrow. They all tell me they are feeling extra heavy today.

L.J. Van Wyk of Van Wyk's Rust came in on Thursday and said you owed him 7/6 for his trouble in coming to fetch coal and from Lenz. He says the coal of course was not brought. I told him I should refer to you before paying. Shall I pay?

I have not understood what you did regarding the draft of £ 100 or £ 200 you wanted to take with you. I see no entry in your cheque book as to your drawing. I only see £ 30 drawn. But I propose to await news from you before doing anything.

As you gave special instructions, the £ 25 and the £ 75 cheques were sent to your office for depositing in your account.

We all miss you, and Mrs. Gandhi most of all. In the rush of work, I certainly forget you but she cannot.

P.K. Naidoo and his wife too are leaving in a fortnight's time, so that I shall only have Mrs. Sodha¹ on hands besides Mrs. Gandhi and the children. I do not mind it a bit. I shall probably value the greater leisure I shall enjoy.

You have gone on a brave mission. May God grant you all the strength you need for resisting temptations. You are deliberately making your life one of great purposes. I feel sure that your way will be fairly smooth. If we are clay in the hands of the Potter, all we need do is to be and remain receptive. I have written much otherwise, so I shall not indulge in further reflections.

I am most eagerly looking forward to your letter from Madeira.

Nothing further has yet been heard of *I.O.* prohibition. I did not give you the addresses of Maud and others.

I hope you have got them from Maud Polak and even seen some of the people by the time this reaches you.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

¹ Rambhabhi, wife of R.M. Sodha

[PS.]

I am not revising this letter. It is getting late. I have forgotten to deal with two most important points out of your letter. Although therefore it is now after 10 p.m. I must deal with them. The word 'bravo' in my telegram had no reference to your forgetting the cheque book. It was meant to congratulate you on your having passed through the whole ordeal so very creditably. Your bearing at the station pleased all. Your having forgotten the cheque book was a most natural thing in that rush. The wonder really is that you put in so much work that morning with so much self-possession and forget only the cheque book. You know our mutual canon of interpretation: 'not to put an unfavourable construction upon a man's writing or action so long as a favourable one is possible'.

You were hurt at my simple remark about the charge of your not being the same whether I was with you or not. I have not in my wildest dreams suspected you of having withheld anything from me. Indeed one of the binding links between us is my invisible belief in your absolute and natural frankness with me. All I said and still say was and is that when several people bring a charge against us, we should proceed to examine ourselves upon the assumption that there is some truth in the charge. We need not jump to the conclusion that it is baseless. Our friends often know us better than we do ourselves. The reason is that all of us being not perfect do things unconsciously of which we are not witnesses but our friends are. There was no rebuke ever meant when I made the remark, much less any mistrust. Have I made myself understood! It hurts me to think that I should have even unwillingly hurt you on the day of your departure.

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

15. LETTER TO H. L. PAUL

August 7, 1911

DEAR MR. PAUL¹,

I shall watch the career of your institution² with anxious interest. Pray congratulate Angle³ for me.

Hoping you are all well.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4901 Courtesy: Dr. Cooppan

16. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

*Shravan Sud 13 [August 7, 1911]*⁴

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

Your letter. I certainly did not conclude from what you wrote about Sorabji that you are against sending him to England.

Please do not press Harilal to live in Rangoon. It is in his best interest that he should be allowed to live in freedom, It will be a different matter, of course, if he does to Rangoon or comes over here of his own accord, having failed in his plans. Moreover, I see little chance of his Gujarati improving in Rangoon. If he can be by himself in Ahmedabad and study, his eager desire for education will be satisfied in some measure. I will let him know your views, however. Revashnkerbhai's ideas is that he should learn shorthand, an ideas which does not appeal to me in the least. It is contrary to all my

¹ Indian interpreter and clerk in the Magistrate's Court, Durban.

² Indian Educational Institute, Durban.

³ Daughter of H.L. Paul. Gandhiji was her godfather and she undertook to train in Phoenix and work in the service of the Indian community after finishing her education; *vide* "Letter to H. L. Paul", 11-6-1908 & "Letter to H. L. Paul", 1-7-1908.

⁴ Although the Indian date does not mention the year, two reference in the course of the letter serve to fix the Gregorian year. It was during 1911 that a Gujarati translation of *The Indian Nation Builders* alluded to in paragraph 6 of this letter was serialized in the Gujarati section of *Indian Opinion*. A copy of the book was presumably sent to Gandhiji by Natesan. It was about this time, too, that Gandhiji was much taken up with "The Enchanted Lake" from the *Mahabharata*; *vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", 1-8-1911. In that year *Shravan Sud 13* corresponds to August 7.

thinking.

I am not surprised to your views about Amsterdam. To me at least, all those who are entrapped in the net of civilization seem like cripples.

Nowadays I read story poems from the *Mahabharata* to the boys of my school for an hour every evening. I have no option but to read from an English book, as half the boys are Tamils. The one being read at present is Arnold's *Indian Idylls*. Last night I read "The Enchanted Lake" from it. I liked its thoughts so much that I feel like reading it over and over again, if you haven't seen the book, please get it and read this [story]. What has a nation, which has produced men capable of such grand ideas, to learn from the cowardly present day civilization?

I have not been able to take the Mauritius report in hand. Though Natesan has omitted [certain portions], I propose to start printing in *Indian Opinion* a translation of the article as published now.¹

It is not quite true that I take upon myself too heavy a burden. Your caution is right nevertheless. It is *moha*² to want to do too much and *moha* is a great fault. I know this and yet I cannot abandon what I have taken up; it must not be that is the teaching of our religion. We should of course, make sure that it is not an unworthy task we have undertaken. Please do not imagine that I am harming my health because of the heavy burden. I eat like a bull. I take exactly an hour and a half for my two meals. I see that some of those around me do not spend as much time on three meals. It is not true that I keep indifferent health. However, I am always on the alert to see that nothing is done through *moha*. There is nothing, of course, I wish to gain for myself. But one must keep oneself busy. I go on doing what, on reflection, seems best to me.

Bande Mataram from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5093. Courtesy: C. K. Bhatt.

¹ The reference is to a series of articles published between August 12 and November 4, 1911, in the Gujarati section of *Indian Opinion*. These were translations of the lives of Surendranath Banerjee and G. K. Gokhale, among others published in a single English volume by Ganesh & Co. of Madras.

² Infatuation.

17. THE STORM GATHERING

Thoreau went to gaol for the sake of those who did not belong to his race. So many Mr. Ritch go to gaol for the sake of us who do not wear the same skin as he does. For he has received a notice to the effect that in allowing Indians to remain on the Stands registered in his name in Krugersdorp, he is committing a criminal offence.¹ We know that Mr. Ritch is not likely to give up the Stands on account of the notice. The authorities know well that Mr. Ritch is a trustee holding the Stands in question for his Indian wards. Mr. Ritch does not allow them to remain on his stands. They (the Indians) remain on their own. That is the real position, although, in the eyes of the law, Mr. Ritch is the owner and no other.

Klerksdorp Indian have been threatened.² In Roodepoort a prosecution has already taken place and an appeal is pending.³ Now the compliment has been paid to Krugersdorp. Evidently the authorities imagine that Indians will abandon their stores and their stock immediately they take action. Mr. Nesor⁴ (and he ought to know) has informed South Africa that the Government have stayed their hand only because of this being the Coronation year and that actual proceedings will be take next year. Mean-while, therefore, we fancy the Government are sharpening their weapons. The notice served on Mr. Ritch is a clear call to the Indians to show of what stuff they are

¹ Ritch was the owner of certain Stands occupied by Indian in the mining area of Krugersdorp which had been declared "Proclaimed Areas" under the Gold Law, Act 35 of 1908. On August 3, 1911 the Public prosecutor, Krugersdorp, sent him a notice warning him that he was contravening section 130 of Act 35 of 1908 and was liable to criminal prosecution. He was directed to ask his Indian tenants to vacate. *Indian Opinion*, 12-8-1911.

² *Vide* "Extract from Letter to Maud Polak" 5-4-1911.

³ At Roodepoort, one Alfred Tamblin was charged under Section 130 of the Gold Law of 1908 for subletting a mining stands to two Asiatics, Ahmed Khan and Abdulla Khan. His counsel argued that under the old Gold Law, an owner had the right to sublet his stand to coloured persons and that under section 77 of the present Gold Law, Coloured persons were entitle to acquire rights to stands, but the case was remanded. Subsequently a Krugersdorp magistrate found Tamblin guilty and sentenced him. On appeal, the Transvaal Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa acquitted Tamblin and ruled that the Asiatics in question were protected by section 77 of the new Gold Law. *Indian Opinion* 24-6-1911 & 2-9-1911

⁴ Member of Union Parliament.

made. We have no doubt that if for no other reason, seeing that Mr. Ritch may himself have to go to gaol, the Indians affected by the notice will remain firm and show once more to the Government that, unless they carry with them the Asiatic communities their laws adversely affecting them must remain a dead letter.

Indian Opinion, 12-8-1911

18. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR¹

August 12, 1911

THE SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR

PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of the . . . instant, I shall endeavour to complete the list of those covered by the Settlement before the 21st instant. But I fear that it will not be possible to do so regarding those who are now in India. I had hoped to be able to complete the list much earlier, but for the reasons given in my letter² to the Registrar of Asiatics, I have been unable to do so.

I have the honour, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5586.

19. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Saturday night, August 12, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I had your cheerful note from the 3rd-class saloon of your floating palace. It is evident that you received my letter as also wires too late to acknowledge. I wrote to you on Monday so as to enable the letter to reach you on board.

Received your wire but no letter.

Have heard nothing further about Call.

I am sorry that the bore is making no progress. They now bore about 4 to 5 ft. per day. The ground is very hard. I have written to the

¹ This was found among Gandhiji's paper and was presumably drafted by him. If the original was sent at all, the date of the letter from the Secretary for the Interior referred to in the text was possibly supplied before dispatch.

²Not available.

Irrigation Department in your name asking for a report on the progress of the work.

The work in connection with fencing is going forward. Assisted by Krishnaswamy, Revashankar¹ and Devdas, I finished putting in the pegs today. Albrecht and Naidoo and Coopoo have been putting strainers and supports near the pegs. The native boy is digging holes. Ramdas is tarring the poles.

The garden work has been suspended for the time being. The natives have however ploughed the portion I described in my last letter. The ground looks very sweet on that account. Quinn has been hfiing. Medh is still not fit for active work. Mrs. Phillip goes away on Monday. Krishnaswamy will probably return. He does not wish to leave the Farm. I am becoming more and more absorbed in the school. The children are daily improving. They are still saltless. The work on the Farm is becoming more and more methodical. Albrecht is improving in health.

The vines you were to order have not come forward. If they are not ordered, I hope you will not order them from there.

Some letters which I think you ought to see herewith.

Miss Schlesin may leave us. She is accepting an educational appointment. She hopes still to attend to your work. In any case you need not worry.

There have been no visitors to the Farm. Ritch will probably come tomorrow.

Hope you had a good voyage and are having a nice time, i.e., a good time from a moral point of view. Gool says you have captured him.

So you see I have simply given you a diary. I must now leave off. Will write more if I have the time.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Please get the books as per list. If you have no time send it to Davis.

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ Revashankar Jagjivan Jhaveri, brother of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

20. LETTER TO H. S .L. POLAK

August 13, 1911

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your two letters. I hope you have been writing directly to West too about the typographical and other errors you may have noticed. West is becoming quite a nice leader writer. He is the hope of Phoenix. He is the silent 'doer'.

I shall arrange for further funds for your trip.

I like it that no more funds have been paid to Mrs. Ritch since July. The last payment to her from the funds ended June 30.

Ritch will take his time before he writes short articles.

Miss Schlesin may be leaving us next week. She wants to take up an educational appointment. She will still continue to interest herself in our affairs. She has asked for appointment in a coloured school and is likely to get the Fordsburg one.

We are having a meeting on the gold law business¹. The receipt by Ritch of the notice is a very good thing. It will excite public attention far more quickly than anything else could have.

My little school is flourishing. I am absorbed in it at present. Nothing else interests me so much as the school.

I am glad you are having an altogether good time all round. For on your return, there will be no bed of roses for you and Millie in S.A. You will find that you have plenty to do.

With love to you all,

BHAI

From the original: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ Vide "Indians Support Mr. Ritch", 19-8-1911 and also "The Storm Gathering", 12-8-1911.

21. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

*Shravan Vad 3 [August 13, 1911]*¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

The books you have brought are good ones.² Please send me *Bhartrihari Shataka*³ if the meaning of the Sanskrit text is explained in Gujarati or English.

I do not propose to return the money you have spent on the land. There are difficulties in the way. If you have paid anything for the land, that I think could be returned. This is only a suggestion I make about the land, for, if all of them get just enough to live on, how would it be possible for them to pay its cost or that of the buildings? And so I have suggested that the dues on account of land should be written off. Should anyone, however, want to buy off (his share of) the land, I shall not come in his way. The question you have raised now had also arisen in connection with Anandlal's land and yours. Instead of greeting to return you the money you have spent on the land, I should prefer paying off your debt. Returning the money spent on the land will raise many delicate problems. I am sure you will understand this I am waiting for a reply from you again about what should be paid to each of you two brothers.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 4782

¹It would appear that this letter was written soon after Chhaganlal Gandhi's return to South Africa in 1911. It is moreover in continuation of a subject discussed in the letter of August 1, 1911, (p. 133), that is Chhaganlal's request that the debt he had incurred be set off against the money he had spent on improving his portion of the land in Phoenix. In 1911, *shravan vad 3* corresponds to August 13.

² Brought by Chhaganlal Gandhi from England or India when he returned to South Africa.

³ A collection of three hundred stanzas by Bhartrihari, a celebrated Sanskrit poet and king. A hundred stanzas are devoted to each of the three topics: *Niti* (morals) *Shringar* (love) and *Vairagya* (renunciation).

22. INDIANS SUPPORT MR. RITCH

An important meeting¹ of the British Indian Association was held at the Hamidia Society's Hall on Sunday evening last. Mr. Cachalia was in the chair. Invitations were sent all over the province. A telegram was received from Klerksdorp regretting absence but accepting the decision of the meeting. Representatives attended from Krugersdorp, Rooderpoort, etc. Messrs Ritch, Quinn, and Isaac were also present. At the invitation of Mr. Cachalia, Mr. Gandhi explained the effect of the proposed action of the authorities. The proceedings were earnest and the meeting showed determination to go through the impending storm.

Mr. Gandhi explained that he had Mr. Ritch's authority for stating that he (Mr. Ritch) was prepared to stand by the community and incur the risk of imprisonment should it be necessary in making good the trust he had undertaken on behalf of those whose properties were registered in his name. After full discussion, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

This meeting of British Indians thanks Mr. Ritch for his presence thereat, and for his magnanimous offer to help the community even to the extent of suffering imprisonment in connection with notices issued by the authorities under the Gold Law and in connection with landed property registered in his name, but held by him in trust for member of this community.

Proposed by Mr. Dadoo (Krugersdorp), and seconded by Mr. Ahmed Khan (Roodepoort).

This meeting resolves to resist to the utmost the attempt being made to oust Indian merchants from their possessions and businesses, and to suffer imprisonment and other trials during the threatened campaign against them in respect of the Gold Law and the Townships Amendment Act of 1908.

Proposed by Mr. Ismail Amod Moola, seconded by Mr. Amod Moosajee and supported by Mr. E. G. Coovadia.²

¹ Held to consider the notice served on Ritch by the public prosecutor, Krugersdorp; *vide* "The Storm Gathering", 12-8-1911.

² Ebrahim Saleji Coovadia; well known Johannesburg merchant and some time Treasurer, Hamidia Islamic Society; acting Chairman, British Indian Association, 1909 and 1910 (Vol. IX p. 252 *fn* and Vol. X. p. 268 *fn*) repeatedly suffered imprisonment as a satyagrahi in 1908 and 1909; in June, 1909 was elected member of the proposed Transvaal Indians' deputation to India, but was arrested immediately after; *vide* "Speech at Mass Meeting", 16-6-1909.

This meeting authorizes the Chairman to send a respectful representation to the Government, enclosing copies of the foregoing resolutions, and urging them to alter the above mentioned laws, so as to reassure the Indian Community and to protect its member in their legitimate occupations.

Proposed by Mr. A.M. Vaja seconded by Mr. A. A. Karodia and supported by Mr. H. Mal and Mr. M. S. Nana.

It was also decided to start collecting subscriptions in aid of this struggle.

Indian Opinion, 19-8-1911

23. AN IMPORTANT DECISION

Mr. Ritch as well as the British Indian Association of the Transvaal are to be congratulated on their respective decisions as evidenced by the report of the meeting¹ of the Association, published in another column. Mr. Ritch, by his generous action, has put the finishing touch to the many services he has so selflessly rendered to the community. His action has increased tenfold the responsibility of British Indians in the Transvaal. We can only deserve execration from every right-minded man if, after allowing Mr. Ritch to go to gaol we though sheer cowardice, avoid the prospect of imprisonment ourselves. It is therefore but meet that the Association passed the second resolution, committing the community to defend the interests that are in jeopardy, even to the extent of suffering imprisonment or whatever more may be in store for it. The third resolution enables Mr. Cachalia to bring the two very important resolutions to the notice of the Government. Mr. Cachalia has not allowed any time to lapse. And we must now await the decision of the Government. We hope that wise counsels will prevail among the member of the Union Cabinet, and that they will avert what promises to become a national calamity. Indians are not to be expected to allow their interests to be played "ducks and drakes" with. The result of any attempt to force matters on the part of the Government can therefore only be (a) repetition of the unseemly spectacle of a mightly Government setting all its machinery in motion to crush a small low abiding community, endeavouring to hold on to its own.

Indian Opinion, 19-8-1911

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

24. AN EDUCATION SCANDAL

Formerly, Indian girls attended the ordinary Government Schools for girls in Durban. Some years ago, Indian girls were prohibited from attending these schools and provision was made for their attendance at the Higher-Grade Indian School. Promise was made that the girls would receive separate education from the boys. Notwithstanding the promise, the Government tried the experiment of mixing boys and girls, and failed. In theory we are quite in favour of boys and girls receiving education together, But, in practice, it is impossible to ignore deep-rooted habits or prejudices. Experience has shown that Indian parents, as a rule, will not allow their daughters to mingle with boys at a school or elsewhere. And, whenever a forcible mixture takes place, the result "Let them", shouts the unthinking reformer. "They will soon be at home if left alone" But the parents will not wait for the process. They are not reformers and they will not allow experiments to be made at their children's expense. Nor is there any dreadful hurry for pressing forward the reform. There is already a deadlock. From an attendance of thirty girls, it fell to below ten through the stupid zeal of the reformer in the Education Department. At present, we understand, even the few parents who had held out in the hope of separate accommodation being provided have withdrawn their girls. The Government need not be surprised if they find themselves being suspected of anti-Indian prejudice in not conceding the request of the Congress and the Indian parents concerned to give facilities for the separate education of Indian girls.

Indian Opinion, 19-8-1911

25. FOR INDIAN PARENTS

We confess to a sneaking regard for many of General Hertzog's pronouncements. His remarks on education and national conservation,¹ which we have copied elsewhere from Johannesburg papers,

¹ Speaking at Newlands Government school on August 12, Hertzog had criticized the present system of education which was based on cramming and examinations and benefited only those who aspired to become advocates and doctors; the remaining 97 per-cent of the population was left to suffer. He had stressed the importance of character training, technical education and the mother tongue. *Indian Opinion*, 19-8-1911.

are worthy of perusal and careful consideration by Indian parents and Indian youths. There is a tendency among us to Anglicize our children as if that was the best way of educating them or fitting them for real service to the Empire. We do not think that the wisest Englishmen desire that we should lose our nationality—that is our hereditary training—or that we should “ape” them. General Hertzog has, we think, shown most clearly that the Dutch will be in danger of losing their nationality if Dutch children received their education through the medium of any other language but Dutch. How true are his remarks that children, forgetting their own vernacular, are found lacking in respect for their parents. “Honour thy father and thy mother” is equally the commandment of Jesus with Mahomet, Zoroaster and the Vedas. Those, therefore, who are so indifferent to their mother tongue, no matter how humble it may be are in danger of forgetting a universal religious principle. If General Hertzog’s remarks are true of Dutch for Dutch children, how much more so they are of Indian languages for Indian children. Millions of Indians in India, although they may not be able to sign their own names, know the spirit of the great epics, *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, which play a part in our national life that very few other similar works do. We decline to believe that our children can be taught these epics through English translations, however accurate they may be. We consider it to be impossible for us to exist an independent, self respecting human beings if we forget the poetry of the race to which we belong. We can never learn it through a foreign tongue.

But some of us labour under the delusion that we may pick up our mother tongue in later life. All we can say is that such persons do not know what they are saying. General Hertzog has well said that the true purpose of education is not to pass examinations but to mould the character of our children. And character cannot be moulded by making a child unlearn or neglect its past, and pass year in mastering a foreign tongue. A moment’s reflection must convince anyone that the adoption of any such course is false economy; it is a criminal waste of capital inherited from our forefathers.

Indian Opinion, 19-8-1911

26. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

August 20, 1911

MY DEAR HENRY,

I am without a letter from you this week. I suppose you were busy with the Congress work. Why did you send the wire to Prof. Gokhale¹ regarding *I.O.*? If there was any truth in the information, we would have heard in the natural course. When the prohibition comes, I do not think we want any fuss about it.

You will not expect long letters from me just now. I am absorbed in the children and my mind is generally occupied with thoughts about making myself as capable as I can be as their teacher. And so when I sit down at the last moment to write the weekly mail, my mind is a blank.

I hope that you have still enough money to go on with. I do not want you to have to send me a cable. I hope to send you more if not the whole of the balance in a fortnight's time.

With love to you all,

BHAI

From the original: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

27. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Sunday night [August 20, 1911]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Let me give you the pleasant news that after all the boring has been successful 80,000 gallons in 24 hours! In reply to the note I sent to the Irrigation Department, the Engineer whom you have met, came down. Only he came down simply to inspect a very successful well. He, however, discussed the whole thing fully with me. Acting upon his advice we are now boring at the other end the spot marked by you. Boring there commenced on Friday. The dismantling and fixing was done on Thursday. At my suggestion the engine was worked night and day after water was found, in order to see the

¹Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915); Indian statesman; President, Indian National Congress, 1905; founded the Servants of India Society, 1905; member, Bombay Legislature and Viceroy's Legislative Council, 1902-15

capacity of the well apart from the test. In your name I have given Logan 10/- as a treat for the success of their efforts. The second hole stands at 16 feet. It is very hard ground.

The holes for fencing continue. But I am obliged to use the native boy at times for work connected [with] the boring also. Naidoo is not on the Farm. He has not left altogether but will do so shortly. So I shall be the only adult member of the family apart from Albrecht.

Amies has asked for a cheque for the keys. I am therefore sending him [a] cheque without waiting for your answer.

I must not forget to tell you that the Engineer advised me to wait for the windmill till after your return. And this I shall probably do, unless for the sake of the Farm I find it necessary to fix up something.

The family continues to remain happy. Mrs. Gandhi has evidently benefited very greatly by the Sodha incident. She is very nice and tactful. The boys still continue to be saltless except on Sundays. But they are, so it appears to me, more and more finding it out for themselves that no-salt diet is better. Medh continues saltless. Pragji too is trying it.

The native inmates are behaving well. The school is flourishing. I am still absorbed in it. It has never yet been interrupted. Ramdas is getting [on] and so is Devdas and so are they all. I have not yet worried the boys to write to you.

I fear that Miss Schlesin has not kept her promise to give you a full weekly report. I hope to get out the balance tomorrow and send it to you.

Today we had a host of visitors all brought by our foreman the Indian carpenter. Isaac too graced the Farm by his presence. Gordon has not met me at all since. Lapin wrote thanking me for sending *I.O.* containing you. He said he was much interested in the account of "our mutual friend". Hosken sent his regrets that he could not see you off.

Have not seen or heard of Kennedy.

I think I have told you that I have offered to take and nurse Call here if he could be brought here. The Doctor has suggested that he could not be kept very long at Pilgrims' Rest. Douglas told me he was going there himself to see Call. I have also offered on your as also my behalf to contribute towards any expenses that might be incurred in bringing and keeping Call.

I have no time to give you translation of verses from the book¹ I alluded to, and which I have now got. I may do so next week.

Please remember me to your sister and the other relations. I am looking forward to your description of their opinion of you and of your opinion of Dr. Mehta.

And now good night.

All love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

28. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA²

Shravan Vad 11 [August 20, 1911]³

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

There has been no letter from you this week. Still I send this letter *via* Europe. If you are there, the week will not go by [without a letter from me]. And in case you have left Europe, you will get this in about the same time as it would take if I sent it directly to India.

I have not got Harilal's letter yet. There has been news from [Ahmedabad], however, that [Chi.] Harilal has arrived there and has joined a school. He [has written] to me that he is determined to pass [the matriculation examination]; and so long as he has not passed [it], he will not be rid of his infatuation, nor will he acquire confidence in his own powers. Since he has gone with this intention I have no desire to stop him. If his character remains sound, he will gain much experience in Ahmedabad. We have had many discussions on what experience to seek and how. Now, therefore, we can only watch from a distance how he fares, I hope you will keep up a correspondence with him.

Bande Mataram from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5567. Courtesy: C.K. Bhatt.

¹ Presumably, Bhartrihari Shataka, a collection of three hundred stanzas by Bhartrihari, a celebrated Sanskrit poet and king; vide also "Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", 13-8-1911.

² This letter is torn at several places and the missing words are reconstructed from the context.

³ From the reference to Harilal Gandhi in paragraph 2, this appears to have been written after he had left South Africa.

29. LETTER TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS¹

August 21, 1911

THE REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS

PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a revised list² of those Indians who are covered by the Settlement. I am unable to send you a complete list of those who are in India,³ as the Association has not yet been able to get all the names.

The list I am sending you does not include all possible names. I am in correspondence with some of those who claim to come in under the settlement. I trust therefore, that you will not mind my sending you a few more names later on.

You will notice that there are some who have permits issued under the Peace Preservation Ordinance.⁴ These names have been listed, as the persons are at present in the Transvaal, but they do not belong to the category of the names contemplated to be included among the 180.

In compiling the list of Pre-War residents, care has been taken to accept those who have been able to show *prima facie* evidence of their residence before the War for three year in the Transvaal. But neither the Association nor I are in a position to vouchsafe [*sic*] that the claimants have substantial claims. Also, whilst care has been taken not to accept any persons who have already applied under the Acts, it is not claimed that the list is absolutely trust-worthy in this respect. It is quite possible that some of them may have already applied and have either consciously or unconsciously misled the Association.

¹ This was found among Gandhiji papers and was presumable drafted by him. Since the request make in the last paragraph was acceded to, it can be assumed that the letter, although not published in *Indian Opinion*, as such letters customarily were, was actually despatched after the figures had been filled in at the blank spaces found in the penultimate paragraph. *Vide* also "Letter to Registrar of Asiatics", 26-5-1911.

² Not available

³ Categories (a) and (b) in "Letter to E.F.C. Lane", P. 59

⁴ These were persons who had exchanged their registration certificates issued under the Dutch Law 3 of 1885 for permits issued under the British Peace Preservation Ordinance; *vide* "Letter to General Smuts", 13-6-1908. They were unable to apply for re-registration under "any of the Asiatic laws", *vide* "Letter to Minister of Interior", 19-5-1911.

The list includes. . . out of the 150 Indians contemplated by the settlement and . . . out of the 30 Indians at present in India who are covered by the settlement and. . . Indians who are holders of peace Preservation Ordinance permits.

I shall be obliged if you will be good enough now to inform me when the Office will be opened in Johannesburg.¹

I have the honour, etc.,

From the typewritten draft S. N. 5587; also photostat of draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5558

30. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL AND MAGANLAL GANDHI

*Shravan Vad 14 [August 23, 1911]²
11 P. M.*

CHI. CHHAGANLAL AND CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have the letters from both of you. You may take £9 every month.

I shall not hesitate to write to you what I ought to say. I do not intend to return the money spent on the land, whether on the building or other things.³ If anyone has paid for the land, I think we should return the amount. That is, if we set up a new convention.

If I have again to break my head over law,⁴ it will not be only because of you. There may also be other factors of a similar nature to make things difficult for me. That course will be the last remedy, and the fact that I am obliged to mention it bespeaks my want of faith, my *moha* and immaturity. These ideas of mine suggest a false satyagrahi relying ultimately on brute strength. Personally I know, however that there is a difference between the two things. It will be best, all the same, if I do not have to practise law again—I do fervently wish I do not have to. I also wish, we in phoenix adopt a life of total poverty while I am yet alive, I pray to God for such a time, but the portents, I

¹This was opened on September 9, 1911.

²In his "Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", August 13, 1911 (p. 142) Gandhiji was disinclined to compensate him for the improvements he had effected on his share of the land at Phoenix which Gandhiji now intends to make over to a board of trustees. He has now made up his mind in this letter, which, clearly therefore comes after the letter of August 13. In 1911, *Shravan Vad 14* Corresponds to August 23.

³ *Vide* letters to Chhaganlal Gandhi 1-8-1911 & 13-8-1911.

⁴ If I have to resume legal practice.

find, are all to the contrary. It is unlikely that the time will ever come when we shall be living in real poverty. Dr. Mehta's help stands in the way. As long as this fount flows on, I feel we shall not enjoy the rare privilege of knowing that we have not a pie left for the next day and wondering what will happen. I consider this privilege a rare one, for such is the state of the majority in the world, and such was, and will be the state of the Buddha and others [like him]. I feel positively that it is impossible to realize the great *atman* in any other away.

Jaikrishna Vyas¹ and others gave us philosophy indeed but I feel it was all dry philosophy. True knowledge, I am convinced, was taught by Narasinh Mehta and Sudamaji . To indulge in the pleasures of the senses and then assert that one does nothing, that the senses just go their way, that one is a mere observer; all this is vain chatter. He alone may argue thus who had achieved complete mastery over his senses and whose senses function only to keep the body going. By the same token, there is not one among us who is fit enough to speak these words and their will be none till we have achieved true poverty. There is no reason to believe that kings are kings in virtue of their *punya*². All that can be said is that they are kings because of their deeds. But to say that these were necessarily good deeds seems entirely wrong, considering the nature of the *atman*.

If all of you agree that these ideas are right and desire that we should all enjoy the exalted state which I have pictured, God may well grant us such a time.

Narandas³ has not even replied to my letter.

Saltless diet is in the air at the Farm these days⁴. It remains to be seen how long the fashion will last. Parsee Jivanjee's two sons have arrived today to join the school here. I have taken them on condition that they also do without salt. More later.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5568. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri.

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 9-9-1911.

² Accumulated merit

³ A younger brother of the addressee

⁴ *Vide* also "Letter to Harilal Gandhi", 25-7-1911.

31. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

Bhadarva Sud 1 [August 25, 1911]¹

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

Received your letter regarding Polak.

The letter I had addressed to you from Phoenix has been returned to me as, through a slip, I had left the address incomplete. It is worth reading and I still want the same thing that I had asked for in that letter. Hence I send it as it is.

I do not think Polak will become an Anglo-Indian out and out. You are right in what you say about his nature. He is hot-tempered. But he is a milch cow.² His heart is absolutely frank and he is unswerving in his duty. Praise is everyone's enemy; how, then, can it be otherwise with him? But I do not so much as suspect that he would be corrupted by praise. He is as honest as he is frank. Maybe the words honest and frank are synonymous. How can we believe that such men can go astray? Even supposing that the thing does happen, I for one have no fear. He has done us [good] service. If, after this, he breaks away, he will sacrifice the bond [of friendship]. We, on our part, shall have nothing to lose, for the basis [of our relationship] is one-sided. We have dealings with a person so long as he seems truthful in speech and conduct. Such association cannot but be profitable to us. If he changes subsequently, the loss will be his, not ours. This has been my experience during the entire campaign. Call to mind the instances of Ally³ and others. You will not be right if you

¹ Polak whom Dr. Mehta appears to have met in England left for that country in May, 1911, and in that year, *Bhadarva Sud 1* corresponds to August 25.

² In Indian languages, this metaphor connotes one who gives of himself ungrudgingly.

³ Haji Ojer Ally; born in Mauritius in 1853 of Indian and Malay parents spoke Dutch, English and Hindustani fluently (*Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XIV); came to South Africa in 1884 and devoted himself whole-heartedly to the Indian cause; took notable part in the agitation against Cape Franchise Law Amendment Act; elected Chairman, Cape Coloured People's Organization in 1892; founder president, Hamidia Islamic Society and member, along with Gandhiji, of the Transvaal Indian Deputation to England in 1906; *vide* "Johannesburg Letter", 25-9-1906. Unable to join the satyagraha campaign and unwilling, at the same time, to submit to the Asiatic Registration Act, he left the Transvaal in 1907, leaving behind large interests; *vide* "Johannesburg Letter", 31-8-1907. For the incident alluded to by Gandhiji, *vide* "Ally's Mistake", 27-7-1907 and "A Brief Explanation", 22-2-1908.

say that the money and love I spent on them have been wasted. The money could have been collected only for that purpose, and he worked sincerely enough for the money that was spent [on him]. We had nothing but gain at the time from Ally's association with us.

Later on in your letter you add that you have made up with Polak. The foregoing comments, however, stand, and the views you expressed were certainly worth knowing about.

I also believe that India can have no direct benefit from the Races Congress¹. The only indirect benefit could be that ...²

So long as he does it with an eye on ... there can be no bond of brotherhood with him. Selfishness and friendship have always frowned on each other. I do not think there is brotherhood among the English either. They too have learnt to follow the policy of self-interest. "Honesty is the best policy" sounds a wicked maxim to me. It images their conception of morality. This criticism applies to the common behaviour of men. They [, however,] do have among themselves selfless people like Polak (according to me). Their behaviour is not influenced by self-interest.

As you have said something about Polak, he has also given me an account of the same incident. I see from that letter also that Polak spoke to you frankly.

I believe I tore up [the report of] your speech, expecting that I would get the full text from Natesan. Now it can be [published] only if you have a copy and send it to me. I am writing to ask that translations from Natesan's [book] be stopped for the present.

I destroy all your letters after reading them. I did give a general idea of your views to Kallenbach and Polak. I hope, I did not do anything improper.

Pray do not hesitate to write to me because I happen to be busy night and day.

I have not read Mrs. Besant's Speeches.

I did not see *Gujarati's* comments on your article. If any other

¹ A Universal Races Congress, which *Indian Opinion* described as a "Parliament of Man", was held in London in July, 1911, to discuss the racial question in its various aspects. The Congress was attended by representatives of the world's religions and philosophies, and many papers were read. Mrs. Besant and Prof. Gokhale also attended. *Indian Opinion*, 26-8-1911.

² A page is missing here.

comments have appeared, they have not reached me. If more appear in future, I shall get them, and the *Gujarati*'s comments will also be here. There are due only now.

I read something from *Kanyadohan* to the children at night. I finished the story¹ of Prahlad yesterday. The ideas so common among us, which it faithfully reflects, are rarely to be found among English books reputedly great.

I am sure you will see to it that Chhagan² reads such books.

Bande Mataram from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5628. Courtesy: C. K. Bhatt

32. LETTER TO H.S.L. POLAK

August 26, 1911

MY DEAR HENRY,

The same mail has brought letters from you and Dr. Mehta about the incident described by you. But like you, Dr. Mehta too mentions that the little storm blew over. I will therefore not comment beyond saying that I hope you will practise what you in your letter have desired to enter into other people's feelings. You will need to do that more and more as we progress.

You may spend up to £800. That I think will be enough. I am not without some anxiety as to your Indian tour from a health point of view. But by a careful dietary, you should all be able to keep good health. The cold weather season in India is certainly not bad. What I dread is your laziness and easy-going nature when there is no resistance. You brought a corporation with you as a result. Many people will invite you. You are not the person to walk to your hosts, nor could you with the children. And you would hardly resist dishes made of Kosher food. Can Millie alone then resist? With you two gone, Heaven help the poor children. If you will therefore make a promise to yourselves as to what even in the Kosher department you would avoid, you would save a lot of trouble. Don't you say to yourself

¹ A canto from the *Bhagavata*; Prahlad was a devotee of God persecuted by his unbelieving father. Gandhiji often spoke of him as an ideal satyagrahi.

² Dr. Mehta's son

‘vows for the weak’. That is a prompting of the devil. All the greatest men have adopted vows. Believe me, to be able to take a vow denotes a high degree of strength. I do not care to enter into details. But generally let the children and indeed you yourselves live principally if not entirely on fruit and farinaceous foods avoiding entirely pulses and sweets whether European or Indian. I see death in chocolates. There [are] few substances so heating as the abominable chocolate that cursed product of devilish slave labour. To give tea and coffee to children in India is to give them poison.

I know that all of us cannot possibly give time to schooling. It is likely that you may not be able to do so. But if we have more hands than enough for the press, some of us could easily give time. So long as I am in S.A. and free from the turmoil of passive resistance and the miserable business of law, I should be able to give the main part of my time to education as I am now doing. Purshottamdas has given certain hours steadily to the work. Chh[aganlal] is now giving I think an hour per day. Miss West could be entirely spared for the purpose not of teaching but of looking after the boarding pupils. West certainly is anxious to give a certain portion of his time. Miss Schlesin may come only for that purpose. Maganlal could qualify. And later Harilal and Manilal are possibilities. Miss Schlesin has accepted a temporary post as a teacher in the Government school at Mayfair. More when you are here and fairly settled. The Trust Deed has already been sent to you.

With love to you all,

BHAI

From the original: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

33. *LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH*

August 27, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

The second bore-hole is going forward. They have gone down more than 150 feet now. I have ordered another truck of coal. The Company will not take the order before getting [the] cheque which I gave. The coal is now at the station. It will be removed tomorrow.

Miss Schlesin has accepted an educational appointment temporarily. I am therefore personally attending to the African Building matter. I am having all the letters addressed at the Farm. You need not

worry about me. That work won't crush me. And as I become more and more methodical, I shall feel the strain less and less. I cannot send you a systematic account this time but I shall try to do so next week. Here are the cheques paid out during the week.

Coal Owners' Association	5-16-6
B. a/c Municipality for water	1-11-6
Papering and keys	1-19-0
Municipality electric bill	0-10-0

All the receipts from the Building a/c are being banked through Amies. The receipts here are being banked through Kennedy. I have not seen him at all. Please do not hesitate to make suggestions and give hints as to the better management of this account.

Heymann I understand has written a stiff letter about Lapin's account being allowed to go into arrears. I shall see the letter tomorrow. I propose to forward it to Lapin with a personal note. I certainly think that Lapin could not be allowed to remain in arrears. The Norwick people will have a good cause of complaint against you in this business.

Ritch, Miss Schlesin, her co-teacher Boltman (a nice fellow) and Miss Knudsen¹ came to the Farm today. The last named came at my invitation to examine Albrecht. He is making wonderful progress. I therefore thought he might be assisted with massage. I have been giving me some hints which I shall follow. I hope you will not mind all this. It is to him for the last fortnight in my own way. Now Miss K. has given me some hints which I shall follow. I hope you will not mind all this. It is no use keeping a patient on the Farm and not doing all you can. He is working at the bore-hole business steadily. Fencing is making slow progress. He is really not fit for work the whole day. He can do very little after luncheon. I fancy, therefore, that active fencing will commence after the boring is finished. He might however do more this week. He does his best.

I cannot again send you extracts from the book I mentioned. I have absolutely no time to spare.

P.K. Naidoo is now fixed up at Ritch's and Pragji comes to the Farm. Pragji did not like a lawyer's office and P.K. Naidoo had to be fixed up. Mrs. Naidoo leaves Wednesday morning.

I have got two Parsee lads² in the school. They are nice boys.

¹ A Johannesburg masseuse who had offered to train a few young Indian women

² Sons of Parsee Jivanjee; vide "Letter to Chhaganlal and Maganlal Gandhi", 23-8-1911.

The school is certainly flourishing.

Call may be sent to the Farm for attention. I have offered to nurse him partly in person and partly by deputy. He has, it seems, lost mental balance. If he comes, I propose to use your room for him.

The boys remain saltless. The Parsee boys too I admitted on condition that they fell in with the settled plan. Of course, they take salt on Sundays.

The fruit trees are all now in bloom. The boys confine their attention chiefly to hoeing.

I have given permission to the native John to erect his hut on the other side of the fence and somewhere near the Kraal. I have also allowed them to remove some stones from the small Kraal. I hope that these dispositions of mine will not disturb you. I am endeavouring to give effect to the spirit underlying the title of the Farm. We should feel happy in making these poor people happy. I warn them, of course, that all arrangements are only for a year.

I want to tell you that I am making pleasing discoveries about your thoroughness and foresight. The foresight in placing a quantity of coal near the Kraal, in having the strainers for the fence cut and shaved for tarring, the fencing material taken to the fencing line all these [and] many such other things shows your method and careful calculation. I notice similar orderliness about the African Banking account. Anybody can easily pick up the thread. Importance of this method and thoroughness into matters relating to the soul will make you a far better man than many so-called holy and religious men. I cannot boast of any such thoroughness or orderliness in my own disposition. I envy you and wish to copy you in our joint lives.

When I reach the end of your letter, I am so tired that I do not attempt to write about many thoughts that come to me during the week and engage in a heart-to-heart conversation with you. I feel that my first duty is to give you all the necessary information.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

34. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

*Bhadarva Sud 5 [August 28, 1911]*¹

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I got your letter only today. You will, given patience, recover there. If you want to stay with me for some time for the sake of your health, I can take out a permit for you. I think you will feel better here. But I leave the decision to you.

It is a good question you have asked me. You are entirely right in your interpretation. If “is” were to be used, the meaning would change.² “Is” is implied in “equivalent”. It is surprising that Purshottamdas should fail to understand this. I think he has a sharp mind in such matters. The Gujarati word generally used for “civilization” means “a good way of life” That is what I had meant to say. The sentence “The Gujarati equivalent for civilization is *sudharo*” is quite correct. But that is not what I intended to say. Were we to say, “The Gujarati equivalent for civilization is good conduct”, according to the rules of grammar, “good conduct” would have to be taken as a Gujarati phrase. If you point this out to Purshottamdas, I think he will understand it all right. Please let me know whether it was for this reason or for any other reasons that you concluded that “means” was the right word.

I cannot tell you just now why Ayodhya is called a virgin city. I would have to read Dutt³. Ask me another time. The interpretation you give does not appeal to me. I may be mistaken though. It does not seem likely that *yodhya* came out of *yuj*. “Virgin” in this context should be interpreted to mean “holy” in a general sense.

This is the explanation in reply to Maganlal’s question.

“Community of interest” means identical interests. If all of us pursue the same object, it can be said that we have a “community of interest”. If the whites seek to gratify only physical needs and we, spiritual needs, we have no “community of interest”.

I have no information on what Muslim books there are in

¹ After his arrival in South Africa in July, 1911, Jamnadas Gandhi stayed in Phoenix for a while, before he shifted to Tolstoy Farm. The letter was, therefore, written in 1911 in which year *Bhadarva Sud 5* corresponds to August 28.

² The reference is to a passage in *Hind Swaraj*.

³ *The Ramayana* in verse by R.C. Dutt

Gujarati. I know that a biography of the Prophet was written by Narayan Hemchandra and that copies used to be on sale at the Gujarati Press. Please tell Maganlal that it would be better for the present not to publish any list of books or journals. It will do if he reads this letter.

By sheer chance, my school has gained three more pupils, for the present at any rate. All of them observe the vow of doing without salt, vegetables and pulses between Monday and Saturday.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5640. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

35. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

Bhadarva Sud 6 [August 29, 1911]¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Your article on tuberculosis will quite do. You say nothing about preventive measures against it. I have no time just now to revise the article. Let it be printed as it is. I often plan to write the chapters on health, but there is always some difficulty. All writing has to be done at night, so that very little time can be spared. However, I go on collecting my material. If I find the time to write, I shall write on tuberculosis and other diseases too.² It will also have to be considered whether the chapter should be published only after I have them already or as I proceed with the writing.

I have already written about the monthly payment to be made to you.³

The prefatory note to the poem you sent was well done. I felt like revising it a bit, but dropped the idea. My only interest at present is in the school, so that I can give no attention to other matters and therefore ignore things. This happens again and again. I sometimes

¹ A Gujarati article entitled *Kshayano Rog* was published in *Indian Opinion*, 2-9-1911, which is presumably the one referred to in the letter. So was the preface to the poem mentioned in paragraph 3 published in *Indian Opinion*, 26-8-1911. *Bhadarva Sud 6* corresponds to August 29.

² These articles, which Gandhiji did eventually write, were obviously not ready for publication until 1913.

³ *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal and Maganlal Gandhi", 23-8-1911.

wonder whether I am right in doing so. But each time I have felt that I am right in being so engrossed in the school. To be sure, I am not as fully engrossed as I should like to be; but I can see that other matters have taken second place. The boys are going ahead so fast that Krishnasami has lagged behind owing to ten days' absence. Occasionally, however, I wonder whether the pace is not too fast.

My teaching work is in the nature of an experiment. It is to be seen what results it brings.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5710

36. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

September 2, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You have surpassed yourself. Your diary I do not call it a letter is heart-stirring. I prize it so much that I propose to bind it. I have taken the liberty of letting Medh and Desai read it. It has done their souls good. I can only pray that you will end, as you have commenced your important pilgrimage. I cannot help thinking that the rigorous discipline under which you placed yourself on board will make you a much greater power for good to the members of your family there than you would otherwise have been. I am sure that your life will be to them an eloquent sermon. Your words would have been a mere waste of energy. I am naturally looking forward to your next diary.

I hope that the letters I have written to you already have given you all the information you wanted. I could have said more, but I have not the time. And after all I have certainly given you long enough letters. I shall certainly try not to miss a single week.

You will be grieved to hear that Call suffers from complete loss of memory. He is at the asylum in Pretoria. I wrote to the Superintendent of the asylum. He says that it would not be advisable to remove Call. I am therefore not bringing him to the Farm anyhow not just now. I propose to send Isaac to see Call face to face. Sundays are the days for visitors. But I think they will let Isaac visit Call during week days too. Douglas, I do not think, has played the game. He told

me he was going to see Call personally. Now he sends me the message that he cannot go and that I must do what I think proper.

The Lapins have written a nice letter in reply to my note. I enclose it for your perusal. I shall not now weary you with Heymann's letter. I talked to him through the phone yesterday. He was quite good. Of course, I had written to him too.

I hope to be ready with the monthly statement between now and Monday. In that event you shall have a copy.

The second hole is making steady progress. But I cannot say when we shall get water. Logan said on Thursday that he had gone beyond 200 feet. He has not worked today (Saturday), having worked overtime during the week days.

Fencing has made some progress during the week. Medh and Pragji will also help Albrecht and the native boy from Tuesday next.

The boys are now clearing the peach trees. Since Thursday last I have been going with them. They have been playing too much. Mrs. Gandhi is a Trojan. Since Mrs. Naidoo's withdrawal, she with the assistance (not very great) of Mrs. Sodha, has been managing the whole household. And we are 14 all told. She gets up before 6 a.m. and does not retire before 10 p.m.

It shows what people will do when put upon their mettle. She occupies Mrs. Naidoo's room and she with Devdas sleeps outside on the verandah. Ramdas and Coopoo also sleep there.

The boys are still saltless except on Sundays. Medh and Desai are entirely saltless. Desai assures me that he has given up smoking entirely.

The first birth has taken place on the Farm today. The native John's daughter has given birth to a child. I have been medically consulted as to the after-birth.

Albrecht is, I think, making steady progress.

Mrs. Goldstone is penniless and friendless. I have invited her to live on the Farm for the time being. You know her I think. She will come tomorrow with Ritch. She said she would pass a few days on the Farm. I have prepared your room for her.

Smuts sent a message that he wanted to see me. I went yesterday. We had a very sweet chat. He wants me to frame my suggestions for the next year. We talked mostly about the two civilizations ancient and modern, not Eastern and Western. I think that he was sincere in what

he said.

The school is still flourishing. My heart is still on it. And I still refuse to allow anything else to interfere with it. The two Parsee boys are well-behaved fellows and they are jolly. Ramdas may become in time the best pupil in the class¹.

The right hand fingers won't work now. They are having a fairly rough time of it at present. I have to write all my letters and they are many.

I have still not met Kennedy. I hope that he or Miss F. has been writing to you regularly and giving you all the news regarding the office.

Miss Schlesin comes back on the 1st of October.

I am sorry I am still unable to give you extracts from the book I referred to. No time.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

37. *LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH*

Saturday night, September 9, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Another remarkable letter from you. May your life on land be the same as on board. I do not wish to offer any comment on the letter except to say that it does great credit to your heart.

The second bore-hole is finished. It was finished on Saturday last. But it was tested on Monday and Tuesday. It is 220 ft. deep, it gives 40,320 gallons per 24 hours, water at 50 feet, I think, from the surface. On Wednesday the engine was removed to the third site. Logan told me today he had gone down 80 feet. If all goes well, the operations should be finished by the end of next week.

I went round to the dam with Du Ploi today. He has offered to make the dam watertight for £40. Albrecht says he could put up two dams near the 1st and 3rd hole for that amount. He says it is not at all necessary to renovate the old dam now. I am inclined to agree with Albrecht. Only following your example, I thought I could not be wrong discussing the thing with Du Ploi. Albrecht has also suggested

that I should have a siphon for one of the bore-holes. I am going to discuss the thing with Kennedy if he comes tomorrow and if there is any conversation of importance with him I shall write another letter to you. I am not going to Town on Monday. So this letter will be sent to Town tomorrow evening.

I have sent the account with cheque to Heymann. He writes expressing satisfaction, and suggests that I should not allow Hilt's arrears to accrue. I had occasion to talk to Lapin through the phone on Friday. I have therefore asked him to collect [the rent] from Hilt.

Lapin telephoned saying that the outfitter to whom Amies objected would not leave and that Amies insisted on his agreement rights. I have asked Lapin to further interview Hilt and to smooth matters over. I have a letter today from Amies complaining about the same matter. I shall do whatever may be necessary. Lapin has promised to send me a wire if need be. I have also suggested that if £1 or £2 would induce the outfitter to go, he should spend the amount. MacGeorge has paid in both the amounts.

Albrecht is working practically the whole day since the massage. He is showing many lovable traits in him. He has risen in my estimation. No progress this week with fencing. We are on re-laying the floors. We have commenced with the school. But fencing won't be neglected. Medh and Desai are on the Farm. AT Albrecht's suggestion, we have burnt up the grass between the peach trees. He now proposes to harrow between the trees. I think that we commenced burning too late. However, I am a blind man and I follow Albrecht in these matters. If a mistake has been made, no very great harm has been done. I am gaining experience with a vengeance.

The native John has not made headway with his house. But he is creeping up.

Mrs. Goldstone did not come on Sunday after all. I have got one more addition to my school. I am declining to accept any boys for the school who would not accept a saltless diet. I am anxious not to disturb the present boys in their progress. The school still absorbs me. That is my predominant occupation.

Isaac is going to see Call tomorrow. I have a letter from Dr. Gibson who says Call should not be removed for the present. He has returned the two letters you wrote to Call. Evidently Call is not able to receive any letters. At present it is a living death for him. His poor fiancée!

Mrs. Gandhi took a little salt on Sunday and she has had a severe relapse of her old complaint. Whether salt is to be blamed or not I do not know. Anyhow, I blame it.

Albrecht loves Chhotalal and he Albrecht. Tonight Chhotalal sleeps with Albrecht.

I am still unable to give you extracts from the book. But I am sure you do not need them, after your brilliant experience of the voyage.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

38. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

*Bhadarva Vad 1 [September 9, 1911]*¹

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have your letter of *Sud 13*². If I pay Anandlal and you the money you have spent on the construction of your house, I must pay Cordes also. But that will create no end of problems. I[think] it necessary that we approach all that we have to do in this manner. The money you all owe me on account of the houses, I intend to forgo. That some owe more and others less, need not cause any heart-burning. As for the debt you have incurred, I think it would be best to consider it separately.³ We shall consider the matter further when the Trust Deed is signed and we come to a final decision. I intend going there before the Deed is signed, but I think it hardly possible, within the next two or three months. It should be possible, I believe, next year. Meanwhile, you may ask me whatever you want to in this matter. I feel I understand the meaning of poverty better each day. It should be clearer still if I were reduced to utter helplessness. I never intended

¹ In this letter Gandhiji further explains a briefer statement he made on Jaikrishna Vyas in his letter of August 23, 1911, and this one, therefore, was clearly written soon after.

² September 6

³ Following Chhaganlal Gandhi (pp. 142, 149), Maganlal also appears to have raised the problem of compensation for improvements effected on his portion of the Phoenix land in the context of the new Trust Deed which envisaged the transfer of ownership of the land to trustees.

to say that the philosophy of Shri Krishna and Vyas was dry.¹ I only cited the example of Jaikrishna Vyas, brother of Prabhuram Vaidya. If you have kept my letter, please go through it again. You may then understand this better. I don't know if any word was left out, causing a serious misunderstanding of the meaning. Jaikrishna Vyas has written very well on Vedanta. I have read some of his writings. I used to go to him occasionally. I thought of him when I wrote about poverty. I had already read the story² of Sudama. I was imbued, and still am, with the ambition to share honours with him and Narasinh Mehta for poverty. That is how I came to write that Jaikrishna Vyas's was dry philosophy and Sudamaji's the right one and worthy of emulation. I used to observe that the former carried the key of his safe on his person, tied at the waist. I knew that he had collected quite a bit of money. All this seemed to contradict what he says in his book *Panchikaran*.

I look upon Shri Krishna as the Supreme God, the Shri Krishna, that is, who was the charioteer³ of Arjuna, the friend of Sudama and the Ranachhod⁴ of Narasinh Mehta. I did not even dream of criticizing Him. In so far as my letter gave you the impression that I did I have sinned. I shudder to think how I came to write even a single syllable on the subject. I have been agitated ever since I received your letter today (Saturday). The *katha*⁵ over, I have sat down to write and my very first letter is this one to you. I think it is a wretched life I live because I do not devote the time—I can neither spare nor get it—to reading over letters after writing them. Whatever verb you may use, I am equally guilty. Things are bound to continue thus so long as the mind is unsteady.

The reproaches to which Sudamaji's wife treated him, I regard as poetic flourishes. However, even if his wife uttered those very words, the thing does not seem surprising or incongruous. A wife would speak in this manner. Sudamaji would want to suffer to the

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal and Maganlal Gandhi", 23-8-1911.

² Sudama and Krishna, disciples of the same guru, Sandipani, were friends. Sudama had a large family and was very poor. His wife chided him for his otherworldliness and persuaded him to go to Krishna for help. Yet once in the presence of the Lord, he forgot to ask for help. But when he returned home, he found it transformed by riches.

³ In which capacity he preached the Gita to Arjuna

⁴ One of Krishna's many names

⁵ Reading of narratives from holy books

uttermost while his wife would have none of it. Since they had a friend like Krishna, why not seek his help? This at any rate is certain: Sudamaji was extremely poor and content to remain so. He was, likewise, an advanced *bhakta*¹. Narasinh Mehta rose to the presence of Shri Krishna but he never desired to be delivered from his poverty.

The saltless diet is in great favour here nowadays. I bring bananas with me whenever I go to Johannesburg. And apples likewise. We have bought a small tin of olive oil. In the morning, the boys take dilute tinned milk, bread (*bati*) and ghee. At noon, whenever fruit is available, they get banana, pieces of apple with olive oil and the juice of sour lemons from the Farm, and bread. The broken rice we had, has been cleaned and ground; we make *khir*² from it. At times the *khir* is made from sago and at others, with rice. Sometimes there is only rice with ghee, stewed apricots, these having been dried last year, and milk. In the evening, there is coffee (made from wheat) or milk, and *roti*³ with ghee. Marmalade has been made from oranges, and that also is served. Once a week, the boys have rice and dal. Medh and Pragji have been on saltless diet for a few days. And Ba, of course, all the time, Though she ate a little of the beans cooked for the boys last Sunday and was in consequence quite ill for two days. God alone knows whether the illness was brought on by the beans and salt or was due to some other cause. I blame it of course on the former. If Ratanshi's wife⁴ were to adopt a saltless diet, all of us, except the Kaffirs, should get credit for living without salt for six days [in the week]. But I observe that salt is the very breath of Rambhabai.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5659. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

¹ Devotee

² Rice cooked in milk

³ Unleavened bread, flat and round like a pancake

⁴ Rambhabai Sodha

39. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

HEIDELBERG,
[Before *September 16, 1911*]¹

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I think I shall have to wire for Manilal. They are too short-handed at Phoenix.

I sent you a message about a water-cart. We shall need it badly. Mrs. P.K. Naidoo is coming and Mrs. Sodha will, I doubt, not.

You are not at peace with yourself. That is bad.

With love,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence: National Archives of India

40. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Saturday night, September 16, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Kennedy did come last Sunday. He passed the night too at the Farm. He may come again. We discussed many things abstract and otherwise. It was only at night that he opened discussion on your relations. He showed me your letter to me. From you we went on to what should be man's duty in his dealings with friends and fellow-beings generally. He agreed that the safest course was not to analyse friends even as a son does not analyse his mother or a husband his wife. Both simply love one another. I do not think he knows what he proposes doing on your return. And for my part I would wish that you would not think of your future relations either. Let them grow themselves. The only thing one may think of is oneself. What is our duty in [the] given circumstances!

Kennedy and I discussed also the question of laying pipes, etc. I asked him to get quotations from Vereeniging. This he has done. I need hardly assure you that I would do nothing rashly.

The third hole is likely to be finished next week. Logan said so.

¹ From the reference to the water-cart; vide the following item.

He is now over 200 feet deep.

From your wonderful letters I gather that you are not worrying about things over here. I am glad.

The fencing still remains suspended. We are making use of the water-carts and re-laying the principal floors. The school-room and the kitchen verandah are finished. Men's quarters will be finished by Tuesday. The verandah between your room and the school will be finished by the end of the week. Fencing will then be taken up. I trust you do not mind the delay.

Albrecht is a brick. Now he works practically the whole day. I must retract much I said about him. His work is splendid. But his loving faculty is simply grand. Most of the boys adore him. Mrs. Gandhi loves him. That is saying a great deal in his favour. He is most unassuming. He quietly sits through the story I give the children in the evening. At times it must be uninteresting for him. But he does not mind it. Of course he is progressing in health. I am not sure that you and I are good enough to deserve him. Did I tell you that Chhotalal now sleeps with him and mainly through him it is that Chhotalal too is saltless.

A solicitor, Vand der Kessels of Heidelberg, motored from Johannesburg to consult me. I served him in our ordinary style, gave him principally a saltless meal. He seemed to appreciate the complement paid to him in not making the slightest distinction.

I sent Isaac to see Call in Pretoria. Isaac thinks that Call is not so bad and could be removed. I hope to go next week myself to see him. Probably Gordon will go with me. Here is the time table:

Self to get up at 6 a.m. and light the stove and prepare milk for the boys.

Ring the bell 6.25 for the boys to get up.

Another bell 6.55 for breakfast, the same to be finished by 7.15.

Farm work from 7.15 to 10.30.

School from 1 p.m. to 4.30 p.m.

Going to the engine, etc., between 4.30 and 5.30.

Supper at 5.30 p.m.

School 7 p.m. This is largely some reading from the Gujarati books together with translation in English. For the last 4 days Mrs. Sodha and Mrs. Gandhi too have been coming. Albrecht has actually caught the tunes of some of the Gujarati hymns.

8 to 10, or later, correspondence, etc.

Since last Sunday I have been omitting the school largely because I did not go to Town on Monday.

With your letter from London we received letters from Miss Winterbottom and Maud. Both speak in most flattering terms of you. Miss Nicholson also writes saying she would endeavour to see you.

Many thanks for the chart and Dickinson's¹ books.

Hilt has not paid for two months. He had taken in an outfitter in a sample room. This roused Amies' ire. He asked Lapin to remove the outfitter. I authorized Lapin to do so even if it cost a few pounds and wrote Amies not to mind a month. Now Lapin has written saying Amies is reconciled. The outfitter will of course go at the end of the month. I shall not weary you with the correspondence.

Kennedy has deposited £ 50 in your account. He told me he anticipated no difficulty about reducing the Bank's liability.

I am doing nothing about Mountain View, nor do I know how it is looking.

Without my asking you, I know you will pass on my regards to your sister and all your people.

I hope that you receive my letters regularly. I have not missed a single mail. I mention this as I do not post the letters myself and I am anxious that you should know that I write regularly.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

41. GERMISTON INDIANS

Indians of Germiston have done well in deciding to oppose the illegal Notice served on the Indians Stand-holders in the Germiston Location, by the Town Council of that anti-Asiatic stronghold.² According to Law 3 of 1885, all Asiatics should live in Bazaars or Locations. It is true that the law is inoperative as there is no penalty clause for residing outside Locations. But it is a notorious that in most

¹ British author Lowes Dickinson

² Indian Stand-holders in the Georgetown Municipal Location had been notified by the Town Council to have their licences endorsed, which would prohibit them from trading in the Location, alternatively to quit. They wrote to the Town Clerk protesting that the Council had no right to ask for such endorsement of licences and that Law 3 of 1885, as amended, protected their tenure. *Indian Opinion*, 23-9-1911.

of the Transvaal towns there are Locations provided for Asiatics and most of these places are occupied by them. The Germiston Location is one of them. There is no law to prevent Indians from trading in such Locations. Consequently several Indians hold trade licences in the Location in question. This the Town Council cannot bear. It is not at all concerned as to how they are to live if they may not trade, nor is it concerned that the residents of the Location are not in any way competing with European traders in Germiston. In the Town Council's estimation, it is an offence for an Indian to trade at all.

Now the Council is powerless by direct and fair means to prevent the Indians of the Location from trading. So it has resorted to the Notice above adverted to. The Council thinks that, as Indians do not possess any leases, it could summarily eject them from their holdings. It should be remembered that the Indians have built at their own expense substantial buildings on their Stands. Their eviction from the Locations must, as very properly pointed out by the Stand-holders in their letter to the Council, mean virtual ruin to them. Happily the Indians have decided to ignore the Council's Notice, and we doubt not that the Notice will remain a dead letter unless the Council proposes still further to stultify itself by acting up to it.

The Notice serves to show what a precarious existence it is for our countrymen in South Africa.

Indian Opinion, 23-9-1911

42. A SHOCKING CASE

We have already printed in these columns a representation addressed by the Natal Indian Congress to the Minister of the Interior regarding the forfeiture of two deposits of £100 each on behalf of certain two Indians who claimed their right of residence in the Province.¹ The immigration laws of Natal provide that, if a man, who

¹Two minors, sons of Saueed Ahmed of Durban and M.M. Nathalia of Verylam, respectively, arrived at Durban on May 15 but were restrained from disembarking by the Principal Immigration Officer, who held that one was above sixteen and that it had not been satisfactorily proved in the case of the other that he was in fact the son of his father. The two traders then deposited £100 each against permission to land pending appeal to the Chief Magistrate, who on May 23 ruled, in the case of Saueed Ahmed's son, that the official's discretion regarding the boy's age was beyond appeal. In the second case, he ruled that Nathalia's evidence was insufficient. If a certificate were produced later about boy's parentage, he would gladly permit landing. He observed that the law dealt some what harshly with Nathalia and recommended the refund of the deposit. The boys left for India by the first available boat. *Indian Opinion*, 9-9-1911.

deposits £100 and lands in order to prove his claim, fails to prove it to the satisfaction of a Magistrate, he may forfeit the deposit. Thus the forfeiture is not a legal result of any such failure. It is optional for the Minister to declare such deposits as forfeited, In the two cases before us, the boys in question never made deposits themselves. But apart from that, it was never proved conclusively that the boys had not the right of residence in Natal. On the contrary, in one case the Magistrate showed much sympathy. We could understand forfeiture in glaringly bad cases where deceit has been practised. In these cases fraud has not been even so much as whispered. The only construction that can be placed upon the action of the Government is that they intend, by a policy of confiscation, to defeat the right of Indian residents. If such is its deliberate policy, we think that General Botha's statement that there is no intention to injure the interests of Indians lawfully resident in South Africa must be set down as insincere. We hope, however, that General Smuts will favourably consider the Congress's representation and order a refund of the deposits.

Indian opinion, 23-9-1911

43. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Saturday night, September 23, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

The insects about me tell me that I should not do such night work-not that I should put up a perforated screen to ward off the insects. However, that is another story.

I have your letter and the report of the interview with Maude. I am not surprised that Maude has impressed you. He is a true man. But his reasoning is bad. Modern civilization has had its trial thousands of years ago. It was tried at the time of the Tower of Babel and found wanting. It was tried in India and failed. It is again on its trial and is already tottering. What trial can it want? What does it propose doing? It either rejects the divinity or seeks to find it outside of ourselves. In both of these systems, it is hopelessly wrong. His rejection of the doctrine of non-resistance to evil takes away everything from the praise he bestows on Tolstoy. If Tolstoy was the greatest reformer of his age in Europe, he owed it to his doctrine of non-resistance[*sic*]. The illustration he takes is far-fetched. A non-resistant will not find himself in the circumstances he describes as probable on a ship. We

might as well cease to be vegetarians because Icelanders must eat meat. I fancy that as vegetarians we do not go to Iceland at all. And who knows that the sinking of a ship by the pranks of a mad man might not be a proper deliverance for the men on board. Those who flew from the danger of the Jameson raid¹ courted certain disaster at Glencoe. I think I told you that I honoured Maude as a true man, i.e., a man who tried to act up to his beliefs, but I do not accept his qualified acceptance of Tolstoy's teaching. Of course, there must be rules for the guidance of voluntary associations. Only it must be borne in mind that Tolstoyan belief does not contemplate huge settlements in states. Neither men nor animals are expected or intended to roam about the earth. If I serve my neighbours whom I reach by walking to them I serve the world. When I attempt to do more, I not only do not do anything good, but I positively disturb the economy of nature in the same way that a man abuses nature by trying to make money upon money. Both arise out of conceit.

Your next letter should give me a vivid account of your meeting with Dr. Mehta. I am looking forward to it.

You have asked me to give you not much account of the Farm, in order to spare me. I however propose to continue the custom. It is no trouble to me. The 3rd bore-hole was completed yesterday. The machinery was dismantled yesterday afternoon. The hole is over 260 feet deep. Water was found at 220 feet. It is 60 feet from the surface. The hole gives over 68,000 gallons in 24 hours. Logan has been instructed to remove to a school about 10 miles from here. He will, therefore, probably leave some time next week.

In spite of most strenuous work by Albrecht, floor-laying is not yet finished. It is a long job. He allowed the school-room floor to dry for a week. We came to the school only today.

A Johannesburg solicitor (a Jew), with some English friend, came in today to inquire about the bore-hole, etc. He has just taken over a farm near Lenz. He was interested in our ideals and I gave them

¹ An abortive attempt, in December 1895, led from the Cape Colony by Dr. Jameson, Administrator of the British South Africa Company, to annex the Transvaal by taking advantage of a projected Uitlander uprising which did not materialize. Jameson was captured, tried and convicted. The Raid and the failure of the British Government to repudiate it unequivocally were among the causes that led to the Boer War; vide "Speech at Public Meeting, Bombay", 26-9-1896, "Speech at Public Meeting, Bombay", 26-9-1896 and "Speech at Meeting, Madras", 26-10-1896.

to him. He and his friend had our coffee and bread which they liked very well. Medh and Desai are still here. They are both working very well. Medh, Desai, Albrecht and I are restricting ourselves to only one meal per day for the next eight days. This is that portion of the Hindu year when millions of Hindus go in for this fast.¹ Of course, we still remain saltless.

I have read your official letter to Miss S[chlesin]. Indeed I opened it. She has not even seen it. I will not go into the letter with you. I shall attend to it. Both the accounts have been kept religiously separate. I am sorry I do not send you a weekly balance-sheet. But I have no time and seeing that I personally attend to the matter, perhaps it is not necessary. If I am making mistakes which you could check it I sent you a weekly balance-sheet, I think the mistakes should be put up with. After all I am not likely to err grievously during your absence. At the same time, as soon as Schlesin returns to the office, I shall ask her to prepare a statement for you. But I propose to continue to attend to the thing personally even when she returns. Hilt has not yet paid the arrear rent. Lapin wrote to me saying Hilt told him he was going to send it. But Hilt is hardly reliable. I shall ask Lapin again and press for payment.

Chhotalal often answers 'Mr. K[allenbach] has gone to Germiston' and then corrects it to 'Germany'.

Herewith Call's letter which you would like to see. I telegraphed to him and wrote also asking him to come to the Farm if he wished to. His calling Isaac 'Irish' shows that the poor man's mind is still defective. Mrs. Goldstone never came.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ The reference presumably is to the fasts during Navaratri.

44. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

Aso Sud 2 [September 24, 1911]¹

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

I have not yet replied to your three letters. Since you were to go to India, why should I have written [to you] in England? As regards the mail to India, well, the old position continues. So it is not possible to write regularly. Even today I write without knowing when the post will be cleared.

I am not writing anything to Manilal² now. I enclose his last letter. I have [already] written to him saying that he may come when he wants to. I have also written to Phoenix about him. I don't think I shall be able to go there myself. I shall therefore ask him to come over. I feel he will gain some experience here. As to his going to Fiji, I have written to him plainly that he should not. Even if he goes, I think he will regret it. There was no one waiting at Fiji just to hand him money.

He has made a great mistake in converting his paper into a daily. As it is, there is no worth in it. The types are bad, the paper is bad and so is the substance. He doesn't have capable helpers in Mauritius. How then can a proper newspaper be brought out? Besides, where are the readers? I shall discuss all this with him when he comes here.

In writing about Ritch and others, you say that I should not take it ill whatever you write. You should not even entertain such a doubt. When a view is expressed candidly, why should it offend? Do continue, therefore, to write whatever you think right on any subject on

¹A Reuter cable from Soimla dated September 5, 1911 announced that, while there had been belated rains in many parts of North India, famine conditions continued in the Panjab and Rajasthan. It is to this that Gandhiji refers in the last paragraph of this letter, and in the year 1911, *Also Sud 2* corresponds to September 24. Moreover, it is clear from the contents that this letter comes before that of October 10, 1911 (pp. 165-7), also addressed to Mehta, where internal evidence serves to fix the year more firmly.

²Manilal Doctor; a barrister engaged to Dr. Mehta's daughter who was at this time staying at Tolstoy Farm; founded a daily in Mauritius, which appeared in English and Hindi, for advocating the cause of Indians in the Colony. Gandhiji held that it was partly due to his efforts that the proposal to ban indentured immigration into the Colony materialized. *Indian Opinion*, 7-10-1911.

which you feel the need to say something.

It is likely that whited entertain more hatred towards us than we do towards them. If, however, we make a great show of love in return for the little that they show us, there is another reason. It is that we fear them. Otherwise, so far as my experience goes, many Indians do not even distinguish between good and bad and take all whites to be bad. On the one hand, this needles fear must go; on the other, one must learn to distinguish between good and bad. I believe both will come about in the course of time.

I do not look upon Ritch, Polak or anyone else as my disciples, They will all work with us as long as they think it fit. There is no reason to believe that, after my death, people would imagine that their actions would necessarily have my approval. Those who have come in contact with me know that differences of opinion do exist among us on subjects other than satyagraha. However, I shall not dismiss your suggestion from my mind.

I have written written a great deal about my going there¹. I, too, feel that I can render useful service if I am there during the famine. I shall be there when the time comes. What more shall I say? All my preparations are meant to equip myself for work there.

Bande Mataram from

MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Please read Tolstoy's *Ivan the Fool* if you have not done so already.

Please look up the two or three pages of comments in Indian Oovland [*sic*] on your article² about me.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5629. Courtesy: C. K. Bhatt

¹ To India

² Presumably, *M. K. Gandhi and the South African Problem*

45. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[Before September 28, 1911]¹

. . . and, the Protector having denied it, there was justification for publishing what was done. Aiyer² is innocent of what he has written now. Behind it are some persons bent on mischief. We need fear nothing on his account. We know our duty.

You may suggest to Dada Sheth³ and others that it is an offence in law if we publish anything which we cannot prove. But it would be all right if the Congress wrote about the matter after making due inquiries. However, further inquiries about it . . .

From a Photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6078

46. MR GANDHI AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Natal Indian Congress this week received a cablegram from Calcutta asking whether Mr. Gandhi could preside at the Indian National Congress to be held at Calcutta in December. The Natal Indian Congress leaders communicated with Mr. Gandhi by telegraph

¹ On September 9, 1911 the *African Chronicle*, owned and edited by Aiyer from Durban, reported the case of an indentured Indian woman, Jannumia, who had been ill-treated and assaulted by her mistress during her two pregnancies. She suffered miscarriage the first time and lost her second child shortly after its birth. According to the report, she and her husband had gone twice to complain to the Protector of Immigrants but had been sent back to the employer on both occasions. During her third pregnancy, she ran away into the woods. *Indian Opinion* reproduced this story in its issue of September 16, 1911, but two weeks later, it announced that the Protector had denied that a woman of that description had ever gone to him. On September 28, 1911, the Natal Indian Congress addressed the Protector about the incident, presumably after having made the inquiries suggested by Gandhiji in the letter. This letter must therefore have been written before that date.

² P.S. Aiyer; owner and editor of the *African Chronicle* published from Durban, campaigned vigorously for the £3 tax on indentured Indians through his own paper and also enlisted the support of European-owned papers like *The Natal Mercury* and *Preroria News* for the cause. The Anti-£3 Tax League of which he was honorary Secretary was formed in September, 1911 through his efforts. When prosecutions of re-indentured labourers for non-payment of the tax began, he brought to *The Natal Mercury's* notice the fact that the Government circular issued in April, 1910 regarding re-indentured Indians and the tax bore an interpretation different from that of Act 19 of 1910.

³ Dada Osman

and telephone, strongly urging acceptance. At first Mr. Gandhi said it was not possible for him to leave the Transvaal at the present time, but at length he expressed his willingness to preside if it would serve the Motherland and on condition¹ that he should be allowed to return immediately after the session of the Congress. Accordingly, a cablegram was sent to this effect. Up to the time of going to press no further news is forthcoming.

Indian Opinion, 30-9-1911

47. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

September 30, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You are working wonders. If you are, in the midst of your people, carrying the same spirit, they will learn much from you and your visit will be a blessing to you and to them.

I have received the no-salt and other pamphlets as also Wagner's *Simple Life* and *The Party System* for all of which I do not need to thank you.

The engine has left the Farm. Flooring is not yet quite finished. I see what a task it was. There are some signs of rain now. There were a few drops last night.

The first death on the Farm after it changed hands has taken place. John's grandchild that was born here died yesterday. I supplied him with planks for making a coffin. The child was buried somewhere near the Kraal. I thought that was the best place.

Our semi-fast finishes tomorrow. It will have to be a complete fast tomorrow. I have not felt it in the slightest degree. It is a question whether I should now at all go back to two meals. But I shall not be hasty.

Fencing should begin next week in earnest.

I wrote to Call and wired. Have not heard again.

I have not been able to go to Pretoria. It has been practically impossible, so tied down have I become to the school and its appointments.

¹ Gandhiji does not here mention the second condition which he laid down in a personal telegram; *vide* "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", 10-10-1911.

I have restarted sandal-making. Ramdas and a new pupil are the apprentices. Between them I finish a pair by 11 a.m. if the back bands are ready. Repairs and new sandals were badly wanted.

Hilt has not yet paid the arrears. Lapin tells me in a letter that Hilt has promised to send the money in a few days. I am watching him.

By the time this is in your hands, you will have heard about the offer made to me to preside at the forthcoming National Congress in India. The invitation was sent to the Congress in Natal by six prominent Indians including the All-India Muslim League. Indians are all overjoyed. They insisted that I should accept the invitation. I have therefore said yes, but asked for a free hand.¹ I am now awaiting reply. Meanwhile, Reuter has published the news to the world. And yet it is likely that they may not have me if I want a free hand. I do not propose to discuss this matter just now. If I receive a cable accepting my conditions, I shall cable to you, asking you to return. I shall ask Polak too to do likewise. If you do not return, I could arrange to fix up matters during your absence. But it will be better to return. You may want to come to India. If so, we could start together from here after making all arrangements, or you may join me in India. My visit there will be in India more than a fortnight. For I must return in time for next year's Union Parliament. This invitation I do not like at all. I do not want it. And yet I could not say 'no'. The matter is most delicate.

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ *Vide* "Mr. Gandhi and the Indian National Congress", 30-9-1911 and also "Letter to Pranjivan Mehta", 22-10-1911.

48. FRAGMENT OF LETTER¹

[About *October 2, 1911*]²

. . . should have light exercise, such as pacing to and fro slowly, within the space. If you don't have clear motions, you should apply mud packs on the abdomen at night. One Lutavan, who had been very ill, was restored to health with remedies such as these and he has left for home. He used to cough so badly when he arrived that I could hardly sleep. He used to double up [with coughing]. Had been reduced to a mere skeleton. Here, with half an hour's Kuhne bath ...³ I can say more only after examining [you].

I shall send as much matter from here as possible. But it would be idle to depend on me these days. I am preoccupied with the Farm, that is, with the pupils. I have neither the time nor the inclination for anything else.

Manilal Doctor will have arrived before you receive this letter. Send on the accompanying letter.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6076

49. "WASTED AWAY TO A SHADOW "

General Botha paid to passive resistance an indirect tribute when at Rietfontein he said the other day that "General Smuts had wasted away to a shadow when, as the result is his incessant efforts to settle the question, the gaols were filled".⁴ there is no doubt that General Smuts tried every means to break the spirit of the passive resisters, and it was only when he failed to do so that he reluctantly recognized facts and

¹ The first two pages of this letter are missing. However, it appears to have been addressed to Chhaganlal Gandhi.

² Manilal Doctor referred to in the letter arrived in Durban on October 2, 1911; *vide* "Letter to Pranjivan Mehta", 22-10-1911.

³ A word is missing here.

⁴ Commenting on a petition by whites asking for deportation of all Asiatics, Botha said, in his speech of September 26, 1911, that though he would like Asiatics to be sent away, the difficulty was the "fearfully big amount" of compensation involved and the fact that under the British flag they had to act according to British principles. *Indian Opinion*, 30-9-1911.

settled the question. Four years ago passive resistance was taboo. It was considered by some to be illegal. Others again declared that to yield to passive resistance was to court trouble with the Natives. Both the parties forgot that passive resistance took its stand upon Truth and that it was a weapon that could be effectively used by those who never relied upon bloodshed. But today we have the Union Premier frankly admitting that the Asiatic settlement was due to passive resistance. We feel sure that its worth will be more appreciated with the lapse of time.

Indian Opinion, 7-10-1911

50. THE FOOL AND HIS BROTHERS

PREFACE

We reproduce this tale¹ from a most devout piece of writing by that great man the late Tolstoy. We do not provide a literal translation of the tale; but we have attempted a free rendering of it so as clearly to bring out its significance.

This tale is far superior to the one we have already published.² It has also been commended by several European writers. All that is told in it is not only very plausible, but what is more, such things keep happening even now in obscure places. One should not assume that such events are improbable because they do not find a place in recorded history.

The reader will see Tolstoy's intention for himself as the chapters succeed one another.

The story is written in a style which makes it as interesting as its teaching is lofty. If our readers fail to find our version as interesting as we ourselves found the English translation, the fault should be attributed to us and not to the story itself.

We have substituted Indian names for Russian lest the latter detract from the interest of the story.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 7-10-1911

¹ The story itself has not been retranslated here into English

² *Vide* "Wonderful is the Way of God", 23-12-1905.

51. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI¹

[About *October 7, 1911*]²

. . . Manilal Adalaja has expired. This is a cruel blow. You should take a lesson from it. I wish that in your infatuation for modern education you would not sacrifice your health. I shall write no more, since I have already told you of my views on the subject.

I have received what looks like an invitation to be President of the Congress. I have accepted it on condition that I have the utmost freedom [to express my views]. I do not covet the position but, in case I do have to come, we shall have occasion to meet.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 675

52. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

Aso Vad 2 [*October 10, 1911*]³

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

I have not replied to your two letters because I was not to write to you in Europe.

Harilal wants to appear for the matriculation examination. I tried hard to convince him that there was nothing to be gained by doing so, but the advice sticks in his throat. He refuses to come out of the state in which I once was, when I was infatuated with degrees. How can one blame him for it? I do only hope that he will see the light one day. His motives appear to be good.

Manilal⁴ reached Durban on Monday last [week]. He left Durban yesterday (Monday). He will arrive here (at the Farm) tomorrow. There was a letter from him from Phoenix, in which he said

¹ Only the second page of the letter is available.

² By September 30, 1911, the enquiry about Gandhiji's possible candidature for the presidentship of the Indian National Congress had been made public; *vide* "Mr. Gandhi and the Indian National Congress", 30-9-1911. A news-item in *Indian Opinion*, 7-10-1911, mentions that Gandhiji had himself cabled his reply. This letter must therefore have been written about that time.

³ It was in 1911 that an enquiry was made as to whether Gandhiji would like to be considered for the presidentship of the Indian National Congress, and in that year *Aso Vad 2* corresponds to October 10.

⁴ Manilal Doctor

that he liked the place. Chhaganlal also writes to the same effect. Let us see how things turn out here.

I have been invited to become the President of the [Indian National] Congress. It is not clear from whom the invitation has come. The cable was addressed to the Natal [Indian] Congress, which has already cabled back that it should be possible for me to go. I have sent a private cable¹ saying that I should be asked only if my freedom would not be compromised and my presence was thought especially necessary, else I might be left alone. About twelve days have passed since the cable was sent, but there has been no reply so far. From this I infer either that the cable from Calcutta was not an invitation but a mere enquiry or that my condition was found unacceptable.

I know you are very keen that I should leave for India at an early date, and stay there for good. The idea appeals to me and I shall go the moment I can become free here. I think it necessary, however, to settle matters here. I cannot possibly be there in time for famine [relief] work. I can see that it is a terrible one. I also know that the belated rains are almost useless for many people.

Please do not think that I shall incur the sin of falling into the delusion that I should serve the entire world. I well realize that my work can only be in India and that in Gujarat, rather in Kathiawad.

Excellent articles continue to appear occasionally in *Indian Opinion*, and sometimes I even feel that the fullest advantage is not being taken of all that comes out. True, Miss Smith's despatches are insipid. But I do not wish to discontinue them. Her sympathy is sincere. I pay her nothing. I stopped paying her while I was still in England.² But Miss Smith herself asked to be allowed to go on writing without an honorarium. I agreed. In fact, I do not send some of her despatches for publication. Only last month, I withheld one. She is not likely to feel hurt either. Having regard to her feelings, I do not think it will be right to discontinue her despatches altogether.

¹ Not available

² During his 1909 visit to England Gandhiji arranged that Miss A. A. Smith, M.R.A.S., whose book *Our Sailor King* was published in 1910, should send periodical despatches for *Indian Opinion*, which she did pseudonymously as "Observer". The discontinuance of her "London Letter" for financial reasons was seriously considered, but Polak demurred saying, "It is the only non-p[assive] r[esistance] thing . . . keeping us in touch with the outside world"; *vide* "London", before 25-9-1909. Gandhiji presumably discussed the matter with Miss Smith as Polak had suggested.

I have not got the letter you wrote after meeting Kallenbach. There was no letter from you last week; only a pamphlet was received. You must have seen the *garbi*¹ on Jasama² in *Indian Opinion*. It has also been republished separately, as people liked it. I have instructed Phoenix to send you a copy. It fell into Chhaganlal's hands by chance. I personally feel that in this *garbi* the poet has conveyed profound knowledge in sweet and simple language. We have not been able to ascertain the name of the poet. Please let me know what impression it makes on you.

Bande Mataram from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5630. Courtesy: C.K. Bhatt

53. THE IMMIGRATION CASE

The Gerber case³ decided by Sir John Buchanan at Cape Town is one of considerable importance, and, although it refers to a Russian Jew, it has a bearing on British Indian immigrants. It appears that this immigrant had £20 in his possession, had paid his own passage, was in good health, had been convicted of no crime and was an efficient workman. The Jewish Minister testified that he was a good Yiddish scholar. And yet the Immigration Officer treated him as a prohibited immigrant, because, in his opinion, his educational attainments did not come up to his requirements. We know that the Jews in South Africa are not labouring under any particular disabilities, but the silent and insidious opposition against them now and then comes to the surface, as in the present case. Had Mr. Gerber been an immigrant from any other part of Europe, and had he belonged to a different denomination, he would probably not have

¹ A Gujarati literary form resembling a ballad. This one was chosen for publication by Chhaganlal Gandhi who also wrote a preface to it which Gandhiji commended; *vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", 29-8-1911.

² The heroine; one among many labourers employed by the King Siddharaja of Gujarat to dig a lake, she successfully resisted his improper attentions.

³ Jack Gerber, a Russian Jew, came to South Africa to join his brother but he had left his permit behind. He was restrained from disembarking on grounds of deficient education although he satisfied the conditions for entry. The Cape Provincial Court ruled that Gerber was entitled to land and that Immigration officials' decisions were justiciable. *Indian Opinion*, 14-10-1911.

been subjected to the harsh treatment that was his lot at the hands of the Immigration Officer. What, however, has happened to him happens to scores of Indians from month to month, and nothing is heard of it. We know that it is the settled policy of the Union Government to restrict Asiatic immigration, but it can be, and should be, no part of the policy of restriction to turn away men who are fully entitled under the immigration laws of the Union. In other words, we claim that intending immigrants, irrespective of their race or colour, should have the law liberally interpreted in their favour, and equally liberally administered. We welcome the judgment of Sir John Buchanan as showing that the courts, at any rate, will not, as a rule be influenced by current prejudices and will not hesitate to interpret laws in favour of human liberty, and we hope that the punishment awarded to the Government in making them pay the costs of the application will serve as a deterrent in the future.

Indian Opinion , 14-10-1911

54. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSSVAAL,
October 14, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Your diary is before me. I see you are still pursuing the goal with unflagging zeal. May you never turn away from it. I am sure that your steadfastness must be a source of great strength to your people. They must love you all the more for appearing for the moment somewhat strange to them. The world has a curious way of coming round to him who does not and will not come round to it.

Fencing is going on apace now. Standards have been now fixed for the greater part of the way. By Wednesday the fixing of standards will be completed. Albrecht supervises the whole thing. He is assisted by Basella and Sam¹ and Desai.

You know Sam of Phoenix. He has come here for a change. He is a worker. So naturally he is a handyman. Manilal Doctor of Mauritius, Dr. Mehta's son-in-law and Barrister, has come here to see

¹ "Sam" was Govindsami, a machine foreman in the International Printing Press at Phoenix.

me. He is a charming man but, as he himself says, very obstinate. Because he was told by everybody that he would have to do manual work at the Farm he has promised himself not to do any at all whilst on the Farm. So much is this the case that he simply idles away the whole of his time. I can only pity him. He is one of the most straightforward men you could meet. He proposes to leave for Mauritius and thence for India about the end of this month. He may return to practise here.

Kennedy told me that he could not come last Sunday as he was very busy. He however said he would seek the opportunity of coming some other day.

Gordon has been coming to the Farm off and on.

You showed some concern as to whether I did write regularly. Well, I have made it a religious duty not to fail at all. So that if you have not received my letter any week, the fault must be the postman's, either at my end or yours. The letters have been always (I think) posted at Johannesburg. One week I may have posted at Lawley but I think not even one week.

Call is still at Pretoria. He is getting on. I sent Isaac again and propose to send him from time to time. It is no use my trying to go. I have not a minute to spare. The arrears are appalling.

Nothing yet certain about the Indian visit. I expect a cable any day. But I feel that I am not going. I certainly hope I am not.

You will be pleased to learn that Smuts is releasing two of Quinn's men. These are long-sentence prisoners. Quinn feels like having received a new lease of life. This is more to him than his own release from gaol.

Of course you will go to India, if you think you should. Things here are in a fair condition. Thanks to your careful arrangement, the African Building matter causes little trouble.

After a gentle reminder to Lapin, he has sent me another cheque for £62. Hilt is not at all playing the game. He has not yet paid the rent. I have asked Lapin to press for payment. Am I right? I hope you do not mind my not sending you a weekly account of income and expenditure.

I have drawn a cheque for £60 for the Government regarding the mill.

No, I am not sending you *I.O.* from here. On second thoughts, I felt that you would get Maud to send you a copy. I take it that she has

your German address. Needless to say we are still saltless. I am most strictly so. I have been also on one meal per day for the past fortnight with the exception of one day's break. I broke the rule today because Mrs. Gandhi and Miss Schlesin wept over it. I have now placed myself under stricter discipline by limiting myself beforehand to so much only per meal and taking much less time than usual. This is harder for me than one meal per day. But I think I shall cope with it. This experiment only started today.

Please give my love to all your people.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

55. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

JOHANNESBURG,
October 20, 1911

NATAL CONGRESS WHICH RECEIVED CABLE PRESIDENTSHIP
MISTOOK NATURE INDICATOR ADDRESS SHOWING YOUR OTHER
PROMINENT NAMES.¹ RECEIVERS THOUGHT THERE WAS DEFINITE
INVITATION AND PRESSED ME ACCEPT.² YOUR CABLE
SHOWS OTHERWISE. WIDRIG³ COMPETE. I PERSONALLY WOULD
AVOID HONOUR. MY VIEWS BEING UNORTHODOX PROBABLY
CONFLICTING. CACHRYOS⁴ WITHDRAW MY NAME. DISCUSSION
MUCH BETTER ENTIRELY YOUR HANDS.

From a copy: File No. 45. Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ For the explanation of "the muddle" regarding Congress presidentship, *vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", 30-10-1911.

² *Ibid*

³ Meaning 'I do not wish'

⁴ Meaning 'If you can'

56. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
October 22, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Your having become considerably reduced does not perturb me a bit. Your letters show me that your mind is vigorous. The vigour of mind is possible only in a healthy body and I am anxious for you to have a healthy body which need not necessarily be a strong, i.e., a weight-lifting body.

I must congratulate you on having a relation who has to be arrested for an imaginary political crime.

Gordon has been regularly sleeping and supping and breakfasting at the Farm now for a week. For the weekend he has not been to Town at all.

Albrecht has gone to Town. I think he wanted a change. But he is to inquire about a siphon for one of the bores. I agree with him that we should have one hole working. There seems to be great scarcity of water just at present. He returns on Monday.

The fencing Inspector wrote two days ago suggesting that the fence should be completed without delay. All the standards were completed on Wednesday. For part of the work the wires are also in. The work is going forward. We hope to finish it by the end of the week.

I have Chhaganlal's brother¹, who arrived with him on the Farm as a patient.

We still continue saltless; I entirely.

I think that in your absence, in view of Heymann's, I should have written to the Lapins. It cannot do them harm to pinch themselves a little to pay even a friend. They have not taken it at all amiss.

They have sent me a guarantee for Hilt's rent. For the moment I forget the guarantor's name. But I have told them that they may accept the guarantee if they consider the guarantor to be a good man.

I hope to send you the July account that you want.

¹ Maganlal Gandhi

I do not think I am going to India at all. The invitation was not formal. I have therefore cabled Prof. Gokhale saying I would rather that he withdrew my name from discussion.¹

Dr. Mehta writes saying you are almost sure to go to India.

I hope that you have been getting *I.O.* from London.

With love to you and all,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

57. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION

TRANSVAAL,
*Aso Vad 0 [October 22, 1911]*²

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

I have your last letter written from Europe.

I keep writing to Harilal from time to time saying that his hankering after examinations is not right. If he writes to you, please tell him the same thing. If he still does not give up his notion, there is nothing for it but to bear this punishment for my sins.

It is imperative that you go [to India] during the famine, whatever people might think. As for me, how can I get away? I don't see how I can leave before the end of next year.

It looks as if there won't be any occasion for me to attend the Congress.³ It appears that the cable from Calcutta was not an invitation, only an enquiry. There is a cable from Gokhale saying that the President will be elected on the 28th.

And so I have cabled that it would be best if my name were not discussed.⁴ I have also said that my views might sound peculiar and appear contrary to [those of the Congress]. I believe, therefore, that I

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", 30-10-1911.

² Both the invitation to Gandhiji to become the President of the Indian National Congress and the famine in India referred to in the letter serve to establish that it was written in 1911.

³ *Vide* "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta". 10-10-1911.

⁴ This cable is not available.

shall not have to go. For a variety of reasons, it is wished that I don't have to go. I live on saltless diet consisting mainly of fruit. It is not to mortify the body that I do this but so that the body, mind and *atman* may be in fuller command of themselves and purer. I commend the diet to children also.

I believe that salt, being an irritant, is harmful. By inducing an artificial appetite, it makes one eat more and arouses the senses gratuitously. This may or may not be true, but our *shastras* speak of the virtue of abstaining from salt. It is therefore likely that the practice is a beneficent one. I have not noticed that it has had any bad effect. I have observed that all sick persons, to whom I had suggested the giving up of salt, have if anything benefited from it. If, on the basis of your medical knowledge, you see anything wrong in this, please correct me.

Manilal¹ is here. It is more than a week now since he arrived here. He is a pleasant and good-natured person. He appears to be enamoured still of a literary education. To my way of thinking, he does not seem to have a sound physique. He has too much fat which is due entirely to the way he lives. Many persons had told him that at the Farm one could not, after meeting me, resist manual work. To disprove this false notion, he made a vow in jest while at Phoenix, and in order to live up to it, he has done no work at the Farm. The Farm stood in no need of his work; only it was essential for his body. But he did not work. In a way, I think it is just as well. That work is done only because of me is utter superstition. It might partly be dispelled by Manilal. Personally, I think, whoever works does so because he knows that it is good to work. It is true, of course, that some persons work out of regard for me. This, however, is another matter.

On the other hand, I also noticed that, in a settlement such as the Farm, where a certain method of work has evolved, the upsetting of that method by a well-behaved person like Manilal sets impressionable youngsters and novitiates an unintended bad example. It should be considered gracious of a thoughtful person,—in fact, it should be his duty to a certain extent—to conform to the regulations of a settlement such as this. A guest is under no obligation to work. But Manilal cannot be reckoned among this category of guests. He held to his course, ill-conceived as it was, in a superb manner, that is, with a cheerful and innocent air—so that I feel somewhat hesitant in making

¹ Manilal Doctor; *vide* "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta". 10-10-1911.

these comments.

Manilal has done commendable public work in Mauritius, and he appears to have won the affections of the Hindus in abundant measure. Thanks to his lack of patience, he could not gain the goodwill of the Muslims, neither did he make a determined effort to do so.

His own intention, it seems, is definitely to leave Mauritius. He does not think he can make a living there, and if there is a possibility of his being able to do so after a few years, he says frankly that he does not have the patience to wait.

He has come here only because you were so insistent. Although I do not see that he has repented having come.

He is inclined to settle here or in Natal. If he does decide to stay on, he would assuredly earn enough for his needs. If he does not, I should blame only him.

Now that he has been in Mauritius, done all that public work and won the people's affection, the best course for him, as I see it, would be to brave all hardships and stay on there until he could earn a living.

But it is pointless to think about that. The other thing he could do is to come here and devote himself to teaching and other activities small and big at Phoenix and we shall then pay his expenses.

Neither is this idea acceptable to him. Therefore, the only thing that remains is legal practice, so far as this country is concerned. He would like it, for some time.

It would be best to marry him off now. He says that Jeki¹ is also impatient. Even if Jeki is not well, I don't think it would be right to stand in their way. If she is unfit for conception, let us hope and expect that they will behave thoughtfully. If they do not, or cannot, there is nothing for it but to leave Jeki to her fate.

If, therefore, Manilal comes here,² he hopes to bring Jeki with him. Manilal desires that, if she comes, she should live at Phoenix and come under my influence. He himself finds it too great a strain to conform to my way of living, but he approves of it. So, if it suits Jeki, he will be glad.

I am sure that there is nothing about my mode of living that is too great a strain on others. It of course happens that a person who

¹ Jayakunvar, Dr. Mehta's daughter

² To settle in South Africa

has been to England or who has come under the influence of English ways does not like my way of living or finds it too much of a strain.

Besides, Manilal has not the least faith in you. He charges you with having changed your views too often and jumped from one extreme position to another. He makes a similar charge against me also, if not as vehemently. And so he thinks that, by taking up the middle position, he would profit from both East and West. I have told him that this is a confession of sheer helplessness, impotence and laziness. But he is in no condition to realize this now. I believe he will come round with time and experience, being a sincere man.

I give him the money he needs from what I have. I shall debit the amount to your account. I don't suppose anything more remains to be said in this matter. You will get this letter about the same time as he arrives. He intends to attend the Congress. I shall give him letters [of introduction] to Professor Gokhale and others.¹ If it is settled that he should occupy himself with the work here, please send him back in time. As for the wedding, we can as well arrange to have it here, if so desired. If he is coming here, it will be best for me to stay on in South Africa if only for a short time. It will be right for me to leave only after he is properly settled. He could be fixed up in partnership with Ritch any time. Ritch's practice is well established.

Bande Mataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5631. Courtesy: C. K. Bhatt

¹ *Vide* "Letter to G.K. Gokhale", 24-10-1911.

58. SPEECH AT NEW YEAR'S DAY FUNCTION

JOHANNESBURG,
October 23, 1911

A function was organized to celebrate [the Gujarati] New Year's Day on October 23, 1911, by the Hindu Association of Johannesburg at Rev. Mr. Phillip's school. Mr. Gandhi presided . . . and arrived with his wife at ten sharp . . . After explaining the significance of the auspicious day of Diwali, Mr. Gandhi made some suggestions in that regard and wished everyone a happy New Year . . .

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion , 4-11-1911

59. LETTER TO G.K. GOKHALE¹

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
October 24, 1911

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I wish to write a long letter to you regarding the Congress presidentship muddle.² It was a muddle of course on this side. But of this later.

Mr. Manilal Doctor has, as you are aware, done very good public work in Mauritius & gained the affection of the poor Indians there to whom he became a friend in need. He has been to South Africa on a visit and is likely to settle in one of the provinces in the near future. Meanwhile he is proceeding to India to attend the Congress & he wishes to work there for a resolution condemning indentured labour altogether. I agree with him entirely and think that it never did any good to anybody. Eighteen years' observation has taught me that it is no solution for our problems in India. I venture to

¹ This is the letter of introduction which Gandhiji had promised; *vide* "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", 22-10-1911.

² For "the muddle", *vide* "Mr. Gandhi and the Indian National Congress", 30-9-1911 and the letters to Dr. Mehta, 10-10-1911 & 22-10-1911 and "Letter to G.K. Gokhale", 30-10-1911.

hope therefore that you will be able to see your way to furthering Mr. Manilal's efforts.

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

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 3809

60. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

LAWLEY,
Kartika Sud 2, [19]68 [October 24, 1911]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

This¹ is the last stanza in the *Ayodhyakanda*. Dwell on it. It constantly rings in my ears. In this difficult age devotion has been given the primary importance. One needs the discipline and regulations even for such devotion. I see every moment that therein should lie the roots of our education. What other blessings can give you?

*Blessings from
MOHANDAS*

[From Gujarati]

Ashram Bhajanono Swadhyaya, p. 301

61. MR. AND MRS. POLAK²

Mr. and Mrs. Polak are probably by this time on their way to India. Mr. Polak has left his mark in the United Kingdom during his brief stay there. A time which to him was one of well-earned rest, he utilized for working on Lord Amphill's Committee with the zeal and devotion of a true soldier.³ The meeting held under the chairmanship of Sir Mancherjee to bid godspeed to Mr. and Mrs. Polak was a fitting end to the busy programme Mr. Polak had mapped out for himself during his stay in London.

¹ Not translated here. The quotation from Tulsidas dwelt on the devotion of Bharata for Rama and his practice of austerities too difficult even for ascetics.

² *Vide* also "Polak's Work", 1-7-1911.

³ For a specimen of Polak's work on behalf of the SABI Committee during his stay in England, *vide* Appendix S. A. B. I. Committee's Letter to Colonial Office", 17-6-1911.

Mr. Polak has reminded the Union Government that it will have to face stubborn opposition if it do not repeal the tax on indentured Indians of Natal and if it attempt to drive the Transvaal Indians into Locations.¹ We hope that the Government will be pleased to note the reminder. There must be a halt to the anti-Asiatic campaign. And the best method is for the local Government to decline to be party to a persecution of the resident Indian population.

Indian Opinion , 28-10-1911

62. A FRUIT OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

We commend to the attention of our readers the remarkable letter from Bombay (which appeared in our last issue), signed by Mrs. Jamnabai Nagindas Sakai² and Mrs. Jaijee Jehangir Petit³, the joint honorary secretaries of the committee formed to assist the Transvaal Indian Women's Association in its efforts to hold a Bazaar for the exhibition and sale of their work.

The list of the members of the Committee shows that the ladies represent the best Mahomedan, Parsee and Hindu families of Bombay. The presents are not to be considered in connection with their monetary value. They are a demonstration of the attention which our distinguished countrywomen in India give to us, their humbler and poorer countrymen in this our land of adoption and exile. Nor are the Bombay ladies alone in their care for us. The Calcutta ladies, too, have responded liberally to the appeal sent by the Association.

The Transvaal Women's Association itself is one of the important products of the passive resistance struggle. It represents, it is true, only a few Indian women of Johannesburg. They are mostly if not all, passive resistance families. The Association owes its present

¹ In the course of a speech at the farewell meeting, Polak predicted there would be "fights" over these two issues. He also said he believed that "legal effect would be given" to the Provisional Settlement in 1912. *Indian Opinion*, 21-10-1911.

² Also President of the Gujarati Hindi Stri Mandal

³ Wife of Jehangir Bomanjee Petit, a Bombay millionaire. he was one of the Joint Secretaries of the Bombay South African Committee and Joint Honorary Secretary of an Indian Committee appointed in 1909 under the chairmanship of Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta to collect funds in aid of Transvaal satyagrahis deported to India; also collected large sums of money for Gandhiji's Passive Resistance Fund; was Polak's host during his 1909 visit to India and undertook to publish his pamphlet, *A Tragedy of Empire: The Treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal*.

activity to the genius of Mrs. Vogl, assisted by Miss Schlesin. Mrs. Vogl has been occupied with the organization of the Bazaar practically for the past twelve months. All her spare time has been devoted to the work. Under her tuition and guidance, our girls have been preparing the work which the public of Johannesburg will have the opportunity of appreciating or criticizing.¹ The Transvaal Women's Association contains in it the material for a structure of the highest importance to the Indians of South Africa. And our sisters in India, by their thoughtful assistance, will have done not a little to help on the structure. All honour to them and to the passive resistance movement which has made possible such a harmonious blending as we notice in the composition and the activity of the Transvaal Women's Association and the Indian Ladies' Committee.

Indian Opinion , 28-10-1911

63. TRIUMPH OF SATYAGRAHA

During Diwali, some Hindus burst crackers. The Durban police went into a huff over this. A leading Hindu gentleman was arrested. They all decided not to let the matter rest at that. It reached the ears of Mr. Dawad Mahomed and Mr. Parsee Rustomjee. They hurried off to the Mayor, and argued that, after all, the whites also exploded crackers during Christmas. Why then should the Hindus [they asked] not do so during their festivals? Why should they have to take special permission for this purpose? No one seeks such permission during Christmas. "If, in spite of this, you wish to harass Hindus for exploding crackers, we shall also join them in this as a mark of sympathy. You may then arrest anyone that you like."

The matter is not serious and the victory² not much of a triumph. The significance of the event, however, is great. Because we boldly came forward to suffer the consequences of doing what was right, we had, it transpired, nothing to suffer and our self-respect was preserved. This is satyagraha.

Another, more significant, feature of this case is the fact that a Muslim and a Parsi rushed to help in a matter which concerned Hindus alone. The outcome was indeed happy. If the right course is

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", after 18-5-1911.

² The Mayor's decision permitting Hindus to explode crackers during Diwali was publicized through handbills. *Indian Opinion*, 21-10-1911.

followed in one case, it is bound to happen that it will be adopted on other occasions as well. If one knot in a tangled piece of sting can be unravelled, the other too can easily be undone.

How can Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and Christians all be united? Mr. Mahomed and Mr. Rustomjee have provide the answer.

If Muslims come forward to sympathize with Hindus in what concerns the latter alone, if Hindus do the same and if both these communities act in this manner towards Parsis, will there be anyone so bereft of reason as to seek to come in the way of affection developing among them?

Let people's religions be different. You worship a Being—a single Entity—as Allah and another adores Him as Khuda. I worship Him as Ishwar. How does anyone stand to lose [by this arrangement]? You worship facing one way and I worship facing the other. Why should I become your enemy for that reason? We all belong to the human race; we all wear the same skin; we hail from the same land. When the facts are as simple as that, it will be nothing but folly and short-sightedness to bear implacable enmity towards one another.

The moderns make a key which will open many kinds of locks. They call it the “master-key”. Likewise, satyagraha is the master-key to our innumerable hardships. How much could be achieved if only all the Indians would use that key! Satyagraha is not a difficult term to understand. It only means adherence to truth. Whatever else the ethical life may mean, it cannot be ethical if it is not based on truth. Truth is easy enough to follow once we know its meaning.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion , 28-10-1911

64. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

October 29, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You have made yourself an advertising agent for me. You compel people to like me where before they did not. I can only hope that I shall die as you think I am. I have, I think, often told you that no man may be called good before his death. Departure by a hair's breadth from the straight and narrow path may undo the whole of his

past. We have no guide that a man whom we consider to be good is really good except after he is dead.

Mrs. Mayo writes to me about you in most flattering terms. You have found a place in her heart and she in yours. Your reply to her about me is quite characteristic of you. And I feel sure of this much that if I did go to India, I should certainly not surrender an iota of my (our) ideals. But I do not think I am going. I need not therefore detain you on this topic. How I wish I had seen the people whom you describe. Your descriptions would then be more life-like for me. Horhoff has been deducting 10/- per month for a certain tenant he says he has brought in. Did you make any such arrangement with him? Miss Bennett says Horhoff never brought any tenant. I have therefore asked him to refund what he had deducted.

I have not worried about the extracts from the book can't get the time at all.

Albrecht does unthinkingly profess to know more than he does. He has no notion of fence-building. I have been doing it myself for the last five days and I think that I shall be able to finish it myself. Albrecht has a very good eye for straightness. He is still with me and I am doing the work subject to his approval. I can only hope that we all unknowing people will not make a mess of it. Anyhow we are making steady progress.

I may tomorrow accept the tender of Stewarts and Lloyds for a windmill for £72 odd. Kennedy says his is the best tender. I propose shifting one of the tanks. The windmill will draw 400 gallons per hour. Our tanks are, I think, 1,000 gallons each. The overflow water will be allowed to run through the natural gutter on to the present dam. In all this I am being guided by Albrecht. He thinks we ought to make some use of the water we have.

I fear your hope that I should be the first agriculturist on the Farm is a vain hope. I hardly think I can overtake you there. You have, in this matter at any rate, a natural ability that I have not. And I am still hovering about the outskirts of farming. I have not yet really touched and mastered a single tree.

We had a visit from Adams¹ today. He would not get off his cart. He, however, had our coffee.

With you I do not think much of the medical examination by the doctors. You must be the best judge of your system. Loss of

¹ Dr. Adams

weight is of no consequence. I still feel that both morally and physically we are well without salt and the things we have abandoned.

I must now close as I have much more to write and the watch shows already 9 p.m.

Kennedy has not come again.

Gordon, I think I have told you, passed nearly the whole of last week at the Farm. He will come again.

With love to you all,

Yours sincerely,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

65. LETTER TO G.K. GOKHALE

JOHANNESBURG,
October 30, 1911

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I have to thank you for your long cablegram with reference to the Congress Presidentship muddle. I was sorry to hear about your illness. Will you never be able to travel outside India and England? British statesmen do; why cannot Indian statesmen? If you could possibly pay a brief visit to South Africa, it would not be now a question of your courting imprisonment, but it would still serve a double purpose. It would bring the people here nearer to India, and it would give me the privilege of so nursing you as to restore you to health. In my opinion, we have at Tolstoy Farm, as also at Phoenix, convenience enough for patients like you. I am quite sure that I can anticipate Mr. Kallenbach's warm welcome to you at Tolstoy Farm, and, of course Phoenix you could treat as your own home.

The first intimation I had of my name being seriously discussed in connection with the Congress Presidentship was a telegram from the Natal Indian Congress, advising me that it had received an invitation for me to preside at the forthcoming session, and urging me strongly to accept the invitation. My reply¹ was in the negative. I, at the same time, enquired about the name of the sender of the invitation. Much to my surprise, the names sent were those of yourself, the All India Moslem League, Mr. Petit, Mr. Natrajan, Mr. Natesan, Mr. S. Bose and

¹ Not available

Mr. Malviya¹. The inclusion of your name and that of the All-India Moslem League gave the cablegram an importance which made me waver in my decision, and I felt that, if you who knew my views so well also wished me to preside, there must be some special reason for the invitation. The news was received by me at the Farm. I travelled to Johannesburg, and the people at Durban confirmed the telegrams through the telephone and simply insisted upon my accepting the invitation². To them, it was a unique honour to the Indians of South Africa and an equally unique opportunity of bringing the South African Indian case still more prominently to the notice of the Indian public. Had I not been so foolishly egotistical, I should certainly have doubted the correctness of the message that was sent to me from Durban. Before, however, I had had reason to doubt the accuracy of the message, I had allowed the Durban Congress to accept the invitation, but I felt that I should send my own cablegram³ independently to you, which I did. Three or four days later I received from Durban a letter confirming the telegraphic messages, which, however, included a copy of a letter from Reuter, which put a different interpretation upon the cable. It seems to me that, during the time that I was in Cape Town, Mr. Polak, who was in Durban, had arranged for a code address covering the names given above. Advice was evidently given to all these parties of the code address, and Mr. Bose of Calcutta made use of it. In deciphering the cable, therefore, our people at Durban read the cable to mean that it was sent by all the six parties, but Reuter's letter, which was sent to the Congress at the time the code address was registered, shows that the code word might mean, according to circumstances, one or all the names. In this instance, if my interpretation is correct, the code indicator must be read to mean only "Mr.

¹ Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946); "patriarch" of the Indian National Congress; editor of *The Hindustan*, 1887-9, *The Indian Union*, 1889-92 and *The Abhyudaya*, 1907-9; member of Provincial Legislative Assembly, 1902-12, Imperial Legislative Council, 1910-20 and Indian Legislative Assembly, 1924; associated with the Congress since 1886; he was elected President of the 1909 Lahore session and the 1918 Delhi session; Vice-Chancellor from 1919 to 1940, of Benares Hindu University which he had founded in 1916; President Hindu Mahasabha, 1923-5; attended Round Table Conference, London, 1931-2. Gandhiji was his guest on the occasion of the founding of Benares Hindu University, when Malaviya used "lovingly to explain... like an elder brother the various view-points of the different parties". and in 1924, used to read out the Bhagawat to Gandhiji during his 21-day fast.

² *Vide* "Mr. Gandhi and the Indian National Congress", 30-9-1911.

³ Not available

Bose”, as the cablegram was from Calcutta. So reading it, I concluded that the so-called invitation was no invitation at all, but that it was merely an enquiry to know whether the Natal Indian Congress could spare me. Probably, had Mr. Bose known my whereabouts precisely, and that cablegrams addressed to me simply “Gandhi” would reach me, he would have cabled to me, when of course there would have been no fuss, and I should have simply answered that I could not accept the honour; but the mischief has already been done, and the over-enthusiastic people at Durban even authorized Reuter to publish the news. Your cable in reply to my second cable¹, informing me that the decision had yet to be made, confirmed my interpretation of the cable. The rest you know. I can only hope that the decision at Allahabad will be against my nomination². I may receive it tomorrow. This is being dictated on the 29th, Sunday. I could not very well occupy the presidential chair, and conceal the views which I hold so strongly on many questions that are debated year after year at the National Assembly, and I am fully aware that an expression of those views on the Congress platform might not only be unacceptable to our leaders but might even place them in a false position, which I should be the last person to desire to do. I am also aware that my views are likely to be considered immature and based on insufficient data, also that I may myself change them, and, however strongly I may dissent from any of these three propositions, I think that all those who differ from me have a perfect and reasonable right to enunciate them. It seems to me that, just now, I can best serve the cause, that is as dear to me as it is to the Congress, by simply serving the South African Indian cause, and, if an opportunity offers itself of going to India, to serve my countrymen in an independent capacity, if not, unofficially under the guidance of a leader like you, from whom I have derived inspiration. Though our views differ, I know, on many matters, my regard for you and for your character as I have pictured it to myself remains the same as before.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Form a photostat of the typewritten original: G.N. 3804

¹ Not available

² A Reuter message published in *Indian Opinion*, 4-11-1911, said that Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar would be elected President of the Indian National Congress.

66. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Unrevised

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
November 6, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

It is on Sunday night I am writing this thought it is dated for Monday. I am fairly tired and not in the mood to write.

Thank God I am not to preside at the Congress. It would have been a most frightful thing, had I been obliged.

A remarkable incident happened at the Farm during the week. We were making very fair headway with the fence. One day when I was not at that work, Desai came and informed me that someone had torn up the fence. This is the analysis of my mind. The thought could not have occupied more than a second. 'Some evil-minded person has done it. I must inform police.' 'You coward. Your philosophy is skin-deep. No, the police must not be informed either for your or my sake. The fence should be re-put and someone must sleep near it, if necessary.' Thus resolved I went down to the fence myself. I found that the probability was that the fence was torn up by cattle. Anyhow we fixed the poles much more strongly than before. I took with [me] plates and nails to fix on to the poles. No one slept there and there has been no further interruption. The incident, however, touched me deeply and set me thinking as to the right course of conduct. The most prominent idea that forced itself on me was that we, if we were to carry out the ideals we hold were unfit to hold more land than we *actually* used. The corollary is not that we should give up the land (though even that may not be quite so farcical as one may imagine) but that we should fence only so much as we wanted and used and no more. Then we should be able to overtake any damage with much greater ease. I discuss this only to show you how my mind is working and how more and more introspective I am becoming daily. This does not in any way alter my plans during your absence. I shall go through the programme as we have mapped it. Fencing will be finished.

I have accepted the tender of Stewarts and Llyods for £ 72 odd for erecting a windmill. I have described to you the whole thing I think. They will send an erector in the course of the week.

I have also told John that he might buy four oxen for which money will be advanced to him. It may mean £ 30. I feel that it is much better to let the natives feel that here they may depend upon the fairest treatment. And I have no doubt that if it proceeds from the heart and is uniform, continuous and not from affectation, it will bless both the parties. Anyhow just now I am generous as your steward. Of course John has to repay before the year is out. I am letting Basella too do pretty much as he likes. I see that I can get much more satisfactory work that way.

We had a very busy Sunday. A party of 13 came, all but two unexpected. These were Miss Schlesin and Gordon. The others were Indians. Poor Mrs. Gandhi, she may foam and fret afterwards. But just on such occasions she is at her best.

I note that you are seriously affecting the lives of your people there. Your telling me that they love me now more and more flatters me, but it ought not to. They love me as they see me through your glasses. However, of this when we meet.

Of course, you will continue your practice as long as you find it necessary. But I do say that it would be unwise to take precautions beforehand on the basis of Kennedy leaving you for certain. In your place I should simply let the future take care of itself. If you return committed to a definite course, naturally your actions will be in that direction. Whereas if you leave the future in the lap of the gods, you will find your course much smoother and certainly far more natural.

With love to you and all to whom you have introduced me,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

I can report nothing about Call.

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

67. THE £3 TAX¹

Recent events have shown that there is a great deal of confusion in regard to the question of who is liable to pay the £3 tax under Act 17² of 1895. The Law Department seems to have decided that an Indian who has re-indentured or entered into a civil contract of service under the Masters and Servants Act, which he is entitled to do under Clause 3 of Act 19 of 1910, is liable to pay the tax of £3 for the period of his re-indenture or contract of service. The clause in the Act runs:

The payment of arrears of licence money, due under Act No. 17, 1895, by any Indian, shall be suspended during the period of a re-indenture or contract of service for a term of not less than two years, and in the event of his return to India at the expiration of such contract or indenture, payment of arrears shall be waived.

In order to get at the true meaning of this clause, it is necessary to go back a few years. In the year 1905 it was found that a great many ex-indentured Indians were not paying the £3 tax, for the simple reason that they were too poor to do so³. Consequently an Act

¹This article and "A Breach of Faith", pp. 186-7, seem to have been occasioned by the summons served on one Devaragulu, under civil contract with a Durban Indian, for non-payment of arrears due to the £3 tax. When the Magistrate's attention was drawn to Clause 3 of Act 19 of 1910, he suspended the order for payment and adjourned the case *sine die*. Similar summonses had been served on about 21 Indians then under re-indenture. On September 16, 1911, a meeting of Indians held at Parsee Rustomjee's house in Durban formed the Anti-£3 Tax League to fight for repeal of the tax. *Indian Opinion*, 9-9-1911 & 23-9-1911. *Vide* also Appendix "Summary of the Protector's Report", 11-11-1911.

²This was passed soon after Natal became a self-governing colony in 1893; *vide* "Statement Presented to Constitution Committee", 29-5-1906. It did not envisage payment of the £3 tax by women.

³*Vide* "Indentured Indians", 22-4-1905. The hardships of Indians who were obliged to pay the tax came to light from time to time; *vide*, for instance, "The Poll Tax", 17-3-1906. In 1911, at Stanger, a woman hawker was sent to prison for two weeks for failure to pay this tax owing to extreme poverty. *Indian Opinion*, 8-7-1911. The Indian Immigration Law of 1891 fixed the wages of indentured Indians at 16s. per month for the first year, rising to 20s. per month for the fifth year (Vol. I, pp. 215-6), while the wage for a Native worker in the Rand mines about the year 1901 was 45s. per month and Native labour was unobtainable even at that price; Gandhiji had always therefore argued that the Indian labourers' savings from which they paid the tax could not have been very considerable. Maud Polak, in a letter to the Colonial Office (C.O. 477) mentions a Natal planter who testified before a South African Commission that "only 6 per cent. of ex-indentured Indians could afford to pay the £3 tax".

was passed which prohibited any person from employing or letting land to an ex-indentured Indian who could not produce his £3 licence for the current year. A contravention of this Act meant a fine of £5 to the employer. It also provided that an employer could pay the £3 and deduct the amount from the wages of the Indian. In this way it was thought to force the Indians to pay the £3 tax or leave the country. Later on in the same year, another Act was passed which entitled an Indian who was subject to the payment of the tax to re-indenture for a term of not less than two years. This was not possible before. He could also regain the privilege of being sent back to India which he had forfeited by paying the £3 tax. The Prime Minister of Natal, in moving the second reading of this bill, said that

the bill had been brought in so as to enable the Indian who might not be able to pay the £3 tax upon his freedom from indenture to reindenture. There might well be times when an ex-indentured Indian would not be able to pay the £3 tax, and it was only fair that he should be allowed to reindenture. It was not only that the right was given to him to re-indenture, but he would become entitled to the passage back to India, which he would otherwise have forfeited by not availing himself of it at the conclusion of his previous indenture.

So here it is quite clear that it was intended that an Indian who entered into a contract of re-indenture had not to pay the tax. But this inducement was not sufficient. At the end of 1909, the planters were crying out for more Indian labour and the Government of India had threatened to stop immigration to Natal. What was to be done? In the Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. Baynes pointed out that

the £3 residential fee was a severe condition upon Indians, including the poll-tax. It was a fact that the number of Indians leaving the Colony was greater than those coming into it. He thought they should prevent this exodus of labour.

The Colonial Secretary, in moving the second reading of Amendment Bill, stated that

representations had been received both from the Indians themselves and from the magistrates to the effect that the licence of £3 was unable to be paid, and the Government felt that the obligations would be met if the licence were removed so far as Indian women were concerned and that was the object of the present measure. The Indian Immigration Commission had inquired into the matter, and had recommended the course now proposed.

Sir Liege Hulett supported the Bill and said that it was never intended that the £3 tax should apply to women and girls. But, on the motion of Mr. Kirkman, an amendment was passed giving magistrates *discretion* to relieve any Indian women from the payment of licence

money. To the same Bill Mr. Clayton moved a new clause in regard to the payment of arrears, quoted at the commencement of this article, which was passed into law. This law was passed in January, 1910 and in April of the same year a circular¹ was issued from the Colonial Secretary's Office, Maritzburg, printed in English, Hindi and Tamil, to the effect that Indian men and women who should have taken out the £3 licence, but had not done so, could re-indenture for not less than two years or enter into a civil contract for not less than two years, and while under contract or indenture, the licence money would not be claimed, and should they return to India, they would not be made to pay the licence money due².

Reviewing the above facts, it is not possible to come to any other conclusion than that it was never intended that ex-indentured Indians would have to pay the £3 tax during the time of their re-indenture or contract of service. This review is made for the special purpose of clearing up any doubt there may be as to the intention of the legislature regarding the payment of the tax during re-indenture. The tax itself we have always fought against, tooth and nail³, and we shall continue to do so until this pernicious and unjust law is wiped off the Statute-book.

Indian Opinion , 11-11-1911

¹ Vide "The £ 3 Tax Again", 30-4-1910.

² The confusion appears to have been caused by this circular which was sent round among Natal Indians in April, 1910, before the formation of the Union. This emanated from the Colonial Secretary's Office but the Protector's Department provided Hindi and Tamil translations. While Clause 3 of the Act exempted re-indentured Indians from "arrears" of the £3 tax, the English circular mentioned "licence money due" and the translations probably suggested exemption from current payments as well. Aiyer (footnote 2, p.162) brought the issue to the notice of *The Natal Mercury* which, in an article published on November 8, 1911, opposed the interpretation as contained in the circular produced by Aiyer with that of the Union law officers who argued that the interpretation would depend upon the wording of the statute which they held made re-indentured men liable to payment of the current tax. *Indian Opinion*, 11-11-1911.

³ Natal Indians had always objected to the £3 tax on indentured Indians who had become free men on the ground that the tax was not a source of revenue but a measure designed to drive the Indian out after his term of indenture and that it was repugnant to British constitutional traditions. For Gandhiji's views on indenture and the 1895 Bill, vide "Speech at Public Meeting", 26-9-1896. 9.

68. FAMINE IN INDIA

We refer to the famine as “Famine in India” though Gujarat and Kathiawar [alone] are affected. If a part of the body is injured, the whole is injured; in the same way, a famine in Gujarat is a famine in India.

We gather from letters and newspapers from India that this year’s famine will be much worse than any in the past. Men and cattle are both dying off. The last rains, it seems, have failed. One has actually to see the conditions to realize that they are beyond description. Even a day’s starvation makes us irritable. If we do not get the food we are used to, there is no limit to the anger we vent upon the cook or the lady of the house. Suppose, instead, that for eight months we have had almost nothing to eat. The body is reduced to a skeleton. The belly almost touches the back. One can stand up only if helped by someone else. If we can visualize this for ourselves and suppose further that hundreds of thousands are in this state, we shall then have some idea of the conditions that obtain in India.

How can we help? The first way is to restrain our luxurious ways, our pretensions, our pride and our sharp practices and crave God’s forgiveness for the sins we have committed. After this, if we feel that our minds have been purified, we may pray to God for relief for India in this cruelty inflicted on her.

If we proceed in this manner, money can be saved. We can use this money to provide relief to the famine-stricken. We are ready to accept money from those who cannot themselves send it, and to do so on their behalf. Already, we are in correspondence with a generous person who has come forward with the money he is willing to spend for this purpose. The money sent by us we shall pass on to this gentleman or to some public body of standing and publish the receipts.

The important thing is not how to send the money but how to collect it. It is our belief that the money sent by those who have made their minds simple and pure as we have suggested, will bear worthy fruit, as good seeds do; of this there can be no doubt.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-11-1911

69. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
November 11, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

If you still think that you should send my letter about Aylmer Maude to him, you may do so.

I can fully appreciate your difficulties about even keeping to two meals and a saltless and vegetableless diet.

Your experience about your cousin is disconcerting. Your description of it does credit to your heart. You are there in the midst of the subtlest temptation. The people you want to serve may unconsciously be your death-traps. Your very abstemiousness the leaving off of salt, etc., may surround your life with romance and a halo and may then be itself a temptation. Yes, the path of those who want to think and live right is narrow like the edge of a sword. They may not only not swerve an inch from the path, they may not even lift their fixed gaze from their goal. I have seen acrobats rope-walkers in India. They walk on a rope fixed to poles in mid-air quite twenty feet or more from the ground. They walk with a bamboo stretched along their outstretched arms and their gaze steadily in front of the other end. They may not go away a hair's breadth from their path. Well, that of spiritual rope-walkers is a millionfold more difficult. Happily, they have also correspondingly greater strength. You are one of those spiritual rope-walkers. In *The Song Celestial*, Krishna says: "A good man must think of ME (God) performing every function of life." It is too true. When there is no witness, He is the most vigilant and active in noting our lapses if also our merits. Our merits count for nothing. For that is what we owe. Our lapses simply swell the heavy debit side. Beware then; think of the articles of our agreement, and God willing you will be safe. I know that I am addressing myself to a condition which existed one month ago and which, if it is existent at the time I am writing this, may have made a big alteration in your life. But I have very great faith in you enough to know that you cannot fall.

Stewarts and Lloyds have not yet sent the material. They will next week. Fencing is steadily progressing. Desai and Albrecht attend

to it chiefly. Ramdas and another young man go to help. I am engaged in making sandals for the coming Bazaar¹.

The money for the bore-holes is being paid from your account at the Natal Bank. I have paid in all £ 85 yet. They have not served the final account.

The school is going forward but not forward enough to satisfy me chiefly owing to my defects. I am learning. I have not succeeded in drawing the best out of the boys.

With love to you all,

Yours sincerely,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

70. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,

Kartak Vad 5 [November 11, 1911]²

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

As there have been no letters from you, I have not written regularly either. The post has become irregular now; so I put off writing to you whenever there is other important writing to be done.

I am awaiting replies to some my letters.

It is a good thing indeed that the proposal about the Presidentship of the Congress was dropped. I think I wrote to you about the long cable³ I sent to Prof. Gokhale. If I had known that it was only an enquiry from the Calcutta committee, I would have flatly refused regardless of any pressures brought to bear upon me. I would be altogether useless if placed in a position in which I cannot express my views freely.

¹ The Indian Bazaar organised by Mrs. Vogl, who sympathized with the Indian cause and took a keen interest in Indian women. The Bazaar had been held by her in 1910, and in 1911 was inaugurated on November 15 by William Hosken.

² This letter takes the episode of the presidentship of the Indian National Congress further and was thus written in 1911.

³ This is not available; *vide*, however, "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", 22-10-1911.

The Kathiawar famine appears to be a fearful one. I hope you are still firm about wanting to visit the place. You will no doubt help with money but it would be well if, alongside of that, you can explain to the unthinking princes, should you come across any, and to others that the poor are being ruined through the imposition of railways, etc. I feel all the time that what other countries can afford, India cannot. The prosperity of the people does not consist in exports or imports. If we produce what we need and consume it locally, we would be free from famine to that extent.

My little school is expanding gradually. More boys would join if there were no severe regulations regarding diet, etc. I feel [however] we should not relax these regulations. In fact, I do not wish too many boys to join. If they did, my work would greatly increase and I would not be able to that give attention to the boys' character which I should like to.

Bande Mataram From

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5632. Courtesy: C.K. Bhatt

71. ADDRESS TO MRS. VOGL¹

JOHANNESBURG,
[November 15, 1911]

DEAR MRS. VOGL,

It would be ungrateful on our part if we did not give public expression to our feeling of appreciation of the great services rendered by you to the Transvaal Indian Women's Association. This great Bazaar is the coping-stone to the work done by you.

During our darkest hours, when those who were near and dear to

¹This address, signed by fourteen ladies of Johannesburg, was presumably drafted by Gandhiji who "... on behalf of the Indian Women's Association welcomed the guests. He paid meet tribute to the noble work done by Mrs. Vogl and read the following address which he handed to Mr. Hosken for presentation to Mrs. Vogl." Acknowledging the present, Mrs. Vogl said, among other things, that the proceeds (which on December 9, 1911 amounted to £138.10.9 according to *Indian Opinion*, 9-12-1911) would go towards furthering educational work and perpetuating the memory of Nagappen (Vol. IX, pp. 283,299 & 523 and Vol. X, pp. 335 & 338) and Narayansamy (Vol. X, pp. 334,335 & 337-8) "the two heroes who fell in the passive resistance fight" *Indian Opinion*, 25-11-1911.

us were in prison, you and Miss Schlesin, by unremitting zeal, assisted us in no small measure to forget our misery.

You have indeed been a true sister to us, and, so long as the European community contains women like you, we need not despair of seeing the two divisions of the Empire living in peace and friendliness.

We ask you to accept the accompanying¹ as a slight token of our esteem for you.

Indian Opinion, 25-11-1911

72. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
*Kartak Vad 12 [November 17, 1911]*²

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

I have your letter. I was very happy to hear that you and Chhagan did not eat meat on board ship. I believe that your taking him back to India [from England] has been the saving of his life. It would have become difficult to make him give up his Western habits had more time gone by.

There is nothing to be said now about my speech³ in regard to which you expressed your hope. But I am these days in so fiercely earnest a state of mind that I could not have spoken otherwise. That is why I asked for full freedom, should they invite me [to be President]. I can well understand that they cannot grant this. It is just as well that I do not have to go there as President.

That the *Gujarati* has now agreed to publish it has no interest for me. It appears that they have taken it up when it became certain that there was no risk in doing so. I have already written to you at

¹ This was "a beautiful writing-desk" presented to Mrs. Vogl.

² The episode of the presidentship of the Indian National Congress is here narrated to its conclusion. This letter, which is in continuation of Gandhiji's earlier letters to Dr. Mehta, pp. 165-7, 168-71 & 183-4, was clearly therefore written in 1911.

³ Presumably the draft of the Presidential address for the Congress Session. The text of this speech, however, is not available.

length about Manilal.¹

I have also explained to you about Miss Smith.² I have the feeling that she is not a dishonest woman. She keeps to one line. Whatever she sends for *I.O.*, she does out of love. Money is not the consideration at any rate.

Herewith a list of the [printing] types required here. I am unable to pay for them. Neither am I in a position at present to secure the help elsewhere. I am not writing directly to Revashankerbhai about them. You may pass on the list to him and ask him to dispatch the types if you feel that would be all right.

Bande Mataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5633. Courtesy: C. K. Bhatt

73. A BREACH OF FAITH

Apart from the legal effect of the £3 Tax Act, it is necessary to examine the bearing of the circular³ we referred to in these columns last week. There are cases when legal quibbles have to be deliberately set aside. The £3 tax episode is, in our opinion, distinctly such a case. The late Natal Government bound themselves through their circular to exempt the Indians who re-indentured themselves from the payment of the tax altogether. We consider that the English text bears only that construction and no other. But the translations, if anything, are still more binding on the Government in that the people *acted upon them*. The Government must apply the simple rule of interpretation, viz., the meaning of the circular is the meaning that the men concerned reasonably gave to it. Now there can be no doubt whatsoever as to what meaning the men gave. So much for the circular and its effect.

The Union Government are using the force of the tyrant in seeking to interpret and enforce the Act in question in defiance of the circular. We contend that the Acts of the late Government are binding on them, if they are to retain the respect of the inhabitants of South Africa, no matter whether they are poor Indians or highly placed

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", 22-10-1911.

² *Vide* "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", 22-10-1911.

³ *Vide* "The £3 Tax", 11-11-1911.

Europeans. It is a distinct breach of faith for them to override the circular and now want to exact £3 per year from the poor, deluded re-indentured men. Our appeal to the present members of the Ministry is, perhaps, specially appropriate. They insisted on and succeeded in getting accepted the interpretation¹ of the Vereeniging Treaty which they, the weaker party, placed upon it. Let General Botha beware lest, in the hour of triumph², he forget the lesson of the past and now steam-roller poor, ignorant men into subjection.

Indian Opinion , 18-11-1911

74. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
November 19, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You will be pleased to hear that Call is now at the Farm. I went over to Pretoria to fetch him. He is looking fit and well. He was overjoyed to be discharged from the asylum which he did not like at all. He has been discharged only provisionally. I have signed a paper undertaking to look after him and to produce a medical certificate at a later date as to his sanity. His memory is certainly weak but he is not insane in any shape or form. I am giving him your felt mat and your blankets. He is using bed-sheets. I propose to keep him with me during all the Farm week. We sawed wood together this morning. Gordon has come to see Call. I feel somewhat angry with myself. I should have gone to Pretoria earlier. In that case probably Call would

¹ The reference is to the Boers' insistence, after the War, on their right to interpret the word "Native" in clause 8 of the Vereeniging Treaty so as to deny the franchise to the Indians. At that time Lord Milner allowed the Boers thus to interpret the clause which, however, only put off "the question of granting the franchise to Natives" "until after the introduction of self-government"; but Indians were willing to forgo the right of political franchise as well ; *vide* "Petition to Natal Legislature", 10-6-1903, "Statement Presented to Constitution Committee", 29-5-1906, "Letter to *The Outlook*" and "London", 27-8-1909.

² Botha's hour of triumph is a reference to how, within five years' of losing the Boer War, the Dutch, under the Het Volk, had won the peace. As Gandhiji put it at the time (Vol. VI, pp. 343-4 & 357-8), "in defeat, the Dutch had truly won". Also, they were able subsequently to turn the Union of 1909 to their advantage, that is, to promote the interests of the Dutch language and those of the poor among themselves.

have come to the Farm earlier. As it is, he wrote to the Lapins who telephoned to me. Hence his discharge.

Stewarts & Lloyds' man comes tomorrow (Monday) to erect the windmill. John has now got 4 oxen. I have to pay £ 32 for them and a plough.

I am surprised to learn that you did not receive any letter during the week you wrote your last letter. I have never failed and hope not to in future so long as you are away.

I am glad to have the news about your niece. Nevertheless my remarks of last week are not without their use.

The fence is all but complete. I am not satisfied with the way in which the gate has been fixed. I do not know the thing and Albrecht in my opinion has made a mess of it. Poor man, he worked at it 3 days. He will work again at it. Only 500 yards are now left.

The Bazaar went off very nicely.¹ The Mayor and the Town Clerk were present. Nearly £ 100 profits were made; no raffle was permitted.

I fear that we shall not have much fruit this time in our garden. This is due to want of rain. And I was not able to water the trees.

Lapin felt disappointed over not hearing from you at all after you left Maderia.

I hope that you have been writing to your brother here.

I think that your letter to Mrs. Ritch was very good.

With love to you all,

Yours sincerely,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ On November 15.

75. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

Friday night [November 24, 1911]¹

MY DEAR WEST,

Your letter could not have shaken me more severely than if you had informed me of some serious personal loss. My consolation is that the news may be totally unfounded. I have so much faith in his probity and general purity that I shall continue to disbelieve the charges, so long as I have not your definite judgment. At first I thought I should write to him but I think I shall assist your investigation by not writing so long as he does not mention the matter.

Your sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4414. Courtesy: A. H. West

76. AN UNFORTUNATE ANSWER

Mr. Harcourt's reply on the £3 tax question is most unfortunate². If it represents the settled policy of the Union Government, they are in for a big battle, not of words but of action. The free Indians owe it as a duty to themselves and to their poor brethren to act so as to secure repeal of the obnoxious levy. With the stoppage of the introduction of indentured labour from India the last vestige of justification for the levy ceases. The Imperial Government cannot so easily be allowed to shirk their obvious duty. If the levy is wrong, neither the Royal sanction nor the determination of the Union Government can make it right. The sooner the Natal Indian Congress makes the position clear as to the steps to be taken by the Indian community the better it will be for all concerned. The iniquitous tax must be removed at any cost.

Indian Opinion, 25-11-1911

¹This was written about the same time as the letter to West (pp. 190-1) where internal evidence helps to fix the date more firmly. From the subject-matter it is clear that this was the earlier of the two letters and the Friday preceding was November 24.

²In answer to a question by sir. W. J. Bull, Lewis Harcourt replied in the Imperial Parliament "that the legislation had been passed with the full knowledge of the Indian and Imperial Governments". He added that, while immigration of indentured Indians to Natal had ceased, the South African Government was not prepared to repeal the £3 tax. *Indian Opinion*, 18-11-1911.

77. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

November 26, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Today is Sunday. I came into Town last night as I have to go with Cachalia today to Krugersdorp to make collections for the Polak deputation.¹

Call too is in Town. He came in yesterday morning. Call will not stay long at the Farm I fear. He does not like anybody on the Farm except myself. He cannot bear the sight of children (Indian). He considers that no one on the Farm knows how to eat, sit, walk, run or stand. The slightest thing upsets and irritates him. I do not let the children go near him. When he eats, the children are not to be near him. He has the kitchen verandah all to himself. I have withdrawn the night school from the school room and it is held in the kitchen room. Special food has been brought for him. Of course the above condition shows disease. He tells me these things quite freely. I am now seeing whether Call could be placed elsewhere. If he had all the conditions agreeable to him, he is likely to recover quickly. Beyond good, non-stimulating food, fresh air and good surroundings, he needs nothing more. Call's condition shows how bad we must all be. Call's bad points come to the surface because the poor man has lost control over himself. But Call at his worst seems to be an angel and certainly a good man compared to what we should be if we lost control over ourselves and the worst in us had full play. The inner man must be in harmony with the outer. We ought to be able to think and feel as we act. That is, if I act politely towards you, I ought to feel that also. Do I always think and feel well of people when I act well with them? I am afraid it is not always thus. To that extent that I fail, I am a liar. And yet I must not act otherwise. I must continually try to eradicate feelings and thoughts which are contrary to my actions as they ought to be. Then I should be a wholly truthful man. May you and I have the privilege of becoming such men. I am full of thoughts on this matter which if I had the time I should put down in this letter but I must close.

Your remarks on your niece are good.

¹ Vide "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", 8-5-1911.

The windmill was finished on Friday. We shall begin to draw water from Tuesday probably. Call may lay the piping. He has offered to do so and if he is well, I shall let him.

With love to you all,

Yours sincerely,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

78. LETTER TO A.H. WEST

M.K. GANDHI
ATTORNEY

21-24 COURT CHAMBERS,
CORNER RISSIK & ANDERSON STREETS,
P.O. BOX 6522, JOHANNESBURG,
November 27, 1911

MY DEAR WEST,

An otherwise excellent number has been spoilt today by the letter-press on the supplement. It looks altogether too bad to describe the Mayor, Mayoress, etc., as being next to me. It looks very inappropriate, and Mrs. Vogl, who was the centre of the show, ought undoubtedly to have been mentioned. I don't know whether Miss Schlesin wrote to you, but I told her she should ask you to insert all the names.¹

With reference to the £ 3 tax, the first step to take is not to advice the men to refuse to pay the tax, but for the Congress to send a petition to the Prime Minister, signed by all the Indians in Natal- say 15,000 signatures. There should be a mass meeting held. The Congress should then ask the Indians in the other Provinces to support. We must then await the reply from the Prime Minister. Then there should be a petition to Parliament next year, and, if Parliament rejects the petition, there should be an appeal to the Imperial Government by the Congress aided by the other Associations in South Africa. Finally the refusal to pay the tax! Then, undoubtedly, the Congress should undertake to feed the wives and families of those who may be imprisoned. The men would undoubtedly go to goal, if there is a body of earnest workers. For this purpose, either you will have to be in Durban

¹ Vide also "Krugersdorp Agitators", 3-6-1911 and "Letter to Ratan J. Tata", 1-4-1912 and "Mrs. Vogl's Bazaar", 22-6-1912.

continuously, or someone else will. The thing cannot be taken up haphazard. If the men were asked to go to goal today, I do not think you would find anybody taking up the suggestion, but if the preliminary steps as described above, are taken, by the time a final reply is received the men will have been thoroughly prepared to face the music. I know, too, that the thing is quite capable of being done, but one man at least must be prepared to devote the whole of his time to the matter.

If it were a question of deciding whose word was to be accepted, I should any day prefer Thakar's to Virji's. However, I have written to Virji, and there may be letter waiting for me at the Farm.

Thinking over the teachers for Campbell's¹ Estate, I think it might be as well for you to tell Campbell that you would want three or four months' notice to supply him with a teacher. He should also give you the salary he is likely to offer. For Hindi we might spare a Gujarati man from Phoenix. The experiment will be so valuable, that we might lend the services of one reliable man and, for a good Tamil teacher, we might have to import a good man from India.

I am glad you were present at the function to Hosken & Co., and that you subsequently drove with Hosken. He is, you must have noticed, a very frank and enthusiastic man. I hope he will visit you at Phoenix. Who drew up the address to Hosken and the others?

I consider Lutchman Panday's suggestion to be quite impracticable. There are not sufficient workers to form an Association of the kind he suggests, nor is the movement of Indians in the different Provinces so unhampered as to allow of such an Association doing useful work.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

From a copy: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ Marshall Campbell, Chairman, Board of Directors, Natal Estates, Lt

79. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

Magshar Sud 6 [November 27, 1911]¹

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your letter. I had asked you what faults Mr. Sam² had found with the Farm but you have forgotten to answer.

There is no need at all to worry about my health. As my hair is [cut] very short, you felt that I was in bad health. It doesn't ever happen that I go to sleep at midnight and get up at three. Mostly I go to bed at 11 and get up by about 5.30 or 6. There is nothing extraordinary about this. You ought therefore to be free of worry on my score. I still believe that I can work longer than any of you. It may be that I can't stay up late. The lady beside me is the Mayor's wife.³

Even before you thought of the matter, it had occurred to me that if you could free yourself from there you . . . December . . .⁴

About £150 must have been realized at the Bazaar. After deducting expenses, there will be a net collection of £100.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I shall send a reply⁵ to Mr. Chamney's letter.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 98 Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

¹ The Bazaar referred to in the letter is Mrs. Vogl's Indian Bazaar which was inaugurated by William Hosken on November 15, 1911.

² "Sam" was Govindaswami, a machine foreman in the International Printing Press at Phoenix and a shikari.

³ This is presumably a reference to a photograph taken at Mrs. Vogl's Bazaar. *Indian Opinion*, 25-11-1911, mentions that the Mayor was present.

⁴ Two pages missing here

⁵ Not available

80. FRAGMENT OF LETTER

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,

[After November 27, 1911]¹

. . . has become self-seeking. Our teachers have brought us down through unworthy education. Or, rather, it is wrong to say this. As we are, so are our teachers. Our priests are *Maheshvaras*² or *Harajivans*³ only in name. As for knowledge of *Brahman*⁴, they are not familiar even with the A B C of it. We don't ask for much; what then, can we expect? God is the Supreme *atman*. The *atman* exists. *Moksha*⁵ is possible for it. The ideas of *Papa*⁶ and *punya* are true. Deliverance is possible even at the end of the present life. Once we are firmly convinced of this, we must take up the quest. There is no reason whatever to believe that anything is right just because it is an established practice or because it was done by our elders. Such an attitude is in conflict with belief in the freedom of the soul. There is much that is good in the old. However, just as there is smoke wherever there is fire, the good in the old is [inevitably] mixed with other things not as good. Wisdom consists in distinguishing between the two and drawing out the essential.

The letter⁷ that Cordes has written . . .

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5665. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

¹ As the last incomplete line in this fragment suggests, the thoughts in this letter appear to have been inspired by a letter from Cordes (Appendix X) at Madras. Gandhiji had earlier attempted to wean him from Theosophy, ("Letter to Dr. Pranjivan mehta", p. 65) but unsuccessfully as would appear from Cordes's letter which sounds like a friendly farewell note. The Trust Deed which his letter enclosed was signed and witnessed by Cordes on November 12. Assuming 15 days for the post from Madras to reach South Africa, this letter by Gandhiji, which is possibly addressed to someone in the Phoenix Settlement, of which Cordes had earlier been a member, must have been written some time after November 27, 1911.

² Literally, "the Supreme God", a name of Shiva, the God of austerity and self-mastery in the Hindu Trinity

³ Literally, "One who lives in Hara", i.e., in Shiva

⁴ The Absolute

⁵ Deliverance from phenomenal existence

⁶ Sinful action, resulting in degradation and punishment

⁷ Vide Appendix "Cordes's Letter to Gandhiji", 12-11-1911.

81. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

Tuesday [November 28, 1911]¹

MY DEAR WEST,

Your letter requires a long reply. But I cannot deal with all the points just[yet]. I was not in Town yesterday. Got your letter only last night.

My own opinion is unformed. Appearances are all against . . . and so is his letter to me. And yet the thing seems to me to be unbelievable. I do not believe in the innocence of the girls. If . . . did it, they knew that it was wrong. The excessive tickling betrays a corrupt mind—it may be unconsciously. If . . . has done it he has meant no mischief. I should not consider the offence itself of a very serious nature but his hiding the guilt is certainly serious. I do not make light of the offence. What I say is that concealment is more serious. I have written to him in this light.

Manilal is a lad. He must obey. He ought therefore to stay even unwillingly.

Anandlal will leave here at the latest on Saturday. He will take in H'Burg and standerton on his way. I suggested to him that he should be there on the 1st of January at the latest. He seems to have done well here. He has not stayed beyond a day at the Farm. There is no doubt that he likes collecting.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

¹As this letter appears to have been sent from Tolstoy Farm, it could only have been written between July 20, 1911, when Anandlal Gandhi arrived in South Africa ("Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", p. 129) and about the middle of January, 1913 when Gandhiji shifted to Phoenix. The only references to any "collection" tours by Anandlal Gandhi during this period occur in the Gujarati section of *Indian Opinion*, 25-11-1911 & 9-12-1912-11. The first mentions that Anandlal has left on a collection tour and the second, which is an extract from a longer item written on December 3, adds that Anandlal Gandhi joined others at Boksburg for collecting subscriptions for the Indian famine fund. The reference to the famine (cited already in letters to Dr. Mehta, pp. 161, 166 & 183) confirms that this letter belongs to 1911. Writing on a Tuesday Gandhiji says that "Anandlal will leave here at the latest on Saturday" and promises to post some Gujarati articles for *Indian Opinion* "on Wednesday". It is reasonable to assume, on the authority of the news-items, that the letter was written between November 25 and December 3, and the only Tuesday between the two dates is November 28. We learn from the second news-item that Anandlal Gandhi actually left on the morning of the 3rd, that is, a Sunday.

[PS.]

Your analysis of the evidence is splendid. You are an eternal demonstration to me that sound judgments do not come out of book knowledge but native wit and possession of ordinary virtue.

Please tell Thakar I want to send two short leaders or some-thing like that for Gujarati. This I may post on Wednesday.

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4415. Courtesy: A. H. West

82. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

Magshar Sud 8 [November 29, 1911]¹

DEAR SHRI RAOJIBHAI,

I have your letter. I gather from it that you want to work in Phoenix. It is a good idea. I shall encourage you, but I doubt if you can stand the strain. In Phoenix

1. you will have to observe *brahmacharya*;
2. you will be under a vow of scrupulous regard for truth;
3. you will have to do chiefly manual labour, that is, work with the hoe and the shovel;
4. if you intend to add to [your] book-learning, please forget all about it. Whatever addition comes naturally of because circumstances demand it will be welcome;
5. you should make up your mind that our duty is to strengthen character rather than acquire book-learning;
6. you should fearlessly oppose injustice from the caste or the family;
7. you should embrace absolute poverty.

You should think of joining Phoenix only if you would and can do this. You should tell yourself that life there will grow harder as the days pass and know that this is for your good.

Learn to think along these lines if you decide to come over in March. Continue to write to me.

With due regards from

MOHANDAS

From *Gandhijini Sadhana* (Gujarati): Raojibhai Patel; Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad; 1939

¹ Raojibhai Patel, says in his book that the letter was written in 1911. The letter itself offers no internal evidence.

83. AN ATTACK ON ASIATIC MORALS

We reproduced last week the full text of a leading article in *The Transvaal Leader* on the so-called Asiatic invasion of Boksburg in the form of the opening by Mr. Bhyat of a store in that town. The *Leader* of Mr. Cartwright's time is not the *Leader* of today. It would be difficult to find anything so virulent and offensive to Asiatics as the article in question. In the opinion of its writer,

the Asiatic trader casts his sinister shadow, and, with his primitive mode of existence, his complete indifference to the simplest amenities of life, his Oriental ingenuity and his inferior standard of civilization menaces the future of the European shopkeeper.

In another place, the writer considers Oriental civilization to be on a "much lower grade". Then, again,

the European trader cannot much longer keep up the fight against the commercial wiles and the social iniquities of the inscrutable coolie.

The article ends with the desire

to protect the European from the unfair competition of the coolie who in so many towns of the Union has established himself at every street-corner, bringing with him the unfamiliar habits and dress of Asia.

In the extracts we have quoted, the reader will not fail to notice how Asiatic morals have been attacked, how their habits and mode of life decried, and how unfavourably the Asiatic civilization has been compared with the European. The ignorant writer has not hesitated to use the word "coolie" in writing of Asiatic traders. We are, however, not disposed to quarrel with the writer either for his ignorance or for his sentiments. The very civilization he represents makes for ignorance, inasmuch as its exacting demands upon the frail physical frame render it well-nigh impossible for any dweller therein to have any but a most superficial knowledge of things in general, and, as those nurtured in it are continuously taught to consider that civilization to be the best, naturally one is prone to look down upon anything that does not satisfy its arbitrary standard. And so we find that the writer looks down upon the Asiatic trader with contempt, because he is "indifferent to the simplest amenities of life". The Founder of Christianity showed much greater indifference to these amenities and his mode of existence was infinitely more primitive than that of the Asiatic trader, and yet we are quite certain that the writer never intended to

cast any reflection upon Jesus.

The question, therefore, that we have to address ourselves to is not whether to placate men of the writer's stamp (and, after all, they represent undoubtedly the majority of the Europeans in South Africa), but whether we must alter our simple mode of life and take over what we consider to be the vices of modern life, in order to retain our foothold in their country. Those who have done so know to their cost that they have not, on that account, been able to make themselves more acceptable. Their Asiatic origin is still their sufficient condemnation. The two systems are struggling to live side by side in South Africa. The experiment is interesting. We can only hope that, if the Asiatic has faith in himself and in his civilization, he will not lower the latter, and we doubt not that that which has stood the test of ages will come out scatheless in the test it is now undergoing in this sub-continent. But the handful of Asiatics in South Africa have to remember that, if they do not want to disgrace the country of their origin or their system of life, they must thoroughly represent it, and not present a parody of it. They must live up to the moral code that has been handed down to them for ages past. With them, honesty is not merely the best policy, and on that account only to be observed when it is profitable, but it must be adhered to at all cost and in all circumstances. With them, might is not right, but right is always might. They can have nothing to do with the doctrine of the survival of the fittest! They have to live and let live. If they catch the modern craze for competition and adopt the characteristically grasping nature of this vaunted civilization, they will certainly go under.

Indian Opinion , 2-12-1911

84. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

December 3, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Today is Sunday, Gordon is here. He is keeping well. His farm is still unsold.

Your brother is to be married today. He sent me the invitation. I wrote wishing them a happy life. He invited Call to stay for a few days at his house and to look after it while he was away. Call left the Farm yesterday. He is still unhinged. He likes no one at the Farm. He said if it was a matter of choice, he would prefer the asylum to the Farm. I let

him do pretty much as he liked even to the extent of spiring leather. He took it into his head to make for himself a pair of sandals. He made a horrible pair. He is never of the same mind for two minutes. Of course I shall watch him wherever he is. How nice it would have been if you had been here. He likes you immensely. He thinks that you are his only great friend. I am trying to get compensation for him from the company. He has been offered £3-2-6 per weeks. I am still in correspondence with the manager.

The windmill is working. The wheel does not turn the whole day long. Naturally, therefore, we do not get 9,000 gallons of water per day. The water is allowed to run into the dam but it has not reached there yet. I might lay the pipes as far, I shall go slowly.

£ 100 were cabled to you last week. You had written to Kennedy who was then in Durban. Miss Friedman asked me and I drew a cheque for £ 100 and the manager cabled transfer of £ 100 to the Bank there.

I am certainly sorry that you are considering commercial propositions. You have not gone to Europe for *that purpose*. We did discuss these matters here and you seemed to think that you would clear off the bond from the property itself. He who would be good and do good must have patience. As in diseases so in other matters we must let Nature have her course. Our business difficulties are also a variety of disease — mental, it is true. And we may no more suppress these diseases without suffering from other eruptions than we may physical diseases without their breaking out in another form. We have to eradicate them and there is only one way of doing so. I agree with your analysis of Fisher Unwin. I too met him when I was last there. You had introduced me to the Daniels in your previous letters.

If Kennedy is at the office tomorrow, I shall discuss with him the question of your staying longer and if he is agreeable I shall cable. I am anxious that you should stay for your pleasure, it may be ever so subtle. The condition also should be that you are to stay only with Mrs. Mayo or return. Germany is certainly not now the place for you. We are not intended to *seek* temptation. We can resist it only when it forces itself on our attention.

Did I tell you that the boys had left off the saltless diet? I noticed that they were getting tired. So at present only Medh, to an extent Mrs. Gandhi, and I are saltless. With me it seems to have come

to stay. Even with the simplest diet it is possible to overeat than under-eat. Why then need we multiply dishes?

We had fair rains of late. We are therefore having a good crop of apricots. And so we have the eternal stew.

You want me to discuss with you the Indian tour. It is probably as well not to go. Personally I think that it is time for you to return. But you are the best judge. If, therefore, you wish to stay on and that at Aberdeen, you may do so if Kennedy is agreeable. Please do not mind me. It is no trouble to me to look after things here. At present, it is Miss Schlesin who looks after them. I simply sign and endorse cheques.

There are now 15 boys at the Farm. Some of them are very good but I am not satisfied with one or two of them. I could not reject them as they accepted the conditions on the Farm.

With love to you all,

Yours sincerely,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

85. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

M.K. GANDHI
ATTORNEY

21-24 COURT CHAMBERS,
CORNER RISSIK & ANDERSON STREETS,
P.O. BOX 6522, JOHANNESBURG,
December 4, 1911

MY DEAR WEST,

I have your letter. I return the Aiyar¹ correspondence for you to file there. I do not want to keep it here. At the same time, I do not wish to destroy it.

Your report on Eastern Vlei is very good. I certainly think that we ought to take notice of the Henwood case. Even if the man was a thief, it was nothing short of persecution; and, if you do not consider the thing to be stale now, you should still punish it. When the man has

¹ P.S. Aiyar, owner and editor of The African Chronicle published from Durban: Honorary Secretary of the Anti-£3 Tax League formed in September 1911

finished his sentence, he may be interviewed and more may be published, but the case should be followed up. Indeed, it would be well to post up somebody in order to meet him upon his discharge. So far as I am aware, Magistrate's notes can certainly be seen as a matter of right by interested parties.

I intended to write to Khan asking him to waive his fees about Muthuswamy because the amount has to come out of passive resistance funds, but I thought that I should ask you whether I should do so before writing the letter. This I forgot to do. Shall I now write or do you think that the amount should be paid without more ado?

With reference to the supplement, if the dog were in the centre, I think that your remarks would have been justified. As it is, the dog in the present instance was not sitting in the centre, but Mr. Hosken was, and, if you had said 'Mr. Hosken is in the centre with Mrs. Ellis to his right' and so on, it would have been all right. No one can be held responsible not even the photograph for the arrangement of those who sat for the group. I went there at the last moment, and, so many important persons having come in, I hardly think that Mrs. Vogl also could control the thing. Without giving the official designations, the names could have been printed. But, of course, you could not reason this way, not having seen the Bazaar and not having been intimately connected with the work. But I do say that you should have seen the impropriety of introducing the chief members of the group through me.¹

I consider you to be entirely capable of handling the £ 3 tax business, but I am not just now in a position to feel the pulse of the community there. Whether, therefore, they would rise to the occasion or not is entirely for you to judge. You should, therefore, discuss the thing freely with them, tell them that you would be prepared to stay for a month in Durban and work the thing up, if they want you to do so. But, of course, after having gone into it, it would not do for you to limit yourself in any way. You will have either to do or die. You may stay in Durban for a month less or more. I personally cannot set any limit to work and say, 'All right, work for a month, and then things may be left to take their course'. That could be done, if I were managing the thing, but, in this instance, if the thing is to be done at all, I want you to become the initiator and organizer. Your responsibility will, therefore, be towards yourself and your God. If I felt like

¹ Vide also "For Satyagrahis", 27-5-1911.

being free to head the movement, I should plunge without a moment's hesitation. But just now, I am not in that condition at all. I shall certainly criticize you freely, and watch the working, and give advice. More I cannot do. So that you must count the cost before embarking on the enterprise. You should also take care that you do not in any way clash with what Aiyar is doing. I have now learnt something about Munroe. I have distrusted the agitation from the commencement, that is, I have not been able to consider it to be unselfish. Apart from this question, if it is necessary for you to stay in Durban with the family for a month, of course you should do it, looking to me for the deficit for that month's expenses.

I should like to see the text of this address to Hosken. Was it so long-winded as suggested by Aiyar? You will do what you think is proper regarding Jamni. Anandlal has commenced collections¹. I share the view you have expressed about him. If Manilal is not to come during the month, you will have to get him to cheerfully reconcile himself to the delay. The coming here is with him on the brain now, and I do not wish to discourage him at all. I do not know what is going to happen to him or to any of us in March. If you detain him there, let him realize that he should put the exigencies of the work there before his inclination and take pleasure in the thought. I shall go through the essay you have sent, and we shall certainly publish it if the ideas are at all acceptable. You may nurse the lad, even while he is out of Phoenix.

Yours sincerely,

M.K. GANDHI

From a copy: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

86. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

December 7, 1911

DEAR MR. LANE,

I promised when I saw General Smuts last in Johannesburg that I would submit my views as to how the terms of the settlement could be satisfied. General Smuts asked me to submit my views when he thought there might be difficulty in passing legislation applying to

¹ viz subscriptions for the Indian Famine Relief Fund; *vide* "Famine in India", 11-11-1911 and "Famine in India", 9-12-1911.

South Africa, in view of the resolution¹ of the Imperial Conference. I have studied the proceedings and it seems to me that the resolution does not affect the question. It seems to cover only alien immigration.

Anyhow, it seems to me that, if general legislation cannot be passed, the Transvaal Immigration Act should be amended along the lines suggested by me in Cape Town. You have the text of my draft². I find it difficult to improve upon it, and I confess that I see no constitutional difficulty in the way of the suggestion being carried out.

*I am,
Yours sincerely,*

E. F. C. LANE, ESQ.
PRETORIA

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5595

87. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

M.K. GANDHI
Attorney

21-24 COURT CHAMBERS,
CORNER RISSIK & ANDERSON STREETS,
P.O. BOX 6522, JOHANNESBURG,
December 8, 1911

MY DEAR WEST,

In the papers I am sending today you will find interesting correspondence regarding the £3 tax. Here is work for you. Can you, and will anyone assist you, to collect statistics showing in what cases the tax has been remitted?³ Is it possible also to find out all the serious cases in which remission has not been granted? The more statistics we can give the earlier will be the repeal of the tax. It seems to me that it is possible perhaps to get Europeans in Natal to sign a petition for its

¹ The Imperial Conference which met in London on the afternoon of June 19 passed two resolutions. The first called for "greater uniformity in Imperial legislation concerning immigration and the exclusion of aliens". Sir Joseph Ward's resolution asking for more powers to regulate British and foreign shipping "which was really connected with his recent attempt to penalize vessels with Lascars in their crews" was lost. *Indian Opinion*, 22-7-1911. *Vide* also Appendix "Lord Crewe's Speech on Indians in Dominions at Imperial Conference", 19-6-1911.

² *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", 7-4-1911.

³ *Vide* "The Iniquitous Tax", 16-12-1911.

repeal, and, if we can get an influentially signed document, we can certainly bring about repeal during the forthcoming session without resort to passive resistance.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

[PS.]

The full text of the Germiston Judgment herewith should be reproduced.

From a copy: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

88. *LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE*

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
December 8, 1911

DEAR PROF. GOKHALE,

It pains me to think that you had to dictate, ill though you were, that long letter of the 3rd Nov. last. I can quite understand what worry that wretched cable of Reuter's must have caused you.¹ Pray pardon me. It would have been a tragedy, if through any sense of false feeling for me after the publication of the cable, I had been nominated. I need hardly assure you that the discussion there in the Press has not worried or affected me in the least degree.

I saw in your letter to Mr. Ritch reference to your daughter's illness. I hope that she has entirely recovered.

Mr. Polak is with you. I need not therefore say anything about the situation here. I only hope that a resolution about the entire stoppage of indentured labour to any part of the world will have been carried.²

May I repeat my invitation to visit S. A. and that at the earliest moment for the sake of your health and of those who love you and who wish to see you live yet for many a year in full possession of your health both bodily and mental? What a nice thing it would be if

¹*Vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", 30-10-1911.

²*Vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", 24-10-1911. This resolution was passed at the session of the Indian National Congress which concluded on December 28, 1911. *Indian Opinion*, 6-1-1912.

you could come with the Polaks—earlier by all means if possible. Do please decide to come.

I am,
Your sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 3805

89. MIXED SCHOOLS AND MORALS

We gladly make room for Mrs. Wybergh's spirited contribution¹ to the *Worker* on the question of mixed schools. The matter was taken up by *The Transvaal Leader*, and the Education Board has invited Mrs. Wybergh to prove her charges. This Mrs. Wybergh has offered to do if her informants, who are teachers, are fully protected. There is some hesitation on the part of the Board to give the full protection she naturally asks for. We are not just now concerned whether Mrs. Wybergh furnishes the Board with proofs in her possession. What we wish to place on record is the fact that *The Transvaal Leader* and practically the whole of the Johannesburg Press suggest that the system of mixed schools should come to an end, especially for grown-up boys and girls. It seems to have been taken for granted that, in substance, Mrs. Wybergh's indictment is true.

"Rest and be thankful" was Lord John Russell's motto. We admire the wisdom of those Indian parents who instinctively recoiled from the stupid experiments that the Natal Education Department wished to try among us of mixing boys and girls. This is essentially an age of innovations and rash experiments. Movement is mistaken for progress. So long as you move, it does not matter whether you are moving backward or forward. The existing order of things must be bad and must, therefore, be improved, says the zealous reformer. "Hasten slowly" should be the motto of the real reformer. Mrs.

¹In her article, Mrs. Wybergh had said that, whereas in London co-education had been dropped as its wrongly conceived ideals had tended to exaggerate instead of equalizing sex-differences, in Johannesburg it had been adopted merely to save the expense of separate school buildings for boys and girls. She charged that no care had been taken "to guard against the great and obvious dangers". The results of the system were such that she could not record them without rendering herself liable to prosecution. The parents seemed to be ignorant of this but conscientious school-teachers were at their wits' end. *Indian Opinion*, 9-12-1911.

Wybergh's revelations show clearly that we must be most careful before we uproot systems or customs that have been handed down for generations, unless we *know* them to be immoral.

Indian Opinion , 9-12-1911

90. FAMINE IN INDIA

We have started a Famine Relief Fund.¹ Mr. Gajjar has made a beginning. We have had several letters from which we learn that a number of Indians are willing to take on [the task of] going round for collections. This is our brief appeal to those who have realized how dreadful the famine is.

Please do not turn away those collecting contributions, saying that you have already paid towards many funds. Do not hesitate to send your contribution directly either. Those who have money have to contribute towards a variety of funds, but there can be no comparison between a famine Fund and other funds. To this Fund, even the poorest Indian can contribute. One who lives on coarse *roti* and ghee may go without ghee for a time and pay the money thus saved into the Famine Relief Fund. Such a one should bear in mind that while he gets at least millet *roti* and ghee, people in the famine areas do not get even *roti*. There is no fodder for cattle and both human beings and cattle have been reduced to skeletons. If this is realized by everyone, there is no Indian who cannot make a contribution, however small.

We admit that there is no charity like that which one dispenses directly, where one can see it being use. This is what people do in our country wherever they have not been caught in the wind from the West. The villager gives in charity after the fashion of the village. He shares his food with any poor person who may call at his home. He does not even dream of being able to help those whom he cannot see. He knows that even to think of it is pride and is like claiming to be God.

But we have been caught in the wind from the West. It is this which has brought us to this land. If people suffer overmuch during a famine, it is due to the Western atmosphere. What is our duty at a time like this? Our foremost duty is to quit this monstrous atmosphere here and rush to the side of the famine-stricken, to live as they do and take

¹*Vide* "Famine in India", 11-11-1911.

them along the right path. We may be inclined to do all this, but perhaps lack the requisite strength. A man like Vibhishana¹ had to endure the monstrous atmosphere for a long time; what strength have we before him? There may be others, moreover, who do not feel this way and do not even want to get away from here. It is essential that both these types of people must send as much help as they can to the famine-stricken.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-12-1911

91. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
*Magshar Vad 4 [December 9, 1911]*²

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I was not in the least worried about the matter. I don't blame you or anyone else for the thing. Everyone makes such a mistake. The magistrate in alliance with a lawyer—and a veritable rogue to boot! So what else could be expected? Both want to make money, and quickly. Personally I think, there has been no libel,³ legally speaking. If the nominal lapse is an offence, they may have £1 as fine. Even this should not be necessary, however.

If the magistrate and the lawyer take it into their heads to ruin us, the case may perhaps go to a court. Never mind if it does.

It is not things like this that keep back people from going to the help of the poor; it is their money. When we do not spend the money on ourselves, why should we mind its loss through such chances? It is occasions like this which test our worth. It would be Satanic to believe, with our money safe, that we have obliged the person concerned. Why

¹ The virtuous brother of Ravana. He tried long and hard to convert Ravana but, failing in his attempts, went over to Rama before the great battle began.

² This letter appears to be sequel to that written to Chhaganlal Gandhi about September 28, 1911, and was presumably therefore written in 1911. In that year *Magshar Vad 4* corresponds to December 9.

³ This possibly refers to the account of Jannumia's case which *Indian Opinion* had republished from the *African Chronicle*; vide 1st footnote "Fragment of Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", 28-9-1911.

should we feel humiliated by anything that the Congress people or others might say? What our conscience tells us, that alone is our humiliation or our credit.

You should go on doing your work without any anxiety or fear.

If we have surrendered our all to Krishna, He who is the Lord of all will look after everything. If He does not, why should you and I bother? Our duty is to make sure whether we have in fact surrendered everything to Krishna or are holding back something for ourselves.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From a Photostat of the Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6077

92. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

TOLSTOY FARM,

LAWLEY STATION,

TRANSVAAL,

December 10, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

For the first time since your departure from London a week has passed without a letter from you. You have so used me to the regularity of your correspondence that last Thursday left a sad blank when I saw among the letters nothing from you. But I know that you were travelling. You told me you were leaving for Berlin on a Tuesday or Wednesday. I therefore assume that you were travelling and without reach of a station where you could post your letter to be in time.

Gordon was here today (Sunday) as he was last Sunday. He likes to be here. He is keeping well.

Call is still in Johannesburg. He may leave for London next week. It all depends upon the Medical Superintendent of the asylum. Call is by no means right yet. But probably a voyage will be the best thing for him. He may be a total wreck for ever, i.e., remain an imbecile. He is no lunatic, but he has no control over himself.

The fencing is now almost complete. Just a little finishing is required ... probably there is a day's work. We are drying apricots in the manner suggested by you in your letter from Potchesfstroom.

I had a talk with Kennedy. His answer as to further prolongation

of the agreement was not quite satisfactory. I have asked him to think [it] over and let me know. He seemed to resent the fact that you had not written to him in the matter. On the whole I think it is better for you not to take more than the time you intended to when you left. After all 8 months is a fair time. You could still pass a few weeks at Mrs. Mayo's. I certainly think that you have stayed enough with your people. They know now what you are. Their assimilation of your (our) ideals now depends upon your living the life according to the ideals for a length of time. But you and I are not living the life for them or anybody else. We are living the life because we want to, irrespective of what the rest of mankind do.

Your brother was duly married on Sunday. Herewith a cutting, if you have not received it through other channels.

I have now 18 boys in the school, much to the disgust of Mrs. Gandhi. And yet I must continue as I have begun. There is no looking back. One hesitating step and I perish. We have now 4 Mohammedan boys.

With love to you all,

Yours sincerely,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

93. THE INIQUITOUS TAX

We publish elsewhere an instructive letter¹ from the Colonial Secretary addressed to Lord Amphill's Committee, and the Union Prime Minister's Minute to the Governor-General, on the Natal £3 tax, exacted from ex-indentured men, women and children. That the taxing legislation was imposed with the knowledge and consent of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government, and that the consent was obtained on a correct representation of facts, does not make it any the less criminal. It may be considered very gracious on the part of the Union Government to be ready to consider any specific cases of hardship brought to their notice. We venture to think, however, that every case of the exaction of this tax is a specific case of hardship. But, apart from that, if, as Mr. Sauer² has pointed out, they have watched the law carefully and all complaints have been inquired into, why have they not produced statistics to show in what case and under what circumstances the tax has been remitted? Our columns have been full of cases of hardship, especially on women. The Government really were bound to waive the tax in respect of women

¹ Dated November 14, 1911, this was sent by Harcourt, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in reply to paragraph 6 of the SABI Committee's representation of June 17, 1911 (Appendix VIII), which asked for exemption from the £3 tax for Indian women and children saying that the amending Act of 1910 (Natal Act 19 of 1910) had "but slightly improved the situation". It also drew attention to disparities between decisions of individual magistrates. Along with his letter, Harcourt enclosed the copy of a despatch from the Governor-General of South Africa containing a minute dated August 22, 1911 from the Union Ministers on the subject. The minute, signed by Sauer, said that the £3 tax had been imposed "on grounds of policy, with a view to limiting the free Indian population as much as possible" and that the Ministers considered its repeal inadvisable. The minute added that the application of the law in particular cases had been "carefully watched" and all complaints inquired into and that the Ministers were convinced that there had been "no undue harshness in the administration of this law". Commenting on this, Harcourt had observed that the facts had been "correctly represented" in the minute and the legislation had been passed with the full knowledge and consent of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government and that he could only accept the Ministry's decision. *Indian Opinion*, 1612-1911.

² J. W. Sauer; member of the Cape Legislature and later of the Union Cabinet; fellow-passenger with the Transvaal Indian Deputation of 1909 on board s.s. *Kenilworth Castle*; vide "Deputation's Voyage", 23-6-1909 Gandhiji who met him during the voyage found him "full of sympathy"; he promised all possible help.

entirely, as has been shown by us by quoting speeches of responsible members of the now defunct Natal Parliament when the amending measure was passed.¹ The Minister's Minute is, we are constrained to say, calculated to blind the Imperial Government to the serious nature of the hardship entailed on those who have to bear the burden. We trust that the attention of the Imperial Government will be brought to the almost unanimous condemnation² by the South African Press of the wretched treatment meted out to people who have deserved better of those for whom they have slaved for a number of years. We think that it was open to Mr. Harcourt to have at least invited the Union Government to consider the new situation that has arisen by reason of the stoppage of recruiting indentured Indian labour for Natal. The question of limiting the free Indian population as much as possible does not now arise as witness General Smuts' own statement made to his Pretoria constituents on the 7th instant:

If ever Asiatics were introduced here as indentured labourers, there would be revolution. That door was closed for ever.

We note with considerable satisfaction that, in the absence of Lord Ampthill, Lord Lamington has been moving the House of Lords in the matter of the forthcoming legislation.³ We hope that the forthcoming Union Parliament will see a fulfilment, at least to the letter, of the promise made by the Union Government in the Provisional Settlement. We wish that His Lordship may take up this question of the iniquitous tax, and bring the pressure of public opinion to bear upon His Majesty's Government with a view to its repeal.

Indian Opinion , 16-12-1911

¹ *Vide* "The £3 Tax", 11-11-1911.

² A number of European-owned papers such as *The Natal Mercury*, the *Natal Advertiser* and the *Rand Daily Mail* had, in a series of articles and editorial comments, condemned the £3 tax.

³ On December 6, in the House of Lords Lamington asked for the production of correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Union Government relating to British Indians in the Transvaal. He also asked for information regarding the operation of the draft Municipal Ordinance, the Gold Law and the Township Act, *Indian Opinion*, 9-12-1911.

*94. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
MINISTER OF INTERIOR¹*

December 21, 1911

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO INTERIOR
[PRETORIA]

THANKS YOUR WIRE. WILL CALL TOMORROW MORNING.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5598

95. LETTER TO A.H. WEST

M.K. GANDHI
Attorney

21-24 COURT CHAMBERS,
CORNER RISSIK & ANDERSON STREETS,
P.O. BOX 6522, JOHANNESBURG,
December 22, 1911

MY DEAR WEST,

Yes, with reference to Obligadoo, we ought to get the charge-sheet. I want to see the two counts on which he was prosecuted. You will see the Prosecutor accepted his plea of guilty on the first count and was satisfied. Generally, when a Prosecutor does that, you may depend upon it that he has a very weak case, and, as a matter of fact, this plea of guilty ought never to have been accepted by the Magistrate as a plea of guilty, because the accused has qualified it, saying he was in want of this money and took it. This qualification immediately takes away guilty knowledge. The mere taking of the money was certainly not theft. The sentence, of course, is preposterous.

Of course, the leaders will not take up the £3 tax agitation without your harassing them. Aiyar may be left to himself and he may have all the credit and all the glory. We simply do the work if the leaders are ready to do their share of it. When Parliament opens, of

¹ This was sent in reply to the telegram from the Private Secretary to the Minister of Interior, which read: "Private. Am taking copy of draft copy of Immigraiton bill with me Johannesburg tomorrow and am asked by Minister to show it to you for your personal information. Can you conveniently call at the Minister of Mines room during morning". S. N. 5598. Gandhiji's reply is drafted in pencil at the bottom of the above telegram.

of course we shall have to get Mr. Alexander to ask questions. Meanwhile you should get the facts independently of the Ministers. They will not help.

I have asked Manilal to pocket his own inclination and do as you advise him, and I think that his feeling need not be considered so long as his services are required there.

I have written to Muthu exactly in the same sense that you have spoken to him, and, if you want him, by all means have him, but it must be understood that he will have to do plenty of out-door work.

Yours sincerely,

M.K. GANDHI

From a copy: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

96. WHAT TO EXPECT FROM THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT

The letter (for Downing Street a long one) written to Lord Ampthill's Committee by the Colonial Office on the petition of the British Indian Association regarding the Transvaal Draft Local Government Ordinance¹ forms sad reading, and if confirmation were wanted, it confirms the opinion held by many passive resisters that it was the strength of passive resistance alone which brought about with General Smuts the Provisional Settlement which should be reduced to legislation during the next two or three months. We do not wish to convey the impression that Imperial Government sat with folded arms and that the Union Government were not in any way affected by the representations that were made by the Imperial Government, but what we do wish to convey is that the Imperial Government would not have moved at all in our favour, had it not been for passive resistance. Mr. Harcourt's letter of the 23rd November last, says in so many words that the Imperial Government will not intervene on our behalf even in order to secure redress of tangible grievances. The fact that something—it does not matter to them whether it is just or unjust—has been done before is sufficient reason for them to reject any approach

¹ For the sections of the Ordinance affecting Asiatics and the BIA's petition, *vide* Appendix "Transvaal Draft Local Government Ordinance, 1911: Extracts Affecting Asiatics", 10-6-1911.

on behalf of British Indians in order to undo an admitted wrong. We need not have been told that the municipal franchise was taken away from us by a previous Ordinance, nor that most of the clauses in the proposed Draft Ordinance were virtually a re-enactment of old provisions. It did not strike Mr. Harcourt that it was quits the proper thing for the British Indian Association to have drawn attention to such re-enactment, especially in the new circumstances arising from the Union of South Africa, and there can be no reason why Mr. Harcourt could not have pressed for a revision of a vicious policy at an opportune time like that of the impending passage of the Draft Ordinance in question.

It grieves us to find Mr. Harcourt as representing the Imperial Government concurring with the Union Ministers in their policy of shuffle. He and they insult our intelligence when they tell us that we could have no ground for complaint because the clauses regarding the issue of licences are of a general character. They must know as well as we do that, in the vast majority of cases, such general clauses have been in administration made applicable only to Asiatics. A passage, however, in Mr. Harcourt's letter dealing with the matter wherein the deprivation of the right of appeal to a court of law is referred to as a hardship supplies a ray of hope that something may be done in this direction.

It is wonderful how in an important communication dealing with weighty matters the most trifling and contemptible arguments have been seriously taken up in answer to our complaints. Mr. Harcourt, for instance, justifies the deprivation of the right of Indians, other Asiatics and, for that matter, other Coloured people to be employed in bakeries, etc., on the exploded ground of sanitation. He ought to know by this time that the clause in question is purely an attempt to take away the means of livelihood, and an avenue for employment, from honest people. Surely the sanitary authorities can be trusted to look after sanitation and to see whether bakers and their employees observe the rules of hygiene. We are also gravely told that similar disability in connection with a different matter altogether has been created against female labour. The crying grievance regarding tram-cars is similarly rejected because it is a "matter of long standing", as if a crime oft repeated actually became a virtue. We are sorry that the Imperial Government, in taking up the attitude as exemplified in Mr. Harcourt's letter, are abdicating their function of holding the balance

evenly between conflicting local interest in the different parts of the Empire; for this letter is not an isolated lapse from tradition, but it is merely the carrying out of a new departure, noted now for a long time by well-wishers of the Empire with a great deal of pain. We could wish that there would be a reversion to the old and fearless attitude of absolute impartiality which at one time ruled at the centre of the Empire when self-interest at the centre itself was not in jeopardy.

Indian Opinion , 23-12-1911

97. A SHAMEFUL ACT

The brief report of the Nathalia case¹ we published last week has disgusted every member of the community as it disgusted the judges themselves who decided upon this matter. It is enough to make one despair of the utility of law courts if the judges cannot right a wrong that they themselves acknowledge. The late Mr. Leonard used to say and hold that there was no wrong without a legal remedy. It is this comfortable delusion which reconciles some of the otherwise best minds to the practice of a profession which has very few redeeming features.

This case on Nathalia, a young lad, cannot be allowed to rest where the Natal judges have left it. It is a national scandal that the boy cannot be admitted to the Province in spite of his having produced credentials which would have satisfied any but an autocratic immigration officer who has certainly no time to bring to bear on a case a judicial mind free from bias. His very vocation forbids it. The fault is therefore not the individual's but of the legislature that has wickedly saddled a responsibility on him which no ordinary mortal could discharge. He is legally called an "Immigration Restriction Officer" appointed to administer a restriction law. How could he generally decide in favour of persons whom he is expected to restrict?

¹ E.M. Nathalia "was sent back to India twice, and on the last occasion had returned with documents that were required to show that he was the son of the father he sought to join" in Natal. The Immigration Restriction Officer was, however, not convinced and refused the boy permission to land. The judge remarked that "the officer never seemed to be able to believe that a boy was the son of his father", but would not interfere because the officer had full authority. *Indian Opinion*, 23-12-1911.

To prevent an appeal from his decisions is to deny justice. And that the late Natal legislature succeeded in doing. We trust that the matter will be taken to a higher court and thoroughly thrashed out. It will be a discredit to the community to which the lad belongs if we allow him to be sent back. The community must make it a point of honour to protect the boy, who, we are satisfied, is the son of the person who claims him as such.

Indian Opinion , 30-12-1911

98. *THE NEW YEAR*

At the close of a year we are apt to look back on the way we have come and it is a good thing if we are able to find something over which we can rejoice. What has happened during this year that can be said to have affected the Indian community? The first week of January brought the welcome news from Calcutta that the Government of India had decided to issue a notice in April prohibiting the further emigration of indentured Indians to Natal from July 1.¹ This decision was carried out; and now we have seen the last of indentured Indian immigration to these shores. It is impossible at this time to say what the effect will ultimately be, but we have good reason to believe that many employers of Indian labour have awoken to the necessity of treating their work people with some consideration and providing them with decent housing accommodation. We hope to see more improvements as time goes on, including the establishing of schools for Indian children living on the estates. This, however, does not blind us to the many evils of the indenture system, and we have not forsaken our ideal of freedom for all. This will come in time when the people themselves are ready for it. Better treatment and healthier conditions, which are now being offered as inducements to re-indenture, will in the course of time lead to freedom of contract between labourers and employers.

The year opened with the Transvaal passive resistance struggle at white heat. In March the Immigrants' Restriction Bill² was published and our readers will remember its fate³. Then followed the lengthy

¹ *Vide* 4th footnote "Letter to G. A. Natesan", 31-5-1911.

² *Vide* "Immigrants' Restriction Bill", 24-2-1911.

³ The Bill was dropped ; *vide* Appendix "Lane's Letter to Gandhiji", 21-4-1911.

correspondence between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi which resulted at the end of April in an understanding¹ between the Minister of the Interior and the Indian leaders as follows: Law 3 of 1907² to be repealed, legal equality in respect of immigration of Asiatic immigrants with Europeans, the existing Provincial rights to be maintained, the admission of six highly educated Asiatics to the Transvaal, registration of passive resisters, and the release of prisoners. It now remains for the Parliament to ratify the promise made by a responsible Minister of the Government. Absolutely fair dealing is expected and demanded in these matters, otherwise no permanent settlement can be effected.

Since the understanding with the Government in April, a serious position has been brought about by the administration of the Gold Law³ and the Townships Act⁴. the effect of which is to ruin Asiatic store-keepers, and the livelihood of the majority of the Transvaal Indians, who are mainly hawkers, is brought in jeopardy.

In looking forward to the coming year the Indian community of South Africa have reason both to hope and to fear. The Immigration Bill, which will be brought before Parliament early in the year,⁵ concerns every Indian in the Union. The rights of resident Indians must be secured at all costs, and a reasonable number of educated men admitted to the Union. It will depend largely upon the Indian people themselves whether they are to maintain their rights and preserve their dignity in this land of their birth or adoption. A firm front will have to be shown to any attempt to filch away the people's established rights and customs. No compromise whatever can be allowed with matters that concern the very existence of the community. Just as the Transvaal Indians have fought a hard battle for five years, if it be necessary, the other provinces should not shrink from such a struggle rather than that they should forfeit their and their children's future position as citizens of the Union of South Africa.

There are other questions of vital importance which should be

¹ *Vide* letters to Lane, pp. 22-4-1911 & 29-4-1911 and Appendix 22-4-1911.

² Evidently, a slip for "Act 2 of 1907"

³ For Polak's representation against these laws to the Government of India *vide* Appendix "Polak's Letter to India Government on Gold Law and Townships Act (1908)", 19-4-1912.

⁴ *Ibid*

⁵ This Bill was being re-drafted for the following session of Parliament; *vide* footnote of "Telegram to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", 21-12-1911.

dealt with; for instance, the £3 annual licence on ex-indentured Indians in Natal. Indian traders and businessmen are sometimes accused of being so busy with those matters directly concerning themselves that they have no time for looking into their poorer brethren's misfortunes. If there is even a grain of truth in the accusation now is the time to show of what stuff they are made. The abolition of this unjust and cruel imposition offers a fine opportunity for all those who are not directly affected by it, to show that they are capable of putting their energy into an effort which would be entirely unselfish. In doing so they would earn the gratitude of those who are not able to help themselves, and the blessing of God would be their reward.

We wish our readers, one and all,

A HAPPY NEW YEAR

Indian Opinion , 30-12-1911

99. FAMINE

We give prominence, this week, to the report of the state of famine which prevails in Western India at the present time¹. We have our difficulties in South Africa, but thank God, cruel famine is not our portion. The Indians of South Africa have shown in the past that they could rise to the occasion in assisting their brethren in India who were suffering from earthquake or famine². A fund has been started in our columns which has now reached over £100, but we feel that this sum represents but an item of the amount it is possible to raise in South Africa. The Mahomedan community are showing great sacrifice in subscribing several thousands of pounds in aid of the sufferers in the Italo-Turkish war. We trust that they will be none the less generous in subscribing towards the relief of the famine-stricken people of India. The Hindu, Parsee and Christian members of the community, having had no such drain upon their resources as the Mahomedans

¹ The report said there was great scarcity of food and fodder in the Bombay Presidency and that the plague had in addition broken out in the States of Kathiawar. Nearly a third of the cattle population would need to be fed out of public charity. For the district of Ahmedabad alone the funds required were estimated at Rs. 1 lakh. For earlier references to the famine by Gandhiji, *vide* "Famine in India", 11-11-1911 & 9-12-1911 and also letters to Dr. Mehta, 24-9-1911, 10-10-1911 & 11-11-1911.

² Following the 1905 earthquake in Northern India, *Indian Opinion* started an Earthquake Relief Fund; *vide* "Earthquake in India", 13-5-1905 & "Letter to Kaikhushroo and Abdul Huk", 17-5-1905.

have recently had, can make it their special mission to push forward the collection of funds for this worthy cause.

Indian Opinion , 6-1-1912

100. MR. POLAK AT THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

Mr. Polak's strenuous work has already commenced in India. He never knows what it is to rest when duty calls him to work. The resolution¹ about the indenture system to which he, with Messrs Chintamani² , Manilal Doctor and others, spoke is of the greatest importance and a step in the right direction. It is a crown to his past work. He shares with Mr. Gokhale the credit of bringing about a termination of the supply of indentured labour to Natal. The Congress, no doubt inspired by him, has followed the logical result of its policy by asking the Government of India to abolish the system of indenture altogether. It now remains for the Government of India to end a system which is but a form of veiled slavery.

Indian Opinion , 6-1-1912

101. JOYFUL NEWS

The announcement³ made by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale that he proposes to visit South Africa during next summer will fill every Indian heart with joy. Mr. Gokhale is no stranger to the Indians of South Africa. By his great work in our behalf he has endeared himself to us all. Mr. Gokhale is, therefore, assured of a royal welcome. And we doubt not that he will be warmly received by the leaders of European society. Mr. Gokhale's intended visit can only do good in every respect.

Indian Opinion , 6-1-1912

¹ The Indian national Congress at its Calcutta session, held in December, 1911, passed a resolution condemning the system of indentured labour and urged the Government to introduce legislation wholly abolishing it. *Indian Opinion*, 6-1-1912; *vide* also 2nd footnote of "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", 8-12-1911.

² Sir Chiravuri Yajneswar Chintamani (1880-1941); journalist; Editor, *The Leader*, Allahabad; for some time Minister, U. P.

³ H.S.L. Polak, in the course of his speech on the South Africa Resolution of the Indian National Congress, held in December, 1911, at Calcutta, announced that Gokhale had expressed his desire to visit South Africa during the following year in order to study the situation on the spot. *Indian Opinion*, 24-2-1912.

102. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

JOHANNESBURG,
January 10, 1912

EXPRESS
HONOURABLE GOKHALE
POONA

COMMUNITY DELIGHTED YOUR DECISION VISIT US¹ WE
ASSURE YOU WARM WELCOME.

CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN, ASSOCIATION

From a copy: File No. 45. Courtesy: National Archives of India

103. LETTER TO G.K. GOKHALE

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
January 12, 1912

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

It is difficult to give you an idea as to how delighted we all were to read the announcement² that you were coming here very shortly.

I hope that you will give ample notice of the date of your coming !

If it is at all possible, do you not think that it would be better if you could come here on your way to London? You could then study our question on the spot and materially assist us in London. And I am vain enough to think that your stay here will result in your taking with you to London much better health than you would otherwise *Vide* also letters to Gokhale, pp. 176 & 195. *Vide* also letters to Gokhale³ pp. 176 & 195.

¹ *Vide* "Joyful News", 6-1-1912.

² *Vide* the preceding item.

³ *Vide* also letters to Gokhale, 30-10-1911 & 8-12-1911.

The Union Parliament will now be sitting and the promised draft & bill may be published any day¹.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 3771

104. SMALLPOX IN JOHANNESBURG

The Johannesburg papers are full of the smallpox scare. We are sorry to have to admit that, on this occasion, we are the culprits. That some Indian children had smallpox is not a matter for anxiety. A spasmodic outbreak of diseases may be taken as inevitable in any community. But our crime consists in the Indians concerned having concealed the outbreak. The whole community will have to suffer for the crime of an individual.

Happily the leaders are whole-heartedly co-operating with Dr. Porter² in stamping out the disease. But the leaders will be powerless unless individuals are ready and willing to listen to them and help them to help themselves.

We consider that the opposition, stubborn though it was, to the Asiatic Registration Act, was nothing compared to the opposition that the community must, if it is to progress, offer to its own erring members. Passive resistance can be as effectively applied within as without. Only, when it has to be applied within it is far more difficult. But then a real passive resister will not—cannot flinch in the face of difficulties, however serious they may be.

It is a common charge against us that we are an insanitary people and without scruples when it is a matter of cheating authorities by way of concealing diseases or misleading them. The concealment in Johannesburg has given a handle to our enemies. Let the community beware lest it place itself in the wrong by blinking at the wrong doing of its own members. It is being watched in South Africa as, perhaps, it is not anywhere else. The watching may be turned to good

¹ The second session of the Union Parliament was scheduled to begin on January 26, 1912. The first reading of the Bill took place on January 30. *Indian Opinion*, 13-1-1912 & 3-2-1912

² Dr. C. Porter, Medical Officer of Health, Johannesburg

account by our so behaving as to give occasion for no adverse remarks.

Indian Opinion , 13-1-1912

105. INTERVIEW TO “THE EVENING CHRONICLE”

[JOHANNESBURG,
January 15, 1912]¹

An *Evening Chronicle* man interviewed Mr. Gandhi on the questions of trading licence, the smallpox outbreak, etc.

Asked as to the particular objections to the Municipal Ordinance², Mr. Gandhi replied:

The objections we take to the draft Ordinance are to the control being given to Municipalities over a certain class of trading licences, without even the right to appeal;³ to the reimposition of the disqualification as to the municipal franchise;⁴ and to the qualification as to Indians and other Asiatics being engaged in bakeries, etc.⁵

The first and third of these are innovations; the second is an old grievance,⁶ but I think the British Indians are bound to protest against it each time it is revived or reasserted in legislative form. Indians naturally hope that some day or other a prejudice, which has little justification, will die out, and having that as their goal it is felt that they cannot allow renewed attempts to perpetuate discriminating legislation to pass by without protest.

[QUESTION:] And the provision for Asiatic bazaars,⁷ Mr. Gandhi—are these not

¹ The Gujarati translation in *Indian Opinion* mentions the date, but not the English section.

² For sections affecting Asiatics, *vide* Appendix “Transvaal Draft Local Government Ordinance, 1911: Extracts Affecting Asiatics”, 10-6-1911.

³ The reference is to Section 91 which invested the Town Council with the power to refuse trading and hawking licences without right of appeal.

⁴ Section 114

⁵ Section 92; *vide* also “What to Expect from the Imperial Government”, 23-12-1911.

⁶ In the Transvaal, legislation to deprive Indians of the municipal franchise was sought to be introduced as early as 1903 and again in 1904; *vide* “On the Position in the Transvaal”, 18-7-1903 and “What is a *Coolie*”, 21-5-1904.

⁷ Section 66 empowered the Town council to open new Bazaars or close existing ones; *vide* Appendix “Transvaal Draft Local Government Ordinance, 1911: Extracts Affecting Asiatics”, 10-6-1911. The first legislation of this kind was Milner’s Bazaar Notice; *vide* “British Indians in South Africa”, 12-4-1903.

among those to which your people object?

[GANDHI:] O yes! A protest has also been lodged against these. It is true that the sections dealing with Bazaars are merely enabling sections, and the British Indians cannot be compelled to reside in these Bazaars, but the spirit is unmistakable; the desire is to relegate Asiatics to Bazaar, and I am sure that any time any such attempt is made, it will be opposed by them.

SMALLPOX

But how about the smallpox outbreak, Mr. Gandhi, and the hiding of victims by Asiatics? Does not this suggest that for the protection of Europeans some such step is necessary?¹

That is a very fair question. We have undoubtedly among us black sheep, and we pay the penalty for their wrongdoing, but the public have the generous testimony of Dr. Porter that the leaders of the community whole-heartedly co-operated with him in bringing to light the cases that had been hidden, and his acknowledgment that probably, without their assistance, he would not have been able to unearth these cases. You will perhaps recollect that, when evidence was being laid before the Insanitary Area Expropriation Commission, medical testimony was given to the effect that any neglect of sanitation that existed among British Indians, or the others, was not to be successfully dealt with by segregating them to inaccessible Bazaars, or to places which would not lend themselves to effective supervision of the public control. The proper method of dealing with the trouble was to let their movements remain unfettered, but to effectively enforce sanitation by-laws, and if the by-laws were insufficient, to make them wide enough to cover all kinds of cases.

I can say from personal experience, extending over 18 years, that this is the best [*sic*], and the only, smallpox scare. Just imagine what would have happened if Indians were living four or five miles away, with perfunctory supervision, such as must be when they are living in out-of-the-way places. Every case of smallpox successfully concealed—even from the leaders of the community—and it would have taxed Dr. Porter to the utmost to avoid the spread of the contagion. I am quite sure that segregation will never succeed.

What I hope will happen is that the general body of Europeans will, in time to come, take just as much interest in the welfare of their

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

Indian fellow-citizens as in their own, that they will make due allowance for any special weaknesses that may exist among them, and will also insist upon their becoming better citizens from day to day.

IMPERIAL INTERFERENCE

Questioned as to his view of the right of the Home Government to interfere to have the draft Municipal Ordinance revised, as Lord Emmott, in reply to a question in the House of Lords recently indicated had been done,¹ Mr. Gandhi held that they were quite within their rights in doing so.

In fact we take the view that the attitude of the Imperial Government has been over-cautious, and that they have erred rather on the side of the Union Government. It must be remembered that the Union is still very young and that the Imperial Government has a great responsibility to the Indian peoples. I have just been reading an extract from an English paper, which should interest you. It is stated there that one of the principal reasons for King George's visit to India was to strike the imagination of the people of the self-governing colonies so that they might realize its importance, and that it was entitled to consideration equally with other great dominions of the Empire.

Indian Opinion , 27-1-1912

106. THE PLAGUE

We have every reason to hope that the plague which broke out at the Point will not spread in the Borough of Durban. There has been no fresh case since Tuesday, and we believe that the Port Health Officer and the Medical Officer of Health are doing their utmost to prevent further outbreak. The deaths of one European and one Coloured man show that it is a matter which concerns all residents, and the Indian leaders have placed themselves in the right attitude by at once forming a committee to work with the Public Health Department. It is only by being perfectly straight and above-board that such matters can be successfully dealt with, and, by a mutual understanding between the Indian Community and the Corporation, should a serious

¹ Answering a question by Lord Lamington in the House of Lords on December 6, 1911, Lord Emmott had said that the draft Municipal Ordinance had been referred to a Select Committee of the Municipal Council whose report would not be ready until after January the following year when they were due to meet again. *Indian Opinion*, 6-1-1912.

outbreak, unfortunately, occur, the Indian residents need have no fear but that everything humanly possible will be done for their welfare.

Indian Opinion , 20-1-1912

107. SMALLPOX IN JOHANNESBURG

More searches have been conducted this week following the [outbreak of] smallpox. Owing to the Indians' habit of concealing the patients for as long as they can, the Health Department has to expend much patient effort in carrying out the searches. A committee of leaders, including Mr. Cachalia, Imam Saheb¹ and others, has been working tirelessly to assist the Department. In every case that is detected the patient is removed to hospital for treatment. Further cases occurred in the family of the Malay whose case was the first to be detected and who succumbed to it later. Whites who used to patronize Indian dhobis and greengrocers now refuse to deal with them. Business has, on the whole, suffered greatly.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion , 20-1-1912

108. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

[About *January 20, 1912*]²

CHI. JAMNADAS³,

Your answer to Dorabji that you would reply to him only if he addressed you as 'gentleman' was perfectly right. And you were also right in not addressing him as 'Sahebji', though I have some doubt

¹ Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer; an Indian of Arab Descent who settled in South Africa; Assistant Priest of the Hamidia Mosque in Johannesburg and Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society; actively participated in the satyagraha campaigns of 1908 and 1913; settled at Phoenix after Gandhiji left South Africa and later jointed him at the Sabarmati Ashram at his invitation. For his decision to offer satyagraha in 1908, *vide* "Letter to *The Star*", 18-7-1908 and for his arrest for hawking without licence.

² Jamnadas Gandhi went to South Africa in July 1911 and staying first at Phoenix, went to the Tolstoy Farm Where he stayed upto December 14, 1912. Gandhiji has noted in his Diary for the year 1912 that orabji arrived at Tolstoy Farm on January 20, 1912. Probably the conversation mentioned in the letter took place during a railway journey from Durban to Johannesburg before January 20, 1912, or from Johannesburg to Durban after January 20, 1912.

³ The youngest of the four sons of Gandhiji's cousin, Khushalchand Gandhi.

about its propriety. Still, the spirit in which you refused to say ‘Sahebji’ was right. When such things are being discussed, it is advisable for one to run away from the place. Personally, I have found from experience that the best course is to remain quiet and say nothing. At the time you heard that comment in the train, you would have done well to say nothing whatever. When strangers who do not know us, talk such things among themselves, why need we intervene?

We should keep a soft heart towards such persons and believing that they do not know what they are saying, have compassion for them. Even if one cannot do that, at least we should not despise them. We should take a lesson from what they are saying and consider how careful we must be before finding fault with the other person and how we should remain uninterested when anyone finds fault with a person whom we do not know. Dorabji prattled all those things under the influence of drink. And those two Muslims said what they conscientiously believed. So why should they not have said what they did?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 33814

109. LETTER TO E.F.C. LANE

[JOHANNESBURG,]¹

January 29, 1912

DEAR MR. LANE,

I suppose I owe it to your usual courtesy that I am in possession of a copy of the *Gazette Extraordinary* containing the Immigration Bill². I understand that the Central News Agency has not yet got a supply of this number of the *Gazette*.

I see that the Bill has been somewhat altered from the copy that I saw now nearly a month ago. I do not know whether it is General Smuts’ intention to make the changes³ I have already submitted are

¹ In “Diary, 1912” (p. 366), Gandhiji mentions he was in Johannesburg on this date.

² The Union Immigrants’ Restriction Bill of 1911 (Vol. X, pp. 516-28) was dropped in April, 1911; *vide* Appendix “Lane’s Letter to Gandhiji”, 21-4-1911. This reference is to a new Bill drafted to meet Indians’ objections; for extracts, *vide* Appendix “Extracts from Immigrants’ Restriction Bill (1912) and Orange Free State Constitution”, 3-2-1912. It was shown to Gandhiji on December 22, 1911, before being gazetted, when he met Lane; *vide* “Telegram to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior”, 21-12-1911. Further changes which were the immediate occasion for this letter had evidently been made since.

³ *Vide* “Letter to E.F.C. Lane”, 7-4-1911.

necessary. Sub-Sections (f)¹ and (g)² of Section 5 are a complete innovation, and, in my opinion, subversive of principles of justice. That a man should prove his domicile to the satisfaction of an Immigration Officer, who may not have a legal training or a judicial mind, seems utterly absurd, nor can I see the slightest reason why he should be the arbiter to decide as to whether a particular woman, whom I claim to be my wife, and a particular child whom I claim to be mine are my wife and child or not. This innovation disturbs the existing legal position.

Similarly, Section 7 will debar educated Indians in the Transvaal, for instance, from entering Natal on passing the existing education test.³ This, again, will disturb the legal position, and will be a manifest injustice. It is one thing to have an almost impossible education test for checking oversea immigration, and another thing to impose that test for interprovincial migration. I draw attention to the fact that last year's Bill did not disturb the existing position.

Lastly, Section 25, sub-section 2, is an improvement on the three year rule that was laid down in the draft you were good enough to show me. It is still an exceedingly hard requirement. I do think that those Asiatics in South Africa who are at present domiciled should be able to claim as a matter of right permanent certificates of domicile, and not be at the mercy of an Immigration Officer as to whether they

¹ Section 5 (f) defines persons who are not prohibited immigrants and can enter the Union consistent with section 4 which sets out the categories of prohibited immigrants. Every would-be immigrant would have to pass a dictation test in a language of the immigration officer's choice under Section 4(a) (p. 221 and Appendix XIII) and further satisfy the official that he had not become a prohibited immigrant—that is, if he was re-entering, having either been deported or left the Transvaal.

² Section 5(g) vests in the immigration officers the right to demand proof of relationship from women and minor children who claimed right of entry on the ground of being wives and children of Asiatics who had established this right. These powers were vested in the officials by Act 3 of 1906 which amended the Immigrants' Restriction Act (Act 30 of 1903). Giving judgment in the Nathalia case, Mr. Justice Dove Wilson of the Natal Bench of the Supreme Court admitted that the Immigration Restriction Officer had been given "apparently unfettered discretion." *Indian Opinion*, 3-2-1912. The immigration officers were further entitled to satisfy themselves that the wives were not prohibited immigrants. *Vide* also "Indian wives", 8-7-1911 and "A Shocking Case", 23-9-1911.

³ Section 7 implicitly denied freedom of interprovincial movement to Asiatics already residing in the Union. If they wanted to go to another province they had to pass the stiff Union immigration education test.

should get such certificates or not. It is true that the clause is only permissive, and that nobody is bound to take out certificates, but its effect would certainly be to practically compel, especially the poorer class of Asiatics, to go a-begging for these certificates, and then take with them documents fixing an arbitrary period of absence.

I do hope, therefore, that these three points will be satisfactorily settled. Whilst I have conferred with a number of my associates, I have not taken any public action yet and I do not propose to take any until I hear from you as to General Smuts' intention. Will you please, if you conveniently can, wire whether the points raised by me will be favourably considered by General Smuts.

*I am,
Yours sincerely,*

PS.

After signing my letter to you, I re-read Chapter 33 of the O.F.S. Laws. I see that sub-section 2 of Section 28¹ [of the Union immigration bill] is somewhat differently worded from what it was originally intended to be last year. Whilst those immigrants who by passing the education test may enter the Free State should suffer from the disability to have fixed property registered in their name or to carry on a commercial business or farming, they should certainly not have to make the sworn declaration contemplated in Section 8². By reading the latter part of Section 8, you will understand exactly what I mean.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5601.

¹ Section 28 specifically declares that any Asiatic immigrant who had passed the Union dictation test would still be subject to Orange Free State Laws which required visiting Asiatics to register afresh and articles 7 and 8 of which prevented Asiatics from settling in the Colony for purposes of farming or trade. Gandhiji's objection was to any endorsing reference in the Union Bill to Orange Free State Laws which were based on colour discrimination; *vide* "Letter to J. J. Doke", 17-3-1911 & 17-3-1911. He had objected to the registration requirement; *vide* "Letter to E.F.C. Lane", 7-4-1911 and "Interview to *Cape Argus*", 30-3-1911.

² This sought to prohibit any Coloured person from settling in the Orange Free State for the purposes of farming or carrying on trade.

*110. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MINISTER
OF INTERIOR¹*

[LAWLEY,]
January 30, 1912

TO

INTERIOR'S PRIVATE SECRETARY
CAPE TOWN

POSTED LETTER² YESTERDAY IMMIGRATION BILL, BUT VIEW FACT FIRST READING TODAY WISH DRAW URGENT ATTENTION GENERAL SMUTS THAT SECTIONS 5, 7, 25 DISTURB LEGAL POSITION, BECAUSE THEY MAKE FINAL OFFICER'S DECISION REGARDING RIGHTS DOMICILE, WIVES AND CHILDREN, MAKE EDUCATION TEST FOR INDIANS ENTERING CAPE OR NATAL FROM TRANSVAAL, STIFFER, AND MAKE UNCERTAIN RIGHTS NATAL INDIANS RECEIVE PERMANENT DOMICILE CERTIFICATES. MOREOVER SECTION 28³ SEEMS CONTEMPLATE DECLARATION UNDER SECTION 8, CHAPTER 33 BY EDUCATED IMMIGRANT ENTERING FREE STATE. AS I HOPE THESE POINTS WILL RECEIVE GENERAL SMUTS; FAVOURABLE TENTION HAVE DISSUADED PUBLIC ACTIO AWAITING TELEGRAPHIC REPLY. PLEASE ALSO SAY WHEN SECOND READING.⁴

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5604; also photostat; S. N. 5619.

*111. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF
INTERIOR*

[LAWLEY,]
February 1, 1912

WHILE THANKING GENERAL SMUTS' LONG REPLY⁵, REGRET IT IS UNSATISFACTORY. FEEL SURE INDIANS WILL NEVER BE SATISFIED WITH BOARD'S CONTROL, ESPECIALLY VIEW PAST

¹ To this Gandhiji received the following reply: "Thirtieth January. Your telegram recieved. Second reading of Immigration Bill is not until 8th February.

² *Vide* the preceding item.

³ *Vide* 8th footnote "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", 29-1-1912.

⁴ The second reading did not take place until May 30.

⁵ *Vide* Appendix "Telegram from Secretary for Interior to Gandhiji", 31-1-1912.

EXPERIENCE BOARDS. SURELY EXISTING LEGAL RIGHTS WILL BE DISTURBED BY DEPRIVING SUBJECT OF RIGHT APPEAL JUDICIAL TRIBUNALS. NOR IS CONTENTION REASONABLE THAT EXISTING RIGHTS NOT DISTURBED UNDER SECTION 7, AS TODAY EDUCATED INDIANS MIGRATE NATAL OR VAPE ON PASSING PRESENT TEST. HOW CAN THEY BE EXPECTED EXCHANGE THIS LEGAL RIGHT FOR ADMINISTRATIVE DISCRETION TEMPERED THOUGH IT MAY BE WITH JUSTICE? FOR NATAL INDIANS TO ACCEPT TEMPORARY PERMITS OF ABSENCE IS TO CLEARLY CHANGE PRESENT LEGAL STATUS. DOMICILE CERTIFICATES AT PRESENT ISSUED CONTAIN FULL DESCRIPTION HOLDER AND INCAPABLE CHANGE HOLDERS WITHOUT DETECTION. FEEL CERTAIN GENERAL SMUTS DOES NOT EXPECT DISTINGUISHED INDIANS MAKE DECLARATION UNDERSECTION 8 FREE STATE LAW. THEY WILL BE UNABLE TRADE OR FARM WITHOUT DECLARATION, WHICH IS MEANT TO BE MADE BY THOSE ONLY WHO WISH SETTLE FREE STATE FOR DOMESTIC SERVICE. GIVING DECLARATION AGAINST WHOLE SPIRIT STRUGGLE UNDERTAKEN SOLELY FOR SELF-RESPECT. HOPE THESE REASONABLE ALTERATIONS WILL BE GRANTED, AND AWFUL REVIVAL OF STRUGGLE AVERTED. AM REFRAINING PUBLIC ACTION¹ PENDING REPLY².

GANDHI

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5608, also photostat: S. N. 5619

112. A NOTE³

[On or after *February 2, 1912*]

Urgent

Address of British Indian Union is Miller's Bldgs., 67, Hanover St., Cape Town.

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5611.

¹ Gandhiji was as good as his word; these telegrams were not even published in *Indian Opinion* of the time.

² *Vide* footnote of "Telegram to Minister of Interior", 6-2-1912.

³ Written on a telegram which Gandhiji had received from Makadam Woodstock, Cape Town, dated February 2, which read: "Second reading immigration Thursday. Resolutions wanted by wire. Public meeting of Union Sunday."

113. THE NEW IMMIGRATION BILL

The Union Immigration Bill which is partly intended to satisfy the Transvaal Indian passive resisters is now out. It is in some respects a better bill than that of the last year. But it does not quite fulfil the promise made by General Smuts. General Smuts has undertaken not to disturb the existing legal status throughout South Africa in any general bill designed to meet passive resisters.¹

The existing legal position is among other things that, at any rate at the Cape and the Transvaal, domicile and the rights of minor children and wives of non-prohibited immigrants are dependent on a decision of the highest tribunal of justice; that British Indians of the Transvaal passing the ordinary simple education test can easily enter the Cape or Natal; and that Indians of Natal have until lately received certificates of domicile as a matter of right upon proving domicile. Under the New Bill the Immigration Officer constitutes the highest court of justice to consider the rights of domiciled Asiatics and their wives and children; educated Indians of the Transvaal have to pass the stiffer test under the new Bill on entering the Cape or Natal and the Natal Indians will be unable to demand certificates of domicile as a matter of right.² Now these are new disabilities which passive resisters cannot be expected to accept. We hope, however, that these points are an oversight and that General Smuts will rectify the defects in Committee. The Free State difficulty is being met with as was suggested last year.³ Only care will have to be taken that an Indian finding his way to the Free State as an educated immigrant is not called upon under Section 8 of Chapter XXXIII of the Free State Constitution to make any declaration contemplated by it. If these points are cleared up, we fancy that passive resisters will be completely met.

¹ *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", 29-4-1911.

² "A Notice to Every Indian", published in the Gujarati columns of *Indian Opinion*, 3-2-1912 said: "Indians residing in Natal or the Cape who do not possess proper certificates of domicile are advised not to leave their Provinces for the time being".

³ *Vide* "Interview to *Cape Argus*", before 30-3-1911 and "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", 7-4-1911.

There still remain general objections by Natal¹ and the Cape. They will be legitimately able to complain of the new education test, and at least be entitled to some guarantee that a certain number of educated Indians from India will be permitted to pass the education test.

The Bill even then will leave many things from an Asiatic standpoint in an unsatisfactory condition. Restriction on interstate immigration will be a cause of great grievance.² And the disabilities of lawful residents as to ownership of landed property, etc., in the Transvaal or the Free State must be a menace to the well-being of Indians and other Asiatics, who, after all, form part of the South African nation that is in process of formation.

Indian Opinion, 3-2-1912

114. LATE MR. ABDOOLLA HAJEE ADAM

One of the greatest figures in the Indian community of Natal is no more. Mr. Abdoolla Hajee Adam Jhaveri³, of the well-known firm of Dada Abdoolla and Co., breathed his last on Monday last, at the age of 58 leaving a widow, together with the whole Indian community and not a few of his European friends to mourn after him. With the deceased was linked the political as also the commercial life of the Indians of Natal. He was one of the first independent Indian settlers of Natal, having almost immediately followed the late Mr. Abobaker Amod⁴. Mr. Abdoolla Hajee Adam, together with his partners,

¹ A meeting of the Natal Indian Congress held on February 4 passed resolutions protesting against: (a) the Union immigration bill and the wide powers vested under it in the administration; (b) the discretion vested in the Immigration Officer to decide the highly technical question of domicile and that of marriage and parentage. The meeting demanded the right of Natal Indians to permanent domiciliary certificates issued by the Government. It protested against the education test, the restriction on interprovincial immigration and the rescinding of domiciliary rights of Natal Indians who could prove three years' residence in the Province.

² *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", 29-1-1912 and telegrams to the Private Secretary to the Minister of the Interior, 30-1-1912 & 1-2-1912.

³ He invited Gandhiji to South Africa in 1893 to represent his case to an English lawyer.

⁴ Abubaker Amod Zaveri; one of the early Indian settlers in the Transvaal, a leading merchant of "silk and fancy goods" and the only Indian to own landed property in the Transvaal. He sent indentured Indians in distress back to India in his ships free of charge and even helped them with food and money *en route*. The transfer, on his death, of his property, which was acquired before Law 3 of 1885 came into force, to his heirs became the subject of much controversy and legislation.

probably owned the largest Indian business throughout South Africa during the last decade of the past century. His firm had at one time probably no fewer than fifteen branches, their transactions with England, Germany and India running into thousands of pounds sterling. He was the first Indian to have gone in for ship-owning in South Africa, he having bought the *Courland* and the *Khedive*. Mr. Abdoolla Hajee Adam's political ability was as great as his business talent. He was the President-founder of the Natal Indian Congress. His oratorical powers in his own mother tongue were of no mean order. Though his knowledge of English was all picked up, he could carry on with ease a sustained argument in English. He used to surprise his European friends by his resources in argument and apt illustrations which he used to draw upon for enforcing his point. He headed many a deputation to the Natal Government, especially during the late Sir John Robinson's¹ premiership. Though he was ailing, he took a most active and prominent part in the boycott of the Coronation celebrations when he spoke to the crowds that surrounded him with his old fire. No memoir of Mr. Abdoolla Hajee Adam would be complete that did not refer to his religious zeal. His greatest pleasure in life was probably to engage in a religious and philosophical discussion. He lost no opportunity of placing before his arguers the beauties of the religion of the holy Prophet of Arabia.

We tender our condolences to the late Mr. Abdoolla Hajee Adam's family.

Indian Opinion, 3-2-1912

115. NEW IMMIGRATION BILL²

SUMMARY OF IMPORTANT CLAUSES AND COMMENTS

The Bill will apply to the entire Union of South Africa.

SECTION 3

The Governor-General is empowered to appoint an Immigration Board to help the Government.

¹ (1839-1903); first Prime Minister and Colonial Secretary of Natal, 1893-7.

² For extracts from the Bill in English, *vide* Appendix Extracts from Immigrants' Restriction Bill (1912) and Orange Free State Constitution", 3-2-1912.

COMMENT

We may demand that our people should be represented on this board.

SECTION 4(A)

A person, who is unable to write out 50 words, to the satisfaction of the Immigration Officer in the language which he chooses, will be prohibited from entering the Union.

COMMENT

These may include the Arabic and the Sanskrit languages. Even so the clause is severe. The Transvaal [Indians], however, cannot protest against it; but Natal and the Cape should protest. Also, we cannot hope that this clause will be amended. But an arrangement can be made to ensure the entry of a specified number of educated Indians to meet our needs.

SECTION 4(C)

If a foreign Government sends any [adverse] information about a person, he shall be prevented from entering [the Union]

COMMENT

This section appears to be meant for agitators.

SECTION 5 (f) & (g)

A person who wants to enter [the Union] by virtue of his [pre-War] domiciliary rights and whose wife and children also wish to enter [by virtue of his right of entry] should prove their rights to the satisfaction of the [Immigration] Officer.

COMMENT

Everyone should oppose this section. There is a similar section in the Natal [law]. The Government now intends to introduce this in the Cape and the Transvaal [laws]. Even a satyagrahi cannot accept this section. We should certainly be given the right to appeal to courts of law [against the official's decisions]

SECTION 6

A prohibited immigrant is liable to three months' imprisonment. There is no [provision for a] fine. And he can be deported.

SECTION 7

If an Indian from one Province of the Union wishes to proceed to another, he must pass a fresh [dictation] test.

COMMENT

Under this section it may happen that a few educated Indians from Natal or the Cape may occasionally enter the Transvaal; but it will be very difficult for educated Indians from the Transvaal to go Natal or Cape. For, instead of the existing test which is relatively easy, they will have to pass the new test which is more severe. Everyone concerned should oppose this section. This can never be acquiesced in. Even the satyagrahis cannot afford to remain silent [on this point]

SECTION 8

No prohibited immigrant can carry on trade or own land in the Province [where his residence is unlawful], or in any part of the Union.

COMMENT

The effect of the section will be that a Cape Indian, who does not have the right to reside in Natal, cannot own land or carry on trade in that Province.

SECTION 23

The onus of proving that one is not a prohibited immigrant will lie on the [intending immigrant].

COMMENT

All such laws contain a similar section.

SECTION 25 (I)

The Government reserves powers to issue temporary permits on such conditions as it may choose.

COMMENT

Under this section the Government can permit the entry of persons whose services it considers essential.

[SECTION 25(II)]¹

The [Immigration] officer, in his discretion, may issue to any person who fears that he may forfeit his [domiciliary] right, a permit entitling him to return [to the Province or the Union] after a specified period.

COMMENT

A similar offensive section is contained in the Cape law, but it is a new one for Natal. It is not obligatory on one to take out this permit; but the poor may be [imprisoned and] sorely harassed [if, on their return, they are unable to establish their domiciliary right]. Natal should vehemently oppose this section. The satyagrahis may do so too; but it cannot be asserted just yet that they should fight. One does not forfeit one's right if one does not take out this permit and one can leave Natal after making [other] careful arrangements.

SECTION 28(I) &(II)

Act 36 of 1908 (the second Asiatic Act) will not apply to those, who enter (the Union) after passing the [dictation] test. But they will nevertheless be subject to Sections 7 & 8 of the Orange Free State Laws².

COMMENT

Under this section, an Indian who has passed the test gets an unqualified right to reside in all the four Provinces [of the Union]. He will not have to register himself. He cannot, however, own land in his own name in the Transvaal. In the Orange Free State, he cannot own land, neither can he carry on trade or farming. Satyagrahis cannot ask for more than this. Another campaign, and that on a big scale, should, however, be launched to secure the rights to own land, etc. For this it is essential that Indians should acquire the requisite strength. That will take time. We have still much to learn and to suffer yet.

This law contains 29 sections in all, but it is unnecessary to summarize the rest.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion , 3-2-1912

¹ This power was, in fact, vested in the Minister (Appendix Extracts from Immigrants' Restriction Bill (1912) and Orange Free State Constitution", 3-2-1912), but Gandhiji here assumes that, in practice, it would be delegated to the Immigration Officer.

² Chapter 33 of the Orange Free State Constitution

116. TELEGRAM TO BRITISH INDIA UNION¹

[LAWLEY,]
February 3, 1912

TO
BRITISH INDIAN UNION
67, HANOVER STREET
CAPE TOWN

PASS RESOLUTIONS PROTESTING AGAINST DISCRETION OFFICER
REGARDING PROOF DOMICILE WIFE CHILDREN NEW EDUCATION
TEST FOR PROVINCIAL MIGRATION ALSO NEW TEST FOR
OVERSEA IMMIGRATION RETENTION CAPE PRACTICE LIMITING
PERIOD ABSENCE AND FREE STATE SECTION REQUIRING
DECLARATIONS EDUCATED IMMIGRANTS. SUGGEST YOUR SEEING
ADVOCATE ALEXANDER WHO KNOWS POINTS DIFFICULT GIVE TEXT
RESOLUTIONS WIRE.²

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5612

117. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

Maha Vad 2 [February 4, 1912]³

DEAR SHRI RAOJIBHAI,

I have your letter. I have not changed my mind but, in view of our father's refusal to permit you to go to Phoenix, it is my duty to say 'No' to you. You have a like duty. If, however, your father wants you to do something that is positively wrong, I can take you into Phoenix to help your escape that. When placed in a moral dilemma, one is bound to hold one's peace if parents forbid one to follow a certain line of action; if pressed, however, to do something sinful, one should refuse to obey. Prahladji's is the only example that can be

¹ Vide "A Note", on or after 2-2-1912.

² A meeting of the Cape Indians held on February 4 passed unanimous resolutions on the lines suggested in the telegram. *Indian Opinion*, 10-2-1912.

³ This letter comes after that of November 29, 1911 (pp. 191-2), to the same addressee. *Mahatma Gandhijina Patro* gives the last paragraph as a separate letter, which it assigns to *Maha Vad 2* (corresponding to February 4 in 1912). It gives the rest of the letter under *Phagan Sud 2* (corresponding to February 20 in 1912). Our source, *Gandhijini Sadhna*, gives the whole letter without a date. This letter is given here under the earlier date.

cited in this connection. One may, moreover, submit to any amount of physical suffering at the bidding of one's father. As for suffering to the self, there can be none.

You can conform to [the requirements of] morality while engaged in business. That will be education for you and a preparation for the kind of life that you wish to live. You will be, moreover, rendering a service to others through your business if you can practise absolute honesty in your dealings. You should accept a fixed price from every customer, one which would permit a reasonable margin of profit. You ought not to sell articles which you would not use yourself. You should be civil to the customers, [though] you need not flatter them in order to promote sales. If you have any assistance, you should treat them as if they were your brothers. All this should be easy enough. You should not feel that, by being in business, you will be exposing yourself to temptations; it is not as if you took to business in order to make dishonest gains. You will be joining business merely in deference to your father's order, so that you should find it quite easy to maintain uprightness. You say that you are not in love with money. One may feel unhappy in a situation which one dislikes, but one will not be corrupted. I do not think Prahladji found it in any way difficult to live as a devotee of Vishnu in the midst of *rakshasa*¹; for he utterly disliked the *rakshasa* way of life.

One can be true to one's pledge even when made to sit on the *shuli*². A true pledge is the one that is kept even at such a moment. If uprightness has become natural to us, has become a part of our being, it can certainly be kept, and it is the duty of us all to cultivate it to that extent. I pray that you may succeed in your noble aspiration.

With due regards from

MOHANDAS

From *Gandhijini Sadhana* (Gujarati); Raojibhai Patel; Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad; 1939

¹ Demons

² A sharpened iron stake on which a condemned person was impaled

*118. RESOLUTIONS AT MEETING OF CAPE BRITISH
INDIAN UNION¹*

CAPE TOWN
February 4, 1912

RESOLUTION I

That this meeting, having heard the address of the President and other speakers, and having been informed of the contents of the Immigration Bill, hereby endorse[s] unanimously the view taken by the President that the rights of the Indian community are placed in serious jeopardy. The meeting expresses its disapproval of the Bill as it stands, and authorizes the President and Secretary, on behalf of the whole Anglo-British Indian community, to petition Parliament, and to take such further, or other, steps as may be necessary to bring about the modification of the Bill in the particulars and on the lines suggested in the President's address, members of the meeting individually promising their strenuous support and assistance wherever possible.

RESOLUTION II

This meeting protests against the arbitrary nature of the new dictation test, both for oversea immigrants, as well as for persons domiciled in one province and wishing to enter or reside in another province.

RESOLUTION III

This meeting protests against the proof of being a domiciled person or being a wife or child of an immigrant of domiciled person,

¹ These resolutions were unanimously passed at "an excellently attended" meeting of the Union held on February 4, 1912 under the chairmanship of the President, E. Norodien, and were forwarded to the Senate and House of Assembly along with petition containing Cape Indians' objections to the Union Immigration Consolidation Bill; *Indian Opinion*, 17-2-1912. They were presumably drafted by Gandhiji, for, two days before the meeting was to be held, one Makadam from Cape Town informed him by telegram of the date of the meeting and asked him to wire the draft resolution. On this telegram as received Gandhiji made an urgent memorandum; *vide* "A Note", on or after 2-2-1912. For the text of Makadam's telegram. *vide* footnote of "A Note", on or after 2-2-1912.

being subject to the satisfaction of an immigration officer instead of being left to the Court.

RESOLUTION IV

This meeting protests against the retention of the Cape practice, limiting period of absence in the case of persons desirous of proceeding out of the Union for a temporary purpose.

RESOLUTION V

This meeting protests against the section of the Bill requiring declarations from educated immigrants who enter the Orange Free State.

Indian Opinion , 17-2-1912

*119. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*¹

[LAWLEY,]

February 6, 1912

STILL A WAIT WIRE AS PROMISED YOURS 2ND
INSTANT.

From a photostat to the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5616

¹ In reply to Gandhiji's telegram of February 1, the Ministry of Interior had said: "2 Feb. Hope to be able to reply to your wire or 1st February on Monday." S.N. 5615. Gandhiji mentions in his "Diary, 1912" that he drafted this telegram but did not send it. He, however, received a telegram the next day; *vide* Appendix "Telegram from Secretary for Interior to Gandhiji", 7-2-1912.

120. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR¹

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY,
February 7, 1912

PRIVATE SECRETARY
INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN

BEG THANK GENERAL SMUTS WIRE² EVINCING CONCILIATORY TONE. IN CIRCUMSTANCES EXPLANATION POSSIBLE AVOID RENEWAL PAINFUL CONFLICT IF BILL AMENDED SECUR EXISTING LEGAL RIGHTS INTER-PROVINCIAL MIGRATION EDUCATED ASIATICS AS TO WHICH WIRE QUITE SILENT. WILL STILL POSTPONE PUBLIC ACTION PENDING REPLY WHICH I HOPE WILL BE SATISFACTORY.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5614; also Photostat: S. N. 5619

121. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[LAWLEY,]
February 8, 1912

TO
INTERIOR

WHILST THANKING GENERAL SMUTS FOR PROMISE OF SATISFACTORY ASSURANCES REGARDING INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRATION, I VENTURE STATE THAT NO ASSURANCES SHORT OF RETENTION EXISTING LEGAL POSITION WILL SATISFY PASSIVE RESISTERS. ALSO VENTURE RECORD THAT MY SUBMISSION HITHERTO HAS BEEN PURELY IN TERMS PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENT. RESERVE RIGHT CRITICIZE BILL AS TO MANY OTHER OBJECTIONABLE FEATURES.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5618; also photostat: S. N. 5619

¹ To this Gandhiji received the following reply the next day: "General Smuts appreciates your reply and especially the spirit in which you have approached the difficulties surrounding the question of immigration. He is considering the matter of interprovincial migration to which you refer, and hopes shortly to be able to give you satisfactory assurances regarding the Provinces of Natal and the Cape." S. N. 5617.

² *Vide* Appendix "Telegram from Secretary for Interior to Gandhiji", 7-2-1912.

122. THE IMMIGRATION BILL

The Natal Indian Congress and the Cape British Indian Union have lost no time in holding public meetings¹ to protest against the Immigration Bill that was to have been read second time last Thursday. The resolutions² ought to command acceptance. The Bill designed not only to carry out the policy of almost entire Asiatic exclusion, but, if it is passed in its present form, it will very largely interfere with vested rights, and Asiatics generally will find themselves at the mercy of Immigration Officers.

General Botha's declaration³ made in England, and repeated elsewhere: that the Union Government do not desire to molest the resident Asiatic population of South Africa, will be falsified. It is more an Asiatic Expulsion Bill than an Immigration Consolidation Bill, as its authors have entitled it. The rights of residence of domiciled Asiatics and those of their wives and children are very seriously threatened, and the movement of educated Asiatics as between Natal and the Cape as also the Transvaal on the one hand and the Cape and Natal on the other, is to be considerably restricted by the new Bill. So that not a single section of the Asiatic community has been left untouched. Moreover Natal and the Cape have a special grievance in that educated Indians of the status of clerks and assistants will be practically prohibited immigrants under the arbitrary education test now proposed. The remarks⁴ of *The Star* in its leading article of the

¹ *Vide* 4th footnote of "The New Immigration Bill", 3-2-1912 and "Resolutions at Meeting of Cape British Indian Union", 4-2-1912.

² *Ibid*

³ General Botha, who was visiting England in connection with the Imperial Conference, made a Press statement in London on May 23, 1911, expressing gratification over the Provisional settlement of May 20. Reuter further reported that "he was sure that the Indians would do their part to help the Government to make things as pleasant as possible for them. They could be fully assured that the Government entertained no hostility towards them, but must always remember that the Government was determined not to admit more, except as provided in the agreement. He hoped that the Indians both in Africa and in India would realize that Mr. Smuts had great difficulty in obtaining the concessions he had already made."

⁴ *The Star*, commending the education test prescribed under the Transvaal Immigrants' Restriction Act of 1907 (which judged the ability of a would-be immigrant to write and sign, in any European language, an application for permission to enter the Colony) condemned the Bill as going "beyond the bounds of either equity or expediency" and said that the education test prescribed under it gave "the most arbitrary power" to Government officials. That there was a Board of Appeal

31st ultimo on this portion of the Bill are very apposite. Let us hope that the timely protest of the Natal Indian Congress and the British Indian Union will receive a sympathetic hearing from the Government, and an ugly situation that must otherwise inevitably arise be avoided.

Indian Opinion, 10-2-1912

123. FIRST INSTALMENT OF FAMINE RELIEF FUND¹

We have sent Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta a cheque for £100, being our first instalment towards the Famine Relief Fund. Any suggestions by contributors have also been forwarded to Dr. Mehta. Dr. Mehta is not unknown among the Indians here. His intention is to visit the famine areas and have his own contribution expended on the spot. We feel, therefore, it is only through him that the best use can be made of the collections.² Equally, the instructions which we have received or may receive in future about the disbursement of the money received for specific purposes or in specific areas can be best implemented through him.

This would also seem to be the right occasion to clarify some points which have been raised about the famine fund that is being collected. To contribute to this fund we have started and to entrust us with its utilization as has been done is one method. We have also received some instructions for disbursements independently of the *Indian Opinion* fund; to have the money thus sent through us is another method. Those who intend to send money anywhere on their own may do so. Our only aim must be to see that those who realize the seriousness of the famine do send help to the home country. There can be no question of anyone taking special credit to himself.

was of no use for the reversal of the decision of an "arbitrary officer—possibly with anti-Semitic tendencies", after many days, would be no recompense for the loss of money and the inconvenience caused. There was no provision in the Bill that the language selected by the immigration officials would be one of those commonly spoken in the immigrant's country or among his race. This, said *The Star*, was "Hertzogism run riot" and enabled "a satellite Minister of Justice to exclude an Englishman because he cannot pass a fifty words' test in the Taal". *Indian Opinion*, 10-2-1912.

¹ *Vide* "Famine in India", 11-11-1911 & 9-12-1911.

² The subject of the famine figured often in Gandhiji's letters to Dr. Mehta; *vide* 24-9-1911, 10-10-1911 & 11-11-1911.

We know that ours is a modest fund. The leaders [of the community] may, if they are prepared to assume the responsibility, undertake collection on a larger scale; it would do them credit if they did so. If no collection on any large scale is to be undertaken, we believe every Indian ought to give his mite to our fund.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 10-2-1912

124. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

February 15, 1912

DEAR MR. LANE,

I am still awaiting the promised reply¹ in connection with the Immigration Bill. I take this opportunity of reiterating what I have briefly submitted in my telegrams

As to sub-sections (f) and (g) of Clause 5, if the interpretation is as given in your telegram², to the effect that the jurisdiction of the courts is not ousted, it will be entirely satisfactory. In view, however, of the decision of the Natal Bench,³ I am very nervous as to the Clause, in spite of the assurance given in your telegram. I am, therefore, taking legal opinion myself.⁴

As to Section 7, passive resisters can have nothing to complain of, if the present legal position, namely, the ability of educated Asiatics to enter Natal or the Cape from the Transvaal by passing the education tests provided by the respective laws of the Provinces is retained.

As to the Free State, if the reading of your Law Officer is correct, that the declaration under Section 8 of Chapter 33 of the Orange Free State Constitution will not be necessary, this serious

¹ To "Telegram to Minister of Interior", 8-2-1912.

² *Vide* Appendix "Telegram from Secretary for Interior to Gandhiji", 7-2-1912.

³ In the case of *Mahomed Moosa Nathalia v. Principal Immigration Officer*, the Natal Division of the Supreme Court refused to interfere with the decision of the Immigration Officer who had, in his discretion, ruled that the evidence produced to show that young Nathalia was the rightful son was inadequate. Leave to appeal from the Natal Bench of the Supreme Court was refused by an Appellate Court. *Indian Opinion*, 3-2-1912, 10-2-1912 & 17-2-1912.

⁴ *Vide* the following item.

difficulty will have been solved, but as it is a matter of vital importance, we are taking legal opinion on it too.

Lastly, if domiciled Indians of Natal cannot, as a matter of right, claim to have domicile certificates issued to them, passive resisters cannot consistently object to Section 25(2)¹ of the Bill. I would, however, take the opportunity of pointing out that, if one thousand certificates were confiscated,² it entirely proves my statement that the certificates that have been issued could not be transferred without detection. That a thousand certificates have been confiscated between, I suppose, 1896 and now, shows that sixty Indians per year were ready to demean themselves by using certificates of domicile not their own, and that, being detected, they received a punishment fitting their crime.

*I am,
Yours sincerely,*

EARNEST F. C. LANE, ESQ.
CAPE TOWN

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5625

125. LETTER TO R. GREGOROWSKI

JOHANNESBURG,
February 15, 1912

DEAR MR. GREGOROWSKI,

I enclose herewith statement for your Opinion on the new Bill. You were good enough to give me your Opinion, which, as I told you, proved most valuable to me, on the Bill that General Smuts attempted to carry through the House last year.³ I enclose for your assistance, in addition to the statement for your Opinion, an extract giving the necessary Sections from the Orange Free State laws, as also your

¹ The Section required, inter alia, that Asiatics who wished to leave the Union temporarily had to take out a domiciliary certificate and in order to return were required to establish their identity in any manner prescribed from time to time; *vide* Appendix "Extracts from Immigrants' Restriction Bill (1912) and Orange Free State Constitution", 3-2-1912. The argument is that, if domiciliary certificates cannot be demanded as a matter of right, identification as required in Section 25(2) should not be peremptory.

² *Vide* Appendix "Telegram from Secretary for Interior to Gandhiji", 7-2-1912.

³ *Vide* "Letter to R. Gregorowski", 2-3-1911.

Opinion given last year, the Bill and the Natal and Cape immigration laws.

Yours sincerely,

R. GREGOROWSKI, ESQ.
PRETORIA

[ENCLOSURE]

STATEMENT FOR COUNSEL'S OPINION

Counsel's opinion is requested on the following points arising out of the Immigration Bill now before the Union Parliament:

1. Section 5,¹ sub-sections (f) and (g) exempt from the prohibition clause wives and minor children of lawful immigrants and domiciled residents, as also domiciled persons themselves, who satisfy an Immigration Officer as to their rights whether as wives and children or as domiciled residents.

Does this Clause remove the ordinary jurisdiction of the courts of law? And, if it does not, to what extent, if any, is the jurisdiction of the courts ousted [?] Will the decisions of Immigration Officers be subject to Appeal in the same manner as those of magistrates' courts? Is the exemption clause in any way affected by Section 7²?

2. Several British Indians are today in Natal or the Cape by reason of their having passed the education tests under the immigration laws of the respective Provinces.

In what way are they protected under the Bill? Do they become both domiciled and entitled to reside in their respective Provinces by reason of their having entered them by passing the education test, or are they protected only because their rights have not been taken away specifically by the Bill?

3. What is the position of those who entered Natal or the Cape by passing the education test, but who are at present temporarily absent from their respective Provinces?
4. The present laws provide for the protection of the rights of those who are domiciled in the respective Provinces, but the Bill protects the rights of those only who are both domiciled and entitled to reside in the Union or any Province.

¹ *Vide* 4th and 5th footnotes of "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", 29-1-1912; also Appendix "Extracts from Immigrants' Restriction Bill (1912) and Orange Free State Constitution", 3-2-1912.

² *Vide* 6th footnote of "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", 29-1-1912.

What is the exact meaning of the additional, if any, restriction imposed by the clause underlined?

5. Section 7 says that the person referred to therein may at any time be required to pass that (that is, the education) test.

Could a man who has once, after the passing of the Bill, passed the education test, be challenged again, although he may prove that he has passed the test?

Is a person who passes the test under the Bill liable to be examined again upon passing from one Province to another, although he may be in a position to prove that he has already, upon entering the Union, passed the test?

6. Section 25 of the Bill gives the Minister discretion to issue a permit to any person who is lawfully resident in the Union desiring to absent himself therefrom.¹

What will be the position of those who fail to take out such permits? Will it be enough protection for them if, rather than take out these permits, they, for instance, appear before a Notary Public, make a declaration as to their residence and then leave, and, on return, submit the declaration filed in the protocol of the Notary in proof of their right of domicile and residence?

7. Section 28 of the Bill, sub-section 2: those who enter the Free State by passing the education test are subject in all respects to the provisions of Articles 7 and 8 of Chapter 33 of the Orange Free State Constitution.²

Now Section 8 provides, among other things, that those who are permitted by the State President to settle in the State shall make and sign a sworn declaration before the Landdrost to whom they make the application in which they shall declare that they will neither directly nor indirectly carry on a commercial business, etc. Could such a declaration be required from immigrants entering the Free State Province under the new Bill.

8. Will Counsel please generally compare the present Bill with the laws it replaces, and state how far in other respects it is more restrictive of the liberty of the subject?

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5626-7

¹ *Vide* Appendix "Extracts from Immigrants' Restriction Bill (1912) and Orange Free State Constitution", 3-2-1912

² *Vide* 8th and 9th footnotes of "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", 29-1-1912.

126. THE £3 TAX¹

The judgment² given by a full bench of the Supreme Court, which appears in another column, would show that every Indian who has entered into a period of re-indenture or contract of service under the provisions of Act 19 of 1910 is liable to pay the annual licence of £3 for the current year. This means that all those who were induced to re-indenture by reading the Government's circular issued in April, 1910, have been cruelly deceived³ Whatever the intention of the Act may have been, the fact remains that perhaps thousands of Indians have entered into fresh contracts of service, fully believing that they would be relieved thereby from both arrears and current payments. Not only did the poor ignorant people believe this, but the Government departments also acted upon that interpretation. Some months ago the Law Department seems to have issued instructions to prosecute all those who had not paid the current licence. A test case⁴ was brought before the Umlazi Court in which it was decided that, during the existence of the contract of service, payment should be

¹ *Vide* "The £3 Tax", 11-11-1911.

² On February 9, 1912, the National Division of the Supreme Court dismissed N. Mudaly's appeal against the Lower Tugela Division Magistrate's decision declaring Mudaly liable to the payment of the £3 tax. The appellant argued that Act 19 of 1910 protected him from this payment since he had entered into a contract of service on the expiry of his indenture. *Indian Opinion*, 17-2-1912.

³ In its letter of November 18, 1911, to the Secretary for Justice, the Natal Indian Congress had referred to the circular of April 1910, issued by the Protector of Immigrants in a number of Indian languages (footnote 2 on p. 181) and claimed freedom for re-indentured Indians and others who had entered into civil contracts from payment of the current licence fee. It also proposed to agitate for the abolition of the tax altogether. It suggested that the Government might levy a genuine revenue tax thus compensating itself for the losses. *Indian Opinion*, 2-12-1911. In his reply of February 2, 1912, the Acting Secretary for the Interior asked for more information about the re-indentured men who had been prosecuted for non-payment of the licence fee.

⁴ Vencatachale Naik was brought before the Umlazi Court some time during November, 1911, charged with the non-payment of the £3 fee. The Magistrate decided that the current licence fee should not be demanded from him—presumably because he had entered into a civil contract. Following this some "forty to fifty summonses" which had been issued were withdrawn. The Umlazi case was cited by the Natal Indian Congress in its letter of February 17, 1912 to the Acting Secretary for the Interior. *Indian Opinion*, 24-2-1912.

suspended. Consequently forty or fifty summonses which had been issued were withdrawn. The Government seems to have decided to abide by that decision, for nothing further was heard of it. Now, it appears, the Magistrate of Lower Tugela Division has given his decision to the effect that the Current licence must be paid, and the Supreme Court has upheld that decision. This brings the matter to a head and we shall shortly see what the intention of the Government is. If the Minister of Justice has a spark of humanity in him, he will at once instruct the Courts not to prosecute, for he knows well enough that many if not all of the people affected by the judgment have been trapped into fresh contracts of service by the inducements held out in the late Natal Government's circular. We understand that already the machinery of the law is being set in motion and that summonses are being issued.

There is also an element of farce about the whole business. We happen to know that, if a free Indian who has managed to escape payment of the tax wishes to return to India, no one will prevent his going, even though he may owe arrears amounting to twenty pounds. Yet this same Government rewards the man who has been inveigled into a contract of re-indenture by making him pay ú3 per annum so long as he is willing to slave away for the benefit of planters and other employers! Surely it does not need a very wise man to see both the absurdity and injustice of such procedure?

On the same page as the judgment will be found a letter from the Secretary for the Interior in reply to the Natal Indian Congress's letter of November last, which was addressed to the Minister of Justice. The Congress requested that all those who had acted upon the words of the circular should be relieved from payment, Now, after waiting three months, what is the result? The Minister of Justice, whose department was responsible for the issue of summonses against these poor Indians, ignores the request and sends the letter to the Department for the Interior which asks of the Natal Indian Congress a question which the Minister of Justice was better able to answer. In fact, when inquiry was made at the Court from which the summonses were issued, the information was refused and the advice given to obtain such information through the Secretary for Justice!

So we have the spectacle of a great Government using its tremendous power to tyrannize over poor defenceless Indians—men and women who have given their very life-blood in making Natal a

prosperous country. It is the duty of the Natal Indian Congress to boldly defend these poor people. Whatever reply it chooses to send to the Minister for the Interior, it must at all costs see to it that those who are helpless shall not seek in vain for succour.

Indian Opinion, 17-2-1912

127. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

February 17, 1912

MY DEAR MILLIE,

What a horrid thing that you should get chicken pox! Henry says it was due to the sin of going to Delhi even after the event. Whatever the cause, I am sorry you were not able to attend the Congress sittings. It was quite like you to have turned your illness to good account by reading on things Indian. I hope that the illness has not left you weaker. These illnesses if properly treated invigorate patients in the end.

Waldo is evidently having a good time of it here.

I hope you are not worrying about Amy. To worry where we cannot help if possible is to render us still more helpless for future service.

Of the bill and the prospects of the struggle, you will learn from my letter to Henry.

Manilal, Ramdas and Devdas are with me at present. They are all well. Manilal will be going to Phoenix shortly. Hoosen too has been paying a visit to the Transvaal. He proposes to leave for India shortly.

I have now 25 boys on the Farm 8 Mahommedans, 2 Parsees and the balance Hindus. Of the latter, 5 are Tamils, one Calcuttan and the rest Gujaratis. They are divided into at least four standards. Medh, Pragji and Jamnadas assist me at school. Gujarati, Hindi and Tamil are being taught besides English. I shall find it somewhat difficult to manage the school if and when Desai and Medh go to India.¹ I want to teach the boys sewing. Mrs. Vogl has been coming once a fortnight for the purpose. Poor woman. She has her old trouble coming on again and again. The doctor has now forbidden railway travelling. So the class may be interrupted. But I have learnt sufficient to continue

¹ Pragji Desai and Surendrarai Medh left for India in the second week of March 1912, vide "Speech at Farewell Meeting", 9-3-1912.

the class for some time. Sandal-making is going on regularly. I make my own shirts now. Ramdas, Devdas and I wear shirts of my own make. Mrs. V. is quite proud of her new pupil. But I fear she conceals the true fact when she credits me with having turned out an excellent shirt. I have just finished Devdas's knickers too. During the past six months, we must have made nearly 50 pairs of sandals mostly for the Farm boys. Some have been made to order also. I sent one pair to Maud and if you give me the tracing of your right foot, holding the pen perpendicular I shall do myself the honour of making a pair for you. Mrs. Vogl and Miss Schlesin have theirs.

I think I gave you the school hours. Rise at 6 a.m., breakfast 6.45 a.m. home-made bread toasted or fried in ghee and cereal, coffee or milk (condensed I am sorry) and stewed peaches 7.15 manual work some hoeing, some in the kitchen, some wood-chopping and others sandal making and sewing 10 a.m. bell for bathing, 11 a.m. to 12 noon, dinnerrice and curry and bread, fruits if any and some cereal preparation for those boys who are experimenting in saltless diet. 12 to 1 boys read for themselves. 1 to 4.30 schooling. 4.30 to 4.45 drill. 5.30 p.m. supper-wholemeal porridge, milk, stew and coffee and bread. 7 to 8 some religious reading and hymns Gujarati, Hindi and English. Religious reading from Mahomedan scriptural books, Parsee and Hindu. At 8 p.m. boys are free to go to bed. I sleep with them on the open verandah. Mrs. Gandhi too sleeps on the open verandah with the boys who cannot be accommodated on the verandah where I sleep. Devdas shares Mrs. Gandhi's bed as of old. Boys do their own washing. On the Farm they wear nothing but the shirts and trousers. If it is cold, they wear jerseys and jackets too if they wish to. There is hardly any compulsion used. Appeal is always made to their good nature for making them do anything. All boys must be vegetarians and non-smokers at least on the Farm. No boys may come from outside to have tuition only. Parents pay 3/- per month for board. They pay also 10/- for books. The 10/- should last six months. And now you have the whole picture of the school. They are taught English, arithmetic and their own mother tongue. History, geography, etc., are taught incidently.

With love,

BROTHER

From the original: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

128. LETTER TO CHANCHALBEHN GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]

Maha Vad 0 [February 18, 1912]¹

CHI. CHANCHAL,

I had a letter from you after many months. I should like you to be less lazy about writing letters.

I can very well understand your natural desire to be with Chi. Harilal. I do not at all wish to come in your way in this. Live, both of you, as you wish and do what you like. I can have but one wish: you should be happy and remain so.

Personally, I do not like your giving Kanti ² Mellin's Food. I think it a sin to use any foreign goods in India, and the use of food products is all the more distasteful to me now. I cannot help feeling that all such products are polluted. Even when they do not contain animal fat, alcohol, etc., I have noticed that they are not entirely free from contamination by them, since foreigners do not object to the use of these. We should know that our children grew well enough in the olden days without these foreign foods; hence my advice is that we too should do without them. Wheat, well roasted, ground fine and mixed with a little *gur* and water will serve the same purpose as Mellin's Food. We can prepare a number of things to replace it.

It is easy to see that your presence there and that of Rami and Kanti must be a great comfort to Chhabalbhabi³.

Personally I don't see how Ba or I can get away from here just now.

Manilal is here at present. He will leave in the middle of Phagan⁴. Jamnadas, too, is here. I am busy at present with the affairs of the school. There are 25 pupils, eight of them Muslims, two Parsis and the rest Hindus. Among the last, five are from Madras and one from Calcutta, and the rest are Gujaratis. Jamnadas and others help with the reaching.

¹ This letter appears to have been written on the same day as the succeeding one.

² The addressee's son

³ Chanchalbehn Gandhi's mother

⁴ A month in the Vikram calendar corresponding to February- March in the year 1912.

My loving kisses to Ramibai and Kantibhai. Ask Bali to write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 9529

129. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]

Maha Vad 0 [February 18, 1912]¹

CHI. HARILAL,

I have had a letter from you after many months, You say you try to be regular, but you seem to have failed in your effort, and the fresh hope you held out to me has not been fulfilled. Since you wrote last, there have been two posts without a letter from you.

Chanchi has expressed a desire to stay on with you and asked for my opinion. I have replied to her,² and given her other news as well. She will send the letter on to you. If she does not, ask for it. I do not therefore repeat [its contents]. I have no objection to your living together. Do what you like and live as you deem proper.

Your staying with Sheth Miankhan is all right. Press him once again to accept some rent. I shall speak to Chandabhai when I meet him.

Why Chanchi [should have] the same disease as Ba. . .³

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand. S. N. 9541

¹ This appears to have been written in 1912. In that Year *Maha Vad 0* corresponds to February 18.

² *Vide* the preceding item.

³ Further pages of this letter are missing.

130. LETTER TO R. GREGOROWSKI

February 20, 1912

DEAR MR. GREGOROWSKI,

I thank you for your letter. I shall await your opinion with very considerable interest. I quite agree that the draft is an awful humbug, and one of the ways I can fight it successfully is to get your valuable opinion. It would not do for me to use your last year's opinion¹, as there are some new points at least in the present Bill, and as I have to use your opinion both here and in London in support of the contentions I have already advance, in so far, of course, as your views are in agreement with mine. I, therefore, hope that you will give me your opinion on all the points I have raised without referring to last year's opinion, except in so far as you may use it for comparing the present Bill with last year's draft².

I am,

Yours sincerely,

R. GREGOROWSKI, ESQ.
PRETORIA

From a Photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5630

¹ *Vide* "Letter to R. Gregorowski", 2-3-1911.

² *Vide* Appendix "Immigrants' Restriction Bill.

131. TELEGRAM TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS

[Before February 21, 1912]¹

TO

ASIATICS

PRETORIA

SEEN CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING VISITING PERMITS FOR
M. SALY KANJEE JEEWANBHAI LALJEE MEGHJEEBHAI I THINK
YOU HAVE REFUSED APPLICATION THROUGH NOT KNOWING
FULL CIRCUMSTANCES. PARTIES NOW LOURENCO MARQUES.
THEY REPRESENT I UNDERSTAND HIS HIGHNESS AGA KHAN
AND ARE VISITING CENTRES . . .² ASIATIC KHOJAS . . .³ TRUST YOU WILL GRANT
AUTHORIZE YOUR AGENT LOURENCO MARQUES ISSUE VISITORS
PERMITS THREE WEEKS UPON APPLICATION.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5659

132. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

[LAWLEY,]

February 24, 1912

DEAR MR. LANE,

I have now received Counsel's Opinion on the Bill.⁴ According to it:

- (1) the Bill does oust the jurisdiction of the lower courts and also of the superior courts, except by way of mandamus.⁵

¹ The visit of the representatives of the Aga Khan to Johannesburg and Tolstoy Farm is referred to in a news- item in *Indian Opinion*, 2-3-1912; it also mentions that they bought a pair of sandals at the Farm.. Hussein Dwad, in a Gujarati article entitled "A Diary of My Tour" (*Indian Opinion*, 27-7-1912) mentions having met one of these persons during his travels in Zanzibar. Gandhiji, who refers to them briefly as "Zanzibar Memans", records their visit in his entry for February 21 in "Diary, 1912", and a ten-shilling credit entry, which represented the prices of the sandals, figures in his accounts for the day. This telegram, which seeks permission for their entry into the Transvaal, was evidently sent, if at all, some time before that date.

² Some words here are illegible.

³ *Ibid*

⁴ *Vide* letters to Lane and Gregorowski, 15-2-1912 & 15-2-1912.

⁵ In the interpretation of Section 5 (f) and (g) of the Union Immigration Bill of 1912 ; *vide* "Letter to R. Gregorowski", 15-2-1912.

This will certainly curtail the legal rights of the Transvaal Indians, if not of the others.

- (2) It may be that proof of domicile will be required of Transvaal Indians before they can bring their wives or children, although they may be duly registered, and apart from proof of registration.¹

I am sure such is not General Smuts' intention. The matter should, in my opinion, be placed absolutely beyond doubt.

- (3) Educated Asiatic immigrants will be liable to make the declaration required by Section 8 of Chapter XXXIII of the Orange Free State Constitution.²

All the points referred to by me, it will be admitted, are of the highest importance as well from the passive resistance standpoint as from that of common justice. I trust, therefore, that the defects will be remedied.

*I am,
Yours sincerely,*

ERNEST F. C. LANE, ESQ.
CAPE TOWN

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5634

133. MISREPRESENTATION

We publish in another column the reply of the Colonial Office to the representation made by Lord Amptill's Committee in the Nathalia case³. Mr. Harcourt has been given to understand that the new Bill now before the Union Parliament will prevent "a recurrence of such a case". Mr. Harcourt, therefore, declines to take any action in the matter. Mr. Harcourt's statement that the new Bill will preclude a recurrence of such a case proves the hardship of the case. He has

¹ The reference is to Section 25(2).

² The reference is to Section 28.

³ For details of the case, *vide* "A Shocking Case", 23-9-1911, "A Shameful Act", 30-12-1911 and 4th footnote of "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", 15-2-1912. The SABI Committee, London, wrote to the Colonial Office on January 19, 1912, regarding the inability of the Natal Courts to interfere in Nathalia's case. The Colonial Office reply, dated February 5, 1912, said: "Mr. Harcourt understands that the recurrence of such a case is precluded by the terms of the Immigration Bill now before the Union Parliament and he does not propose to take any action in the matter." *Indian Opinion*, 9-3-1912.

obviously based his letter on information given to him by the Union Ministers. Now, everybody who knows anything of the new Bill knows that, in its present form, it does nothing of the kind. It simply exaggerates the existing evil. The Nathalia tragedy was possible because the Immigration Officer had autocratic powers. These are further increased by the new Bill. If in cases such as this, wherein misrepresentation can be easily exposed, the Union Government do not hesitate to misrepresent matters to the Imperial Government, who can tell what misrepresentations they have made in matters which will never see the light of day?

Mr. Harcourt's refusal to intervene in the individual case of the boy Nathalia is not easy to understand. The injustice is admitted. Surely he could, therefore, ask the Union Government, we shall not say, to exercise mercy, but to undo the mischief done by their own officers. Nathalia's sacrifice on the altar of an anti-Asiatic policy will rankle in the breast of every Indian in South Africa. If we cannot act more decisively it does not show that we feel the injustice any the less for it; we simply betray our weakness. But neither the Imperial Government nor the Union Government dare trade upon our weakness with impunity. A community that has once wielded the weapon of passive resistance may be relied upon to do so again on due occasion.

Indian Opinion, 9-3-1912

134. MRS. JUSSAT'S CASE

If Mrs. Jussat is deported,¹ the Transvaal British Indian Association, the Hamidia Islamic Society and, to some extent, all the Indians in South Africa will lose face.

¹ Ebrahim Mahomed Jussat, a registered Transvaal resident, had two wives, Rasool in Standerton and Fatima in India. When Rasool left him, he wanted to bring Fatima to South Africa. The Barberton Magistrate disallowed Fatima's claim to entry on the ground that, since Rasool had already acquired domicile as Jussat's wife, his first wife could not also claim entry. Fatima's appeal to the Transvaal Bench of the Supreme Court was dismissed on February 13, 1912, by Justice Wessels who, in his judgment, referred to his earlier ruling in Adam Ismail's case (footnote 1 on p. 120 and "Johannesburg", pp. 122-3) that a Muslim could bring in only one wife and this, in Jussat's case, was Rasool whom he had not divorced. *Indian Opinion*, 24-2-1912.

The Government's reply¹ to Mr. Cachalia is entirely unsatisfactory. It only goes to prove that no assurance by the Government can be relied on. The law is the last word.

General Smuts had clearly said that, notwithstanding Justice Wessels' judgment, he would grant relief in cases of hardship.² The community can only interpret this to mean that, whenever anyone can establish that he has contracted a second marriage in conformity with the law of his religion and wants to bring in his second wife, he should not be prevented from doing so.

General Smuts writes that there are no extraordinary facts about this case [which would warrant interference by the Government]. What extraordinary facts does he require? It is a fact important enough for us that Mrs. Jussat is a legally married wife of Mr. Jussat.

What does Mr. Jussat propose to do? Will he let his wife be deported and himself stay on in the Transvaal, without a word of protest, for the sake of his wretched belly? What do his friends propose to do? Will they look on, bangles on wrists,³ while the police deport Mrs. Jussat, in this awful manner, for no fault of hers?

What does the Association propose to do? Does its duty end with sending telegrams and letters? Does the Hamidia Islamic Society intend to sit still? Will not its office-bearers realize that Islam is being insulted?

The issue is not whether Mr. Jussat is poor or rich, good or bad. He brought his wife in and the Government has made ready to push her out. That is [tantamount to] pushing us all out.

Let not Natal or the Cape feel that they do not have a similar law in those Provinces

We hope that Mrs. Jussat is a brave woman and that, if deported,

¹ Both Cachalia and Bawazeer had written to Smuts on February 15, 1912 protesting against Justice Wessels' judgment. On February 29, 1912, the British Indian Association sent a telegraphic reminder to Smuts who, on March 2, 1912, replied that he was unable to find "such exceptional circumstances in Mrs. Jussat's case as to warrant his intervention". *Indian Opinion*, 24-2-1912 & 9-3-1912.

² On July 10, 1911, Smuts had, in a letter to the British Indian Association and the Hamidia Islamic Society, assured them that the Judge's ruling in the case of Adam Ismail regarding the immigration of Muslims' wives had been noted and that cases involving hardship brought to his notice would receive consideration. *Indian Opinion*, 22-7-1911.

³ Gandhiji often used this image; *vide*, for instance, "Lecences in Natal", 2-5-1908.

she will re-cross [the frontier] to join her husband and will, if necessary, go to gaol, for doing so.

We hope that Mr. Jussat will keep up the spirit that would be worthy of an Indian husband and that, accepting poverty for the sake of his wife, he will suffer whatever hardship is necessary; then, he will secure relief.

We trust Mr. Jussat's friends will encourage him, dip into their pockets if need be, and come forward to secure redress from the Government.

We trust the Association and the Hamidia Islamic Society will remember their previous records and fight on till they have succeeded in securing relief.

Let everyone remember that we have, first and last, only one remedy—satyagraha and nothing else.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-3-1912

135. SPEECH AT FAREWELL MEETING¹

JOHANNESBURG,
Saturday, March 9, 1912

Messrs Medh and Pragji have rendered great service to the community by especially coming over to the Transvaal from Natal and going to gaol. Even after their release, they did not, impelled by love of money, seek any means of making it, but stayed on at Tolstoy Farm and helped in running the school and in its other activities.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 16-3-1912

¹ The meeting was held in the Independent Church Hall, Johannesburg, to bid farewell to Surendrarai Medh and Pragji Khandubhai Desai—both satyagrahis—who were leaving for India; *vide* the following item

136. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
*Phagan Vad 8 [March 11, 1912]*¹

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. Surendrarai Medh and Mr. Pragji Desai or by either of them. They are both naturally looking forward to the privilege of meeting you. They have heard much about you from me. If practicable, they want to take up famine-relief work under you while they are there. Both of them are staunch satyagrahis. Mr. Medh has taken a vow to observe *brahmacharya* and devote himself to the service of the motherland for ten years. His letter about this I have sent to you to read. Mr. Pragji also wants to take similar vow. Everything will depend on how his mind works after he has consulted his elders. Mr. Medh, too, will have to consider how far he can keep to his pledge after he has reached Ahmedabad. It is certain that his father will put the utmost pressure on him.

I should like you to send for both of them. If you do, please let them have the railway fare. Both of them live in poverty. They are due to return here before Professor Gokhale's visit.

Bande Mataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 1262

137. THE INDENTURE RESOLUTION

It would have been strange if Mr. Gokhale's resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council at Calcutta calling for entire stoppage of indentured labour had been carried.² But it would appear that the elected members almost solidly voted for the resolution. It is, there-

¹ This letter was written after the announcement, made on December 29, 1911, about the projected visit by Gokhale to South Africa and before he actually arrived on October 22, 1912. It could therefore have been written only in 1912. Medh and Desai left for India for a short visit on March 21. *Vide* also the preceding item.

² Gokhale's resolution was defeated by 33 votes to 22. *Indian Opinion*, 9-3-1912.

fore, a great moral victory. Mr. Gokhale is not a man to leave off a thing after he has once undertaken it. It is reasonable, therefore, to hope that the system of indentured labour—that remnant of slavery—would end in the near future. We congratulate Mr. Gokhale on his great work. By this, his latest, effort on behalf of a class of his helpless countrymen, he has added greatly to the debt due to him by us.

There seems to be some misunderstanding regarding this resolution. It does not, as some of our readers suppose, alter the position as it exists today in Natal. That is to say, the rejection of this resolution does not undo what has already been done by the Indian Government.¹ Just as recruiting has been prohibited for Natal, the Indian Government has the power, at any time, to put a stop to recruiting for all other Colonies if the treatment of Indians is unsatisfactory. What Mr. Gokhale's motion would have done, if it had been successful, was to have put a stop to recruiting under the indenture system for all the Colonies.

Indian Opinion, 16-3-1912

138. MR. RUTHNUM PATHER

The appearance in our midst of another young Natal-born Indian barrister, fresh from his successful career as a student in England,² is an indication that the rising generation of Indians are a force to be reckoned with. Mr. Ruthnum Pather, who was born and brought up in Durban and attended the Higher-Grade Indian School, said, at the reception given in his honour, that he looked forward with pride to the prospect of sharing the community's sufferings, prosperity and happiness. The first of these he will certainly have a full opportunity of sharing; the second depends on what he considers to be prosperity; and the last is an illusive phantom which, if pursued, is never gained, but is rather found in duty faithfully done. Mr. Pather rightly boasts of the ancient civilization of India; and it is well if he keeps this before his mind, for, although we do not wish to disparage

¹ *Vide* 6th footnote of "What has Satyagraha Achieved", 3-6-1911.

² While he was in England as a member of the 1906 deputation to the Imperial Government, Gandhiji evinced much interest in Pather's education; *vide* Vol. VI, "Letter to Professor Parmanand", 26-10-1906, "Letter to J. H. Polak", 7-11-1906, "Letter to Secretary, County School", 17-11-1906, "Letter to Minn E. J. Beck", 27-11-1906 & "Letter to J. H. Polak", 29-11-1906.

brilliance in educational achievements, we fear that there is a danger of our young men, who have received an education entirely on Western lines, losing sight of their own nationality, their religion, and their mother tongue which is so rich in literature and culture. We extend a hearty welcome to our young friend, and we trust that his return to his native place will prove a blessing to himself, to those who come in contact with him, and to the whole Indian community.

Indian Opinion, 16-3-1912

139. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR¹

[LAWLEY,]

March 20, 1912

TO

INTERIOR

CAPE TOWN

COULD YOU NOW INFORM ME ABOUT IMMIGRATION BILL.
HAVE CABLE FROM INDIA INQUIRING ABOUT IT.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the office copy in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5641

140. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]

Chaitra Sud 6 [March 24, 1912]²

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I had a letter from Chi. Maganlal. I can make nothing of your meeting. Nor can I gather the purport of the minutes. I do not understand why you cannot have your original place on your return. Let me know what the upshot of it all was. I am not writing separately to Chi. Maganlal. I am rather busy with accounts work. In case they do not accept you as manager, they should, it may be suggested, decide what work to assign to you in the press. All the same, you had better remain quiet for the present. Let me know what happens. Given

¹ The Minister replied on the same day that it was "impossible to forecast when the Immigration Bill will be dealt with . . . however, when it is possible to state approximate date will communicate with you". S. N. 5642.

² The reference to the famine fund would suggest that the letter was written in 1912.

patience, this phantom will disappear. I should like to feel sure that you are unperturbed.

The accompanying list of subscriptions to the famine-relief fund sent by Chi. Abhechand¹ is to be published.² The cheque has been received here.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5638. Courtesy: Chhaganlal Gandhi

141. LETTER TO UMIYASHANKAR MEHTA

Chaitra Sud 7, [March 25, 1912]³

CHI. UMIYASHANKAR,

May be I could not quite explain. Condensed milk should not be taken as it is. It should be diluted with hot water and banana should be mashed into it. Try a quarter of a banana in four tea-spoons of milk. Do not be scared. You may continue giving it if it agrees. Banana is a very nutritious food. Mr. Polak's⁴ Waldo used to be given a banana and Mellin's Food. Rami is being given bananas.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 1629. Courtesy: Gunavant Umiyashankar Mehta

¹ Son of Amritlal Gandhi, Gandhiji's cousin. Abhechand Gandhi had his business at Tongaat in Natal.

² Though the list is not available, it is possibly the one published in *Indian Opinion*, 30-3-1912.

³ From the contents it appears that the letter was written in 1912; *vide* also "Letter to Chanchalbehni Gandhi", 18-2-1912. *Chaitra Sud 7* in 1912 corresponded to March 25.

⁴ H. S. L. Polak

142. LETTER TO UMIYASHANKAR MEHTA

Monday, [Before April, 1912]¹

CHI. UMIYASHANKAR,

Received your letter. The fire in the shop thus resulted in much damage. Fortunately, it has not affected [your] reputation. I am very sad to read about Chhabildas. I can never be agreeable to fixing a betrothal after taking money. Instead, the clearer way would be not to marry at all. Your brothers should also give him the same advice.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Have you not read or not understood what you should eat with the exception of the greens?

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 1632. Courtesy: Gunavant Umiyashankar Mehta

143. PUBLIC LETTER TO RATAN J. TATA

[LAWLEY,]

April 1, 1912

I am ashamed to have to own that I am only now able to fulfil the promise I made to you and to myself in my letter² acknowledging your second generous contribution of Rs. 25,000 towards the expenses of the great Passive Resistance struggle that I should write a public letter to you, in which I intended to incorporate an account of receipts and expenditure. The reason for this long delay is that my time has been fully occupied with one thing or another arising out of the struggle which I could not very well postpone, and I did not care to address the letter without giving a financial statement. However, with the zealous assistance of Mr. Sorabjee Shapurjee, the stalwart

¹ From the reference to Chhabildas Mehta's betrothal it appears this was written before April 1912. Gandhiji refers to his wife in his letter dated April 13, 1912; *vide* "Letter to Manilal Gandhi", 13-4-1912.

² This letter is not available. Tata's earlier donation of Rs. 25,000 to the Transvaal Satyagrahis' Fund was made in November, 1909; *vide* "Cable to G. K. Gokhale", 19-12-1909. He sent a further contribution of the same value on November 18, 1910; *vide* "Letter to G. A. Natesan", 9-12-1910.

passive resister, I have just finished the account, of which I give you herewith a full summary¹.

You will see, on the expenditure side, "Farm Capital Account". This represents the expense of erecting dwellings on Mr. Kallenbach's farm². The bulk, if not the whole, of it is returnable by Mr. Kallenbach, in terms of the grant of the use of his farm to passive resisters, on its being vacated. The item for *Indian Opinion* has been explained in the previous account rendered in my public letter³ to the hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. The item "Relief" includes all disbursements made to indigent families of passive resisters and all other help given to them or to their families. All the other items speak for themselves. As to the receipt column, all I need remark upon is that the funds received from Rangoon and London were entirely earmarked for relief purposes, and certain items from India were so earmarked by Mr. Petit. All these instructions have been strictly followed. There are some items in the receipt column included under the heading "Local" which are not, strictly speaking, contributions, but which are either refunds or receipts for disbursements specially made. It also includes boarding-expenses paid by the parents of the boys attending the farm school.

But for the willing assistance rendered free of charge by many a volunteer, the timely assistance of Mr. Kallenbach, and, above all, the readiness with which passive resisters' families fell in with the idea of going to the farm, the expenses would have been much greater.

Before quitting this subject of accounts, I would like to add also that the expenditure shown in the account takes no note of hundreds of pounds raised locally and disbursed by local committees, nor of private collections of which our countrymen will probably never know anything. The financial sacrifice made by the community during the struggle which has extended over a period of four years has been very considerable, and it has been my agreeable experience to notice that those who have continuously gone to gaol for the sake of their and their country's honour have been also the men who have cheerfully spent most in aid of the struggle.

You will observe that there is already a deficit, and I am obliged to fall back upon such resources as are available to me to meet it. It commenced nearly three months ago. Happily, two timely remittances

¹ *Vide* enclosure.

² Tolstoy Farm

³ Of April 25, 1910; *vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", 25-4-1910.

were received from Mr. Petit lately. If no assistance is received from India, and it is not possible to raise subscriptions here, it will be a matter for consideration where the pruning-knife should be applied. Most of the passive resisters' families have withdrawn from the farm, and their husbands or bread-winners have found for themselves means of earning a livelihood, but they all understand that, in the event of a revival of the struggle, they are to return to the farm.

Though the Union Parliament is still sitting, and the Immigration Bill, designed to give effect to the terms set forth in the correspondence¹ that passed last year between General Smuts and myself, has been read a first time, it is difficult to say whether the struggle will be entirely closed this year. The Bill itself is open also to certain objections from the passive resistance standpoint, as it is also from a general standpoint.² In my opinion, it does not entirely carry out the agreement³, but I have great hope that, so far as objections in terms of the agreement are concerned, the Bill will be amended. If it is not in any vital particular, the struggle will most assuredly be revived. But there is also some ground for the fear that the Bill may not be passed during the current session at all, in which case the farm will, in all probability, have to be continued. As you know, the struggle has centred round the racial bar in the Transvaal immigration legislation, and we have consistently opposed it from the very commencement. So long as the Transvaal persists in treating Asiatics as prohibited immigrants because they are Asiatics, so long will the struggle continue. Once that bar is removed, and details into which I need not go, are settled in accordance with the written undertaking, passive resisters will have achieved their purpose. How many and who will actually be able to enter the Transvaal or the Union, as the case may be, is a matter on which passive resisters, as such, have not laid any stress. The number of entrants and the manner of entry will largely depend upon the general behaviour of the community here and the demand made by India.

Perhaps the most substantial result of the struggle is the

¹ Negotiations by correspondence began in November, 1910 and continued up to May 20, 1911, when the Provisional Settlement was arrived at. Between April 1 and May 20, 1911, Gandhiji communicated with the Minister of the Interior or his Private Secretary on the following dates: April 7, 8, 19, 20, 22 & 29 and May 4, 18, 19 & 20.

² *Vide* letters to Lane, 29-1-1912 & 15-2-1912.

³ Of May 20, 1911

establishment of a school at the farm, which is being conducted by me, assisted until recently by Messrs Medh and Desai, two staunch passive resisters, and assisted at present by a cousin¹ of mine. The pupils number twenty-five, and the desire is not to admit more than fifty. No day-scholars are accepted, and all must remain on the farm. The parents of most of the boys pay £1.10s. per month for their sons' board. The amounts so received are credited in the passive resistance account. No school fees are charged. Manual training is combined with mental but the greatest stress is laid on character-building. No corporal punishment is inflicted, but every endeavour is made to draw out the best that is in the boys by an appeal to their hearts and their reason. They are allowed to take the greatest freedom with their teachers. Indeed, the establishment is not a school but a family, of which all the pupils are persuaded, by example and precept, to consider themselves a part. For three hours in the morning, the boys perform some kind of manual labour, preferably agricultural, of the simplest type. They do their own washing, and are taught to be perfectly self-reliant in everything. There is, too, attached to the school a sandal-making class, as also a sewing-class, the latter under the supervision of Mrs. Vogl, who so successfully organized the Indian Bazaar², held under the auspices of the Indian Women's Association last year. I need hardly mention that Mrs. Vogl's work is a labour of love. No paid servants are kept on the farm in connection either with the school or the kitchen. Mrs. Gandhi and Mrs. Sodha, assisted by two or three of the pupils, who are changed every week, attend to the whole of the cooking. Non-smoking, non-drinking and vegetarianism are obligatory on the farm. Mental training is given for three and a half hours at least, consisting of the vernaculars of the respective scholars, English, Arithmetic, and so much of history and geography as may arise from the lessons in English or in the vernacular. The medium of instruction is chiefly the vernaculars, which are Gujarati, Hindi and Tamil. The Tamil tuition, I am sorry to say, is of a very elementary character, there being no good Tamil teacher available. One hour in the evening is devoted to giving the scholars some idea of their respective religions, and, to that end,

¹ This was Jamnadas Gandhi who possibly taught Gujarati. After the departure of Medh and Desai on March 21, 1912, Gandhiji got Jamnadas over to help him with the school; *vide* "Letter to Chanchalbehn Gandhi", 18-2-1912 and "Letter to Manilal Gandhi", 6-4-1912.

² *Vide* "Address to Mrs. Vogl", 15-11-1911.

lessons are read from the Mahomedan, Hindu and Zoroastrian Scriptures. Readings from the last have been recently suspended, as two Parsee lads who were at the school have just left it. The classification according to religion to the date of writing this is sixteen Hindus and nine Mahomedans, and the classification according to race is eighteen Gujaratis, six Tamils and one from North India. All the boys attend throughout the hour when the respective readings are given. An attempt is made to inculcate in them the spirit that they are first Indians and everything else after that, and that, while they must remain absolutely true to their own faiths, they should regard with equal respect those of their fellow-pupils. The life on the farm is reduced to the utmost simplicity.

The school is in the nature of an experiment. Though therefore, it may be too sanguine to expect the boys to remain, when they grow up, agriculturists and simple livers, it may not be too much to hope that they will carry into their daily dealings, when they enter upon the battle of life, some of the lessons they are now learning.

The question will be asked how the school is to be continued. It is my desire, so long as I am in South Africa, to continue to devote myself to this work, and not to revert to legal practice, which has been entirely suspended for some time.¹ I should still take my share in what may be called purely political work, which here really is that of making a desperate attempt to earn one's livelihood with honour and dignity.

M. K. GANDHI

[ENCLOSURE]

ACCOUNT

<i>Receipts</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>Expenditure</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Subscription from India including Rs. 50,000 from Mr. Ratan Tata	6723	9	3	Relief for Resis- ters and their families	2335	1	3
Rangoon	972	0	0	London Commit- tee	1490	6	2
Zanzibar	59	3	6	<i>Indian Opinion</i>	1200	0	0
Mozambiqu	50	0	0	Salaries	530	1	3
Mombasa	18	12	10	Travelling expen-			

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", 8-5-1911.

<i>Receipts</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>Expenditure</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Delagoa Bay	11	12	0	ses including			
Tamakan	7	17	4	freight	482	6	11
Navisha	2	6	8	Rent, etc.	353	19	1
Chinde		15	0	Legal Expenses—			
Chaichai		4	9	Cape Town,			
Blantyre	1	1	0	Natal, Trans-			
London	159	19	4	vaal	371	1	3
Local, including				Telegrams	121	18	6
the whole of S.				Cables	191	9	1
Africa, and				Newspapers	154	12	10
boarding fees of				Stamps	65	12	1
scholars and				Stationery	39	13	11
refunds	459	10	1	Exchange on			
				Drafts and			
				Cheques	31	10	9
				Farm Capital—			
				Erection Build-			
				ings, Material,			
				etc.	492	11	11
To Balance	43	1	3	Farm Expenses			
				Upkeep	659	8	0
	<u>£ 8509 13 0</u>				<u>£ 8519 13 0¹</u>		

Indian Opinion, 6-4-1912

144. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY,
April 4, 1912

DEAR MR. LANE,

I have to thank you for your last telegram² regarding the Bill. I see that it has not yet been reached. Could you not tell me whether the Bill is at all likely to be reached this session, or whether it will be abandoned [?] If it is to be abandoned, you will agree that some new

¹ The original, however, has £8509.13.0—evidently a printing error. For mention of the deficit, *vide* "Public Letter to Ratan J. Tata", 1-4-1912.

² *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", 20-3-1912.

arrangement will have to be made. May I ask you to give me, if you can, a telegraphic reply¹?

Yours sincerely,

[M. K. GANDHI]

ERNEST F. C. LANE, ESQ.
CAPE TOWN

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5643

145. LOCATIONS AND DISEASE

In his evidence before the Tuberculosis Commission the other day Dr. Thornton, Medical Officer of Health for the Cape Province, is reported to have said: "Municipal Locations were very bad. With some exceptions, the huts rarely passed any kind of inspection, and very few municipalities gave anything in return for the revenue from the Locations." Other evidence given before the Commission goes to prove that the "civilizing" policy of the more "enlightened" nations has meant death and destruction to the Native people of this country. Before the adoption by them of European habits and customs, tuberculosis was practically unknown amongst the Natives. One mission station is specially mentioned as being comparatively immune from the disease, owing to the conditions of life approximating to those in the Native Kraal. All this is a serious indictment of the system under which a simple-living, pastoral people is brought from its natural surroundings into the crowded and unhealthy conditions prevailing in towns and Locations. It shows, so far as the health of the people is concerned, that they suffer severely for the doubtful privilege of becoming acquainted with modern life. We will not for the moment discuss the wider and much more important question of morals, except to say that we believe that the effect upon the people of congregating in crowded areas is the worst possible.

Anyone who has visited a Location, whether Native or Indian, must be impressed with the utter hopelessness of such places. The shameful neglect of the roadways, the utter absence of proper drainage, and the wretched condition of the buildings, all show at once

¹ The Minister replied telegraphically on April 9: ". . . no intention of abandoning Immigration Bill" (S. N. 5644), confirming the same by a letter dated April 9; S. N. 5645.

that this is a Location—a place where Coloured people are condemned to spend their days as outcasts. It is whispered that it is “dangerous” to go there alone at night; avoid it as you would a plague-spot. The dust-carts and scavengers of the municipality give it a wide berth and share in the general antipathy towards such unholy places. Rents and rates are regularly collected, but the money goes into the coffers of the municipality. If a new Location is to be laid out, it is considered economical to utilize ground recently used as a dumping-ground for night-soil and dead horses. Is there any wonder that Locations are hotbeds of tuberculosis and other dangerous diseases?

We understand that the Johannesburg Town Council had decided to “tackle” the question of Native Location, and that they are going to make a “big effort” to solve the question of housing the Natives. This is how they propose to do it: All the people who are at present living where they please are to be rounded up into a huge compound, where they will be compelled to live, whether they like it or not. A fence is to be erected around the Location, and the “inmates” (suggestive term) are to enter through the gateway, which will be under police guard. At a certain hour the gates will be closed, and opened again in time to allow the Natives to get to work for their European masters. A well-known Johannesburg citizen gave it as his opinion that the scheme would be a great success, not only from a public-health point of view, but also from a *police* point of view. Now, as for the public-health point of view, we are quite certain that the public referred to is the white public and not the public which is to receive the special advantage of living in this municipal compound ; and we think that Dr. Thornton will agree with us. And what, pray, is the “police point of view”? We think we can guess, but, as there can be no certainty about it, we will content ourselves by merely suggesting that, by segregating all the blacks, it will then be an easy matter to keep a watchful eye upon the white criminal class which is known to congregate in the cities. But to return to our main point, we would ask all fair-minded and far-seeing people not to ignore the warning contained in the evidence given before the Tuberculosis Commission that to increase Locations is to multiply disease and death.

Indian Opinion, 6-4-1912

146. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY]

*Chaitra Vad 5 [April 6, 1912]*¹

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your letter. I do not mind your writing to me about Virji² and Sam. Of course you do right to let me know whenever you notice shortcomings. Personally, however, I would rather you noted people's virtues than their faults. The latter, all of us are full of, so that we would do well to find out people's virtues and think of only these. It is possible to form this habit. So long, however, as you have not succeeded in doing so, do not hesitate to tell me of whatever faults you see [in people]. If things are what you represent them to be, I too feel that they are both wasting their time. About the press, too, your criticism may be justified. But turn your mind to the counsel in the Gita: "What is *apariharya*—that for which one has no remedy—one must resign oneself to." If you do your duty, you will feel contented. The world will go its ways in spite of our having done our duty. How can we prevent that? Even to think that we can would be conceit. I have with me what your Carlyle says on this. Only recently I read in it some profound observations, which I shall reproduce for your benefit some other time.

Mr. West and others are coming here. This may possibly make you feel a little more nervous still. But you should not be afraid. Mr. West's coming here is all to the good. It was necessary for him to meet me.

Do not let anything disturb your studies.

On Monday, we have sports for the children. We got the parents to donate prizes. Fifty other people will also attend. I wish you were here on an occasion like this.

¹ This letter was written from Tolstoy Farm where Gandhiji lived from June, 1911 to the middle of January, 1913. A day in the Gujarati month of *Chaitra Vad* can correspond to any day from April 1 to May 12 of the Gregorian calendar. The only year in which Gandhiji spent the months of April and May on Tolstoy Farm was 1912. Furthermore West, referred to in paragraph 3, arrived at Tolstoy Farm on April 10, 1912 and stayed up to May 7, 1912 recuperating from an illness. The children's sports event referred to in the last paragraph was held on April 8, 1912, which was a Monday. *Indian Opinion*, 13-4-1912.

² A Gujarati compositor in the International Printing Press, Phoenix

Jamnadas has been taught book-keeping, the method being quite easy. I get him to help me a good deal.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 94. Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

147. LETTER TO E.F.C. LANE¹

April 11, 1912

DEAR MR. LANE,

I have just seen a newspaper cutting containing a letter from the Acting Secretary for the Interior addressed to the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, in which the following passage occurs:

The object of the draft Bill is not to use the dictation test as a means of permitting the entry of Asiatics into the O.F.S., but to use it to exclude them, so that, under the provisions of the draft Bill, the territory of the Free State will be actually better protected against the entry of Asiatics than it is under the provisions of Chapter 33 of the Free State Law Book.²

I hope that this does not mean that those who are allowed to enter the Union under the Immigration test are to be or can be excluded from the Free State by being called upon to resubmit to the test and being made to fail therein. I shall be obliged if you will kindly reassure me on the point.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

[M. K. GANDHI]

ERNEST F. C. LANE, ESQ.

CAPE TOWN

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5646

¹ In reply to this Lane wrote on April 17: ". . . the interpretation which you put on the letter written to the Secretary to the Chamber of Commerce is quite the correct one." S. N. 5647.

² In this letter, published in *The Natal Mercury* and reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 6-4-1912, the Acting Secretary went on to say: ". . . the existing law makes it possible for Asiatics to enter the Free State and to reside there for a considerable period before making application for permission to reside there permanently, whereas under the proposed new law it will be possible to bar their entry on the borders of the Province".

148. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]

*Chaitra Vad 11 [April 13, 1912]*¹

CHI. MANILAL,

Your letter. Since Mrs. Pywell² and others took all that trouble over you, it is not surprising that you should have been so deeply moved.

Your undisciplined ways have been causing me much concern. I should like you to make every effort to submit yourself to discipline.

I saw your photograph. Your out and out English dress is not of a kind to please me. Even the collar starched? Certainly, you must have clean dress. But it does not go with our way of living to dress like a fastidious Englishman. It would even be better if you made it a rule to wear the Indian-style cap. Do not be dismayed by criticism of you in these matters. You may ignore what I say if it does not appeal to you. I do not want you to change your way of life just to please me. You need change only if my argument convinces you and you feel you are strong enough to act on it.

It is necessary that you visit Ani oftener.

Also call on Chhabildas's³ wife regularly and look after her needs.

Mr. West has been given rooms adjoining Rambhabai's⁴. He has his meals with us. I do not think he feels inconvenienced in any way.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 97. Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

¹ The reference in the last paragraph to West, who arrived at Tolstoy Farm on April 11, suggests that this letter was written in 1912.

² West's mother-in-law

³ Chhabildas Mehta of Durban

⁴ Rambhabai Sodha

149. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]

*Vaisakh Sud 8 [April 24, 1912]*¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I shall pass on to West the papers meant for him.

Print the matter on Prof. Gokhale in full. The comments that you suggest will do. It will be excellent if all of it is brought out in Gujarati as well as in English, with a picture of Prof. Gokhale added. If a Tamil translation appears simultaneously—separately perhaps—that would be fine indeed. I think 1,000 copies can sell. Print the words “the Honourable Mr. G. K. Gokhale” in full.

Wheat should be roasted till it has browned. It will be better to soak it overnight before roasting. The roasted wheat should then be ground coarse into grains. This flour should be boiled to silken fine [paste]. Add a little ghee to it, while it is still on the boil. This porridge can be taken with milk. It is desirable to keep it boiling for an hour. Just enough water should be added to make the dish a thick *khichdi-like* paste at the end of the hour. The right thing would be to eat it with honey or some home-made jam. Give as much as can be digested.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5774(A)

¹ In the second paragraph Gandhiji is referring to Press reports of and comments on Gokhale's second resolution on Indian indentured labour. They were printed in *Indian Opinion*, 20-4-1912 & 27-4-1912. In the year 1912, *Vaisakh Sud 8* corresponds to April 24.

150. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]

*Vaisakh Sud 8 [April 24, 1912]*¹

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have kept for the present the report of the [Gujarati] Sahitya Parishad² and the Hindi books. The latter are being used for Budrea's³ son who is here. The report, I myself want very much to read.

Yours was the right reaction to the *Titanic* report.⁴ Such occurrences serve to remind us from time to time that we are no better than fleas.

Jamnadas is extremely restless. He cannot stick to the same idea for two days running. He and Manilal are in the same state. Jamnadas, however, is an obedient lad. I have, therefore, no anxieties [on his account]. Sometimes he is seized by a strong urge to renunciation and at other times sinks into the depths of ignorance and vain desire. The reason for this unsettled state of mind is that he has not been happy with Ba. I have argued hard with him that this is a bitter draught he must swallow. In any case, he has made a promise and I shall hold him to it. When his permit was about to expire, we had a talk at the end of which he showed himself willing to stay on, and intimation has already been received that his permit has been extended for another six months. I have explained to him, therefore, that he must not leave

¹ The *Titanic* sank on April 14, 1912, in which year this letter was therefore written.

² Literary conference

³ A client of Gandhiji; *vide* "Letter to F. H. Tatham", 14-3-1908.

⁴ Both Chhaganlal and Maganlal Gandhi often sent Gujarati leaders or articles they had written to Gandhiji before publication; *vide*, for instance, "Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", 29-8-1911. The reference here is very likely to a Gujarati article entitled "Act of the Omnipotent Creator" which was published in *Indian Opinion*, 27-4-1912. It said: "Our saints and *bhaktas* have always taught that the minutest act cannot be performed without God's will. Man should learn this truth from the sinking of the *Titanic* . . . [The Americans and the British] worship science and man's power over Nature. . . . They repose so much faith in the muscle and the intellect that they consider themselves worthy of creating anything that their conceited intellect can think of . . ." The views expressed are similar to Gandhiji's. For Gandhiji's own reactions to the fire in the Paris Metro, *vide* "Accident?", 20-8-1903; to an earthquake in Northern India, *vide* "Earthquake in India", 13-5-1905 and to a famine in Central India, *vide* "Five Crores Starving", 28-3-1908.

during this period. Latterly, Ba too has been well disposed [towards him]. More-over, he was recently away to Johannesburg for three or four days. I believe therefore that he is quite at ease with himself, though he may soon get restless again. Restlessness is a defect natural to adolescence, and has to be tolerated. Boys who, though restless, are obedient, can easily become their normal selves again. I am sure that it will turn out so with Jamnadas.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Ani should be given £4 a month.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gadhiji's hand: S. N. 5774a(2)

151. LETTER TO "SPORTING STAR"

[THE EDITOR

SPORTING STAR

JOHANNESBURG

SIR,]

You have been good enough to invite my opinion on the suggestion made by "Recorder" in your issue of the 20th instant as to some provision being made for the admission of Asiatics to the Wanderers Ground. I offer my opinion not without some hesitation, for I feel that Recorder's suggestion is not practicable, to say the least of it. I recognize the purity of his motives, but, if I may venture to deal with his suggestion on its merits, I must say that the proposed division between higher and lower class Asiatics is, or should be, totally unacceptable, if only because it is impossible to make such distinctions in matters such as those to which "Recorder" refers. I hardly think that it is character or education that counts in determining the question of admission to a sporting-ground. I should not suppose that any such distinction is made in respect of Europeans. All that can be reasonably expected is that those who apply for admission be suitably and cleanly dressed. Nor will the suggestion that a portion of certain stands be set aside for Asiatics meet with general favour. It is one thing to put us on our honour, and expect us to occupy certain parts only; it is quite another to say that we may go to certain parts, and to no other. I am not blind to the unfortunate prejudice that exists in South Africa against Asiatics and Coloured

people. But I do feel that, as long as that prejudice is allowed to influence the deliberations of a Sporting Committee, so long it is better that we do not have any right of entry at all, than that such right should be recognized in a limited and niggardly spirit.

M. K. GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 4-5-1912

152. WHAT IS A WIFE?

Mr. Jordan¹, the Johannesburg Magistrate, has presented us with a clear-cut issue. In the case of an Indian wife who entered the Transvaal together with her husband, he has decided that she is a prohibited immigrant, as her marriage cannot be recognized by the Courts of South Africa by reason of her husband having married more than one wife.² Mr. Jordan has gone further than Sir John Wessels. The latter left us in a state of suspense. Under the learned Judge's decision in Mrs. Jussat's case³, it was just possible that one wife of a Mahomedan who had married more than one wife could come. But Mr. Jordan lays it down clearly that, if a man was married to more than one wife whilst the first wife was alive, all the wives become prohibited immigrants. Indeed, we consider Mr. Jordan's judgment to be more honest, if it is also more drastic. If this magisterial decision is allowed to stand unchallenged, the position of Indians with more wives than one will become most precarious. Those concerned are bound to obtain the decision of the highest tribunal of justice. Indeed, the matter cannot even rest with the Supreme Court. In the event of an adverse decision by that august body, the community will have to seek a clear declaration from the Imperial Government as to their attitude. The question is one of honour, and it will have to be

¹ H. H. Jordan; a Johannesburg Magistrate, in whose Court Gandhiji was sentenced for the first time on December 28, 1907.

² The reference is to the case of Hassin Mahomed's wife. Hassin Mahomed, a registered Asiatic, had married in India in 1895. In 1905, Hassin Mahomed took a second wife as sanctioned by Muslim law but later divorced her. His first wife was prohibited entry into the Transvaal by Magistrate Jordan who disallowed her claim to enter as a domiciled Asiatic's wife on the ground that polygamous marriages were not valid in South Africa. He declared her a prohibited immigrant as she could not pass the education test under the Transvaal Immigrants' Restriction Act. *Indian Opinion*, 4-5-1912.

³ *Vide* "Mrs. Jussat's Case", 9-3-1912.

thrashed out sooner or later. Mr. Jordan's decision challenges us to have it settled sooner.

Indian Opinion, 11-5-1912

153. THE JOHANNESBURG SCHOOL

So the Executive of the Provincial Council has decided not to give the Indian community a separate school for the education of Indian children. In the absence of any valid reason why such a school should not have been sanctioned, we are constrained to ascribe the refusal to anti-Asiatic prejudice on the part of the Executive. The School Board had recommended the establishment of the school. There was ample precedent for granting the Indian request. The promoters had guaranteed the rent of the school and guaranteed a large attendance too. In our opinion the fact that the Coloured schools of Johannesburg did not provide any facility for teaching the children their vernaculars was sufficient justification for granting the Indian demand. The state could make little use of Indian youths who did not know their own vernaculars. But we know that the self-styled state does but want its Indian population, whom it regards as an evil, to be got rid of at the first opportunity.

However, we must frankly confess that we do not mind this decision—we rather welcome it; we are now put upon our mettle. A community that jealously guards its will not allow them to be neglected because an outside body refuses to help it. The English speaking section of the Free State population answered General Hertzog's intention to starve the English education of their children by opening private schools or finding other facilities for educating their children in a manner they considered best. We have no real schools of our own in Johannesburg where a good education may be given to our children. We hold that it is the duty of the promoters not to sit still but to open the school and manage it without the help of the state. Indeed, if a strong board of management can be formed, we feel sure that the school will better supply our wants by reason of the absence of state interference.

(At the time of going to press, we have received further correspondence from Johannesburg which somewhat alters the case. But we consider that our main argument still holds good.)

Indian Opinion, 18-5-1912

154. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

LAWLEY,
May 21, 1912

DEAR MR. LANE,

I have your letter¹ of the 14th instant for which I thank you.

I think that the alternative clause is satisfactory if it means that the declaration² referred to in our correspondence will be unnecessary in the case of educated Asiatics. May I suggest that the clause provides definitely that the declaration mentioned in Schedule 2 will not be required.

I beg to thank General Smuts for meeting the difficulty regarding domicile.

I hope too that the other difficulties raised in my letters³ will be dealt with during the committee stage. They arise out of the provisional settlement as read it.

*I remain,
Your sincerely,*

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5653

155. INDIAN EDUCATION IN NATAL

“The Indian schools have made much progress during the last few years,” says the Minister of Education for the Natal Province in his Annual Report. And that is all he has to say about the education of Indian children. He is evidently satisfied at the present condition of affairs where considerably more than £100,000 is spent annually on the education of European children and only a paltry £6,761 on Indian education. Anyone not aware of the position which Indians hold in South Africa would naturally ask the reason for such a wide difference between the educational facilities offered to Europeans and Indians. The population of Indians exceeds that of Europeans. Is it not the duty of the Government to educate its people, to whatever race

¹ *Vide* Appendix “Lane’s Letter to Gandhiji”, 14-5-1912.

² Required of Asiatics entering the Orange Free State to the effect that they had no intention of settling there to trade or to farm; *vide* Appendix “Extracts from Immigrants’ Restriction Bill (1912) and Orange Free State Constitution”, 3-2-1912.

³ *Vide* letters to Lane, 29-1-1912, 15-2-1912, 4-4-1912 & 11-4-1912.

they may belong? What of the thousands of Indians brought here to exploit the agricultural resources of the Province? Surely there is a heavy responsibility resting upon those in authority. Then, again, we notice that the cost of educating a European is £5. 12s. 2_d. and an Indian £1.14s. 5d. So even the education which a few Indian children receive is given in a niggardly manner, and under conditions which would not be tolerated for Europeans. Out of a total of 570 Indian pupils attending Government schools in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, only 25 are girls. This is due, largely, to the refusal of the Government to separate the sexes in the schools. At one time there was a fair number of girls attending the Higher-Grade Indian School, but the parents withdrew their children and now there are only three attending that school. The reason for the parents' action may be described as sentimental but sentiment carries weight with many people, and the authorities have no right to disregard those sentiments and ride roughshod over them.

But we are not disposed to blame the Superintendent of Education for the lack of educational facilities for Indians, nor is it of any use blaming the Government. The Indian community itself is negligent in these matters. After all, we get very largely what we deserve. The Natives already are receiving nearly double the amount of public money that Indians receive for education, and they are showing, by their present activity, that they intend to demand their share of Government assistance in educating their children. But the Natives do not depend solely on the Government. They have already a great many very fine institutions in different parts of the country, built up by missionaries and by their own energies, and these are increasing in number and in usefulness.

The Government spent, last year, £9,000 on technical education for Europeans. This is provided because there is the demand for it. Even Europeans do not get anything without demanding it. A new technical institute has just been erected in Durban at a cost of £28,000. This is the result of strenuous efforts on the part of several European gentlemen who have worked away for years, sacrificing both time and money in their determination to give to their children an institution wherein they may receive instruction in scientific, artistic and practical work. One may well ask whether such institutions are not open to all. In theory, it is true, they belong to the whole of the people, but we know that, in practice, no Indian would be allowed to take a course of

study there. This is undoubtedly, a great shame, but we must not lose sight of the fact that we have not demanded technical education for our children as Europeans have. When we are prepared to make a united demand for a school wherein our children may receive manual training and scientific instruction we may reasonably hope to get it. We would gladly see our Indian youths eager to receive a practical training in some useful professions. But manual work is not in favour. We may well apply to ourselves the words of the Minister of Education, spoken at the Pretoria Conference: "We have a growing number of children . . . with a bookish education, afraid to work, and thinking that manual labour is 'Kaffir's work'. The result is that for these men there is no room in South Africa, and South Africa is bound to suffer unless we seriously set ourselves to solve the problem."

Indian Opinion, 25-5-1912

156. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

TOLSTOY FARM,
*Jeth Sud 12 [May 27, 1912]*¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Dhoribhai is not the kind of man to fit into the scheme. This is West's view. This contention is based on conversation with him and is justified. Our functioning is so different at present that it is doubtful if we should admit only labourers. Dhoribhai will not understand that he is not qualified. Hence, there is no need to tell him the reasons. I shall tell him myself. What seems clear is that we cannot admit him at the moment. But is it right to tell him why? West had asked me in his last letter and so I am discussing the matter with you. This is my attitude. Now you can do whatever you think proper.

Miss Molteno writes: "Your sweet Phoenix is a poem—a dream of loveliness."² Strangers are bound to think that way. We cannot take pride in her comment because we have known its bitterness too. Nevertheless we should cherish the aspiration that the future may justify Miss Molteno's belief. In order to realize that, I feel that we cannot admit an utterly worldly man like Dhoribhai. A time may

¹ The year has been inferred from the reference to the arrival of kotwal, who joined the Tolstoy Farm in 1912.

² Quoted in English

come when only two or three of us can continue to stay there to realize that ideal. May it be so. We shall not be cowards from fear of it.

Jamnadas¹ has been there for a long time now. I have reprimanded him for what Kashi has written in her letter. Please do not hurt his feelings. He has many admirable qualities. His physique is such that he can make it hard as steel. It is best to engage him in all activities. Send him here whenever he feels inclined. I do not think he would feel comfortable there for long. I feel that if you engage him in the press it would be beneficial to you as well as to him. But you must be needing all the help there right now. Nevertheless, do only what all of you consider proper. It is enough if you give thought to my suggestions. Do not insist on putting them into practice.

Kotwal² can wear the dress he chooses. I shall not interfere or force him regarding this. Those of us who have established Phoenix and those whom we specially invite cannot suddenly wear that kind of dress. I see the usefulness of trousers, etc., for the carrying on of our tasks. If trousers imply anything immoral, we should not wear them whether or not our task is accomplished. Kotwal has come to meet us. Moreover, Doctor³ has made certain recommendations about him. It is possible that he possesses such a character that we may have more to learn from him than he from us. Hence, I do not propose to discuss with him the matter of his dress unless an occasion arises. We can exercise greater freedom regarding dress, etc., at the Farm. In certain matters, there was opportunity for this Farm to rise superior to Phoenix in its way of living. Meat, etc., have got to be given up here and that is no small matter. Everyone must eat in the common kitchen, and that too is a big thing.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 1164. Courtesy: Chhaganlal Gandhi

¹ Addressee's Younger brother

² P. K. Kotwal

³ Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta

157. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

LAWLEY,
May 31, 1912

DEAR MR. LANE,

General Smuts' speech¹ on the second reading of the Bill leaves, I fear, the question of interprovincial migration in a somewhat unsatisfactory state. General Smuts appears to meet the objection raised on this point by lax administration rather than by amending the section as it appears in the measure now before Parliament. As I have already remarked, this will not satisfy passive resisters. I therefore, hope that the measure will be so amended as to leave the rights of Asiatics residing in the other provinces to enter Natal and the Cape in *status quo ante*.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5654

158. "AN UNFORTUNATE CASE"

Under the above sub-heading, the following report of a case brought before Mr. J. Y. Gibson, in the First Criminal Court, Durban, appears, in the *Natal Advertiser*:

Jadubansi, an Indian woman, was charged with refusing to return to her lawful employer, she being an indentured servant. The accused pleaded guilty. It was stated that the circumstances of this case were that the woman had served continuous sentences amounting to six months, for a steadfast refusal to return to her employer. She had been working on an estate at Stanger, and, in some accident, her baby had been burnt. She had come to Durban to make complaint to the Protector and had since refused on every occasion to comply with her indenture. Argument arose as to whether continual successive punishment could be awarded for the same offence, and it was pointed out by Mr. Gibson that section governing such cases provided that each successive refusal to comply with an order of the Court was separately punishable. His Worship said that it seemed an unfortunate thing that a woman could thus be punished time after time for a matter wherein she had shown a particular aversion from some especial place of employment. It was stated that the woman was willing

¹ *Vide* Appendix "Smuts' Speech on I. R. Bill (1912) in Union Parliament", 30-5-1912.

to work elsewhere, if she could get a transfer, and Mr. Gibson adjourned the case for a week, Jadubansi meanwhile being sent to the Protector to see what could be arranged.

We have something to add to the above report, as we have been brought into close touch with the woman concerned who, early in April, came to Phoenix and related her story in detail. In the first place, the woman had not been working on an estate, at Stanger, but was indentured to a farmer down the South coast whose name it is not necessary to mention for the moment. We learn from the report that Jadubansi's child had been burnt. It was not only burnt, but burnt so severely that it died; and the woman accuses her employer of deliberately refusing to attend to the wounds, after having first put on bandages, with the result that they stank. The woman's duties in her master's house kept her away from the child from 5 a.m. to 7 p.m., with the exception of two short intervals for breakfast and dinner. Consequently the child had to be left alone. After a fortnight's terrible sufferings, the child was sent to the hospital where it died a few days afterwards. After the death of her child, Jadubansi tells of great hardships, including the refusal of her employer to give her food for three days, forcing her to grind mealies in a hand mill, ill-treatment by kicking, and the withholding of wages. The total wages received in the course of a year, she states, was nine shillings.

We took Jadubansi to the Protector of Indian Immigrants, laid the information before him, and left her in his charge, pending inquiries into her grievances. The matter was referred to the employer who flatly denied that he neglected the child, and accused the mother of neglect. The doctor at the hospital reported the death of the child, but did not consider its condition to be so bad as to warrant special mention.

We have these conflicting statements and we lay them before the public for them to judge which is the more likely: that a mother, whose child gets accidentally burnt, should wilfully neglect it, and refuse to nurse it, or that the employer should seek to shield himself from the consequences of serious charge. And what is the position of the doctors in such matters? They are employed by the Indian Immigration Trust Board, which consists of planters and farmers,¹ and

¹ *Indian Opinion* editorials had more than once demanded that Indians should be represented on such boards and in the SABI Committee's representation of June 17, 1911 to the Colonial Office, Polak had made a similar request; *vide* Appendix "S. A. B. I. Committee's Letter to Colonial Office", 17-6-1911.

one can easily imagine that the doctors are not over-anxious to report cases which reflect upon employers. So we must not place much importance on the non-report of the bad condition of the child. It is a crying scandal that these medical men are not under the control of the Government. We are very much afraid that many a gruesome tragedy lies hidden because of this. And what of the employer? Jadubansi states that, in one room which is a part of stable, four Indians—two men and two women—and four Natives had to cook their food together. Of the Indians, two were married and the others not. But they all had to sleep in the same room. Some months before, inspector Waller, of the Protector's Department, visited the place and saw these conditions. He ordered the employer to make alterations, which instructions, evidently, were not carried out. Thus we see that the employer is not a man who is careful over the welfare of his Indians and that is putting it very mildly.

Well, to continue the story, the Protector tried to persuade the employer to transfer the woman elsewhere as it was clear that, for some reason, she did not wish to remain with him. But the employer refused, and it seems that it was not possible for the Protector to carry his protection any further, and the officers of the law arrested Jadubansi and she was sent to prison for desertion. After serving a month in prison and again refusing to return to her employer, the latter seems to have given up all hope of getting her to return and so he has given his consent to her being shipped back to India where she wished to go and from whence, she alleges, she was forcibly brought against her will, a recruiting agent in India having deceived her.

If half of this woman's story be true, it is indeed "an unfortunate case". It must be considered unfortunate, too, by supporters of the indenture system, that such cases are brought to light. Even one such case condemns the whole system, because it shows what horrible things are possible in the outlying districts. We have to thank the Magistrate, Mr. Gibson, for having prevented the further punishment of this poor woman.

Indian Opinion, 1-6-1912

159. HEALTH OF INDENTURED INDIANS

The evidence of the Protector of Indian Immigrants, given before the Tuberculosis Commission, brings to mind once again the fact that, in matters of health, as in some other matters, he is powerless to protect the people under his charge. The Protector is a Government servant, independent of the Immigration Trust Board and is therefore in a position to act independently without interference by its members. Not so the sanitary inspectors and medical officers, appointed to look after the conditions of the barracks and the health of the occupants. They are employed by the Trust Board, and, therefore, and under the thumb of the employers. We maintain that it is impossible for these officers to do their duty under such conditions. In answer to questions by the Tuberculosis Commission regarding the ground surrounding some of the Indian barracks, which was in filthy condition with slop water and refuse lying about, Mr. Polkinghorne¹ said that there was a sanitary inspector who was supposed to look after these things. Of course, we can quite understand that a sanitary inspector, at any time, is looked upon by employers as a troublesome nuisance. His faultfindings mean increased expenses and less profits. The consequence is, in many cases, that the much needed improvements are not even suggested by these officers because they know that it will only bring a hornet's nest about their ears. Naturally, they will let matters slide rather than create trouble for themselves and make their position untenable. So far back as 1908, Protector, in his annual report, called attention to this matter. He said that, in his opinion, the high death-rate among indentured Indians working in the coast districts of Natal was due in no small measure to this state of affairs, and as a kind of protest against the scandal, he asked for no reports from, the medical officers.

The Immigration Trust Board consists of seven members elected by employers of indentured Indians, with the Protector and one other member nominated by the Government. Referring to the constitution of the Board, the protector said in his report: "In no other Colony, introducing Indian immigrants, is there any such Board of Employers, and I am strongly of opinion that such a constituted Board should not in any way have any power to deal with, or in any way influence, the

¹ J. A. Polkinghorne, Protector of Indian Immigrants, Natal

treatment of the indentured Indians in the Colony.” We quite agree with Mr. Polkinghorne, and we think that he might have brought this matter a little more forcibly to the notice of the Tuberculosis Commission.

Indian Opinion, 22-6-1912

160. MRS. VOGL'S BAZAAR¹

Mrs. Vogl, whose name and work our readers have now become thoroughly acquainted with, has an insatiable ambition. As will be seen from Miss Schlesin's letter² to the ladies in India, Mrs. Vogl is organizing, under the auspices of the Indian Women's Association, another Bazaar larger scale than before. The last Bazaar was successful, both financially and socially. But Mrs. Vogl, thinks that the funds should be considerably augmented if the Nagappen memorial is to be worthy of the cause to which the lamented lad gave his life. She thinks, too, that the education work of the Association will receive greater encouragement if Bazaars are held periodically. We are sure that the ladies in India will return a liberal response to Miss Schlesin's appeal, and we hope that those, both here and in England, who are at all interested in Indians in this subcontinent, will take note of the appeal and help the great movement inaugurated by Mrs. Vogl.

Indian Opinion, 22-6-1912

¹ *Vide* "Address to Mrs. Vogl", 15-11-1911.

² Miss Schlesin, who was the Honorary Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Women's Association, in this letter of June 14, had requested that fancy goods and specimens of Indian hand-work be sent for the Bazaar to be held towards the end of 1913. She also appealed to all willing Associations in India for help. *Indian Opinion, 22-6-1912.*

161. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR¹

June 25, 1912

TO

INTERIOR

PRETORIA & CAPE TOWN

VIEW PROROGATION PARLIAMENT MAY I KNOW GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION REGARDING IMMIGRATION BILL AND FUTURE WORKING SETTLEMENT.²

GANDHI

From *Indian Opinion*, 20-7-1912; also photostat of handwritten office copy: S. N. 5656

¹ In reply, the Acting Secretary for the Interior said in his letter of July 16: “. . . I have the honour, by direction of the Minister, to inform you that the Government was most anxious to secure the passage of the Bill and that it was with regret that it was found eventually impossible to carry the matter to a conclusion. . . . an amended measure will be introduced during the course of the next Session, and that in the meanwhile, it will be necessary to continue the administration of the existing legislation on the subject as in the Past.” *Indian Opinion*, 20-7-1912. On July 16, Lord Gladstone in a memorandum informed Secretary Harcourt of the Imperial Government that there was no prospect of the bill being passed that session. Harcourt wired back expressing “regret and disappointment” and hoping that “the bill would be re-introduced at the earliest opportunity and pressed through”. In reply the South African Minister explained that the bill had to be abandoned due to “strenuous opposition to it and the pressure of other business”. On July 17, they sent a further telegram stating that they “would re-introduce the bill at the earliest possible date the next session”. From a White Paper published following Lord Amphilh’s questions (Appendix XVIII) in the House of Lords. *India*, 13-9-1912.

² Gandhiji had written to Lane on April 21 (the letter itself is not available) presumably asking him when the Union Parliament was likely to be prorogued. Lane replied on April 25 saying that while “I am unable to give you any fixed date . . . in my own opinion, I should say on the 12th of June”. S. N. 5648. The Union Parliament was prorogued on June 24 without having considered the new draft immigration Bill and was not due to meet until September 23.

162. LETTER TO KHUSHALCHAND GANDHI

*Ashadha Sud 11 [June 25/July 24, 1912]*¹

BHAISHRI KHUSHAL JIVAN,

Herewith the accounts of Phulibehn received from Revashanker-bhai. From these it would seem that there is nothing owing to her by Revashankerbhai. .. I don't know what her claim is. Please inquire and write to me in detail. I judge from Meghjibhai's letter that he may have been to Ahmedabad also. There was a letter from him but it gave no details.

Does not Phulibehn live and eat with Raliatbehn? Meghjibhai's letter gives the impression that she has her meals separately and lives at her own expense.

Chi. Jamnadas is with me. He is a priceless jewel. I want him to stay with me for a long time. He has altogether changed in appearance. I think he will become stronger yet.

Manilal, Ramdas and Devdas are also with me. My humble greetings to my sister-in-law.

Humble greetings form

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 11275

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

[JOHANNESBURG,]

June 26, 1912

THE SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE

231-2, STRAND

[LONDON] W.C.

EUROPEAN OWNERS OF STANDS AT VREDEDORP HAVE RECEIVED PEREMPTORY NOTICES² TO REMOVE ASIATIC TENANTS WITHIN THREE MONTHS'

¹ From the contents the letter appears to have been written in 1912 when Jamnadas had gone to Lawley to stay with Gandhiji; *vide* "Letter to Chanchalbehn Gandhi", 18-2-1912. *Ashadha Sud 11*, however, corresponded to two dates in 1912 as another month was intercalated in *Ashadha* that year.

² There were served on June 6, 1912 under Section 4 of the Vrededorp Stands Act of 1907 on those Stand-owners on whose premises Asiatics, Natives or Coloured persons were residing. The Vrededorp Stands Ordinance, which prohibited leasing or

TIME. FAILURE IN COMPLIANCE WITH NOTICE
INVOLVES FORFEITURE OF STANDS, SOME OF WHICH ARE
EQUITABLY OWNED BY INDIANS. ELEVEN INDIAN STORE-KEEPERS
AT VREDEDORP ARE FACED WITH RUIN IF DISPOSSESSED.

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: C. O. 551/35

164. LORD AMPHILL'S COMMITTEE

Owing to a shortage of funds for defraying the expenses of our Committee in England and of public work in Johannesburg, a collection has recently been started in the Transvaal. It is Sorabji in fact, who has taken this work upon himself. Mr. Cachalia also accompanies him sometimes. Dulabhbhai Kalyanji, Dayal Parbhu, Manchha Gosai, G. K. Patel, Bhikhubhai Karsanji and Jeram Gosai also go out [with them]. Mr. Sodha, too, goes round for the collection. A sum of about £350 has been collected, including £27.12s. received from Vereeniging towards the expenses [of the SABI Committee]. Soon they will visit other towns for collection.

But the entire [burden of the] expenses of Lord Amphill's Committee should not devolve on the Transvaal alone. Natal and the Cape ought to share in them. The Committee functions in the interests of all parts of South Africa, and all the Indians should share in its expenses.¹

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 29-6-1912

subletting of land to Asiatics and Coloured persons and even their residence in premises erected there except as domestic servants, was published in the *Government Gazette* on September 28, 1906 before the Transvaal had attained responsible government, and on October 8, 1906 the British Indian Association represented to Lord Elgin against this measure asking that Royal assent be withheld; *vide* "Petition to Lord Elgin", 8-10-1906. Consequent upon this and further efforts by the SABI Committee (Vol. VI, pp. 342-3 & 347-8) a new bill which envisaged a notice period of four years and compensation in respect of buildings constructed by Indian was passed in 1907; *vide* "Johannesburg Letter", 17-8-1907.

¹ For earlier appeals for funds for the SABI Committee, *Vide* "South Africa British Indian Committee" 9-2-1907 & "South Africa British Indian Committee" 23-3-1907, Vol. VII "Association in Cape", 5-10-1907, "South Africa British Indian Committee" 12-10-1907 & "Johannesburg Letter", 26-10-1907 and "Johannesburg Letter", 21-3-1908.

165. SPEECH AT DURBAN FAREWELL TO PILGRIMS

[June 29, 1912]

. . . The Ottoman Cricket Club organized a function on Saturday [June 29] night at the same place [Mr. Rustomjee's residence]. About 200 to 300 persons were present. Mr. Gandhi was requested to take the chair and he said:

I came here to honour the Haj Pilgrims. I had no intention of presiding over this function. However, two of the office-bearers of the Club urged me to take the chair. I gladly complied after they had promised, in return, to join in the satyagraha movement if it were started again. It has indeed become my sole occupation to seek out people willing to go to goal for the country's sake. I wish the members of this club, too, would equip themselves to become satyagrahis and be ready to go to goal when the occasion arises. Why should we fight shy of goal? Students of the school attached to Tolstoy Farm walked to Wightrust seven miles away. On the way, they came upon streams and bathed in them. When they were arrested [for trespassing], they admitted to having done wrong. On being told that they could be sent to gaol, they said that they would prefer going to gaol to being let off. At this, the authorities responsible for arresting them released them. The point is that, instead of being afraid of gaol, we should become courageous and learn to fight in defence of truth. This kind of education is necessary for the Indian community.

Mr. Gandhi then expressed his heart-left happiness at having been able to attend this function to bid farewell to Mr. Dawad Mahomed and other pilgrims and then commenced the business of the meeting.

In his concluding remarks as chairman, he said:

I offer my hearty congratulations to Dawad Mahomed, Mahomed Coovadia¹ Dawad Seedat and Moola on their Undertakin the Haj pilgrimage. As a Hindu I am glad of their decision to go on the pilgrimage. A true Muslim cannot do Hindus harm. A true Hindu cannot do harm Muslims. Those who are capable of harming their won Indian brethren are neither true Muslims nor true Hindus. I consider any selfless work done in the service of the community as a religious and not a worldly act. I accordingly believe the services

¹ Mahomed Cassim Coovadia; merchant; President of the Durban Anjuman and a trustee of the West Street Mosque

rendered by Mr. Dawad Mahomed by going to gaol¹ will be acknowledged in the court of God. On the other hand, I believe that and ostensibly religious act is not a godly one if not done with a pure heart. Secondly, it is repeatedly asserted that there is no unity among Indians.² But one should not believe that this is really so. At the same time we should not shut our eyes to the disunity among us and say that there is none. In any case it should be remembered that the cause of our sufferings in South Africa is no disunity but lack of courage. I do not wish to say that we are wholly wanting in courage. When the Imam Saheb came forward to court imprisonment, who could have predicted that he would be able to bear up with [life in] gaol? His offer to go to gaol was a courageous act and it was again due to his courage that he could remain steadfast till the end. Our chief need is to be truthful. Our motto should be Truth and nothing but the Truth. With the aid to Truth we shall be able to cross even oceans of misery. No action undertaken with a sincere motive ever goes unrewarded. Therefore, work for the community with purity of motive. It is not difficult to preserve unity. As long as the Muslims do not want to quarrel, Hindus by themselves cannot do so. If the Hindus are not spoiling for a fight, Muslims alone cannot bring about one. Even if there are a hundred people out to create dissensions as against one who comes forward to promote unity, the hundred will lose and the one will win. If that were not so, God's divinity would be at an end.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-7-1912

¹ In August 1908, he crossed over into the Transvaal to assist the satyagraha campaign on behalf of Natal and to test his pre-war rights of domicile in that Colony; *vide* 1st footnote of "Comments on Transvaal Indian Campaign", 28-8-1908.

² For Gandhiji's earlier remarks on Hindu-Muslim unity, *vide* "The World's Religion", 26-8-1905, "Divide and Rule", 4-11-1905 & "Agreement between Hindus and Muslims", 23-12-1905, "Speech at Reception", 26-12-1906 & "Reply to Mahomedan Association's Address", 3-1-1907, "Johannesburg Letter", before 10-1-1908, "A Brief Explanation", 22-2-1908, "Further Considerations", 29-2-1908, "Lord Selborne's View", 4-4-1908, "Speech at Mass Meeting", 23-7-1908 & "Parliament for Turkey", 1-8-1908, "Letter to *Indian Opinion*", 19-1-1909, "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 29-1-1909 & "Letter to Habib Motan", 21-6-1909 and, "Indian National Congress and Muslims", 8-1-1910, "Muslim League Meeting", 12-2-1910 & "Hindus and Muslims", 21-5-1910.

166. DAWAD MAHOMED

The community has honoured itself by honouring Mr. Dawad Mahomed. A person of his ability, presence of mind and good spirits is rarely come by among Indians. There is, likewise, hardly another Indian who commands the same influence among Europeans which he has come to acquire.

Mr. Dawad Mahomed's part in the satyagraha campaign has made his name resound through South Africa . We wish him and his companions success in their cherished ambition.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 6-7-1912

167. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE¹

July 6, 1912

DEAR MR. LANE,

I see that you are in Pretoria now. As the matter was rather urgent, I sent a telegram² on the 25th ultimo, addressed both at Cape Town and Pretoria, inquiring about the Immigration Bill . Whilst I am anxious not to worry General Smuts, I think that I am bound to satisfy the many inquirers who have been asking me about the measure. Is it now possible to let me know what the Government's intentions are regarding the Bill and the future working of the provisional settlement?

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

[M. K. GANDHI]

ERNEST F. C. LANE, ESQ.
PRETORIA

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5660

¹ For the reply to this letter, *vide* 1st footnote of "Telegram to Minister of Interior", 25-6-1912.

² *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", 25-6-1912.

168. DR. MURISON'S CHARGE

Dr. Murison is reported to have said before the Tuberculosis Commission that Indians were given to lying and that "it was difficult to find out much of their private life, owing to their habits". In his opinion, "Indians should be put into Locations as well as Natives." We awaited a public contradiction by Dr. Murison with reference to the charge of lying, and in order to make assurance doubly sure, we wrote, too, to the worthy Doctor, asking whether he had been correctly reported. Not having seen any contradiction and not having received a reply from him we assume that he is correctly reported. Dr. Murison has proved a conscientious medical officer, and we have often had occasion to congratulate him on his even-handed treatment¹ of all classes of the community that came under his notice. It is, therefore, not without pain that we are constrained to take exception to the sweeping charge of lying laid by him against a community, which prejudice has already terribly misrepresented in South Africa. In the first place, Dr. Murison, as medical officer, would come into contact with the unhealthy rather than with the healthy, and to impute the faults of the unhealthy to a whole body of people is, to say the least of it, highly illogical. But is it proper even to charge Indians suspected of suffering from tuberculosis with lying? We are quite free to admit that such Indians, like all other classes of patients, in order to avoid segregation and special treatment which they might not understand, would minimize their trouble, or fail to give notice or even mislead officials, but, we trust that, upon reflection, Dr. Murison will find that to charge these people with lying and then, too, to base upon that charge a recommendation for their compulsory segregation in Locations is not the proper thing. We may remind him that Lord Curzon, when he was Viceroy of India, at a lecture before University students, committed a similar indiscretion,² for which he suffered heavily.³ He

¹ *Vide* "The Plague", 7-1-1905.

² This was at a Convocation address to an Indian University in 1905. While on the subject of the low place assigned to truth in the moral systems of the East, he had said that "craftiness and diplomatic wile have always been held in much repute" in Eastern countries. Gandhiji had answered this at length at the time; *vide* "Oriental Ideal of Truth", 1-4-1905.

³ The reference is to his resignation following a controversy with Lord Kitchener; *vide*, however, "Lord Curzon", 26-8-1905.

lost all the prestige in India that he had previously enjoyed and laid himself open to the justifiable taunt of himself not having hesitated to lie when he thought that the occasion demanded it. Zangwill¹ once said that if a Jew committed a crime it was the whole race that committed it; if a Gentile committed a crime, it was the individual only.

Replace the word “Jew” by “Indian”, and we have the whole ugly truth in nutshell. Whenever an Indian does anything that is considered reprehensible, the newspapers do not hesitate to publish it in black type, and some public men do not hesitate to speak from platforms against the whole body of Indians residing in this country. We do hope that Dr. Murison will not wish to belong to the category of public men above referred to, and that he will not forfeit the esteem in which he is at present justly held by the Indian community.

Indian Opinion, 13-7-1912

169. THE NEW BROOM

Mr. Cousins, who has been appointed Acting Immigration Officer for Natal, has signaled his advent by issuing what purports to be a circular—which we give elsewhere—as to the evidence he would require to satisfy him as to the wives of domiciled Indians who might intend to enter the Province of Natal. We can only hope that the circular is not dictated from headquarters. Nothing could be better calculated to deeply wound Indian susceptibilities than this circular. In rejecting the ordinary evidence that was submitted to him, Mr. Cousins stated that he would want unmistakable proof that the husband had no other wife, and that he should have a marriage certificate, which, too, would be accepted only when it was accompanied by proof of identity,² and that, if such a certificate were not produced, he would want the certificate of a superior European magistrate bearing the

¹ Israel Zangwill (1864-1926); Jewish teacher, novelist and playwright; was born and brought up in England; founded and edited *Ariel* and *The London Puck*; his works deal mostly with Jewish life and serious social problems; had earlier advocated settlement for Jews within the British Empire and later became a Zionist leader.

² The circular, “addressed to applicants for the admission of their wives”, also stated that the applicant would have to satisfy Cousins that he was lawful resident. *Indian Opinion*, 13-7-1912.

thumb-marks of the wife, and to the effect that she was the wife of the applicant, whose identity also must be established by unmistakable means, that the superior officer had personally held an inquiry upon oath as to the date of the marriage, etc.¹, and that he was to forward all the original statements declared before him, accompanied by means of identification of both the husband and the wife, and much more along the same lines. Thus in a single circular Mr. Cousins has insulted Indian women, has impugned the honesty of Indian magistrates and even judges (for, we presume, he will not accept the testimony of even High Court judges, if they are Indian), and has insulted even European officials because he wants certificates from superior European officers, who, in turn, are insulted by being called upon to send all the records on which they issued the certificate required. We should hope that to this extraordinary circular the Government of India will have something to say, that the people of India will not sit still under the unwarranted affront offered to them, and that the Indians of Natal will treat the circular letter as it deserves and will decline to allow their wives to give thumb or any other impressions. It was one thing to require Indian males to identify themselves when there was a charge² of personation and surreptitious entry levelled against them. It is another to wantonly insult Indian womanhood. Let us hope that the Union Government will have the circular recalled, and that the practice of taking ordinary evidence will be continued, and may we suggest to Mr. Cousins that the quality that is required in a public officer is not over-zeal in the direction of browbeating those members of the public with whom he comes into contact but that of showing kindly courtesy to all without in any way interfering with the administration of the particular laws which he may have been appointed to administer. We cannot believe that the circular in question is required in the interests of the administration, and it

¹ The circular added that the Magistrate should also declare that: (a) the "facts declared to" by him were correct; and (b) that he had "caused a police inquiry to be made". He was also required to attach a copy of the police report of the inquiry which "should embrace various independent parties", and to state that he was satisfied as to the relationship alleged.

² The charge of surreptitious entry and impersonation had been made repeatedly against Indians since 1906; *vide* "*Influx of Asiatics*", 10-3-1906 & "The Mass Meeting", 11-9-1906, "Interview to *The Tribune*", 20-10-1906 & "Representation to Lord Elgin", 31-10-1906, "Johannesburg Letter", 12-10-1907 and Vol. VIII, "Interview to *The Star*", 6-1-1908, "Extracts from Blue Book", 7-3-1908 & "Cape Town Indians", 11-4-1908.

certainly shows a lamentable want of tact.

Indian Opinion, 13-7-1912

170. INDIAN INTERPRETERS

Our attention has been drawn to the fact that there is only one interpreter for three Indian languages (Hindustani, Tamil and Telugu) in the Supreme Court (Natal Division). This gentleman may be qualified to interpret in these different languages, as it is stated he is, but we contend that it is not possible for one man to give satisfaction when he is called upon to interpret in all these languages with their various dialects in one breath, so to speak. The Supreme Court has to decide questions of life and death, and upon the true interpretation of the evidence rests the fate of a prisoner. When invited to ask questions, the prisoner is unable to do so as he cannot understand the languages in which the evidence is given. Take the case of two Indians, speaking Tamil and Hindustani, tried under one charge. A Telugu witness goes into the box and gives his evidence against the two accused. The prisoners, not being represented by Counsel, are given the opportunity of cross-examining the witness. The Tamil man puts a question to the Telugu witness through the interpreter, who gives the answer in Tamil and to the Court in English. Although it is desirable that the Hindustani man shall also understand what is going on, we believe, under the present circumstances, the evidence is not interpreted to him. The interpreter is supposed to remember the proceedings and give a summary to the accused. Even with one language, much will necessarily be missed, but with two prisoners and three Indian languages, the chances of both men being properly informed by the same interpreter are very small. One can easily imagine that a man might be condemned to death wrongly in the midst of such a maze.

We have before called attention to the want of Gujarati interpreters, the large community speaking this language having always to speak in Hindustani before the Court, a language which they have never learnt and which has only been picked up in South Africa.

The whole question is one of stinginess on the part of the Government. Whilst the authorities strain at the gnat of spending a few hundred pounds a year in providing sufficient competent interpreters for the courts, they swallow the camel of spending a million and a quarter over the Union Buildings, an expenditure which has been so

severely criticized by Mr. Merriman and other members of Parliament. Not until there are competent interpreters for all the Indian languages can it be said that substantial justice is done to Indians.

Indian Opinion, 13-7-1912

171. DOMICILE CERTIFICATES IN NATAL

Natal Indians are no longer issued fresh domicile certificates. Even worse, old certificates, whoever is found to possess them, are taken away and exchanged for new ones only on the production of fresh affidavits. This causes the poor Indians much hardship. We believe the Congress should fight out the case regarding domicile as it had intended to. Meanwhile, those who have old certificates need not surrender them in order to obtain new ones. Even if they want new ones, it is unnecessary to produce fresh proof before the official. Those who do not have any certificates can leave the country without their having filed affidavits and [generally] strengthened the proofs of residence. No one is obliged to keep domicile certificates. There should be no difficulty, therefore, in leaving the country after collecting the proofs [of residence, etc.].

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-7-1912

172. LETTER TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR¹

[LAWLEY,]
July 17, 1912

THE HON'BLE THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter² of the 16th instant, in answer to my communications regarding the Immi-

¹ In reply to this, the Acting Secretary for the Interior wrote on July 19: "I have to confirm the following wire sent to you today, viz: . . . provisional settlement last year will continue pending passage legislation. Six educated Indians will therefore be admitted this year not subject to registration. . . With reference to the above wire I have to request you to furnish me with the names of the 6 educated Asiatics whom you wish admitted for this year." S.N. 5667.

² *Vide* 1st footnote of "Telegram to Minister of Interior", 25-6-1912.

gration Restriction Bill, for which I beg to thank you.

I understand your letter to mean that the provisional settlement of last year is to continue, pending passage of satisfactory legislation contemplated by the settlement. I take it, therefore, that a certain number of educated Asiatics will be admitted for this year in anticipation, as was done last year. On receipt of your letter, names of educated Asiatics for entry into the Province will be submitted to the Government for permits.

I have, etc.,

[M. K. GANDHI]

From *Indian Opinion*, 20-7-1912; also photostat of typewritten office copy:
S.N. 5663

173. MORE OF THE NEW BROOM¹

Mr. Cousins is still “going strong”. He is not satisfied with insulting our womanhood—though that was the utmost he could have attempted. He wishes to touch us at every point. The latest is that those who return from India must not only identify themselves with the documents they produce, but Mr. Cousins must go behind those documents. He insists on reopening the evidence which secured those documents to the holders. In other words, he rejects the very title-deeds. This is exactly what the late Transvaal Government attempted to do and burnt its fingers over.² Mr. Cousins can fare no better. Holders of certificates of domicile will certainly decline to let their

¹ *Vide* also “The New Broom”, 13-7-1912.

² Lord Milner had demanded in 1903 that Indians should exchange the receipts for £3 paid to the Boer Government as proof of pre-War residence and their right of domicile in the Transvaal. Most Indians voluntarily exchanged these for Peace Preservation Ordinance permits at the instance of Lord Milner who promised that, “once on the Register, their position is established and no further registration is necessary, nor is a fresh permit required”; *Vide* Vol. III. “The British Indian Association and Lord Milner”, 11-6-1903 & “Position in the Transvaal”, 24-5-1903 and “Representation to Lord Elgin”, 31-10-1906. Again in 1905, the Indians were required under the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance to establish the genuineness of their PPO permits as well as of those £3 Dutch certificates which had not been exchanged for the former; *vide* “Criminal”, 8-9-1906. In 1908 Indians offered to re-register in return for repeal of the Asiatic Registration Act (which was only a variation of the Asiatic Ordinance of 1905) and by May 9, 1908, 8,700 had voluntarily registered; of these over 6,000 registrations had been accepted by the Government; *vide* Vol. VIII, “Johannesburg Letter”, 9-5-1908.

title-deeds be treated as of no effect. They will demand entry on the strength of their certificates, if they are theirs.

This is a matter essentially for the Congress to take up, and that without a moment's delay. The situation is becoming intolerable. It is the poor who are suffering. And the Congress will justify its existence only if the voice of the poor does not go unheard with it. The responsibility will be its if a single honest but poor Indian, having rights of domicile, is turned away from the shores of Natal.

Indian Opinion, 20-7-1912

174. DR. MURISON'S LETTER

We print elsewhere Dr. Murison's reply¹ to our letter² referred to in our columns last week. We sympathize with Dr. Murison in his troubles. But we venture to think that the worthy Doctor unconsciously exaggerates the incidents that have come under his notice. We take leave to say that the other classes give him much the same trouble that Indian patients do. We suggest to Dr. Murison that his work will be no smoother by his flinging charges of lying against a whole community. The only remedy is gentle yet firm handling of patients who want to evade his department. If Indians suffering from small pox concealed their disease, other Indians helped him to combat the disease. No one can deplore more than we do the fact that there should be any disease at all among Indians, or that, having contracted an infectious disease, Indians should, in their ignorance or fear, attempt to conceal it. But a serious charge, such as that of lying, cannot be sustained because of the painful experiences related by Dr. Murison.

However, the community must feel thankful to Dr. Murison for his frankness and for his evident desire to serve Indians as well as the others. Those of us who claim to be responsible persons must see to it that Dr. Murison receives all the help he may need in order to keep the Borough free from disease and danger, from careless or timid person disregarding or concealing any disease that may be suspected

¹ Dr. Murison, Medical Officer of Health for the Borough of Durban, in the course of his evidence before the Tuberculosis Commission, had stated that Indians were given to lying. On this Gandhiji wrote to Dr. Murison on June 28, 1912, to which the latter replied on July 10, 1912. He maintained that, in matters dealing with public health and sanitation, "it is impossible to obtain truthful replies from this race". *Indian Opinion*, 20-7-1912. *Vide* also "Dr. Murison's Charge", 13-7-1912.

² This letter by Gandhiji and also the others in the series are not available.

to be infectious. It is no consolation to be able to refute a general charge of lying. The real consolation can only be derived from efforts being made to remove the smallest ground for making such a charge.

Indian Opinion, 20-7-1912

175. DR . MURISON'S CHARGE

Dr. Murison's reply to our letter seeking his explanation regarding the charge of lying he had brought against Durban Indians deserves careful study. His explanation certainly does not substantiate the charge of lying against the entire community. But we cannot just sit back having put forward this defence. We must admit the [individual] instances Dr. Murison has cited. For it is true that some Indians habitually conceal [the incidence of infectious] diseases and give false replies to the [inquiries of] officials. This habit must go. Often men lie out of fear, and fear is the consequence of ignorance. If ignorance goes, so will fear. And with the passing of fear [the habit of] lying will vanish. For instance, if a case of smallpox is declared we might be threatened with we know not what or we might be harassed in hospital; so we conceal [the incidence of] the disease due to ignorance of this kind and the fear arising from it. In fact, nobody is going to hang us for it, and if we are spirited enough nobody can harass us in the hospital either. Why then should we be afraid? Moreover, by lying we cannot [successfully] conceal a case of smallpox. If anything, we should be afraid of telling a lie. Suppose we tell a lie and conceal a patient and the matter comes to be known, we may be put to shame, charged and even punished. Moreover, if we have concealed a patient, we are likely [afterwards] to be harassed even at the hospital and our relatives may also become involved. If we learn to view the matter thus, there should be no cause for fear.

However, many of those who deceive the authorities are unlikely to read these comments of ours. Thus, the responsibility rests solely on the leaders. If we are truthful and remain so, and if we wish others also to act; likewise, we can do much. It is the duty of the leaders to keep in touch with the poorer section of the community, to point the right path to them now and again and themselves follow it. If we do this, there should be no occasion for a single charge against us.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 20-7-1912

176. LETTER TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS¹

July 22, 1912

[THE REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS
PRETORIA
SIR,]

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 13th instant. In reply, I beg to state that the inconvenience felt by Indians who are waiting in the street outside your office is very considerable. As you are aware, many have to wait for a long time, and, apart from anything else, to be standing in the street indefinitely must be extremely fatiguing, as, indeed, those who have been obliged to wait there have so often complained to the British Indian Association. Moreover, they have no protection from the wind, sun or rain, and often, when they are in any considerable number, it is difficult for them to know where they should stand—on the pavement or in the street—as, wherever they stood, they would be causing an obstruction. In my humble opinion, as part of the public having to do business in a public office, they are entitled to the same respectable accommodation as is provided in all other public offices.²

M. K. GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 3-8-1912

¹ This was sent in reply to a letter from M. Chamney, Registrar of Asiatics, dated July 13, which read: "With reference to the interview I had with you on the 11th instant, I shall be obliged if you will put in a written statement regarding the inconvenience to which Indians are put while waiting in the streets outside my office, and setting forth what it is they desire." *Indian Opinion*, 3-8-1912.

² In reply to this, Chamney wrote on July 26: ". . . there is no special accommodation available for the convenience of Asiatics who attend at my Office, nor are there any funds available by which such special accommodation could be furnished at the present time. With regard to the sentence which closes your communication. I have the honour to state that I have ascertained that there are many offices attended by the general public, including Europeans, where no special accommodation is provided." *Indian Opinion*, 3-8-1912.

177. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR

July 22, 1912

THE SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR

PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your telegram and letter of the 19th instant¹, for which I thank you.

I shall submit the names of six educated Indians for entry for this year, in due course.²

I have, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

From *Indian Opinion*, 27-7-1912; also typewritten office copy: S.N.5668

178. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR³

July 22, 1912

THE SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR

PRETORIA

SIR,

Mr. R. M. Sodha is one of the British Indians admitted last year in virtue of the settlement. As was mentioned by me last year, Mr. Sodha intended to do business in the Transvaal for a living, but, as it was thought legislation would be passed during the last session, Mr. Sodha was publicly supported. But he naturally does not wish to remain idle, and is anxious to take out a licence to trade. I take it that, on the strength of the permit issued to him, he will be unable to take out a licence. Will the Government, therefore, be pleased to authorize

¹ *Vide* 1st footnote of "Letter to Minister of Interior", 17-7-1912.

² If Gandhiji did propose the names in a letter, it is not available.

³ M. Chamney, the Registrar of Asiatics, replied to this on August 1, saying, "... the settlement, as I understood it, was meant to allow six educated Asiatics per annum to enter the Transvaal for the good and benefit of their compatriots, who had not similar advantages of education. I do not think it was ever intended that the six Indians should be allowed in here for their individual benefit. I shall be glad to have your views." S.N. 5682.

the Receiver of Revenue to issue a licence to Mr. Sodha without production of a registration certificate.

I have, etc.,
[M. K. GANDHI]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5669

179. THE SETTLEMENT PROLONGED

The correspondence¹ between the Union Government and Mr. Gandhi forms interesting reading. According to it, the Provisional Settlement of last year² continues pending the passing of satisfactory legislation which the Government again intend introducing during the next session. Meanwhile, six educated British Indians will be permitted to enter the Transvaal Province as if the legislation had already been passed.³ This is all good. The correspondence avoids recrudescence of passive resistance on the points in dispute.

But the indictment of Lord Ampthill, who has been, with tireless zeal, championing our cause, remains unanswered.⁴ The gravamen of His Lordship's charge is that, though the letter of the settlement is being kept, the spirit of it—indeed, General Botha's public declarations⁵—require that the resident Indian population is allowed to

¹ Between January 29 and July 17, 1912

² Of May 20, 1911

³ *Vide* "Letter to Minister of Interior", 17-7-1912.

⁴ For Lord Ampthill's question on July 17, 1912 in the House of Lords regarding the implementation of the Provisional Settlement, *vide* Appendix "Lord Ampthill on Provisional Settlement in House of Lords", 17-7-1912.

⁵ As early as 1909, Botha had assured Lord Curzon that he would treat British Indians with liberality and justice; *vide* "Letter to Lord Curzon", 27-1-1909. Commenting on the Provisional Settlement on May 23, 1911, General Botha declared that he was very satisfied with it and that it had come about at an opportune time. While warning that only those Indians covered by the Settlement could enter the country in future he promised he would make every effort to make the living conditions of Asiatics as bearable as possible. Indeed, he said, he had no hostility against them. Again, speaking at Rietfontein on September 26, 1911, having returned from the Imperial Conference at London, he said that General Smuts "had wasted away to a shadow" trying to settle the Asiatic question. In answer to a petition which he claimed he had received and which demanded that all Indians be deported from the country, he said the difficulty was "that under the British flag they had to act according to British principles".

remain in South Africa in peace. But there can be no peace so long as wives, recognized by Indian laws, are turned away, the Gold law¹ and the Townships Act² are administered so as to bring virtual ruin to Indian merchants, residents of long standing are being forced out of Locations pointed out to them, residential title-deeds are disregarded, impossible proofs demanded as to marriages or domicile,³ and trade made well-nigh impracticable by a tyrannical administration of licensing legislation.⁴

Indian Opinion, 27-7-1912

¹ *Vide* "Extract from Letter to Maud Polak", 5-4-1911 and Appendix "Polak's Letter to India Government on Gold Law and Townships Act (1908)", 19-4-1912.

² Indians living in "proclaimed areas" or other places where they had built up flourishing businesses were being forced into Locations either by virtue of the Gold Law or the Townships Act. The areas immediately affected were Klerksdorp ("Extract from Letter to Maud Polak", 5-4-1911), Krugersdorp ("The Storm Gathering", 12-8-1911), Roodepoort and Germiston ("Germiston Indians", 23-9-1911).

³ As far as the Transvaal is concerned Gandhiji is referring to the sweeping powers proposed in the 1912 Union legislation for Immigration officials who would have rights unlimited by the jurisdiction of courts in determining who would have rights unlimited by the jurisdiction of courts in determining the domiciliary rights of would-be Indian immigrants. As for proof of marriage, although it was from the Transvaal that Mrs. Sodha, Bai Rasul and Mrs. Jussat were turned away by virtue of very stringent judicial interpretations on the sanctity of marriages contracted under the law of other religions, Gandhiji here seems to have in mind the Natal circular issued only a few days previously by Cousins and referred to in 1st and 2nd footnote of "The New Broom", 13-7-1912.

⁴ While concurring in changes proposed by General Smuts, consequent on Indians' opposition, in the Union immigration legislation of 1911 and 1912, Gandhiji reserved the right of Indians to agitate about their other grievances (this article is a fairly exhaustive list of these); *vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", 8-2-1912, also "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", 7-4-1911 and "At Last", 27-5-1911.

180. THE GERMISTON INDIANS

The Germiston Municipality has evidently succeeded in ruining the Indians living in its Location. After the case of *Kalasing v. the Municipality*, several Indian buildings have been pulled down by the Municipality. And now the following characteristic notice has been served upon several Indians suspected of trading in the Location:

It has been reported that you are selling groceries, etc., at premises on Stand—, at Georgetown Location. Now I am instructed to obtain evidence in support of this report. An attempt will be made to trap you, which, if successful, you will know what to expect.

What they are to expect is virtual confiscation of their buildings. And thus the Municipality expects to send the Indians, by a process of slow starvation, to the dung-heaps they have chosen for the new Location. Law 3 of 1885 specially authorizes Indian trade in Locations. But now, even this is being successfully prevented by the Germiston Municipality.

Indian Opinion, 27-7-1912

181. THE BOKSBURG CASE¹

The result of the judgment² in Mr. Bhyat's case is that trade of

¹ Amod Moosa Bhyat, a well-known Heidelberg merchant who had earlier suffered arrests and financial privation as a passive resister, opened a store in Boksburg on November 6, 1911, in premises registered in L. W. Ritch's name. The Europeans of Boksburg, an East Rand centre which had hitherto allowed no Asiatic trade in the town, called a meeting on November 8, and protested against the advent of Asiatic competition. A few days earlier the *East Rand Express* had styled Bhyat as an "astute invader" who, with the help of Ritch and his "influential European friends in England", was forcing a test case and promised that the local whites would fight "to the last ditch". An editorial in *Indian Opinion*, 4-11-1911, agreed that the "clear-cut issue" was whether British Indians could trade or pursue their crafts outside "coolie Locations". *The Transvaal leader*, too, took up the cry of white self-preservation and the European Press spoke of an "Asiatic invasion" and declared that European traders could never compete with the Asiatics with their "primitive mode of existence", "Oriental ingenuity" and "inferior standard of civilization". This meeting passed three resolutions, demanding that: (a) action should be taken against Bhyat under Section 131 of the Gold Law; (b) the condition under which the leasehold of Ritch's property was converted into a freehold—that no Coloured person should reside thereon or trade therein—should be enforced; and (c) municipal facilities be denied to Bhyat by the Town Council. The Town Council, in its meeting of November 22, 1911, was faced with more extreme amendments to these resolutions and was called upon to instruct the Receiver of Revenue to cancel all existing Asiatic trade licences. In its meeting of December 8, the Town Council, however, rescinded its amendments having meanwhile taken legal advice and forwarded the resolutions to the Government. Meanwhile, the Mayor and the Chairman of the Committee of the Town Council had met General Smuts in deputation and he assured them that the Government would take immediate steps regarding the stands occupied by Coloured persons in Boksburg. On January 12, 1912 the Government served a notice on Ritch through their lawyers asking him to surrender the crown Grant of August 21, 1911 which gave him freehold of the Stands since he had "violated the conditions of Grant by permitting Coloured persons... to reside on the Stands". On February 12, 1912, the Supreme Court (Transvaal Division) issued summonses against Ritch and Bhyat following an application by the Government and hearing commenced on June 7. The Minister of Justice had moved the Supreme Court for a declaration that the plaintiff was entitled to the ownership of the said Stand since the defendant had refused to cancel the transfer deed and to deliver up the possession of the Stand. *Indian Opinion*, 4-11-1911 to 13-7-1912.

² In his judgment Justice Moson declared that Ritch was bound by the conditions under which the Deed of Transfer of Crown land was effected, that is, by the relevant provisions of the Townships Act and the Gold Law. The Union of South Africa were therefore entitled to cancel the Deed of Transfer of these 3 Stands and to order Ritch to deliver up possession of all these. They were furthermore entitled to eject Bhyat, the second defendant. The plaintiff was entitled to the costs of the

British Indian merchants, living within the gold areas, has been rendered not worth a day's purchase. The *East Rand Express* has already advised the other municipalities to take action similar to that of Boksburg and force the hand of the Government. It is certainly now open to the latter to institute proceedings in respect of landed property in gold areas occupied by British Indian merchants. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that the Bhyat case should be fought to a finish. The Union Government assured the Imperial Government that the Town-ships Act was not directly aimed at British Indians or other Asiatics, and that there was no clause in it specially affecting them.¹ We now see that, if the judgment given by the Transvaal Bench remains unreversed, the Townships Act has to be read in conjunction with the Gold Law,² and the combined effect of

action. Ritch had contended that the original lease, taken out in 1896, contained no provision against Coloured persons occupying the land. As for the conditions in which leasehold was converted into freehold (that is, that the Stand should not be transferred to any Coloured person), they had been promulgated by Regulation and could not be enforced against persons of non-European descent for, being a differential provision operating against Asiatics only and not Europeans (that is to say, since it was "class legislation"), it required the "previous instruction" of His Majesty under Section 39(a) of the Letters Patent (Transvaal). *Indian Opinion*, 13-7-1912. *Vide* also Appendix "Union Ministers' Minutes for Union Government Regarding Townships Amendment Act (1908)", 16-6-1911 in which Smuts had argued in 1911 that the Townships Act did not bear on such cases.

¹ *Vide* Appendix "Union Ministers' Minutes for Union Government Regarding Townships Amendment Act (1908)", 16-6-1911.

² While Law 3 of 1885 did prohibit a Transvaal Asiatic from owning landed property outside Locations, it did not prevent a European from doing so on his behalf whether in perpetual leasehold or freehold. In 1905, the Transvaal Supreme Court "definitely recognized these equitable trusts as between nominal European owners and Asiatic virtual owners" (case of *Syed Ismail and Another v. Jacobs* cited by Maud Polak). The effect of the Townships Amendment Act and the Gold Law of 1908 was to annul these confirmed rights. Under the Townships Act, Part II, Chapter 3, Section 9(1), leaseholds of all Stands in Stands Townships were automatically converted into freehold on the payment of a licence fee. The lessor or owner was admittedly not obliged to take out a freehold title. If he did so, Section 130 of the Gold Law of 1908, prohibiting the subletting of premises or the residence of Asiatics thereon, came into force. Obviously, in cases where the property was held in trust, the Indian could not himself take out a freehold owing to the prohibition on "Coloured ownership". If the nominal European owner did so, he became liable under the Townships Act, Chapter 3, Section 3(1), to criminal prosecution, and his property would become forfeit to the Government, under Sections 130 and 131 of the Gold Law of 1908, which was brought into operation in such cases. It happened in cases where the laws were read together. That is, he could not then allow a Coloured person other than a domestic servant to reside on Township properties. Moreover, when such property passed at

the two Acts is such that the Township Act virtually becomes class legislation¹. Whilst, therefore, it is necessary to take the matter to the highest court of appeal, it is equally necessary for the British Indians in the Transvaal to realize and understand that the courts of justice in matters of this character cannot possibly finally decide the position. In the event of the highest court of appeal upholding the decision, they will have to move in order to secure an amendment of both these laws.

Mr. Bhyat cannot be expected to undertake the burden of appealing. The whole community is in duty bound to come to the rescue. The decision in this case is of general application. We hope, therefore, that British Indians of means will not hesitate to support the proceedings now being taken by giving donations towards the expenses.

Indian Opinion, 27-7-1912

the death of the owner to the heirs the conversion of a leasehold into a freehold was made compulsory. So much so that, at the death of a nominal European owner, the property of the equitable owner would pass out of his hands. As Lord Amphill said, this was how the Townships Amendment Act (Act 34 of 1908) and the Transvaal Gold Law (Act 35 of 1908) provided "in a subtle and indirect manner" that the same prohibitions and penalties as were prescribed by the Gold Law in 'proclaimed areas' shall apply in the case of public Townships also. The effect of both these laws was to force, after January 1, 1909, the entire Transvaal Indian population, whether in Townships or in "proclaimed areas", into Locations. The British Government had opposed this policy before and after the Boer War, but had assented to it in 1908. (Lord Amphill's letter to the British Press, *Indian Opinion*, 28-10-1911, Maud Polak's letter on behalf of the SABI Committee to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, July 29, 1911, C. O. 551/22 and "Mr. Polak's Statement", *Indian Opinion*, 9-12-1911 & 16-12-1911).

¹ Gandhiji had always objected to class legislation, that is, legislation which sought to place differential restrictions on any minority among British subjects which did not have political franchise. As Indians had become members of the Empire by virtue of Queen Victoria's Proclamation, the constitutions of Natal and the Transvaal (which became self-governing in 1893 and 1908, respectively) contained a special provision to the effect that any discriminatory legislation directed against British Indians as a class would require special royal assent. For Gandhiji's references to class legislation, *vide*, for instance, Vol. VI, "Interview to *The Morning Leader*", 20-10-1906 & "A Retrospect", 29-12-1906.

182. LETTER TO MANSUKH¹

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,

Ashadh Shukla 14 [July 27, 1912]²

DEAR SHRI MANSUKH,

I have your letter, I sent you a cable³ regarding Mr. Manila Doctor. As there was no reply, I concluded that you were not willing to release him. For some other reasons also, Manilalji decided to go to Fiji. He left the Cape on last Friday. A cable⁴ was sent to you. He will go there *via* Australia.

I hope you will all be happy about it and will make Manilalji quite comfortable. The arrangements for his board and lodging should, for the time being, be made by the people there.

If all the friends there encourage him, Manilalji will certainly settle there.

If you feel like writing again, please do.

With due regards from

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2553

183. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,

July 28, 1912

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I was delighted to receive you cable⁵. Everybody has been enquiring about the date of your arrival. I hope that you will be able to give us at least a month. Indian Associations from all the principal

¹ This is the first Hindi letter of Gandhiji's to appear in *The Collected Works*.

² Manilal Doctor, referred to in the letter, left for Fiji from Cape Town on July 26, 1912. The letter was therefore written in 1912.

³ Not available

⁴ Not available

⁵ Of July 25, 1912; he had said he was sailing on October 5.

towns are most eager to have you in their midst.

If you are accompanied by your secretary or anyone else, I take it you will kindly inform me of the fact.

Need I say that yours will be a royal progress through S. A.

I hope that you have greatly benefited by the change. I was rather anxious when I heard from Miss Polak that you were for some days under medical orders not to receive anybody.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[G. K. GOKHALE
ENGLAND]

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 3772

184. LETTER TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS

[LAWLEY,]
July 29, 1912

[SIR,]

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter¹ of the 26th instant. In my humble opinion, want of funds cannot be considered a sufficient answer by a great Government to the request of a section of the public for some reasonable accommodation in a public office.

I am afraid that the closing part of my letter has not been understood. I did not wish to convey that there was any special, that is, extraordinary, accommodation for the general public in the other public offices, but it was submitted, as it is submitted now, that there is always sufficient accommodation for the public in other public offices. I certainly know of no offices where the public are compelled to wait on the foot-paths or public roads, as they have to in connection with your office.

M. K. GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 3-8-1912

¹ *Vide* 2nd footnote of "Letter to Registrar of Asiatics", 22-7-1912.

185. SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG BANQUET TO V. A. CHETTIAR¹

August 1, 1912

The worst days of the Indian passive resistance struggle in the Transvaal were recalled last night [August 1], and a warning was given by Mr. Gandhi to the people who voluntarily underwent imprisonment with hard labour at the time, to be in readiness for a possible repetition of their sufferings.

It was at a banquet given in honour of Mr. V. A. Chettiar, ... who is now on the eve of returning to Madras.

Mr. Gandhi, called upon by Mr. Hosken, as the teacher and prophet of passive resistance, warned his hearers that the great struggle in South Africa was by no means ended. It was, he said, only in suspense, and it might be that the community might again be called upon to undergo much suffering.

Proceeding to propose "The Guests", Mr. Gandhi paid a warm tribute to Mr. Hosken and other Europeans present, and said it was due largely to them that they were all gathered at that table on terms—might he say—of equality. To his mind equality should be a matter of course in every civilized country, and especially in every Christian community; but, labouring as they did under terrible difficulties and terrible prejudices, it was a matter for congratulations when any sort of equality could be attained.

The Transvaal Leader, 2-8-1912

186. THE GERMISTON LOCATION

We publish elsewhere the report of Dr. F. Arnold, the Acting Medical Officer of Health for the Union, on the proposed site for a new Asiatic Bazaar in Germiston. The report, in our opinion, is a special pleading for the site chosen by the Town Council. Dr. Macnab's strong remarks have been brushed aside. It is true that some of the objections have been withdrawn by Dr. Machab. But the main objection—that the Location is to be near a depositing site and a site where anthrax animals have been buried—remains. The fact of Dr.

¹ The banquet was arranged by the Tamil community of Johannesburg on the occasion of Chettiar's departure for India and was attended by about 300 guests including a number of Europeans sympathetic to the Indian cause. Rev. Dr. Ross, Rev. Doke and Hosken also spoke.

Arnold having laid down certain conditions under which only the site can be passed medically shows, too, that Dr. Macnab's strictures were quite justified. It must not, again, be forgotten that even the very ground where night-soil has been deposited is part of the site chosen by the Germiston Municipality. No doubt, from a purely scientific standpoint, it is a consolation that this portion of the Location is not to be used for building purposes for some time to come, but, in matters of this character, a favourable medical report cannot become a conclusive answer to the various objections raised. An old cemetery, from a medical standpoint, may be a good enough site for habitation, but, from other perfectly justifiable points of view, it may be a totally undesirable site. As we have already pointed out, it is a curious circumstance that, for Asiatic Bazaars and Native Locations, Municipalities always succeed in finding the most favourable spots near depositing sites. All we can say is that the Indians of Germiston decline to remove to this wretched spot, notwithstanding the favourable report given by Dr. Arnold. We are aware that they will require to have more than ordinary grit in refusing to remove to this site. The Municipality has made it well-nigh impossible for them to remain in the old Location, because all trade there is entirely stopped. Several buildings have been razed to the ground, and the Municipality have threatened to do likewise with the other buildings, if their owners are caught in the act of trading in the Location. We hope that, no matter what difficulties they have to face, the Indians in Germiston will take up a firm stand and decline to fall into the trap prepared by the Municipality.

Indian Opinion, 3-8-1912

187. LETTER TO SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF
INTERIOR¹

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
August 3, 1912

[TO

THE] SECRETARY TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

CAPE TOWN

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant No. 34/E/15330. I have not before me the letter of the 22nd ultimo referred to by you, but I believe it is my letter² addressed to the Secretary for the Interior regarding Mr. Sodha and I am replying from the farm as the matter is rather urgent.

In my humble opinion there was no question as to whether the educated Indians who might enter did so for their individual benefit or otherwise; they were to be highly educated men required for the wants of the community. I imagine that after the legislation is passed such men up to the number understood will enter on their own merits. Those who have fought for the principle of legal equality have assumed that highly educated Indians would certainly serve their community while serving themselves. The cases of those who are admitted last year were specially discussed by me with Mr. Lane. I then expressed the hope that while I could give no guarantee that they would not trade—all but Mr. Sodha would not, I told him—that Mr. Sodha was a pre-war resident,—of three years' standing and that he certainly intended to trade, but Mr. Sodha's trading does not by any means imply that he will be lost to the community; it was certainly expected that all who entered the Transvaal as educated men would earn their living by following some independent calling among their

¹ To this the Registrar of Asiatics replied on August 16: “. . . until legislation has been passed validating the residence here of the specially exempted educated Asiatics, it will not be lawful for Receivers of Revenue to issue General Dealers Licences in their favour. I regret that I am unable in consequence to issue orders to any Receiver of Revenue to issue a trading licence to Mr. Sodha, who is meanwhile only residing in the Transvaal on a temporary permit.” S. N. 5696.

² *Vide* “Letter to Secretary for Interior”, 22-7-1912.

own compatriots. I hope that an early decision will be arrived at regarding Mr. Sodha. May I trouble you to send me a copy of this letter as I have not been able to copy it myself.

I have etc.,
[M. K. GANDHI]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5697

*188. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO BALEBEHN VORA AND
CHANCHALBEHN GANDHI*

[After August 3, 1912]¹

CHI. BALI AND CHANCHI,

I have letters from you both.

A part of the blame at least for Rami's fractured hand should, I think, go to you. But such accidents always occur. If we are destined to survive, God saves us even from these.

Chi. Veni² writes to me to say that Chanchi now wants to come over here. She should know that she is free to come whenever she likes. I allowed her to go, believing as I did, and as I still do, that she would feel she was happier there and that Harilal too would feel likewise. That is why she is there. As to when I shall be able to go there, it is impossible at present to say. I do not think I can leave before the Act is passed at any rate.

It is good news that Kanti is growing stronger. My advice is that no foreign foods be brought into the house. My experience of them has been bad. I am more convinced each day that almost all these foods are objectionable.

Bali has done well in taking up the study of Sanskrit. If ever it is my good fortune to go to India and I have to take up my work there, I intend to use Bali's services fully.

Manilal, Ramdas and Devdas are on the farm. Jayakunvar, Dr. Mehta's daughter, is also with me. She is a great help to me in teaching the children. You must have read in *Indian Opinion* that her

¹ Manilal Doctor, referred to in the last paragraph, sailed for Fiji from Cape Town on July 26, 1912, but the information was published only in *Indian Opinion* of 3-8-1911. (The news-item because of a printing error mentions the 20th as the date of the departure.) This letter must, therefore, have been written some time after August 3.

² Wife of Jayashanker Vyas, a Pretoria Indian

husband has gone to Fiji.¹ Chi. Jamnadas, too, is with me. Ani is likewise on the Farm. Devibehn² . . .³

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 9530

189. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

TOLSTOY FARM,
August 4, 1912

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

Many thanks for your long letter⁴. I would not dream of having you here at the cost of your after-cure. But I assume that you would be able to complete your cure before sailing for S.A. Roughly this is likely to be the programme, subject to your consent: 22nd & 23rd Oct. at Cape Town, 25th & 26th at Kimberley, 27th at Johannesburg. I take it that most of the time will be passed in Jo'burg. Two days may be given to Pretoria. Unless you cable to the contrary I propose to ask General Botha & Mr. Fischer⁵ to receive you. If Lord Gladstone returns by that time I propose asking him also. I shall ask

¹ In his "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", pp. 169-71, Gandhiji discussed his views on Manilal Doctor's plans for the future—whether he should return to his public work in Mauritius or stay on in the Transvaal. On April 29, Gandhiji wrote to Lane presumably asking him if Manilal Doctor could be admitted to the Transvaal as one of the six educated Asiatics who were to be permitted to enter the Colony each year under the Provisional Settlement: but this letter is not available. In his reply of May 3 (S.N.5649), Lane said that, pending legalization of the Settlement, he could only issue Manilal Doctor a temporary permit. On July 8, Gandhiji wrote in his "Diary, 1912" that M. Doctor did not really want to go to Fiji but added a few days later that he had sailed for Fiji on July 26.

² Ada West

³ The rest of the letter is missing.

⁴ Of July 27, 1912; *vide* Appendix "Gokhale's Letter to Gandhiji", 27-7-1912.

⁵ Abraham Fischer; Premier of the Orange River Colony, December 1907-May 1910, he became Union Minister for Lands following the formation of the Union of 1910. Some time in June 1912, after the Defence Bill (Act 13 of 1912) had been passed, Smuts relinquished charge of the Ministry of Interior and took over Finance while still retaining the portfolios of Defence and Mines. On this Eric Walker (*A History of South Africa*, p. 542) remarks "... Botha had to rearrange the portfolios in a way which detracted from his ministry's efficiency and enhanced the power of his two Free State colleagues." These were Hertzog and Abraham Fischer and the latter took over the Ministry of Interior from Smuts. These cabinet changes were not noticed in the columns of *Indian Opinion*. Fischer piloted the 1913 Immigration Bill through the Union Parliament.

Mr. Merriman¹ to receive you. He is the greatest statesman of S.A. Addresses will be presented at all the places named by me. It is also the intention to have a mixed banquet in Johannesburg. Probably the Mayor will preside. The last week of your stay will be in Durban and Phoenix. You will sail from Durban. Your passage for India may conveniently be booked after your arrival.

I have first sketched the programme so that if you wished to propose any change you could do so by cable as also by letter.

It would be no calamity if Mr. Fischer goes back upon Gen. Smuts' promise. It can only strengthen our cause. But I hardly think it is possible for the Union Government to do so. What is quite likely is that the Parliament (local) may not pass the Govt. Bill. The Govt. May not make it a point of honour and simply tell us as also the Imperial Govt. that they are helpless. In that event the struggle will be bitter and fierce; but it will go on so long as some of us have a spark of life left in us.

Mr. Sorabji is now there and I dare say he has already paid his respects to you.

How very nice of Mr. Tata to have given Rs. 25,000 again.² I know that I owe it all to you. Each time the donations have arrived in the nick of time. It was becoming a difficult question to conduct the farm.

*I remain,
Yours sincerely,*

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 3773

¹ John Xavier Merriman ; English-born farmer, "South African by adoption", he was according to Eric Walker (*op. cit.* p. 535), "the Cape Parliament with all its honourable traditions in the flesh" and "cultured, eloquent, imposing" "with a great knowledge of men and of affairs"; Treasurer in Rhodes' first cabinet, 1890-93, and Premier of the Cape Colony, February, 1908-May, 1910, he was the only serious rival to Botha for the Union premiership in 1910. In 1901, he accompanied Sauer to England to urge on the Imperial Government the case for a South African federation; went again in 1909 to discuss the formation of the Union, travelling on board s.s. *Kenilworth Castle* as a fellow-passenger of the Indian Deputation. Gandhiji, who met him during the voyage, found him "full of sympathy for the satyagrahi prisoners", but later he regretted his inability to keep his promise to Gandhiji about helping with the Transvaal Indian problem; *vide* Vol. IX, "Deputation's Voyage (I)", after 23-6-1909, "Deputation's Voyage (II)", before 9-7-1909, & "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", 22-7-1909. *Indian Opinion* (Golden Number, 1906-14) describes him as "a consistent champion of fair play to Indians".

² For earlier donations by Tata, *vide* 1st footnote of "Public Letter to Ratan J. Tata", 1-4-1912.

190. MR. TATA'S MUNIFICENCE

Mr. Ratan Tata has outdone himself. At the Sheriff's meeting¹ held at Bombay on the 31st ultimo and presided over by Sir Jamsetji, it was announced that Mr. Tata had given a third contribution of Rs. 25,000 to the Transvaal passive resistance fund. The total given by Mr. Tata there fore amounts to £5,000—a fortune in itself. Mr Petit has already cabled to Mr. Gandhi £1,500. Mr. Tata's munificence shows not only his large-heartedness, but also his keen appreciation of the struggle. Mr. Tata has laid the passive resisters, as also the whole Indian community of South Africa, under deep obligation. He has made the lot of passive resisters easy; and the fact that there are at the back of the struggle such distinguished Indians, encourages those who are engaged in it, and probably brings them nearer their goal. The moral effect of such help on those who, from prejudice, are opposed to us, is also obvious.

Indian Opinion, 10-8-1912

191. THE SHERIFF'S MEETING

A meeting called by a Sheriff in India is equivalent to a meeting called, say, by the Mayor in Durban. The term Sheriff has a meaning different from what we understand by it in South Africa. The Sheriff's position is honorary and it is conferred upon the most distinguished citizens in India. Those of our readers who do not know India much, will now understand what the public meeting recently held in Bombay and called by the Sheriff means. The meeting naturally represented the voice of all the sections of the Bombay public. Its resolutions must, therefore, carry weight. The meeting very properly took up the whole question of the status of our countrymen settled in the British Colonies. East African Europeans want to hound our countrymen out of the British East African Protectorate. They donot even realize that, if Indians withdrew from it, the country would soon become a howling wilderness. Canada will not allow the wives of

¹ This meeting, held on August 1, protested against the treatment of Indians in the colonies, particularly in South Africa, East Africa and Canada; approved a memorandum to the Indian government for transmission to the Marquess of Crewe, condemning the continuance of the indentured labour system; and sent a message of encouragement to South African Indians, strongly approving the forthcoming visit of Gokhale to that country.

domiciled Indians to join their husbands, thus disregarding every canon of decency and fair play. It is possible to understand prejudice against successful rivals, but it is impossible to appreciate selfishness run mad, as it has in Canada—the oldest and most civilized among British Colonies.

The meeting presided over by the Parsee Baronet dealt with all these questions. We, who are living in far-off lands, have a right to look up to the motherland for help. As time goes [by] and knowledge of the condition of the emigrant spreads more generally in India, the volume of sympathy there increases.

For all this great work of education, we have, primarily, to thank Mr. Polak for his persistent and tactful advocacy. There is hardly a town of importance which Mr. Polak has not visited, hardly a public man he has not seen; hardly a newspaper he has not instructed. The Sheriff's meeting was by no means the most important result of his work. It is fortunate that we have a worker of Mr. Polak's stamp in our ranks.

Indian Opinion, 10-8-1912

192. INVALID REGULATIONS

A Boksburg Indian¹ was defended by Mr. Ritch the other day in the Magistrate's Court for a breach of municipal regulations, in that he was conducting a compound where Natives were kept as tenants. The accused was convicted. Mr. Ritch appealed. Mr. Gregorowski argued the appeal and the conviction has been set aside, the Court holding that the regulations were *ultra vires*. This is an important decision. Many Indians would have been seriously affected if the regulations had been held to be valid.

Indian Opinion, 10-8-1912

¹ Moses. He was convicted for contravening Section 38 of the Boksburg Public Health Bye-laws. On appeal being preferred, the judge declared that the bye-law was not valid inasmuch as it discriminated as between Europeans and Coloured persons, for which there was no authority in the enabling law, and he set aside the conviction. *Indian Opinion*, 10-8-1912.

193. THE HON. MR. GOKHALE

It is for the first time that an Indian such as the Hon. Mr. Gokhale is visiting this country. He has helped us much. We can never thank him enough for his work in regard to the abolition of indenture. It was again through his efforts that we received substantial contributions for the satyagraha fund. He has strong sympathy for the satyagrahis. He has helped Mr. Polak considerably. He wields much influence in the Indian Legislative Council.

Mr. Gokhale is visiting this country specifically to study the conditions of Indians here and he will meet local officials. He will be President of the forthcoming session of the [Indian National] Congress.

For these reasons, even from the standpoint of self-interest, it is but fitting that

- (1) we should give him a big welcome;
- (2) in doing so we should raise no issues about Hindus and Muslims;
- (3) individual associations, welcome though they are to give receptions in his honour, should bear in mind that he is an Indian above all;
- (4) he should [therefore] be treated as the guest of the entire [Indian] community in South Africa.
- (5) If we want it to appear that he is a Hindu, Muslims should take the lead in honouring him, that being the only way to promote fraternal relations between the two sections [of the community];
- (6) For welcoming Mr. Gokhale we need to raise a large sum of money.
- (7) In the interest of our prestige, and for the sake of the work for which he is coming here, we would do well to put him up in a decent place.
- (8) Even where there is disunity and public bodies refuse to come together on the same platform, unity should prevail on this occasion.

An occasion such as this will not recur. The efforts we make and the unity we display on this occasion will stand us in good stead forever.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 10-8-1912

194. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

*Shravan Sud 4 [August 16, 1912]*¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Ba has been seriously ill², Ani is passing through a crisis and Kisan³ has been none too well. All the three are practically bed-ridden. Being occupied with this, I can do nothing else. At night, Kisan and Nagin⁴ share the bed with me, so that I don't get much sleep either. Gokuldas⁵, who is here, has his bed beside Ani's. All the three patients, I think, are on the way to recovery, though not completely out of danger yet.

The error in the figure for the Famine [Relief Fund] has been found. It now remains for me to go through the thing. I shall send the figure by and by. I got Popat's letter. I have got everything that you sent. Your letter is not with me at the moment and hence I cannot recollect the items in the list you sent.

The booklet⁶ about Prof. Gokhale should be as good as you can make it. I can only ask you to do what we ourselves do here. Saturdays and Sundays may be availed of for this work. Anyone who wants to may help. Here, Devibehn and Mr. Kotwal have been of invaluable assistance. Devibehn starts work at seven [in the morning] and goes on till nine at night. She cooks her own meals and eats them hurriedly, standing. Mr. Kotwal gets up at three in the morning to cook for those keeping the *roza*⁷. Jeki has greatly improved in health now. She too, therefore, makes herself quite useful. All of you having joined in spoiling Jamnadas's health, he cannot give of his best, though he is

¹ Kasturba Gandhi and Ani Desai's illness referred to in the letter are both mentioned in "Diary, 1912". Moreover it was during 1912 that Kotwal worked as a member of the Tolstoy Farm. In that year *Shravan Sud 4* corresponds to August 16.

² She and Ani fell ill on the 11th.

³ Son of Ani and Purshottamdas Desai.

⁴ Son of Ani and Purshottamdas Desai

⁵ Son of Parmananddas Gandhi, Gandhiji's cousin

⁶ *The Hon. Mr. Gokhale and the Indenture System*, which contained a brief sketch of Gokhale's public career and a full report of the debate on the resolution moved by him in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, Calcutta. The booklet was being published by Phoenix to mark the occasion of Gokhale's proposed visit to South Africa.

⁷ The fast that Muslims keep during *Ramzan*.

willing enough. He is always suffering from one ailment or another. While there, he let himself go in the matter of food, and all of you, in your affection, allowed him this liberty. He is suffering the consequences now, as he himself admits. He has, on his own, described [to me] all the liberties he took. It is possible that I may be able to go there in September.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

I have Devibehn's help, but that has not reduced my work. I have to be careful still, because of fear on Ba's account. I shall have some time to myself only after she has got used to things. However, about sending the account, I have it on my mind all the time. I shall send along with it the papers about Devibehn also.

Lallubhai simply wants to get the most he can out of his book. By all means let him. Why did you publish the matter advertising it in the news columns?

Remember that we are not to publish anything relating to the Hindu Conference. Not even its advertisement material, if received. You must have seen that the whole thing is a humbug.

I am not in a position to leave immediately to look into the affairs of the [Natal Indian] Congress.

Mr. West's statement of expenses on fare, etc., is all right. He is not to be asked to reimburse the amount. He has drawn nothing here.

Manilal Doctor may be going to Fiji to keep his promise. He is in no position to start legal practice immediately. He can do so only after the new law has been passed.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5710

195. SMALLPOX IN JOHANNESBURG

We invite the attention of the Johannesburg Indians to the extracts¹ we give from the *Sunday Post* in connection with the second

¹ Dr. Porter, Medical Officer of Health, said in the course of an interview: "Judging by past experience, the remedy for such outbreaks lies in the segregation of white and Coloured in the city. . . . What is wanted by the Council is the power to force all Coloured people—Malays, Indians, Cape Coloureds and Chinese[—] to reside in fixed Locations. At present the Council has no such power, while the Provincial Council...is also powerless." *Indian Opinion*, 17-8-1912.

outbreak of smallpox in Johannesburg. So far, Indians appear to have remained immune, but it is none the less their duty to help the authorities by removing all causes that might lead to an outbreak among themselves. There is, in that article, the suggestion that we do not conform to the laws of sanitation. The best way to meet this charge is, without doubt, that we put our houses in perfect order. We ought not to wait for prosecutions or notices before we observe the ordinary rules of sanitation. Dr. Porter is reported to have said to an interviewer that some houses in the heart of Johannesburg deserve nothing but total destruction, and that they are being inhabited by Indians, as also others including many Europeans. We feel that Indians residing within that area should at once set about vacating such houses, where they are not capable of proper repair, and they will find that, although it may cost them a little more in rent, the extra cost would be more than made up for in times of panic and by the people themselves keeping better health. Dr. Porter deserves, and is entitled to all the help that can be given to him in his war against the dreaded disease.

Indian Opinion, 17-8-1912

196. SMALLPOX IN JOHANNESBURG

Smallpox has again broken out in Johannesburg. Once the disease appears in a large and crowded city like Johannesburg, It is difficult to stamp it out quickly or [even] to check it. The news of the outbreak has therefore created a panic and thousands of people rush to get themselves vaccinated against smallpox. In order to control the epidemic, however, the chief thing is to prevent the contagion from spreading. Stress has therefore been laid on segregating the various communities, and the question of obtaining the necessary powers is also being considered. When segregation is being considered, the proposal, needless to say, is bound to include the Indians. It will be impossible to raise the issue of racial discrimination if it is proposed to segregate Indians in Locations because of the epidemic. It cannot also be denied that our people, more than others, withhold information about [the incidence of] the disease with the result that the contagion spreads further. Thus, the outbreak of the epidemic will provide an occasion for some serious suggestions to be made which, we want the Indians to note, it will be

almost impossible to oppose. Though the epidemic did not originate this time with Indians and though only a few cases appear to have occurred among them, they should not be any the less careful in the matter. Dr. Porter has stated that some of the houses in the central part [of the city], occupied by Indians and others, are so dirty that they should really be burnt down. It is the duty of the Indians [concerned] to vacate the houses forthwith and take up residence elsewhere. And they should maintain the utmost cleanliness in the new houses. Even if this means their having to incur some expenditure, it will be worth while doing so. The community should extend its full co-operation to the Medical Officer. If it shows itself to be negligent, the severest possible measures will be taken against it in the name of the epidemic.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 17-8-1912

197. LETTER TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS

[LAWLEY,]

August 19, 1912

THE REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS

PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter¹ of the 18th instant. I hope to be able to forward the list of six British Indians at an early date. Consultations are now being held as to the names, the fittest to be submitted out of the many received.

I have, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5699

¹ This letter is not available; *vide*, however, 1st footnote "Letter to Minister of Interior", 17-7-1912.

198. INTERVIEW TO "THE TRANSVAAL LEADER"

JOHANNESBURG,
August 22, 1912

Although Mr. M. K. Gandhi is not resident in Johannesburg at the present time, he continues to keep in close touch with public affairs, in so far as they affect his own people. Yesterday morning [August 22] a *Leader* representative had a chat with the one-time passive resister, who had trudged in from the farm Tolstoy, where he is now living in comparative retirement.

When asked whether he had read the various articles published during the past few weeks in connection with the outbreak of smallpox, Mr. Gandhi replied in the affirmative. In regard to the suggestion that the Coloured races should be segregated he stated that, although he approved of voluntary segregation, he was opposed to compulsion in any shape or form.

Segregation would in any case be totally ineffective. Even if you kept the Indians in one district, the Eurafrians in another, you could not prevent them intermixing outside in the ordinary course of their business. Segregation would not remove the danger of infection. You would find that the Indian fruit-hawker would, if he came from an area infected with smallpox, carry the disease into other areas. During the present outbreak there have been very few Indian cases, and the health officials cannot blame us on this occasion. We are only too anxious to help the authorities, but we are opposed to compulsory segregation. Dr. Murray gave some very valuable evidence on the point some years ago, when he appeared before the Insanitary Area Expropriation Commission, . He stated that any neglect of sanitation that existed among British Indians or the others would not be dealt with successfully by relegating them to inaccessible Bazaars or to places which would not lend themselves to effective control by the Health officials.

DRASTIC BY-LAWS APPROVED

I fully approve of drastic by-laws where the health of the community is concerned. I would show no mercy to offenders against such measures.

[Question ;] Do you approve of the action of the Public Health Committee in applying for the powers of demolition in the case of in sanitary dwellings?

Yes, I would enforce the law in this respect with the utmost

rigour. The proper way of dealing with all classes of the community, European, Asiatic, Eurafican and Native, is to allow them freedom of movement, subject to a strict supervision as regards health conditions. I've had close on 20 years' experience in such matters, and if you were to segregate the Indians and force them to live in Bazaars, say 4 or 5 miles out of town, you would run a big risk of the spread of such diseases as smallpox.

We as a community have been accused of a desire to hide the outbreak of any disease. What would happen if the Indians were cut off for residential purposes from the rest of the population? I can assure you that the danger of contagion would be far greater. In any case, I am convinced that the Imperial Government would not sanction any class legislation such as a policy of segregation would entail. As a race we are only too anxious to obey the laws, and trust that the sanitary by-laws which will come into force under the new Municipal Ordinance will be enforced in a firm and just manner.

The Transvaal Leader, 23-8-1912

199. A *SPLENDID RECORD*

The subject of this sketch is so well known that it is almost superfluous to explain who and what Mr. Gokhale is. South African Indian remember with deep gratitude his continued advocacy of their cause and his sympathy with them in their troubles. He will be always remembered as the man who largely brought about the stoppage of recruiting indentured labour in India for Natal. Mr. Gokhale's energies have been recently thrown into the introduction of a Bill in the Viceroy's Council to provide free and compulsory education for every child in India. Although unsuccessful, Mr. Gokhale is not the man to be discouraged by failure. When he knew that the fate of his Bill was sealed, he made no complaint. In his speech before the Council he said: "I know too well the story of the preliminary efforts that were required even in England before the Act of 1870 was passed, either to complain or to feel depressed. Moreover, I have always felt and have often said that we of the present generation in India can only hope to serve our country by our failures." Such is the man as he is today. His life has been spent in serving the Motherland, and it is the prayer of millions in India and elsewhere that he may be spared many more years to continue the work he loves so well.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale was born in 1866 at Kolhapur, India.

His parents were poor, but they sent him to the local college to be educated. He was a successful student and took his B. A. course principally at the Elphinstone College, Bombay, and partly at the Deccan College, Poona. After taking his degree, in 1884, he was admitted to membership of the Deccan Education Society. The life-members of this Society bind themselves to serve in the Fergusson College and in the schools of the Society for a period of twenty years on a monthly salary of 75 rupees. For some time Mr. Gokhale lectured on English Literature and Mathematics, but for the greater part of his term of service he filled the chair of History and Political Economy, subjects which he has so thoroughly mastered that he is acknowledged to be an authority on them. Such was his devotion and love for the work that, for several years, he devoted all his holidays to the work of collecting funds, travelling incessantly, bearing hardships, and submitting to indignities. Mr. Gokhale, though never occupying the position of Principal, was a man of great influence in the conduct of its affairs. About the time that he entered the Fergusson College, Mr. Gokhale came under the influence of the late Mr. Justice Ranade¹, and for many years they studied together great world problems, and especially those concerning India. In 1887, in compliance with Mr. Ranade's wish, Mr. Gokhale became the editor of the *Quarterly Journal* of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. Subsequently he became Honorary Secretary of the Deccan Sabha. He was also for four years one of the editors of the *Sudharak*, an Anglo-Marathi weekly of Poona. He was Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Council for a similar period, and when, in 1895, the Indian National Congress held its eleventh session in Poona, Mr. Gokhale was elected as one of its Secretaries. In 1897 he was selected, along with other prominent public men of Bombay, to go to England and give evidence before the Welby Commission of Indian Expenditure. There, thanks to his excellent training, he was able to stand the severe heckling to which the expert Commissions subjected him, and showed a thorough grasp of principles and mastery of details. The character of the man was brought out in connection with some letters which he addressed to the British Press on the plague administration in India. When he returned

¹ 1. Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901) ; economist, historian and social reformer; became judge of Bombay High Court in 1893 ; author of *Rise of the Maratha Power*, *Essays in Indian Economics* and other books.

to India, he was called upon to substantiate his charges, and, on his friends, who had furnished him with the information, failing to come forward to support him, Mr. Gokhale acted in accordance with the best traditions of public life and offered a generous apology. For this gentlemanly act, Mr. Gokhale suffered a great deal of unpopularity in some quarters. During 1900 and 1901, Mr. Gokhale was an elected member of the Bombay Legislative Council where he did most useful work. In 1902, he was elected a member of the Supreme Legislative Council, which is presided over by the Viceroy of India. His first Budget speech came as a revelation to the public. Ever since, his speech on the occasion of the Budget has been looked forward to with eager interest. His mastery of facts and figures and his detailed knowledge of administrative problems, together with his command of simple, clear, vigorous expression and earnestness of purpose, call forth the admiration of even his opponents. Some of the most highly placed officials in India are his personal friends, and even Lord Curzon recognized in Mr. Gokhale 'a foeman not unworthy of his steel'. The Viceroy is reported to have said that it was a pleasure to cross swords with Mr. Gokhale and that Mr. Gokhale was the ablest Indian he had come across, and, in token of his admiration for his ability and character, decorated him with the title of C.I.E.

The Servants of India Society was formed by Mr. Gokhale in 1905. Mr. Gokhale believes that the Motherland is greatly in need of men who will devote their lives to willing service, and it is through the medium of this Society that he is training men for the noble work of educating the people of India in matters concerning their physical and moral welfare. In the same year Mr. Gokhale went on a mission to England, on behalf of the Bombay Public, and, just before leaving again for India, he received a pressing invitation to become the President of the forthcoming Congress at Benares. Mr. Gokhale was not at all well at the time, and would have been excused from the arduous duties, but he at last yielded to the public demand. The speech delivered by Mr. Gokhale as President dealt in a masterly manner with Lord Curzon's administration, the Partition of Bengal, the *Swadeshi* movement, and the demand of the Indian people for a greater share in the Government of their own country. It is not possible this brief outline of Mr. Gokhale's career, to go further into this and other speeches, but we would recommend readers to obtain a copy of Mr. Gokhale's published speeches and study them. We cannot do better than conclude by quoting the closing lines of the

excellent introduction to Mr. Natesan's publication, *The Speeches of the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale*, from which we have gleaned the facts for this sketch ;

Magnanimous by nature, he seldom wounds the feelings of his adversary even when he hits the hardest. Identified as he is with the moderate school of political thought, he is far from being a party man. Scorning all mere strife, his great anxiety is to unite all parties by the common tie of patriotism. Brought up in a school of severe self-examination, he is always on the guard against the insidious influences of the partisan spirit, and will not allow his love of his fellow-countrymen to be affected by irrelevance distinction. Chaste in thought, word and deed, a master of lucid exposition, a speaker who inspires without inflaming, a citizen who is not afraid of strife but loves amity, a worker who can obey as well as command, a soldier of progress with invincible faith in his cause—Mr. Gokhale is indeed a perfect Servant of India.

Indian Opinion, 24-8-1912

200. SPEECH AT MEETING OF BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

JOHANNESBURG,
August 25, 1912

In accordance with the notice issued by the British Indian Association, a general meeting was held at the Hamidia Islamic Society's Hall on the 25th instant, Mr. Cachalia presiding

Mr. Cachalia, in opening the proceedings, said that it would be a great day for the Indians in South Africa when the Hon. Mr. Gokhale arrived He then called upon Mr Gandhi to explain the programme to be recommended to the meeting.

Mr. Gandhi said that Mr. Gokhale would land on the 22nd October, at Cape Town, and would not be able to prolong his stay in South Africa beyond three weeks.¹ He would have to reach India at the beginning of December, as he was President Elect of the Indian National Congress, and had also been appointed a member of the Public Service Commission. So far as he could see, therefore, Mr. Gokhale would be able to give two days to Cape Town, one day to Kimberly, from which place an invitation had already been received, and would reach Johannesburg about the 27th October. He could give the Transvaal about ten days, most of which time could be passed in Johannesburg. A suitable address should be presented from the Association on the day of Mr. Gokhale's arrival, and, if the various section of the community desired also to emphasize their sentiments beyond a general expression thereof in the Association

¹ *Vide* Appendix "Gokhale's Letter to Gandhiji", 27-7-1912.

address, their addresses should be presented at the same time. They were bound to recognize that the hon. Gentleman did not enjoy the best of health, and they would have to bear that in mind in considering the programme. On the day following, the speaker suggested, there should be a banquet, attended by about 1,000 persons. Both the functions should take place, if it were possible, at the Wanderers', and the Mayor should be requested to preside. There should be also an arch erected, if permitted, at the railway station or at the place where the addresses would be presented; otherwise, at the residence that would be hired. The speaker said that no honour that could be paid to Mr. Gokhale could be considered too much. If he had been born in Europe—in France—he would probably have been the President of the Republic; in England, the Prime Minister; such were his moral and mental attainment! His special work for south Africa was known to everyone. In estimating the cost of the celebration, Mr. Gandhi suggested, £1,000 would be necessary. He suggested, too, that volunteers from all sections of the community should be ready to give the whole of their time during Mr. Gokhale's stay here, and for some days before. Mr. Gandhi also announced to the meeting that there was a cablegram to the effect that His Highness the Aga Khan intended to visit South Africa and East Africa in the near future, and suggested that a cablegram should be sent expressing the pleasure, of the community at the news and inviting His Highness.

Mr. Hajee Habib, Pretoria, then moved that a Committee with all the necessary powers be appointed to make collections, to arrange the programme and to do all things necessary for honouring Mr. Gokhale on his arrival, and that the Committee should also appoint delegates to proceed to Cape Town to receive the hon. Gentleman. He moved, too, that the suggested cablegram should be sent to His Highness the Aga Khan.¹

Imam Saheb Abdul Kadir Bazeer, the Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society, seconded the resolution and said that there was no doubt that it was the duty of the whole Indian community to give a royal welcome to Mr. Gokhale. The Community would simply be honouring itself by honouring such a distinguished visitor. . . .

Indian Opinion, 31-8-1912

¹ The following cable was sent to His Highness the Aga Khan: "British Indian Association read with pleasure cable announcing your intention visit south Africa. Community gladly welcomes Your Highness. Could you time your arrival with Mr. Gokhale's? Cachalia."

201. SPEECH AT MEETING OF BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION¹

JOHANNESBURG,
August 25, 1912

In response to an invitation, Mr. Gandhi, speaking in the matter of the school², said that it had always been their desire, as a result of the passive resistance movement, to build what might be called a Federation Hall³. This certainly was a very suitable opportunity. If a building worthy of the community were erected, combining a meeting hall, a public school, residential quarters for pupils, residential quarters for guests, etc, it would certainly be a most proper step. It might cost £10, 000, but that sum ought not to be beyond the power of the Indian residents of the Transvaal. . . .⁴

Indian Opinion, 31-8-1912

202. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]

Shravan Vad 2 [August 29, 1912]⁵

CHI. HARILAL,

It would seem you have made up your mind not to write.

I enclose a letter from uncle Karsandas⁶. I just do not understand this debt. I do not know how the expenditure on Gokul-das's⁷ marriage came to be incurred, and by whom. If you remember anything, however, let me know what expenditure I had agreed to. It is unlikely that I agreed to so large an amount. All the same, tell me what you know.

At present, preparations for Professor Gokhale's visit are going on. Mr. Kotwal has been working hard on the Farm. Jekibehn has also

¹ This as well as the preceding speech was made at the same meeting.

² At Tolstoy Farm

³ *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", 15-2-1908 & "Letter to *Indian Opinion*", 3-3-1908.

⁴ A Committee was then nominated including Bawazeer, Cachalia, Ebrahim Coovadia, Fancy and Sonja Schlesin, presumably for the purpose of collecting funds.

⁵ This letter was written in 1912 as is clear from the reference to Gokhale's forthcoming visit.

⁶ Gandhiji's elder brother.

⁷ Gokuldas died in 1908 ; *vide* "Letter to Meghjiabhai Gandhi and Khushalchand Gandhi", 14-5-1908 & "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 21-5-1908.

been helping. Manilal is occupied with his studies. Ramdas and Devdas, too, study regularly, and work on the farm as well.

Anibehn is also on the Farm.

I shall be going to Durban in a day or two to receive Mr. Polak¹. Ba and Devdas will go with me and stay in Phoenix for some time.

Chanchi can come over here whenever she feels like it. I should like you to send me some news from your end.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 9536

203. DEATH OF MR. HUME

By the last English mail comes the news of the death of Mr. A.O. Hume², who was known as the "Father of the Indian National Congress". We give elsewhere tributes to his memory reprinted from *India*. Real friends of India are so rare that we feel specially grateful to those who have taken pains to understand the peculiar and in many ways unfortunate position of India in the British Empire. Too often we find that retired Civil Servants of India are out of sympathy with the Indian people. This was not the case with the late Mr. Hume. He believed that it was not beneath his dignity to meet Indians on an equal footing. He worked side by side with the leaders of the people, encouraging them with his kindly sympathy and urging them on to higher and nobler things. We learn that, even though his strength failed him, his enthusiasm never flagged. The memory of such noble men renews again our drooping faith in the righteousness of the British people. We still hope and trust that England can produce men of the stamp of Mr. Hume—men who will stand up for justice, cost what it may. By the death of Mr. A.O. Hume, India has lost a true friend.

Indian Opinion, 31-8-1912

¹ He arrived in Durban from India with Mrs. Polak on September 4.

² Allen Octavian Hume; one of Sir George Trevelyan's "Competition Wallahs", was Magistrate of Etawah during the Mutiny; became Secretary to the Government of India in 1870 and did commendable work organizing the Revenue, Agricultural and Commercial departments; author of *Old Man's Hope*, *The Star in the East*, *The Rising Tide*, etc., the last being on political activity in India.

204. RAILWAY TRAVELLING IN THE TRANSVAAL

We publish in another column the correspondence that has passed between Miss Schlesin and the Railway Administration.¹ The question raised by Miss Schlesin is undoubtedly one of very great delicacy, and requires, on her part, a great deal of tact and carefulness. It is equally necessary, on the part of the Administration, to use tact and discretion. We consider that, in her capacity as Honorary Secretary of the Indian Women's Association, Miss Schlesin could take up no other position, consistently with her dignity and with the interests that are under her charge. She could not properly leave her co-workers, who are travelling with her in a common mission and separate herself from them during the railway journey. That would be carrying too far the doctrine of concession to popular prejudice, unreasonable and unreasoned as it is; and we think that Miss Schlesin, in spite of her natural desire to conciliate the Railway Department, is in no way bound by an administration of regulations which is not at all required for the purpose for which the Regulations are intended.

Indian Opinion, 31-8-1912

205. A "DISTINCT HARDSHIP"

The administration of the immigration laws of South Africa is a disgrace to a civilized country. Could anything be more heartless and cruel than to send away from their homes men whose only fault was that the ship in which they had travelled from India had been delayed by storms. That is exactly what happened the other day to five Indians at Cape Town.² Mr. Justice Searle, who heard the application of the Indians, said that the case was one of distinct hardship, but he was obliged to carry out the plain meaning of the law, having no discretion. All we can say is that there is something very seriously

¹ The correspondence was concerning two incidents in which Sonja Schlesin, while travelling with Indian friends in compartments reserved for Coloured persons, was asked to remove to other compartments. On both occasions she refused to comply, challenging the Railway Administration to prosecute her.

² Four Indians, previously resident in South Africa, had gone to India on temporary permits and were returning to Cape Town, one of them accompanied by his son. They were refused permission to enter as the time allowed in the permits had expired. Their counsel argued that, but for the delay caused by bad weather, they would have arrived 12 days earlier. The judge conceded this but had to "carry out the plain meaning of the law" which allowed no exception. *Indian Opinion*, 31-8-1912.

wrong with the law. We do not envy the Judge who has to make the humiliating admission that he is powerless to deal out justice, but we do not blame him either. Judges cannot make or alter laws; they can only interpret them. The Immigration Restriction Acts of the Cape and Natal must be either amended or ended. At Durban, Indians who are domiciled in this Province are being turned away almost daily at the caprice of a man¹ who, being a servant of the Government and therefore of the people, has not the common sense or tact of a schoolboy. The Supreme Court has to confess that it is unable to interfere with the Immigration Officer's autocratic powers. He alone must be satisfied and no one can say him nay. Are the Indians of South Africa going to sit down and accept such an intolerable situation? If they do, they will deserve to suffer.

Indian Opinion, 31-8-1912

206. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

[PHOENIX,]

Shravan Vad 9 [September 5, 1912]²

CHI. HARILAL,

I have your letter. I am surprised. I cannot recall a single month during which I did not write to you. I am certain that my letters to you have miscarried. You complain that there has been no letter from me and say you are sad on that account. We, in the absence of letters from you....³ let us see what happens at the address. Ba, Devdas and I have come over to Phoenix. I brought Ba over because she was very ill. Devdas [, too,] was very keen [to come here]. The understanding with him is that he should continue at Phoenix till my next visit, learn composing while still attending to studies and live on a salt-free diet for 28 days in the month. For the present at least, he does all this.

I have made further changes in my way of life, which I hope to describe when I have the time.

Mr. and Mrs. Polak will stay in Durban for the present. I have advised Mr. Polak to start practice. Let us see what happens.

¹ Cousins; *vide* also "The New Broom", 13-7-1912 and "More of the New Broom", 20-7-1912.

² The references to Kasturba Gandhi's illness and her stay at the Farm and to Kotwal later in the letter would suggest that it was written in 1912.

³ A page here is missing.

Since the Immigration Officer here is strict nowadays, Mr. Pragji¹ has not landed as yet. He will probably do so tomorrow.

Mr. Sorabji continues to write.

Manilal is busy with his studies. Ramdas, Mr. Kotwal, Jekibehn, Ani etc., are on the Farm.

Mr. Kotwal and I also live on one meal a day. After hearing from Chanchi about your one-meal practice, I, too, felt strongly inclined to adopt it. Mr. Kotwal offering to join me, the idea was immediately put into practice. Follow any course that you like, so long as you are mindful of your health. I shall not forgive you if you ruin your health. I cannot help feeling that the time and money spent on French are being wasted. I can give you no idea of how much better it would have been if you had spent this valuable time on Sanskrit. The atmosphere, however, in which you move nowadays being corrupt, you thought of French. What a good thing it would have been if you had taken up Sanskrit! Though that might have delayed your passing the examination by a year. Knowledge of Sanskrit opens the doors to all the Indian languages. These doors, you went out of your way to shut. I make these observations, since you opened the subject of French again. I should be happier if you would reconsider the matter even now and start on Sanskrit, sacrificing a year and spending Rs.8 instead of Rs.7 on private coaching. Do as you will, however; I do not wish to stand in the way of your joining any standard you choose. Treat my advice as no more than that of a close friend.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

[PS.]

I have not been able to understand why Chanchi did not come. Cable when you send her so that I can arrange for her landing. It was Chanchi who gave the news about Rami.²

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 9542

¹ Pragji Khandubhai Desai, who had gone to India on a short visit; *vide* "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", 11-3-1912. Gandhiji mentions, however, in his "Diary, 1912" that Pragji visited him on September 4. It is possible Gandhiji started writing the letter on September 3 and posted it on September 5.

² *Vide* "Fragment of Letter to Balibehn Vora and Chanchalbehni Gandhi", after 3-8-1912.

207. MR. AND MRS. POLAK

Mr. and Mrs. Polak received a hearty welcome from the Indians of Durban on their return from India. Perhaps this is not the place, owing to Mr. Polak's intimate connection with this journal, to review his work¹. But, before he takes the editorial reins in his own hands again, it may not be considered out of place to remark upon his public work, apart from his editorial activity which, as our readers are aware, is a labour of love with him.

Mr. Polak, by his tact, ability and perseverance, has been able to rouse public opinion in India in such a manner that, probably, there is no question which occupies so much attention and commands such unanimous advocacy as the South African Indian. His persistent effort has enabled the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale to achieve the brilliant result he did on the indenture question. His advocacy filled the exhausted passive resistance chest² and, thanks to his unremitting zeal, the Government of India is posted up with the fullest particulars about our

¹ Polak arrived in India towards the middle of November, 1911, primarily as a representative of the Transvaal British Indian Association to lay the problems of African Indians before the Indian public. Soon after his arrival he received a cable from the Natal Indian Congress authorizing him to represent that body in his dealings with the Indian Government and public organizations. He was instructed to lay great stress on the abolition of the £3 Tax. Polak addressed many letters and petitions on the subject to the Secretary, Department of Commerce and Industry. His other communications to the Government of India dealt with the Transvaal Townships Amendment Act of 1908, the Gold Law, and the Transvaal Government's refusal to recognize "polygamous marriages" contracted under Muslim Law. He also addressed the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress held between December 26 and 29 on the Indian situation in South Africa ("Mr. Polak at the National Congress", p.207) and his speech was received with great ovation. He also surveyed the South African situation in a speech delivered at the sixth session of the All-India Muslim League. Other meetings he addressed passed resolutions condemning the treatment of Indians in South Africa and demanded that the Indian Government take steps to end their grievances and abolish the system of indentured labour. The memorial that the Sheriff's meeting (pp. 299-300) addressed to the Viceroy was the outcome of Polak's "stirring speech". Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, the chairman of this meeting, entertained Polak at a banquet on August 7 and warmly praised Polak's services to the African Indians' cause. *Vide* also "Polak's Work", 1-7-1911.

² While Polak may generally have collected money for the Passive Resistance fund during his tour of India, the reference here is perhaps specifically to the donation of Rs. 25,000 by Ratan Tata announced at the Sheriff's meeting in Bombay; *vide* "The Sheriff's Meeting", 10-8-1912.

grievances.

Mr. Polak could have done little but for the zealous support ungrudgingly given to him by Mrs. Polak. Nor has Mrs. Polak's work been of a neutral character. She herself moved freely among our women folk and enlightened them on our position. Mrs. Polak believes, and rightly, that no reform or movement can succeed completely which does not command the attention of the other half of humanity. She, therefore, lost no opportunity, whether by speaking or writing, of helping her husband in his work. And we know, too, that she did not consider it beneath her dignity to do for Mr. Polak much of his clerical work. Well may the community honour such workers and friends.

Indian Opinion, 7-9-1912

208. HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN

The community has every reason to congratulate itself on the reported decision of His Highness the Aga Khan to visit South Africa. His Highness is the High Priest of one of the most important sections of the Mahomedans of India. He is the undisputed political leader of Indian Mahomedans, and is a cultured Indian, taking an active and intelligent part in all that concerns the welfare of India. As a politician of broad views, he is striving to bring Mahomedans and Hindus more closely together. It is said to be due to his efforts that the London Branch of the All-India Muslim League has suggested more intimate co-operation with the Indian National Congress. What is perhaps of most importance to us is, that His Highness has always espoused our cause and spoken out fearlessly on more than one occasion on our behalf. It was well, therefore, that the prominent Indian Associations of South Africa should have sent invitations to him and suggested that his visit may synchronize with the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's.¹ It would, undoubtedly, be a great thing in every way if we could have both these distinguished visitors at the same time. But, whenever His Highness comes, we know that he is sure of a royal welcome from the whole of the Indian community throughout South Africa.

Indian Opinion, 7-9-1912

¹ The request for timing his visit with Gokhale's was cabled to the Aga Khan at Gandhiji's suggestion; *vide* "Speech at Meeting of British Indian Association", 25-8-1912

209. *THOU, TOO, BRUTUS!*

Elsewhere our readers will peruse with pain, horror and, no doubt, indignation, the remarks that a Judge of the Natal Bench deemed it necessary to make in the course of his address to the Jury in an Indian murder case. His Lordship allowed himself quite gratuitously to argue from the particular to the general. In the case in question, it appears that the murdered woman, who was employed on a sugar estate, had two "husbands". In rightly calling such a state of affairs an abomination, the Judge said "it was a common form of abomination amongst these Indians". The context shows that the word "these" is not used to specialize Indians but it is used to emphasize the Judge's opinion that it is Indians he is thinking of and no others in this connection. So that the Judge's sweeping condemnation includes the whole Indian community. Evidently, the Jury, being men of the world, knew better. In their rider to the verdict of guilty, they drew attention to the fact that on sugar estates "thousands of men were congregated with a very small percentage of women". Those who know the conditions of life on estates wonder that there is any purity of life left among their inmates, and that violent crimes are as rare as they are.

We take leave to say that the Judge does not know the Indian community at all. We doubt if he has met with even half a dozen Indian cases of the kind mentioned by him. The Judge, in failing even to distinguish between Indians actually undergoing indenture and free Indians, has shown a hastiness of judgment which one rarely associates with the High Court Judge. If the learned Judge had cared to probe the truth, he would have found that such cases are not to be found in any numbers among the free Indian population, that they are not of frequent occurrence even among indentured Indians, that, where they do exist, they are really not marriages at all, but that the women, living in such circumstances, are nothing but helpless prostitutes who have fallen a prey to the lust of men; and these consider the few women, whom the law requires to be brought as a sop to conventional morality, as their natural prey. If the Judge had gone still deeper, he would have discovered that the men were not mere animals when they left India, and that most men, living in their position would have lived like

them; and that, therefore, it was the system that was at fault.¹ If the Judge had taken pains to make the inquiry we have suggested, he could have, with advantage, drawn attention to the evil of the system rather than unnecessarily hunt the feelings of Indians by his ill-conceived remarks.

Here there is scope for the activity of our Colonial-born friends, and also, though not to the same extent, for the Congress. The former can investigate the matter and make a detailed protest showing how utterly baseless the remarks are. The latter should promptly address the Department of Justice, drawing attention to the extraordinary summing-up of the Judge and courting an inquiry.

Indian Opinion, 7-9-1912

210. THE PHOENIX TRUST DEED

THIS INDENTURE MADE BY AND BETWEEN

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi of Phoenix, in the Province of Natal, South Africa, of the one part, and Omar Hajee Amod Johari² of Durban, Merchant, Parsee Rustomjee Jeewanjee Ghorcoodoo, of Durban, Merchant, Hermann Kallenback, of Johannesburg, Architect and Farmer, Lewis Walter Ritch, of Johannesburg, Barrister-at-Law, and Pranjivandas Jugjivan Mehta, of Rangoon, Barrister-at-Law, all of the other part,

WITNESSETH

1. Whereas the said party of the one part is the owner of a certain piece of land situate in Phoenix aforesaid and comprising one

¹ In this case, heard in the Durban Circuit Court on August 27, 1912, the Defence Counsel had argued that “these Indians behaved like animals” and had “invited” the jury to judge them as such but Justice Carter in his judgment observed that he did not know that “such [an extenuating] view could be taken”, for Indians enjoyed the same law as the Europeans. They were entitled to the protection of the law and they must have it and they must also be amenable to its punishment. *Indian Opinion, 7-9-1912.*

² Omar Hajee Amod Zaveri; prominent Durban businessman, who contributed much money for financing public activities of Indians and many books to Durban Library; a founder of the Memon Committee; became honorary Secretary of the Durban Anjuman-e-Islam, 1897; Joint Secretary, Natal Indian Congress, 1907, resigned from that office to go abroad and qualify as a barrister *vide* also “Omar Haji Amod Zaveri”, 11-5-1907 & “Farewell to Omar Haji Amod Zaveri”, 11-5-1907.

hundred acres in extent and containing thereon certain buildings and machinery particulars of which are more fully set out in the Schedule hereunto annexed and marked A,

2. And whereas the said party of the one part is also the sole proprietor of the weekly newspaper called *Indian Opinion* which said newspaper is printed and published at Phoenix aforesaid,¹ and of the International Printing Press situated thereat,

3. And whereas the said party of the one part did in the year 1904 establish a settlement at Phoenix aforesaid for the accomplishment of the objects herein after mentioned,

4. And whereas certain persons are at the date of the signing of these Presents living at or connected with² the settlement at Phoenix aforesaid and are employed in various capacities at or in connection with the Printing Works of the said newspaper *Indian Opinion*, (Which said persons and any others who hereafter may join the said settlement, and sign the Schedule B hereto³ are hereinafter styled “the settlers”),

5. And Whereas the majority of the settlers at present established on the said settlement joined the said settlement for the following objects and purposes and under the following conditions, namely,

(1) So far as possible to order their lives⁴ so as to be able ultimately to earn their living by handicraft⁵ or agriculture carried on without the aid so far as possible of machinery;

(2) To work publicly so as to promote a better understanding between the Europeans and British Indians established in South Africa, ⁶ and to voice and work to remove the grievances of the latter;

(3) To follow and promote⁷ the ideals set forth by Tolstoy and Ruskin⁸ in their lives and works;

(4) To promote purity of private life in individuals by living pure

¹ The rest of this clause is not found in the earlier draft.

² The words “connected with” and “in connection with” have been added in this version evidently to cover the executors and trustees none of whom was living at the Phoenix settlement at that time.

³ “And sign the Schedule B hereto” not found in the earlier draft. Schedule B is not available.

⁴ The earlier version has “to so order their lives” instead.

⁵ “Handicraft” added later

⁶ The rest of the sub-clause is not found in the earlier version.

⁷ The draft has “advertise” instead of “promote”.

⁸ The rest of this sub-clause was added in this version.

lives themselves;

(5) To establish¹ a school for the education principally of Indian children mainly through their own vernaculars;

(6) To establish a sanatorium and hygienic institute, with a view to the prevention of disease² by methods generally known as “nature treatment”;

(7) To train themselves generally for the service of humanity;

(8) To conduct the said *Indian Opinion* for the advancement of the ideals mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs;

6. And whereas the said party of the one part now desires to assign, transfer and make over the said land, buildings, machinery, newspaper and all other the [*sic*] appurtenances, stock-in-trade, book-debts³, fixtures, fittings and other things connected therewith and with the said settlement, including the business of the International Printing Press,⁴ unto and in favour of the said parties of the other part together with himself the said party of the one part IN TRUST for the use of the said settlement and for the fuller carrying out of the objects and purposes set forth in paragraph 5 thereof,

7. And whereas the said parties of the other part have each and all of them agreed to the assignment to them and to the party of the one part of the said land, buildings, et cetera, hereinbefore mentioned and together with the said party of the one part to accept the said trust on the terms and conditions herein before and herein after mentioned,

NOW THEREFORE THESE PRESENTS WITNESS

8. That the said party of the one part does hereby transfer, assign and make over unto the said parties of the other part and to himself as Trustees, all his right, title and interest in and to the said land at Phoenix, Natal, and to the said buildings, machinery, newspaper, fittings, fixtures, stock-in-trade, book-debts⁵ and appurtenances, et cetera, aforesaid, to hold the same for themselves and their successors in trust and to the uses herein before enumerated as being the objects, purposes and conditions of the said settlement, and subject to the following further conditions, namely,

¹ The draft here has “at Phoenix” in parenthesis.

² The rest of this sub-clause was added later in this version.

³ “Book-debts” added later

⁴ “including the business of the International Printing Press” added later

⁵ “book-debts” added later

- (a) The said Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi shall be Manager of the Trust during his lifetime, subject to the control of the said Trustees for the due fulfillment of the objects of the Trust;
- (b) In the absence from South Africa or at the death of¹ the said Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the Trustees may appoint from among themselves a Manager for the time being² or permanently, as the case may be;
- (c) The said Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi or any other Manager shall be responsible to the remaining Trustees for due and proper management of the said Trust;
- (d) A majority of the said Trustees shall bind the minority in all matters falling within their authority in virtue hereof,³ and, in the event of the Trustees being equally divided, they shall be bound by a majority vote of the settlers;
- (e) An account to be known as the Phoenix Trust Account shall be opened at a Bank and shall be operated upon by the Manager of the Trust or his substitute or substitutes to be by him appointed;⁴
- (f) In the event of the death or resignation of any of the Trustees, the remaining Trustees shall be competent to carry out the Trust. The settlers may, however, nominate, by a decision of the majority of them at the time residing in South Africa,⁵ Trustees to fill vacancies, which nomination shall be accepted by the remaining Trustees;
- (g) The Trustees, with the consent of the settlers, shall have the power to add to their numbers;⁶
- (h) In their deliberations the Trustees shall be guided by and accept⁷ the decision of the settlers; but the settlers shall not be competent to impose upon the Trustees any change of policy or ideals;
- (I) The Trustees may, subject to the consent of the settlers, but not otherwise, expand the objects of the Trust;
- (j) The Trustees may, subject to the consent of the settlers,

¹ The words "from South Africa or at the death of" are not found in the draft.

² The rest of this sub-clause was a later addition.

³ The rest of this sub-clause has been added in this version.

⁴ This sub-clause read as follows in the earlier version: "The account at present conducted at the Natal Bank Ltd., Durban, shall be altered to the Phoenix Trust Account and shall be operated upon by the Manager of the Trust."

⁵ "At the time residing in South Africa" added later

⁶ This entire sub-clause was added later in this version.

⁷ The words "and accept" not found in the draft.

introduce new settlers or temporary workers, and, subject to such consent, dis-miss any settlers or temporary workers. No settler may, however, be dismissed except for dishonesty, gross misconduct or gross neglect of duty assigned to him;

(k) The Trustees shall respect and ratify all existing arrangements or contracts;

(l) The said Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi reserves to himself the use of¹ the two acres of land and buildings at present used by him and his family on the same terms as the other settlers, and the right to draw sustenance money from the income of the Press or other undertakings, not exceeding five pounds (£5) per month.

(m) On the death of the said Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, his wife, should she survive him, shall draw from the income of the settlement not more than five pounds (£5) per month for herself and the two minor sons, Ramdas and Devdas, during her lifetime² and the same amount shall be paid to the guardian of the minor sons or son after her death until the younger or the survivor of them attains the age of twenty-one years; the use of the said two acre of land and buildings thereon to be similarly reserved to the wife and minor children of the said Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi;

(n) The Trustees may part with the ownership of *Indian Opinion* in favour of the settlers or any number of them³ and may lease to them the printing-press, type and other necessary appurtenances;

(o) The Trustees shall have the right to amend or alter the terms of the Trust from time to time, subject always to the consent of the settlers;

(p) The Trustees shall have the right, subject to the consent of the settlers, to sell or mortgage the assets described in the said Schedule A and any assets hereafter acquired, and to purchase more land, build more building and buy more machinery or stock;

(q) The term "settlers" shall mean and include all those at present residing at or connected with the said settlement, and who have signed the schedule attached hereto, marked B⁴ or who hereafter may be residing at or connected with said settlement and who shall subscribe

¹ The words "the use of" were added later.

² The rest of this sub-clause read as follows in the draft: "or until the reaching of the age of majority by devdas, whichever event happens last".

³ The rest of this sub-clauses was a later addition.

⁴ Not available

to the objects and conditions herein set forth and sign schedule B.¹

9. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary herein, this Indenture shall come into force as and from the date of registration hereof, and shall be registrable without the signature of the said Pranjivandas Juggivan Mehta, whose signature shall be incorporated so soon as it is received from India.²

In witness whereof the respective parties have hereunto set their hands in the presence of the subscribing witnesses.

SCHEDULE A

	£	s.	d.
Land	1, 087	10	3
Buildings	1,535	14	1
Plant and Machinery	1,548	1	0
Stock	307	7	10
Book Debts	600	18	3
Library and School Books	50	13	0
	<hr/>		
	£5,130	4	5
	<hr/>		

Indian Opinion, 14-9-1912

211. OURSELVES

The Trust Deed³ which we publish in this issue, and which is in course of registration, marks a step forward in our work. Mr. Gandhi ceases to be the sole legal owner of the concern known as the International Printing Press, where this journal is printed. Nearly eight years ago we migrated to Phoenix, the idea being that the workers might be able to look more to the land for their sustenance than to the proceeds of the sale of *Indian Opinion* and the advertisements inserted in it. During this period we have not given that attention to the land which it was thought we should be able to give, and we have certainly not been able to pay our way by means of agriculture. That

¹ The earlier version makes no reference to Schedule B.

² Clause 9 and Schedule A were added later.

³ *Vide* the preceding item.

the journal itself has not been self-supporting is a widely known fact.¹ The assistance received by it from Mr. Tata's gift of 1909 enabled it to tide over a crisis in its career.²

We have also come to the conclusion that, consistently with our ideals, we could not accept advertisements for paying our way. We believe that the system of advertisement is bad in itself, in that it sets up insidious competition, to which we are opposed,³ and often lends itself to misrepresentation on a large scale; and that, if we may not use this journal for the purpose of supporting us entirely, we have no right to cater for and use our time in setting up advertisements. We have always used our discrimination and rejected many advertisements which we could not conscientiously take. Our friends and well-wishers, who have hitherto extended their support to us, will not, we hope, take it amiss if we discontinue the practice of inserting advertisements. The object of issuing this paper is twofold⁴: to voice and work to remove the grievances of the British Indians of South Africa, and to do educative work, by publishing matter of an elevating character. We hope that our readers will appreciate our position, and continue to give us their support, by subscribing to the paper.

Indian Opinion, 14-9-1912

212. PROPOSED INDIAN SCHOOL AT JOHANNESBURG

The latest reply received by Mr. Habib Motan regarding the proposed Indian school, whilst an improvement upon the preceding one⁵, is, in our opinion, quite unacceptable. It still retains the highly objectionable system of inequality. Not merit, but the colour of one's

¹ *Vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", 6-12-1909, "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 20-1-1910 & "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", 25-4-1910.

² On November 30, 1909, Ratan Tata intimated by cable to Gandhiji a donation of Rs. 25,000 "to enable Indians to continue their struggle...against the Asiatic Registration Act"; *vide* "Cable to G. K. Gokhale", 19-12-1909.

³ Gandhiji had earlier thought of discontinuing advertisements altogether; *vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 12-12-1910.

⁴ For earlier statements on the objectives of *Indian Opinion*, *vide* "Last Year's Stock-Taking", 7-1-1904, "Ourselves", 24-12-1904, "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", 13-1-1905 & "Letter to J. Stuart", 19-1-1905 and "Suggestion to Readers", 24-8-1907.

⁵ *Vide* "The Johannesburg School", 18-5-1912.

skin, is to be the deciding factor in determining salaries¹. We do not know that a superintendent is at all necessary, but, if one is required, we hope those concerned will strongly object to the restriction of the choice of a superintendent to white persons only.

Apart from the vital objection raised by us, the proposal of the Government will frustrate the object the promoter have in view. They will not be able to give Indian children education through their vernaculars. Indian teachers of standing and character are certainly not to be found at the ridiculously low salary offered by the Government.

But we think that, if the Government are sincere about granting an aid to the proposed school, they should modify their offer by granting a certain sum yearly, say £1,000, towards the salary of the teachers, etc., the teachers to be chosen and their salaries fixed by a superintending board, consisting of Europeans and Indians, nominated by the Indian community and approved by the Government. This board could also fix the syllabus, define the languages to be taught, and report upon the working of the school from time to time. We trust that Mr. Habib Motan will embody our suggestions in his letter to the Government, and that the latter will accept them. Now that they are prepared to spend a substantial sum, the rest is a matter of tactful management and respect for Indian sentiment.

Indian Opinion, 14-9-1912

213. MORE OFFICIAL ILLEGALITY²

It is with the utmost regret that we have, almost issue after issue, to heap coals of fire upon Mr. Cousins' head, but that official, if not by his gross tactlessness, then by the illegality of his actions, as constantly renders it impossible for us to maintain silence.³ Mr.

¹ The annual salaries sanctioned by the Witwatersrand Central School Board were £200 for a European Principal, £150 for a European Assistant, £120 for a female European Assistant and £40 to £60, depending on qualifications, for each approved Indian teacher. In his letter of September 4, the Secretary of the Board also prescribed qualifications for the Principal and for the teachers of the proposed school. He had, moreover, recommended the appointment of a European Superintendent *Indian Opinion*, 14-9-1912.

² *Vide* "The New Broom", 13-7-1912. And "More of the New Broom", 20-7-1912.

³ Gandhiji met Cousins on September 6, 1912 and Laughton on September 11.

Laughton, in his recent letter¹ to *The Natal Mercury* already quoted by us, points out that the Immigration Officer, appointed to administer the Natal Immigration Act at Durban, taken upon himself to decide who shall and who shall not immigrate into the Cape Colony, where the law is of a different kind, and where appeal may usually be made, and has, in fact, not seldom successfully been made, to the Supreme Court against decisions of the Immigration Officers appointed under the Provincial statute. We are quite sure that, whilst stationed in Natal, Mr. Cousins can exercise no authority whatever under the Cape Immigration Law, whose interpretation does not fall to our local division of the Supreme Court. He has, actually, exercised an authority not vested in him, and in preventing Mr. Laughton's client—there are other cases of which complaint has been made—from proceeding to his destination in the neighbouring Colony,—from proceeding to his destination in the neighbouring Colony, thereby denying him access to the Courts of that Province, Mr. Cousins would appear to have incurred a serious liability. We have reason to believe that suitable action is being taken in the proper quarters. It is intolerable that Immigration Officers should be allowed to proceed as though existing Provincial statutes did not, in point of fact, exist, and as if they had been already superseded by a Union measure that may, after all, never mature. If anything further were needed to prove to the Imperial Government the impossibility of leaving enormous powers in the hands of apparently irresponsible and certainly arbitrary officials, Mr. Cousins could not have offered a more effective demonstration of the fact.

Indian Opinion, 14-9-1912

¹ In his letter, Laughton agreed with *The Natal Mercury* that the Immigrants' Restriction Act should be administered tactfully by officials. While he strongly opposed further introduction of Indians into the Colony, he equally strongly upheld the maintenance of rights already acquired by them. He cited two instances of unjust administration of the law by the Immigration officer, in one of which an Indian returning to Kimberley from India and passing through Durban had been prevented from proceeding either overland to Kimberley or by steamer to Port Elizabeth. He then attempted to sail from Delagoa Bay to Port Elizabeth via Durban where he was again detained and, this time, transhipped forcibly to s.s. *President* bound for India. Eventually, he went directly to Cape Town where the Immigration Officer allowed him to proceed to Kimberley. *Indian Opinion*, 7-9-1912.

214. *OURSELVES*

It is more than seven years ago that this journal began to be printed at Phoenix. We are now taking a step forward. So far the legal proprietor has been Mr. Gandhi, but the ownership is now being transferred to [a board of] Trustees, and the objectives which will govern the management of Phoenix have been precisely laid down. We feel this is a step in the right direction and we are sure our readers will feel the same.

The paper has never been in a position to pay its way. It is here needless to go into the reasons for that. It, however, needs to be recalled on this occasion that the paper would have been in dire straits if Mr. Tata's generous help had not been drawn upon to meet its needs.

When the workers decided to settle in Phoenix and start a journal there, it was expected that the income from it and the land would not only give them enough to live on but also enable them to put by substantial savings, for they were to be the masters of whatever profit might accrue from the enterprise. Experience has shown that the assumption was incorrect. We realized that the Phoenix way of life could not be reconciled with monetary gain. And so, for the last several years, the Phoenix settlement has been worked on that basis.

Our principal object was that, while living by agriculture, we should give of our best in the service of the people and publish the paper for them. We have not so far succeeded in that aim.

We gave up job-work many years ago. We now feel that we should also discontinue the practice of publishing advertisements. We believed then that advertisements were a good thing to have but on reflection we see that the practice is wholly undesirable. Advertisements are inserted by people who are impatient to get rich, in order that they may gain over their rivals. They are so much in fashion these days that any and every kind of advertisement is published and paid for. This is one of the sorriest features of modern civilization, and for our part we wish to be rid of it. If, however, we published non-commercial advertisements, which serve a public purpose, free of charge, they would fill the entire number each time, so we shall only accept them against payment. Other advertisements, we shall stop publishing forthwith. As for advertisements which we

have on hand, we shall try to negotiate with our clients and free ourselves of the commitments. We shall then be able to work more on the land and more effectively fulfil the main object of the Trust Deed¹ which we publish in this issue.

We believe that the proposed changes will enhance our capacity for public service. We also hope that we shall be able to publish worthier and more valuable [reading] matter in the journal. It has been our endeavour daily to add to its value as an instrument of moral education. There are two, and only two, reasons for its existence: to strive to end the hardships suffered by Indians in this country and to promote moral education. The second purpose can be best served by our improving our way of life. That is why we are doing our best to eschew the commercial aspects of our work, such as jobbing and advertisements. Progressively as we live up to the ideals enumerated in the title-deed, we shall be able to give our readers more useful material. We want all Indians to help us in this.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 14-9-1912

215. MAHOMEDAN WIVES

The letter, that we reproduce in another column, from the India Office to the South Africa British Indian Committee, shows that the representations that have been made from time to time, both to the Imperial and Indian Governments, seem to have borne fruit. The India and Colonial Offices are, we learn, in consultation on the question of the immigration of Mahomedan wives into South Africa. Matters were bad enough when the Fatima and Sukina cases were decided, but Mr. Cousins' now notorious circular², which took occasion also to suggest that Natal Indians were in the habit of introducing women into the Province for immoral purposes, for which there is absolutely no warrant in the past history of the community, has brought them to a crisis. They cannot be allowed to remain where they are, nor can the South African Indian community, who are so greatly prejudiced by these horrible judicial and administrative blunders, submit to the insult and humiliation imposed thereby. The honour of the Imperial

¹ *Vide* "The Phoenix Trust Deed", 14-9-1912.

² *Vide* "The New Broom", 13-7-1912.

Government is very closely involved. The personal law of Indians, that was guaranteed by the Proclamation of 1858, applies to them wherever in the British Empire they may go, and His Majesty's Ministers are wise, even at this late date, to realize how seriously they will jeopardize the Imperial prestige if so grave a scandal as the separation of families and the destruction of domestic ties is permitted to be perpetrated.

Indian Opinion, 21-9-1912

216. IMMIGRATION AUTHORITIES AGAIN CENSURED

The appeal of Natha Ooka,¹ before the Cape Provincial Division of the Supreme Court, judgment wherein is reported in another column, has once more afforded to the Court an opportunity of offering its views on the present administration of the immigration laws of the Province and, incidentally, of laws of a like nature in the other Provinces of the Union. The Court has once again criticized most strongly the harrising policy adopted by the authorities towards lawful Indian residents of South Africa seeking readmission to their homes in this country, and has thus completely justified the many and bitter complaints that are heard all over the Union against the Government's repeated breaches of the spirit of the immigration law.² Only recently the Cape Courts had to exclude as prohibited immigrants men domiciled in the Province, and who had been delayed a few days beyond the duration of their permits owing to causes over which they had no control, due partly to the dilatory tactics of the Natal Immigration Officer. It will be for the Imperial and Indian Governments to keep such incidents in view when considering the draft legislation that is promised for next session. In the case under discussion, the appellant was apparently able to afford the costly luxury of expensive litigation, a privilege denied to the average poor applicant for readmission. The legislation that is contemplated ought,

¹ Natha Ooka, a Cape businessman, left for India in 1906 retaining his partnership in a business in East London. On his return in July, 1911, he was prohibited from landing. On appeal, Justice Buchanan of the Cape Division of the Supreme Court granted the application with costs and, condemning the Immigration Officer's action, observed that "more judiciousness in the administration of the spirit of the Act" would be far better "in such cases" than "the strict letter of the law". *Indian Opinion*, 28-9-1912.

² *Vide* also "More Official Illegality", 14-9-1912.

in our opinion, to provide a cheap and speedy remedy against official blunders of the type condemned by Sir John Buchanan, and we trust that His Majesty's Government will make it their business to see that it is provided. The so-called appeal boards contemplated by this year's defunct Bill were a sorry farce, and will have to be replaced by very much more efficient machinery if substantial justice is to be done. South African Indians cannot afford that their vital rights and most intimate interests should be jeopardized by the high-handed autocracy of the "tin Tsars" of the Immigration Department, backed up, as is known, by a Government that pretends to the Imperial authorities a most solicitous concern for the welfare of the Indian community.

Indian Opinion, 28-9-1912

217. HON. MR. GOKHALE'S VISIT

Reuter announces that the Hon. Mr. Gokhale leaves for South Africa today by the s.s. *Dover Castle*, and he is, therefore, due to arrive in Cape Town about the 26th instant. The time at the disposal of the various reception committees is all too short for their purpose of offering him an appropriate welcome, and we trust that they will use their best efforts to make the visit a successful and an enjoyable one. It appears that Mr. Gokhale, even before his departure, has been made to bear the burden of South African racial prejudice, for the Union Castle Company are alleged to have refused to carry him unless he agreed to pay for a whole cabin, "since there might be no European passenger willing to share the apartment with him".¹ We did not believe that such bare-faced audacity was possible in England, but the incident shows how widespread is the influence of South African colour prejudice. As was to be expected, Mr. Gokhale flatly refused to meet the Company's demand, and after some negotiation, it was waived.² Mr. Gokhale's firmness of principle should endear him the more to Indians in this country, and his example should encourage them, as occasion demands, to do likewise, in the name and for the honour of India.

Indian Opinion, 5-10-1912

¹ He left by R. M. S. Saxon instead and was expected to arrive on October 22, 1912.

² For a detailed description of the incident by Gokhale himself, *vide* Appendix "Gokhale's Letter to Gandhiji", 27-7-1912.

218. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]

Aso Sud 6 [October 16, 1912]¹

CHI. HARILAL,

I have your letter after so many months. My letters to you seem to have gone astray.

I have written to Revashankerbhai about your attending the Congress.²

You have not understood the step I have taken regarding Sorabji. The chief thing is that he is a Parsi, and it befits a Hindu to encourage him. If Sorabji succeeds in becoming a barrister, his responsibilities will increase. Sorabji's services cannot be used beyond a certain point, but this is not true of Medh. That is why I would not encourage Medh to be a barrister. How then could I ever encourage you [to become one]? If I did, all my ideas would go by the board; though, at present, you will not appreciate them. We shall discuss them if and when we meet. Just now you should only attend to the strengthening of your character in your own way—that is all I want. I am sure you will change your ideas in future.

You have again succumbed to passion in regard to Chanchal. I can well understand it. The fault does not lie with the Ahmedabad [atmosphere]. The thing³ itself is so difficult that you cannot attain it without great effort and careful and sustained thought. If you, however, continue in your endeavour you may some day overcome the weakening passion. You will be a different man altogether when you have succeeded in overcoming it. You will have a new strength. From your letter I gather that Chanchi will not now be able to come here for a couple of years.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 9544

¹ In paragraph 3 Gandhiji discusses his choice of Sorabji Shapurji Adajania as the satyagrahi who was to be educated in England at Dr. Mehta's expense; *vide* "Fragment of Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 2-4-1911 and "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", p. 66. It was on July 21, 1912 that Sorabji left for London to qualify as a barrister. That year *Aso Sud* 6 corresponds to October 16.

² This letter is not available.

³ *Brahmacharya*

219. MR. GOKHALE'S VISIT

So far as can be ascertained at present, the following is the Johannesburg programme regarding the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's visit. A special train carrying about 500 passengers will leave Park Station at about 10 p.m. on the 27th instant, to meet the Diamond Express bringing Mr. Gokhale, at Klerksdorp, at about 2 o'clock in the morning. The coach that will be specially reserved for Mr. Gokhale and party from Kimberley will be detached from the Express and attached to the special. Mr. Gokhale will receive an address at Klerksdorp, and will probably drive through the town. The special will leave Klerksdorp on the return journey at about 10 a.m., reaching Potchefstroom about the middle of the day, when there will be a prolonged halt to enable Mr. Gokhale to receive an address from the local community and to drive to the Experimental Farm. The special will then proceed to Krugersdorp, where there will be another brief halt to enable the local community to present an address. The train will then run to Park without a break, reaching there exactly at 4 p.m. Here Mr. Gokhale will be received by (in addition to the Indian community) the Mayor of Johannesburg and other European townsmen. The party will then proceed to the platform erected for the occasion at the station where, under the Chairmanship of the Mayor, addresses will be presented. The address on behalf of the British Indian Association will be read; the others will be formally handed to Mr. Gokhale, without being read, by the Chairmen of the respective Societies—the Hamidia Islamic Society, the Hindu Community, the Tamil Benefit Society and the Patidar Association. In order that the function may be finished within an hour, beyond a speech of welcome by the Chairman of the British Indian Association. In order that the function may be finished within an hour, beyond a speech of welcome by the Chairman of the British Indian Association there will be no speeches on behalf of the Reception Committee. His Worship the Mayor will then say a few words and call upon the Hon. Mr. Gokhale to reply, where after the meeting will disperse with the singing of the National Anthem. On the 30th, a meeting of the European Committee will take place at Mr. Hosken's house to enable Mr. Gokhale to meet the Committee and to discuss the whole Indian question. On the 31st, there will be a Banquet at the Masonic Hall. Arrangements are also being made to enable the European townsmen to hear Mr. Gokhale. The Indian Women's

Association will give an At Home at a place and time to be appointed. Saturday and Sunday Mr. Gokhale will pass at Tolstoy Farm. During the week following, he will interview the Ministers, and, immediately afterwards, proceed to Natal. Mr. Kallenbach has placed his residence at Mountain View at the disposal of the Indian community, and offices are being engaged for him in town, where he may receive visitors during the day.

Indian Opinion, 19-10-1912

220. INTERVIEW TO "CAPE ARGUS"¹

CAPE TOWN,
October 22, 1912

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed by the *Argus* regarding Mr. Gokhale's visit, said he had come with the knowledge of the Indian Government, but entirely on his own initiative. He considered it his duty as an Imperialist to investigate the whole Indian question in South Africa for himself, and to make the acquaintance of the Union Ministers. Mr. Gokhale had not yet settled what position he was going to discuss and what he wanted discussed. There were no outstanding questions, but certain standing grievances in the Cape, Transvaal and Natal. He (Mr. Gandhi) was not hopeful that Mr. Gokhale's visit would result in a final settlement of all questions; they were too large to be settled in the course of a single visit by one distinguished legislator. He hoped, however, that the visit would result in a better understanding between Europeans and Indians, and that a better tone would be adopted by the two communities towards each other. That certainly was part of the mission that brought Mr. Gokhale here. Mr. Gokhale informed him that the feeling in India over the South African Question was very intense and there was no question over which all sections in India were so much agreed as this.

Indian Opinion, 26-10-1912

¹ This interview was given soon after Gokhale's arrival at Cape Town on October 22.

221. SPEECH AT CAPE TOWN RECEPTION TO GOKHALE¹

October 22, 1912

The Mayor (Mr. Harry Hands) presided . . . Dr. Abdurahman and other leaders of the Asiatic community also occupied seats on the platform.

The Mayor, in opening the proceedings, said they were met together to extend a welcome to a very distinguished Indian subject of His Majesty the King; a gentleman who was a member of the Council of the Viceroy of India, and who had come to the Union of South Africa, with, he believed, the full consent of the Union Government, to inquire at first hand into an economic difficulty which had arisen in their midst and which their fellow Indian subjects had been feeling for some time. He had pleasure in extending to him a warm welcome to the Mother City of South Africa, and ventured to express the hope that the result of his mission would be the solution of the difficulty in a manner satisfactory to all concerned. (Applause.) . . .

Mr. M. K. Gandhi said the name of Mr. Gokhale was sacred to him; Mr. Gokhale was his political teacher, and whatever he had been able to do in the service of his fellow-countrymen in South Africa—of which he claimed to be a citizen—was due to Mr. Gokhale. (Cheers.) This South African question was not a new one to him; but they loved him not only for his interest in that question, but because of his life's work. Although he was a candid critic of the Indian Government, he was also a friend to it. (Applause.) He thought it a hopeful sign that they had this representative gathering over which the Mayor of the city presided. And the hospitality accorded to Mr. Gokhale showed that though there had been hard knocks given between the European and Indian communities, there was not bitterness. In every town where these meetings were to be held, the Mayors had signified their intentions to preside. Mr. Gokhale had come to help them in bringing the two peoples closer together, and his mission would let them know that behind this country was another, in which the people were watching its representatives in this country. They knew His Highness the Aga Khan was expected to arrive some time next year in connection with this same question.² The British Indian Association had only just received a letter from His Highness, in which he expressed his intention of arriving in South Africa to study the question at first hand, in so far as it affected his countrymen here. But he (Mr. Gandhi) wished to utter one word of warning, and it was this: that many of them had, in their ignorance, false expectation that Mr. Gokhale's visit would act as a

¹ The reception was held in the City Hall, Cape Town. A number of prominent whites were present and addresses were presented by various organizations.

² *Vide* "Speech at Meeting of British Indian Association", 25-8-1912.

charm, and that all their disabilities would disappear. He hoped his countrymen would not have those expectations, or, if they had them, that they would dismiss them. Mr. Gokhale was certainly going to assist them, but they had to remember that there was nothing so valuable as self-help. (Applause.) They would have to work out their own salvation, and men like Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Schreinger¹ could only point the way to the solution, and make the path easy. They could get nothing that they did not deserve, and it was only when the time came that they would reap the reward of their past actions. (Loud applause.)

Indian Opinion, 2-11-1912

222. SPEECH AT KIMBERLEY MEETING²

[October 25, 1912]

Mr. Gandhi said an occasion like this was one of sacred memory. He paid great tribute to Mr. Gokhale's gentleness, his self-effacement, his great

¹ William Phillip Schreiner (1857-1919); brother of the well-known authoress, Olive Schreiner; Gandhiji noted his "sense of justice" and his friendly feeling for Indians; member of Rhodes' second Ministry, 1898; barrister and sometime leader of the Cape Bar; twice Attorney General; Prime Minister of Cape Colony, 1898-1900. Eric Walker, historian of South Africa, calls him an outstanding champion of federalism. In 1909, he vehemently opposed Section 35 of the draft South Africa Act (of Union) which disfranchised Cape Coloureds, went on their behalf to England and persisted in his efforts even after the House of Lords had passed the bill for unification of South Africa; In march, 1911, Gandhiji contemplated consulting him regarding the Union Immigration Bill; *vide* Vol. X, "Letter to L. W. Ritch", 4-3-1911 & "Telegram to L. W. Ritch", 8-3-1911. The Golden Number (1906-14) of *Indian Opinion* mentions his strenuous fight for justice for the Indian community; became in 1914 High Commissioner for Union of South Africa in England.

² The meeting, arranged for Gokhale, was held in the Town Hall, which "was crowded to its utmost capacity with members of the Indian community and a large sprinkling of Europeans". After the Mayor, who presided, had made a speech of welcome an address was presented to Gokhale on behalf of the Indian community. Gokhale himself in this, the first of his public utterances in South Africa, expressed satisfaction that the system of indentured labour in Natal had been stopped, dwelt briefly on the Indian question in South Africa which he said he would like to study from all standpoints before expressing an opinion on it. Gandhiji's memory of this incident must have been a cherished one, for writing of it without notes several years later in Yeravda Jail, he recalls Gokhale's speech on the occasion-- "concise, full of sound judgment, firm but courteous which pleased the Indians and fascinated the Europeans". Gandhiji adds: "I requested Senator W.P. Schreiner. . . to take the chair . . . and he was good enough to consent"; Although Schreiner spoke on the occasion and was in fact the principal speaker of the meeting, it was the Mayor who presided.

love of India, and consistently with that love of India, his love of humanity and his love of the Empire of which he was such a distinguished citizen. He regarded Mr. Gokhale as a political asset. He referred in glowing terms to Mr. Gokhale's services and sacrifices in the interest of Fergusson College, and in the cause of education. He declared with a show of pride that had Mr. Gokhale been an Englishman he would have been occupying position now held by Mr. Asquith, and possibly had he been born in France he would have been President of the French Republic. He hoped the result of this mission would be a better understanding between Europeans and Indians residing in South Africa. He uttered a note of warning to this countrymen not to raise false hopes and expectations from Mr. Gokhale's visit. The advent of Mr. Gokhale in their midst would not bring about the millennium among the Indian community, nor did they expect that all their disabilities would disappear as if by magic. His arrival, however, might bring about a better understanding and a better knowledge of one another, and would lead to better possibilities of a solution of the great problem that not only faced South Africa, but faced the whole Empire. The remedy lay mainly in their own hands. (Applause.)

The Diamond Fields Advertiser, 26-10-1912

223. SPEECH AT KIMBERLEY BANQUET TO GOKHALE¹

[October 26, 1912]

. . . Mr. Gandhi, who was cordially received, said he thought they might well drink the toast the guest of the evening, if what Mr. Oliver, who was good enough to pay them a visit, had playfully said was true, namely, that Mr. Gokhale had brought with him the much-needed rain which the parched land of Kimberley required so badly. He only hoped that the rain had reached Johannesburg, and not merely Johannesburg, because he lived there, but throughout the whole Union. We Indians were supposed to be a superstitious nation, and he had no doubt many of his countrymen would share his (the speaker's) superstition that Mr. Gokhale had brought with him the much-needed rain. (Applause.) But he thought there was another reason also why this toast might be commended, both to their European friends, who had been good enough to respond to the invitation issued by the reception committee, as also to his countrymen, and it was this, that Mr. Oats was good enough to take the guest of the evening, together with his following, over his great mine, and when he took them over those huge pieces of machinery he (Mr. Gandhi) could not help thinking what a great thing it was. Some of his (Mr. Gandhi's) friends present at that function knew he was not

¹ The banquet was given by Kimberley Indians, and the Mayor of Beaconsfield, T. Pratley, preside. Among those that spoke were W. Gasson, the Mayor of Kimberley, Kallenback, Cachalia and Gokhale. "It is the first occasion in local history when Indians and Europeans have met at a common table. . . ."

believer in machinery. He for one was quite willing to admit that he could have done with Kimberley even had there been no diamonds and no machinery. He was no believer in millions and in diamonds, but he realized that he was now before diamond kings and he therefore bowed his head before them. One thing struck him forcibly when watching the machinery, and that was that if they as human beings worked so well together as this marvellous piece of machinery, what a happy family they would be. Then, indeed, their swords would be beaten into ploughshares, and the lions would certainly lie down with the lambs. He also felt that if one nut in that piece of machinery went loose it was possible for the whole machinery to become disjointed, and to carry that analogy to human beings, they had seen so often that one obstreperous man could break up a whole meeting, and one rogue in a family could damage the reputation of that family. Similarly, to take the reverse position, if the chief part of the machinery did its work regularly they found the other pieces working in harmony without being disjointed. He (Mr. Gandhi) regarded Mr. Gokhale's mission as a holy one, and it was a matter of pride to him that Mr. Gokhale had been instrumental in bringing about such a happening in Kimberley as a meeting of the most representative Europeans and Indians at a common board. He hoped such gatherings would be multiplied. As a humble student of the life and teachings of Tolstoy, he felt also that functions like that were unnecessary, and that they sometimes did a great deal of mischief if only by way of interfering with one's digestion. (Laughter.) But although a student of Tolstoy, for the time being he was prepared to reconcile himself to those functions even, if they brought them together, and if they enabled them to know each other better. He recalled the magnificent hymn,

We shall know each other better
When the mists have rolled away,

and though they might have their differences they would know each other better when the mists of ignorance had rolled away. His distinguished countryman had come to South Africa in order to dispel those mists of ignorance. He had come as the brightest jewel that India could present to them. He (Mr. Gandhi) knew that he deeply wounded Mr. Gokhale's susceptibilities whenever he made mention of what he had done, but he (Mr. Gandhi) had to perform a duty, though painful to him. There was no one who could tell them so much of Mr. Gokhale as he could about his life in the political arena of India. He it was who gave 20 years of his life to the cause of education for a mere pittance. Even today Mr. Gokhale lived in poverty, although he could command riches. Hundreds of pounds were always at his disposal whenever he wanted them for public institutions. A Viceroy of India carried the burden of Empire on his shoulders for five years (unless he was a Lord Curzon, and then held office for seven), and even then had a train of workers to assist him, but

here was a distinguished countryman of his carrying the burden of Empire on his shoulders unaided and unassisted and undecorated. True, he carried the C.I.E., but in his opinion he was worth a much better decoration. The decoration that Mr. Gokhale loved best was his love for his countrymen, and the approval of his own conscience. To those Indians who were educated with Western ideas he had given a lesson in humility and gentleness. (Applause.)

The Diamond Fields Advertiser, 28-10-1912

224. BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION'S ADDRESS
TO GOKHALE¹

JOHANNESBURG,
October 28, 1912²

THE HON'BLE GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHLE, C.I.E.
JOHANNESBURG,
DEAR SIR,

On behalf of the British Indian Association, we beg to extend to you a very hearty welcome to the Union in general and to the Transvaal in particular. The estimation in which you are held by our countrymen in the Motherland would suffice to ensure for you a warm welcome from us here. But you have a special claim to our gratitude.

When Passive Resistance was at its height, and when hundreds of our countrymen were undergoing imprisonment in this Province for conscience' sake, we knew that we had your most active support and co-operation. We are aware that it was because you threw the whole weight of your influence in our favour that the Passive Resistance

¹ This address, along with others by the Hamidia Islamic Society, the Johannesburg Hindus, the Tamil Benefit Society, the Patidar Association and the Pietersburg Indians, was presented to Gokhale on his arrival at Park Station, Johannesburg, where, according to *The Transvaal Leader* report, the crowd gave him "a welcome of Oriental warmth and magnificence" and "showered rose leaves upon him". Gokhale "accompanied by Mr. Gandhi stepped. . . on to a richly-decorated and carpeted platform. . . and was there received by the Mayor and Mayoress of Johannesburg." This address, the only one read out, was engraved on "a solid gold plate representing a map of India and Ceylon". *Indian Opinion*, 9-11-1912.

² Although *Indian Opinion*, 9-11-1912, one of the sources of this item, mentions October 29 as the date of Gokhale's arrival in Johannesburg and the presentation of this as well as the Hindus' address (the following item), the special number of *Indian Opinion* issued to commemorate Gokhale's visit, our other source, mentions October 28, which date is also borne out by an entry in "Diary 1912".

Fund was swelled by munificent contributions from India. Mr. Polak has told us how invaluable your advice and guidance were to him whilst he was our delegate in India. It was due mainly to your efforts that the supply of indentured Indian labour to South Africa was stopped. For this, not only are your countrymen most grateful to you, but we believe that the European residents of South Africa also have warmly welcomed your work in this direction.

You have crowned this special South African work of yours by now paying us a visit for the purpose of making a local study of the situation. We know what this visit has meant to you. We shall never forget the sacrifice made by you in coming to us. We thank you for it, and hope that you will carry with you pleasant recollections of your visit to South Africa; and we pray God that He may spare you for many a year to continue your service of the Motherland, which you have so patriotically made the work of your life.

We remain,
Yours faithfully,
A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN
M. K. GANDHI
HON. SECRETARY

Indian Opinion, 9-11-1912; also *Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Visit to South Africa*, 1912.

225. JOHANNESBURG HINDUS' ADDRESS TO GOKHALE¹

JOHANNESBURG,
October 28, 1912

THE HON'BLE GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE, C.I.E.
JOHANNESBURG
DEAR SIR,

We, the undersigned, representing the Hindu population of Johannesburg, desire, particularly, to voice our veneration and regard for you.

¹ This followed the address presented by the British Indian Association, the preceding item.

There is not one among us who does not know of your untiring labours in the cause of the Motherland and her sons scattered far and wide throughout the globe. Your name is a household word with us, your image graven on our hearts, your noble example an ever-present spur to duty.

We bid you welcome to this land of our adoption, and trust that your sojourn in our midst may be a pleasant one. May you long be spared to us, and granted health and strength to continue your glorious work.

M. K. GANDHI

[AND 57 OTHERS]

Indian Opinion, 9-11-1912; also *Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Visit to South Africa, 1912*

226. INTERVIEW TO "THE TRANSVAAL LEADER"¹

[JOHANNESBURG,
October 30, 1912]²

The Hon. G. Gokhale is being kept busy receiving a constant stream of people of all classes and complexions at the rooms which have been taken for him in Chudleigh's Buildings. He received a representative of *The Transvaal Leader* between a visit from Mr. Creswell, the Labour leader, and the introduction of a deputation of Parsees. . . .

While waiting to see Mr. Gokhale, the *Leader* representative had a chat with Mr. M. K. Gandhi, the local leader of the Indian people, who suggested that there were certain questions about Mr. Gokhale's mission which he could personally answer and which it would be an advantage to put to him, from the point of view of economizing Mr. Gokhale's time.

Mr. Gandhi first of all cleared up the doubt which exists in many people's minds as to the official character, or otherwise, of Mr. Gokhale's visit.

[QUESTION:] Is Mr. Gokhale the formally appointed representative of the Government of India in this matter?

No, he comes in his private capacity but with the full knowledge and approval of both the Indian and the Imperial Governments. Before sailing from England he had interviews with, among others, the

¹ The first paragraph has been taken from a fuller report of the interview which a special number of *Indian Opinion*, brought out in commemoration of Gokhale's visit to South Africa, republished from *The Transvaal Leader*.

² Neither of the versions published in *Indian Opinion* mentions the date of the interview but it was on October 30 that Gokhale received Creswell as well as the Parsee deputation referred to in the report.

Marquis of Crewe (Secretary of State for India), Mr. Harcourt (Secretary of State for the Colonies), Lord Gladstone, Sir Richard Solomon and Sir Starr Jameson.

How long will the visit to South Africa last?

Mr. Gokhale leaves on November 6 for Natal. Elaborate preparations are being made in Durban for his reception—on the 14th he meets Ministers in Pretoria, and he then leaves immediately, via Delagoa Bay on his return voyage to India.

Surely this is a very short time for the accomplishment of so important a mission?

It is an exceedingly brief stay, but Mr. Gokhale has to be back in India early in December for his legislative duties.

But he expects to have all his conclusions definitely formed by the time he sees the Union Ministers?

NO RIGHT TO BE SURRENDERED

That is so. Of course, in so far as the rights of Indians are concerned he can have no opinions to form. He has come with an open mind only from the point of view that he is anxious to understand the European side of the question. In theory, he, as a distinguished patriot, could never think of surrendering any of the rights of this countrymen. But his conclusions as to the putting of theory into practice are open to modification by local knowledge gained from contact with those who have carried on ceaseless agitation in this country against British Indians.

In further conversation, Mr. Gandhi expressed his belief, which, he said, was also Mr. Gokhale's belief, that the problem had been virtually narrowed down to the treatment of the Indian population domiciled in the Union.

As to that, Mr. Gokhale has, I think, come to the general conclusion that the Indians resident here are entitled to civic equality. That is to say, their movement within the Union should not be hampered and, under restrictions of a general character applying to the community at large, they should be allowed freedom of trade.

How about the Free State?

With reference to the Free State, Mr. Gokhale is still studying the law, and it is difficult to say what his conclusions will be on that point. Personally, I feel that for yet a few years to come the Free State will retain its policy as far as the holding of land and the carrying on of trade are concerned. As far as the immigration barrier is concerned, it

is part of the compromise that under the new Act the few fresh immigrants that will be allowed to come in will be free to move about in any part of the Union. They will, therefore, not be subject to the Free State restriction as to immigration, but they will be unable to trade or farm in that Province. But some day or other, the Free State barrier must entirely disappear. Otherwise the Union will be a farce.

Indian Opinion, 23-11-1912

**227. SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG BANQUET TO
GOKHALE¹**

October 31, 1912

Mr. Gandhi, in proposing the toast of the Chairman and the European visitors, said it was his proud privilege to propose that toast. It was a proud day for Indians that they had all responded so heartily to the invitation of the British Indian Association to join in doing honour to their illustrious countryman, and, as so many of the speakers had said, worthy citizen of the Empire to which they all belonged. Mr. Gokhale himself had tendered his thanks to the Committee that was formed at the time when the struggle was at its height. He thought that the Committee had rendered a signal service to the Empire, as it had certainly rendered signal service to British Indians. It was the formation of that Committee that gave new hope to those who were struggling for the sake of conscience. The Indian community throughout South Africa would never forget the time when the committee was formed, nor would it ever forget that great occasion. They had held many banquets, many European friends and sympathizers had attended those banquets, but he could not recall a single occasion when so many great statesmen of South Africa and so many great citizens of South Africa had gathered together at the invitation of their humble selves. It gave him, therefore, the greatest pleasure to propose that toast.

Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Visit to South Africa, 1912

¹ The banquet, with Mayor Ellis in the chair, was given by the British Indian Association and was the largest of its kind, about 500 persons attending. A copy of the menu printed on satin was presented to Gokhale by Waingold and Newman.

228. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
November 3, 1912

DEAR MR. SHASTRIAR¹,

I have heard so much of you that I almost feel we know each other: hence the familiar style.

Mr. Gokhale is taking rest for a day or two here—such as he can get after a most strenuous fortnight. I have insisted on Mr. Gokhale taking the rest he needs. He has therefore commissioned me to write to you. The receptions throughout the tour have been very flattering. Europeans—many prominent leaders—have taken part in them as you will see from the papers sent to the Society. In my opinion Mr. Gokhale's mission is bound to be fruitful. Mr. Gokhale's speeches have been much appreciated everywhere. Owing to bad service to India, Mr. Gokhale's plans have to be altered. He will now sail by s.s. *Umkuzi* leaving Durban on the 20th instant and reaching Colombo about the 7th December.² Will you please be on the look-out? Mr. Gokhale would like Mr. Ranganathan to meet him at Colombo and would like you to join him at Madras.

Passage has not yet been booked. Ere this reaches you a cable will be sent giving exact particulars.

I am,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From *Letters of Srinivasa Sastri*; Asia Publishing House, 1963

¹ V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (1869-1946); became President, Servants of India Society in 1914 after Gokhale's death; elected to the Viceroy's Legislative Council, 1916, and to the Council of State, 1920; Member, India's delegation to the League of Nations, 1921, and to the Armaments Conference in Washington, 1921; made a Privy Councilor the same year; appointed Agent-General of the Indian Government in South Africa; delegate to the India-Britain Round Table Conference of 1930, held in London and the India-South Africa Round Table Conference of 1932, held in Cape Town; was the "revered friend" mentioned in the translator's preface to *An Autobiography* (1940 Edition).

² Actually Gokhale sailed from Zanzibar on November 29, 1912 by s.s. President.

229. *SPEECH AT MARITZBURG RECEPTION
TO GOKHALE¹*

November 7, 1912

Mr. M. K. Gandhi said he had been a resident of South Africa for the past 18 years. The Ganges was a holy river, and, if its waters had flowed into the Umsindusi in the person of Mr. Gokhale, then it was a proud day for the City. Whether Mr. Gokhale's mission toward helping the Indian would be successful still remained to be seen. It would rest a good deal with those in South Africa as to whether that devoutly-hoped-for success of Mr. Gokhale's visit would materialize. Entered into with a generous and noble spirit his mission should be signally successful. (Applause.)

Indian Opinion, 16-11-1912

230. *SPEECH AT MARITZBURG LUNCHEON
TO GOKHALE²*

[November 8, 1912]

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, in proposing "Our European Friends", said he spoke as an Indian and on behalf of the Indians. He voiced their feelings when he said that they were doubly indebted to the Europeans who had so heartily assisted the Indians in welcoming and assisting their visitor, an illustrious son of India. They were all actuated by the best of feelings. The Indians were now going through the process of Union, and in that process he would ask them to remember the advice of Sir Percy Fitzpatrick and Mr. Merriman before Union, and every time there was a jarring note he would urge them to look at the matter in the "Convention spirit". In the matter of the great problem now present in their minds, he would ask all to look at it from the Gokhale point of view. (Hear, hear!) If that was done he thought they would not have sat together at that table in vain. Wherever Mr. Gokhale had gone there had been the spirit of peace. He could only hope that the spirit would not vanish with his departure, but would continue and intensify, because there was not, after all, any reason why they should not all live together under the same flag in peace, amity and friendship. (Cheers.)

Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Visit to South Africa, 1912

¹ The meeting included all the leading Maritzburg citizens and a great number of Indians and was presided over by the Administrator of the Province. The Indians presented Gokhale with an address. The Administrator, Mayor Sanders and other Europeans also addressed the meeting.

² The luncheon was arranged by the Maritzburg Reception Committee. Among the speakers were the Maritzburg Administrator and Gokhale.

231. SPEECH AT DURBAN RECEPTION TO GOKHALE¹

[November 8, 1912]

By an accident, my name has got into some corner of the Voters' Roll and I am therefore able to address this audience—the whites in it—as my fellow-citizens.²

Mr. Gandhi pointed out that Mr. Gokhale was recognized to be a great statesman, not only by the millions of Indians but also by the people of England. Viceroy had called upon him to give them advice, because he had been able to keep his fingers on the pulse of India. He had guided the deliberations of the National Congress of India, and was one of the greatest educationists of the country. Had he been born in England he would today be occupying the position Mr. Asquith occupied. Had he been born in America he probably would be occupying the position to which Dr. Woodrow Wilson had been elected, and if he had been born in the Transvaal he would be occupying General Botha's position. He warned his compatriots against building hopes too high. They would still have to agitate. Mr. Gokhale could not give them the rights they had been clamouring for, and they might still have to go to gaol for these rights. The addresses which had been presented to him were not given in any spirit of anticipation of what was to come, but simply as a tribute to the great character of the man who stood before them that evening.

Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Visit to South Africa, 1912

232 SPEECH AT DURBAN BANQUET TO GOKHALE³

November 11, 1912

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, proposing "The European Guests", asked his fellow-countrymen to drink that toast heartily, although they had had to drink many a bitter draught in South Africa. Still, there was a silver lining to every cloud, and there were many European friends who had come to their aid, including Mr. Silburn, although that gentleman thought that the Indian Empire had been won by the sword, and that it

¹ At this Town Hall meeting, Royeppen read the address. It was engraved on gold plate and the shield was mounted on ebony.

² This sentence is translated from the Gujarati version of the speech published in *Indian Opinion*, 16-11-1912.

³ About 500 Europeans and Indians were present at the banquet. Among others who spoke were Sir David Hunter, who presided, F. C. Hollander, the Mayor of Durban, and Gokhale.

had been kept by the sword.¹ He differed from him on that point, because he believed that it was inconsistent for England to deal out justice with one hand and hold the threat of the sword with other.

Indian Opinion, 23-11-1912

233. SPEECH AT PRETORIA RECEPTION TO GOKHALE²

November 14, 1912

Mr. Gandhi said that he had been asked by the Chairman of the Pretoria Committee to say a few words. He had to thank the European friends who had accepted the invitation to be present, and he had to thank the Deputy Mayor. Throughout the tour Mr. Gokhale had received every kindness and courtesy. It was a matter of the greatest gratification that the Europeans had joined with the Indians in extending the hand of hospitality to the visitor. He read letters of regret at inability to be present from General Botha, Mr. Abraham Fischer and General Smuts. He then asked the Deputy Mayor to open the proceedings.

Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Visit to South Africa, 1912

234. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]

On or before *November 17, 1912*³

CHI. MAG ANLAL,

I have your letter.

I did not find Professor Gokhale's speeches with Mr. Kallen-

¹ Silburn had made the point that the Indian problem in South Africa was one for South Africa to deal with, and that no interference either by Great Britain or by India would be tolerated by the British people of that country.

² The reception was arranged to bid farewell to Gokhale and was presided over by J. H. L. Findley, Deputy Mayor.

³ Gokhale's speeches referred to in paragraph 2 were presumably those that he delivered during his tour of South Africa between October 22, 1912 and November 12, 1912. Gandhiji, who accompanied Gokhale throughout the tour, arrived in Durban on November 8 and left on November 12. Since the letter is addressed to Maganlal Gandhi, who worked at the Phoenix press, the speeches must have been lost either at Phoenix or at Durban. Gandhiji arrived at Tolstoy Farm--which came towards the end of the itinerary--on November 15. Polak's foreword to the special publication, which was issued by the International Printing Press, the special publication, which was issued by the International Printing Press, Phoenix, in commemoration of Gokhale's visit and contained published texts of Gokhale's speeches, is dated November 20, 1912. It is probable, therefore, that his letter was written on November 16 or on November 17 on which date Gandhiji left for Lourenco Marques to see Gokhale off.

bach. Inquire at the Lost Luggage Office in the Station there. Possibly a whole bundle has been left behind. It bears the date on which I came away.

Speak to Mahomed Cassim Camroodeen¹ even so about the advertisement. Let me know what reply he gives.

Find out from Dada Sheth what action is being taken about boys being not permitted to attend the school². You should also obtain weekly reports from Mr. Subramaniam³ and publish them. If, moreover, you arranged for this through Mr. Paul, you may [thus] be able to keep in touch with him and secure valuable news. I know that this will take time. It is to be done during spare hours, and it can be done if harmony prevails in Phoenix. The answer [to the question] how this can be brought about lies with you all and so does the responsibility for achieving it.

Ask Mr. Aiyar⁴ for information about C. K. D. Pillay's case. Mr. Paul will be able to give you this information at once.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5741

235. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

[November 17, 1912]⁵

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I have your letters. I shall reply to them at leisure. At the moment, I shall only say that since you have grasped the significance [of human existence] you should order your life accordingly.⁶

From the Gujarati original in pencil in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5639 Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

¹ A Durban Indian merchant

² The Indian Educational Institute at Durban run by H. L. Paul

³ An Indian educationist of Natal who had consulted Gandhiji about the school

⁴ P. S. Aiyar of the *African Chronicle*

⁵ On the back of this is a brief letter to the addressee from Sonja Schlesin and it is dated November 18, 1912.

⁶ Gandhiji ended the letter at this point and left for Lourenco Marques. The letter was forwarded to the addressee by Polak, as is clear from the remarks added by him.

236. *SPEECH AT LOURENCO MARQUES BANQUET
TO GOKHALE*¹

[November 18, 1912]

Mr. M. K. Gandhi said he remembered Lourenco Marques when it had the reputation of being a malarious place, but it was almost superfluous to drink the health of the European guests in a town so admittedly healthy as the town was today. They also had partaken of a vegetarian, non-alcoholic repast—these things also were consistent with good health. He considered the gathering was unique; they had with them Christians, Jews, Hindus, Mahomedans and Parsees. He had been ordered to be brief, so would ask all to drink to the guests, coupled with the name of Consul-General MacDonnell.

Indian Opinion, 7-12-1912

237. *A CABLE*²

R. P. D. KRONPRINZ

[On or after *November 19, 1912*]

THANKS PROGRAMME CONVENIENT GOKHALE'S HEALTH UNSATISFACTORY
SPARE HIM TROUBLE.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5736

¹ The banquet was presided over by Errol MacDonell, the British Consul-General.

² Gokhale, accompanied by Gandhiji and Kallenback, boarded R.P.D. *Kronprinz* of German East Africa Line at midnight on November 18, 1912. On the way Gokhale and party disembarked at Beira (November 21 and 22), Mozambique (November 25) and Zanzibar (November 27) and at each of these places he was felicitated and presented with addresses. Some time between November 18 and 26, therefore, Gandhiji must have addressed this telegram to the reception committee in one of these three places.

238. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

DAR-ES-SALAM,
December 4, 1912

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I have just heard that the Indian mail closes within half an hour from now (9.30 a.m.). We are in this place for two more days.

On receipt of cable from Johannesburg to the effect that the case¹ was found at Lourenco Marques and that it was being forwarded to you, I cabled to you at Mahe.² I hope you received the cable. A cable³ was also sent to Miss Schlesin, asking her to insure the case.

And now will you forgive me for all my imperfections? I want to be a worthy pupil of yours. This is not mock humility but Indian seriousness. I want to realize in myself the conception I have of an Eastern pupil. We may have many differences of opinion, but you shall still be my pattern in political life.

One word from the quack physician. Ample fasting, strict adherence to two meals, entire absence of condiments of all kinds from your food, omission of pulses, tea, coffee, etc., regular taking of Kuhne baths, regular and brisk walking in the country (not the pacing up and down for stimulating thought), ample allowance of olive oil and acid fruit and gradual elimination of cooked food—and you will get rid of your diabetes and add a few more years than you think to your life of service in your present body.

Mr. Kallenbach wishes to be remembered to you.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

¹ This was presumably the case containing the address which was presented to Gokhale by the British Indian Association and engraved on solid gold plate; *vide* 1st footnote of “British Indian Association’s Address to Gokhale” 28-10-1912 and entry for November 28 in “Diary, 1912”, when the case was first missed.

² These cables to Gokhale and Schlesin are not available.

³ *Ibid*

[PS.]

We were both glad to receive your cable. Will you kindly ask Mr. Shastriar or some other S.I.¹ to give me an account of the Mombasa reception for *I.O.*?

M. K. G.

From a photostat of the typewritten copy: C. W. 4842

239. EDUCATION IN VERNACULARS

For the first time in the history of Indian education in South Africa, Indian languages are now acknowledged as being necessary as a medium of training Indian children in schools. One of the conditions accepted by the Witwatersrand Central School Board, in connection with the establishment of an Indian school² in Johannesburg, is that the Gujarati language “may be taught as a language and used as a medium of instruction”. It strikes us as being remarkable that the Education Department in Natal should have been so blind as not to see that the mother tongue is an absolute essential to school training. The position now is that not a single Indian school in Natal, under control, gives instruction through the language of the pupils. Nor are Indian vernaculars taught as languages to Indians in the schools, except in one or two cases where the teachers kindly give instruction in those languages after school hours to those who specially wish it. Mr. Gokhale, in his farewell speech at Pretoria, laid emphasis on the need for teaching Indian vernaculars in school hours. He also rightly pointed out that, so long as such instruction is not given, it is a legitimate excuse for the Indian community to ask for the admission of clerks and others so instructed, for the proper keeping of their bookes. But most of all we would urge the importance of the study of

¹ Servants of India

² This is presumably the school which Gandhiji mentioned in his speech at the British Indian Association meeting of August 25, and for which a committee was then formed. On November 16, the Secretary of the Witwatersrand General School Board wrote to Habib Motan, who was on this committee, accepting his proposal for the establishment of the school (“Proposed Indian School at Johannesburg”, p. 327) on the conditions that: (a) a European Principal would be appointed and paid for by the Government, who would be the supervisor of the school, and (b) that the Indians would bear half the cost of the salaries of the teachers in return for a matching grant by the Government. The Secretary agreed that Gujarati might be taught as a language and used as a medium of instruction. *Indian Opinion*, 7-12-1912.

Indian languages because, without a knowledge of one's ideas become warped and our hearts estranged from the Motherland. The religions and literature of India can never be appreciated through the medium of a foreign language. Much as we admire the bright intelligence of our Colonial-born young men we feel that there is something missing, and that is a knowledge of real Indian thought, history, and literature. Many of them speak nothing but the English language, some few have obtained a colloquial knowledge of their mother tongue whilst scarcely any can read and write the great languages of India. This is a great pity, and we therefore welcome the enlightened decision of the Witwatersrand School Board, and hope that, ere long, we shall see the spread of vernacular teaching throughout the Indian schools in South Africa.

Indian Opinion, 7-12-1912

240. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

Magshar Sud 9 [December 18, 1912]¹

CHI. JAMNADAS,

You left the same day as I reached Johannesburg. I have both your letters. I shall myself tear them up after reading them. I also do not understand why your health should have suffered. Ch. Chhaganlal says that you were dispirited this time, that you, known to be the strongest of all, tired [easily]. All this shows that your recent experiment in diet did not suit you. I could have shown you where the fault lay if only I had been with you. Chhanganlal says that you had also grown irritable. You should resume taking milk, ghee, *dahi*, etc., when the six-month period is over. Sugar and salt you will not need. Do eat them, however, if you must but improve your health. You may resume your experiment, if you wish, after I go there. If you do not keep very good health, no one will believe in the value of your experiment, and, if you do not keep a normal temper, it will do you no good either.

And now to your questions.

If we eat no *dahi*, naturally butter and buttermilk should also be avoided. Surely, if *dahi* is forbidden, butter and buttermilk are constituents of *dahi*. They are less of an evil because they are less palatable. But you need not worry over this rather subtle distinction. If

¹ This appears to have been written soon after Jamnadas Gandhi left for India on December 14, 1912.

you take ghee, you may as well take milk, *dahi*, etc. We shall see about it later on.

It is nothing wrong if one who takes coco-nut oil eats copra. In fact, copra should be better. But, just as one who cannot digest wheat may be able to digest its milk¹, so may one who cannot digest copra be able to digest the oil. Moreover, oil is more convenient for a person without teeth. You are likely to find yourself in this state. And the same about gingili. In order to consume two ounces of its oil, one must eat a large quantity of the seed and this cannot be done. True, the cake will be left out, and for some constitutions it is just as well.

One can certainly live on bananas alone. Then one need not eat nuts. I feel that the kernel in the almonds and other nuts contains more nourishment than fresh fruit.

I can think of two reasons why you got boils. Because of unsuitable food the blood became weak and the enervating air at Phoenix had an immediate effect on you. Or else, Phoenix water affects only the skin, in the same way that mere contact with cactus will affect the skin of a person even if his blood is pure.

If some air enters the stomach through an enema, no harm will come out of it. At the worst, there might be stomach-ache, as the body has no use for air entering this way. When this happens, one should go to the toilet and strain, so that most of the wind is expelled. One is unlikely to die if some air enters, though, for a delicate constitution like Krishna's, the result might well be disastrous.

In case of any stomach disorder, a wet-sheet pack will certainly have some effect. The pressing out of fat through the countless pores in the skin will undoubtedly reduce pressure to that extent, and this may well induce a motion.

When the patient is in no condition to be treated with earth bandage and is too weak to fast, there is likely to be no unwanted matter in the system and even if there is it will do no harm. In this case, the patient should be given hot milk or similar food to revive him, and he should then be given earth treatment, etc. If he is so utterly weak that one may not even bring him to contact with cold water or give him a glass of water, be sure he is nearing his end. One should be resigned to and wait for it. Even while one waits, the patient may possibly revive.

There is no universal rule that one must always do something.

¹ Squeezed out of wheat soaked in water

Sometimes, rest alone is the right thing for the patient. Patients like Krishna cannot be given a hard *bhakhri*¹ made from rice or other flour. They have inflammation of the intestines and can only be given the simplest liquid food. This treatment is for enteric and other fevers. Patients like him can be given orange juice, strained. It must contain no trace of the peel or the pulp inside.

If a very weak patient has excessive motions, a wet pack, soaked in ice-cold water, should be applied to the stomach. If this has no effect, the motions should not be interfered with.

When a patient is delirious, one should understand that he is suffering. He should be treated with mud packs over his head and stomach and lowed plenty of fresh air. It does not matter if he continues to be in delirium after this. He will come round by and by. If his vitality is exhausted, he will eventually succumb.

After six months are over, you may cheerfully take whatever food your inner being prompts you to.

You may learn weaving if that can be done without strain. I do not insist on it.

We affectionately address both God and mother as thou, having no fear of either. The father inspires fear, so that one does not, normally, address him that way. As for others, they are all distant. They certainly cannot take the place of God or a mother.

It was certainly not right of Sugriva to have had Vali killed.² He can be defended up to a point. It is surely not possible to defend all the actions of the virtuous in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Even the poet has not visualized them as perfect.

If you are so crazy about a bicycle, use it, and then rid yourself of the craze. While riding to a village on a bicycle, one has to face danger from cattle. The latter are utter strangers to our bicycle and, being frightened, charge at us. You may write to Mr. Kallenbach unhesitatingly. I shall continue to write [to you].

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5641. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

¹ Thick, coarse *roti*

² They were brothers depicted as monkey-kings in the *Ramayana*. Sugriva besought Rama's assistance in recovering his wife from Vali who had taken her away. Rama, therefore, killed Vali and installed Sugriva on the throne.

241. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

December 20, 1912

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I am now reaching Durban. Up to Newcastle I had a compartment all to myself. From Maritzburg it became crowded. A native friend usurped my seat whilst I was walking along the platform. I thought I would walk and risk losing my seat. Could not manage two meals yesterday. I shall see what happens today.

The Indian visit fills me consideration of it in details sends my brain whizzing. Why need I think so much about it? One step enough for me. That step is the patient to whom I am going. He drove out the Indian visit from my thought. So much of self.

Now you are in a seesaw. Your mind is a spinning top set in motion at its highest. Well, the comfort before us all is that we cannot peep into the future and we cannot control all the forces that mould us. Only this we know that one of such forces is ourselves. So that our duty is done when we have performed to the best of our ability our own part. What is your own part? To make up your mind for the immediate future and stick to it manfully. You have made up your mind. Now it remains to stick to the resolution. It means your refusing to waste your time even by your mind idly thinking of other projects which might have been better.

Do your Hindi, fix up Mountain View and Africa Building, wind up your office and do not worry about Call or Geevers or anybody else or anything else.

For your food, while you need not just now return to the pure fruit diet, you may only take up bread and oil and not milk and ghee. Later only may you take these up if they are found necessary. Bread should have its trial without ghee and milk. That would be a scientific experiment.

Hope that you will have things not to be kept on the Farm packed up.

Will you remember that you may not even spend a penny without careful thinking? The next year or eighteen months or more are the time of your life.

Yours sincerely,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

242. GOKHALE'S RETURN TO INDIA

Reuter has sent us a partial report of the public meeting held in Bombay to welcome Mr. Gokhale and hear from him an account of his historic visit to this country.¹ It gives us an idea of the hopes he entertains.

Some Indians at home imagine that we demand free entry for all Indians wishing to settle in South Africa. This is the impression one occasionally gathers from newspapers coming from India. Some Indian leaders, too, make this demand. Replying to critics of this sort, Mr. Gokhale declared that we did not demand such [unrestricted] rights, and also that it would not be proper for us to do so. He has suggested that we ought to be content if the legal right was secured. He added that if we hoped for reasonable treatment, we should understand the underlying reason for the Europeans' anxieties and fears. Our prospects would undoubtedly depend to some extent on such understanding. Mr. Gokhale seems to have succeeded in making the Bombay meeting appreciate this.

The Union Government has assured Mr. Gokhale that the immigration laws would not be applied inconsiderately.² Let us see to what extent the assurance is acted upon. That will [of course] depend more on our own actions. Mr. Gokhale is convinced that the cruel £3 tax which the labouring class is made to pay will be repealed. We would be surprised [in fact] if a repealing bill was not brought before the forthcoming session of Parliament.

But the problem of the trade licences—the biggest and the most complicated—will still remain unsolved. We are sure the Indian community will have to put forth tremendous efforts in this matter.

¹ At this meeting, held on December 14, Gokhale had enumerated the problems of Indians in South Africa. He had declared that African Indians, if they wanted reasonable treatment, should respect the reasonable apprehensions of the Europeans who were afraid of being swamped by the Coloured people. It was not a question of right, he had said, but it was a "question of what was best for the people". He also paid the highest tribute to Gandhiji's "wonderful personality and work". *Indian Opinion*, 21-12-1912. For a full report of Gokhale's speech, *vide* Appendix "Gokhale's Speech at Bombay", 14-12-1912.

² Gokhale met Smuts, Botha and Fischer at Pretoria on November 14, and Gladstone on November 15, 1912; *vide* Appendix "Gladstone's Minute on Meeting with Gokhale", 16-11-1912.

Wherever Mr. Gokhale went, he had discussions with Europeans on this question, but none of them was able to suggest a satisfactory solution. The Union Government, too, had explained their problems to Mr. Gokhale. He feels that we here will have to exert ourselves in this regard. He is thinking of setting up an association in Indian which will exclusively attend to our problems, and himself will most probably be the secretary. He believes that London [S.A.B.I.] Committee, too, should continue its work. Mr. Gokhale has also suggested an easy way for keeping the Committee going ;we shall write of this later.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 21-12-1912

243. GANDHI UNDER DETENTION¹

PHOENIX,
December 23, 1912

The Officer asked: "Are you an Indian?"

ANSWER: "Yes."

Q: "Were you born in India?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "Do you have any papers with you?"

A: "No. I am a lawyer practising in the Transvaal Court, and I have with me a return ticket to Johannesburg. And I intend to go there today."

The official said: "Don't you worry about that ! Sit here; your case will be disposed of later."

(The foregoing exchange of questions and answers was in English. In English the word corresponding to *tu*² is not used. The Immigration Officer used [the English] "you"; but he did so in a manner that might well suggest *Tu*. He used "you" in this contemptuous fashion, and I have rendered it in Gujarati as *tu*.)

Mr. Kallenbach and I travelled as deck passengers on the return journey, having earlier accompanied the Hon. Mr. Gokhale as far as Tanga, beyond Zanzibar. Our tickets were for Delagoa Bay. At Beira we boarded another steamer in order to save time. On board the

¹ The entry for November 29 in "Diary, 1912" contains a brief reference to the incident.

² A second person pronoun in the nominative case in Gujarati which implies familiarity of contempt.

second steamer, there were, besides us, about 60 deck passengers, who, after they had been interrogated by the Delagoa Bay Immigration Officer, were permitted to land. He questioned them even if they wished to stop there only for a few hours before entraining for Johannesburg. He issued permits only after interrogation.

Most of our co-passengers were Greek and they were poor. I was present during their interrogation. The questioning must have taken up about an hour and a half. After asking them about their residence, occupation, etc., he handed over their permits to them. Most of them were to proceed to Johannesburg, and they were found carrying some papers as well—mostly in proof of their possession of £20 on their persons. When my turn came, the Immigration Officer asked me the questions which I mentioned in the beginning.

It was Mr. Kallenbach's turn next. The official asked him: "Have you got any papers?" Mr. Kallenbach said that he had none. He introduced me and told the Immigration Officer that we had together gone to see the Hon. Mr. Gokhale off. I do not think the official even bothered to hear him out. He only said: "I shall take up his (Gandhi's) case later. I can't give him a permit. He is an Indian." Mr. Kallenbach gnashed his teeth. He was much hurt. He got his own permit immediately, but it was like poison to him. Would he disembark alone, leaving me behind? How could he possibly do that. The thought rent his heart. He felt ashamed to accept his permit, and while taking it, he turned to me and said angrily (but this was really for the benefit of the official): "You take that ! You are an 'Asiatic': your skin is black. I am a European and white. You will have to remain under detention." (Here the word *tu* suggests affection). I kept smiling, but rage flared in my heart: 'I a mere Indian? How overbearing this official is and how wicked the whites are! How despicable my countrymen are! But why blame the whites? What is there the official can do? I must share in the benefits of and pay the penalties for the impression created by my fellows in South Africa. Today I pay the penalty; tomorrow I might reap the benefit. Why blame even the South African Indians? We are after all like the Indians in India. What would be my duty in this case? To be angry with the official? Certainly not. Authority is blind. Shall I then hold my peace? No, where there is suffering, I must try to seek redress. And how does one try? I must do my duty. I must not become or remain selfish. My Indian co-passengers on the deck are living in filth; I must set them an example through my way of living. I must

move about as a deck passenger and request them to think of their self-respect and to preserve it, to remove the causes of filth, etc. They should defer to the simple and reasonable laws of the whites and resist their perverse and unreasonable laws with courage and firmness.

I must learn a lesson from this incident that person like my-self should, in so far as possible, travel deck class. Only thus will I gain a true idea of the condition of deck passengers, and be moreover able to help them.' Such I saw was my duty. These thoughts must all have arisen in the mind within a moment. Those who have not known the immense speed of thought can experience it as they read this. These thoughts must have crowded in on my wounded mind- in a medley, but eventually I became absolutely calm. I remember now that my mind did become quiet, and that is how I now infer that it had earlier been agitated.

I sat glued to my chair, half awake, half dreaming, while Mr. Kallenbach was restlessly pacing up and down. He looked a lion caught in a cage. A few Indians were standing about at the pier waiting to receive us. Mr. Kallenbach told them about my detention. They said: "We have been ready since yesterday with arrangements to receive Mr. Gandhi. We shall send a man again and he will soon fetch the permit." Mr. Kallenbach brought me this news; but becoming impatient, he went to the official again. The latter repeated: "I cannot do anything now." When all the cases had been disposed of, he left. But while going away, he told me that my case would take time yet. Some time after the official had left, the Delagoa Bay Indians' attempts proved effective. This messenger had returned with the permit. It was shown to the Immigration Officer's clerk who then issued me a pass; I was set free. Mr. Kallenbach and I disembarked and, having enjoyed the hospitality of the Delagoa Bay Indians, we took the train to Johannesburg the same day.

I for one have learnt much from the foregoing incident. I place it before readers of *Indian Opinion* hoping that they would know about it, and that they, too, may learn something from it. Surely, this has not happened only to me that I should bore readers of *Indian Opinion* with this rigmarole. Let me hope that this question would not occur to them. Admittedly, suffering a thousand times more severe has befallen Indians at Delagoa Bay and other ports. It is because I know this that I was pained and now write about this incident. I would, I suppose, be considered and educated person. That is, I would know

what to do. Many Europeans know me. I would be counted among the “big”, and many would come forward to help me. If, in spite of all this, I have had to put up with so much, what must be the plight of other Indians, looked down upon as uneducated and in no wise able to defend themselves?

I wish Indians in my predicament would be infused with the same zeal that I felt. The first step towards our deliverance is the true realization of our condition. During my deck journey an Indian, referring to our condition here, expressed the opinion: “We are as ants. We must endure this suffering somehow and have done with it.” This I call ignorance. We set no store by self-respect and are not prepared to defend it. ‘Once I get my wages, the whites might call me a coolie, a deck-hand might kick me. I might be obliged to live in a Location; I might be prevented from owning land and mine might be a dog’s plight. But I don’t care.’ Such, generally, is our lot. We have submitted to it all along, so the Europeans treat us in this fashion. Thus we alone are responsible for our condition. That is the lesson to be learnt from this incident. Having learnt it, we must apply it in every difficult situation and act accordingly. Two things need to be done: one, we must rid the community of its defects which may have brought about the present condition and two, every one of us must fight against injustices perpetrated by the whites.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 28-12-1912

244. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

December 26, 1912

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I find that I cannot leave before next week. The patients are progressing. I am making safe experiments with one of them and it appears to me that he will recover much more rapidly. It consists in eliminating milk from the dietary.

Will you please have those things which have to come here packed slowly? I should like to shorten my stay there as much as possible. The contents of each case should be noted in a book.

I have been thinking over your letter. I think that we often manufacture sorrows. Instead of simply saying to yourself you are

going to Phoenix and then to India, you are thinking in advance what awaits you at these places. May you not think thus: 'I shall go to Phoenix. I shall take up work which I can do and no other. If I cannot find anything to suit me and Phoenix appals me, I shall leave the place. I do not mind admitting defeat. I shall go to India. I shall try to like it. I shall try, too, to find pleasure in the work before me. If I still fail, I shall not lose. I shall be the gainer for having tried.'

This is a safe attitude and it is the attitude of the average man. Why should you worry by trying to know the whole future?

With love,

Yours sincerely,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

245. A CATASTROPHE

We have to thank our stars that the dastardly act of the bomb-thrower at Delhi did not prove fatal to Lord Hardinge's life and that Lady Hardinge had a miraculous escape. That in this century, which is considered an enlightened period in the history of mankind, there are people who believe that assassination can lead to political or other reform is a fact which should make people think and ask whether water passes under the name of progress is real progress. We as Indians deplore that this nefarious institution of cold-blooded Satanic murder should find its votaries in India. We cannot recall instances of the kind in Indian history. Assassination for selfish ends is as old as the hills. It had its sway in India also long before the introduction, in that land, of Western influence. But Political assassination is a recent excrescence in the life of India. The mad youth who perpetrated the crime no doubt thought that by striking murders of distinguished men, rulers could be terrorized and an independent Indian could be thereby secured. We should decline to share any such independence even if it were attainable, which we doubt. We do not believe that good can be brought about by evil.

The fact is that the idea of securing independence by assassination is chimerical. The result can only be greater repression, greater suspicion on the part of the rulers, greater taxation on the people, and consequent increase in the hardships of the poorest in the land. In the midst of this darkness we can but pray for India's

deliverance from the curse of assassination and the return of the few misguided youths to the sane teaching of their forefathers that freedom comes only from self-suffering and purification—never by inflicting on others. We pray, too, for Lord Haridinge’s quick recovery from the effect of the wound received by him.

Indian Opinion, 28-12-1912

246. LETTER TO G.K. GOKHALE¹

PHOENIX,
NATAL,
December 28, 1912

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

Chhaganlal’s son being ill I was obliged to hurry here as soon as we reached Johannesburg. The youngster is much better now thanks to the hip baths & partial starvation.

Many thanks for your letter from Mombasa & cable from India. The criticism you cable was expected by us. It does not affect me at all. The critics have not troubled to study the question. Even Mr. Natrajan in his paper says that we have made as good a bargain as we could under the circumstances. The fact is that we have made no “bargain”. But I must not worry you. I value your time and health too much to inflict a long letter on you.

I replied to your cable early this week. I hope that the souvenir case was received in time. The *Umkazi* remained a long time at Beira.

You were right and I was wrong. The foodstuff bought at Johannesburg for our voyage went to the Farm. All evidently lost their heads, Miss Schlesin most of all. You wanted to know, too, as to who was responsible for the omission to pay our passage. Ismail says he knew nothing about it and that he never received Polak’s wire. Polak distrusts Ismail. Poor Rustomjee was upset when he heard that the passage had to be paid at Beira. The omission to give you the diary of your tour was due to Polak’s forgetfulness. I admit that all these mishaps were preventable and I could have prevented them had I given them more thought. The lessons I have learnt during the tour will not be lost on me.

¹ *Vide* also “Letter to G. K. Gokhale”, 4-12-1912.

I hope to shift to Phoenix during the middle of January.

On my arrival in Johannesburg Miss Sclesin told me that the whole of the passive resistance balance was used up. As I have several calls to meet, I took the liberty of adding to the cable a few words asking you to ask Mr. Petit to cable the balance in his hands.¹

I hope that you are keeping well. I should value all the news you could give me about your health and the changes made in your dietary, &c.

If one of the Servants of India could be specially put on S.A. Work arrangements could be made to send him a regular letter every mail about the position here, and a few copies of *I.O.* for careful distribution. You have asked me to write to you regularly about the position. But I feel that I ought not to expect you to read such heavy correspondence from fortnight to fortnight. The member whom you may appoint could do all that & take your instructions when necessary.

I remain,
Your sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

Enclosed is the bill of lading regarding the lost case and insurance certificate.

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 3806

¹ Petit had cabled the first instalment of Ratan Tata's donation of Rs. 25,000; *vide* "Mr. Tata's Munificence", 10-8-1912.

247. DIARY, 1912¹

JANUARY 15, MONDAY, POSH VAD 11

Medh, Manilal, Pragji returned	
Trip ticket book	1. 6. 3
Stamps	0. 2. 0
	<hr/>
Bal[ance]	3. 3. 10

JANUARY 16, TUESDAY

Went to town—Porter met [me]—Returned—Plague in Durban.

Leather	0. 7. 6
Paper	0. 0. 3
Bal[ance]	2. 16. 1

JANUARY 17, WEDNESDAY

Went to town—Met the Committee on Crematorium near the graveyard—

Wire	0. 1. 0
Freight Salt	0. 1. 0
Paper	0. 0. 3
	<hr/>
Bal[ance]	£ 2. 13. 10

¹ These brief memoranda were made by Gandhiji from day to day on a copy of “*Indian Opinion* Pocket Diary for 1912” published by the International Printing Press, Phoenix, and advertised for the first time in *Indian Opinion*, 6-1-1912. It measures 4 ” x 3 ” (Crown sexto-decimo size). Written in Gandhiji’s hand, it contains, for the most part, names of persons he wrote to each day and of those who visited hem at Tolstoy Farm and references to his visits to Johannesburg or to Phoenix. While all these notes are in Gujarati, the entries of daily receipts and disbursements, made in single vertical column, are in English. These accounts presumably concern the petty cash kept with him at the Farm and include sundry credits and receipts and disbursements on account of the school. The punctuation in the Diary is meagre and sometimes misleading. Marks of punctuation have been supplied where absolutely necessary. In transliterating names of persons from the Gujarati, English spellings have been taken over from advertisements or news-items in the *Indian Opinion* issues for the year or from the English entries in the accounts column. As for proper names, which could not be checked with contemporaneous sources, the conventional or phonetic spelling has been used. Of the letters mentioned in the Diary, the few that have been traced have been identified by cross-references.

Post—Harilal, Doctor, Lallubhai, Dulabhai, N. M. Kadir, Editor, *Gujarati*, Chhaganlal, Lallubhai, Gulabbhai.

JANUARY 18, THURSDAY

Went to town—Saw Chamney who said he would telegraph Delagoa. Bhayat's wife sentenced.¹

Newspaper	0.	0.	3
Buckle	0.	0.	6
R[ecieve]d form Bhayat	0.	1.	0

JANUARY 19, FRIDAY

Wrote letter—Ismail Moosa Dhaled, Dulabh Vash, Maganlal

Wire to chamney	0.	4.	3
Messenger	0.	1.	0
Bal[ance]	2.	8.	10

JANUARY 20, SATURDAY, MAHA SUD 1

Went to town. Saw Dr. Porter. Meanwhile Mr. Dunning came to Farm and missed train. Schlesin and Dorabji came together—wrote letters to Mrs. Shaer.

Albert	1.	0.	0
Ricksha, etc. fr.	0.	1.	3
<i>The Star</i>	0.	0.	3
	<hr/>		
Bal[ance]	1.	7.	4

JANUARY 21, SUNDAY

Mahomed Hafejee & two other Musalmans & Bhikhu & Morarji came. Dorabji, Hafejee & his friends, and Schlesin & Dunning left. Wrote to Schlesin, Chhaganlal, Mehta, Winterbottom, Maud, Cole [Kaul²], Purshottamdas. Started Valmiki *Ramayana*.

JANUARY 22, MONDAY

Post—Dada Abdulla, Gokuldas, Lord Ampthill.

¹ *Indian Opinion*, 27-1-1912, mentions that on January 18, 1912 one Salomi, wife of Bhayat, was sentenced to detention by a Johannesburg magistrate pending an order for deportation.

² This name can also be transliterated as Kaul and occurs frequently in the Diary.

JANUARY 23, TUESDAY

Ismail came—Morarji & Bhikubhai left.

Wrote—David Keshavalu, Purshottamdas, Nathu Bhana, Bomansha.

Stamps 0. 2. 6

R[ecieve]d re: Ismail 2. 0. 0

Bal[ance] 3. 4. 10

The entries above should have been under Monday¹. Thambi Naidoo came. Letters—Lepin, Saiyad Haji Mia, [Su]bhan Godfrey, Schlesin, Velshi, Burnett.

JANUARY 24, WEDNESDAY

Thambi Naidoo left, Dadabhai came & left, Albert came, wrote—Abhechand, Tyndale, Schlesin, Diwan.

JANUARY 25, THURSDAY

Wrote—Schlesin, Thakkar, Chhaganlal, Maganlal

Wire Hasan 0. 1. 3

Stamps 0. 2. 0

John 0. 2. 6

Balance 3. 0. 1²

JANUARY 26, FRIDAY

Mohan Soni came & left. Two whites came for sandals

JANUARY 27, SATURDAY

Wrote—Lepin, Shelat, Dularkhan, Shaer, Tyndale, Mrs. Vogl came & left. Bhimbhai came. Naidu came & left. Manilal and Jamnadas went to J. B.

JANUARY 28, SUNDAY

Gordon, Jivanji, Naoroji, Ismail Moosa Dhaled and his two friends—all these had come and left. Ferozsha and Maneksha also left with them. Wrote—Maud, Winterbottom, Chhaganlal.

R[ecieve]d from Dhaled 2. 0. 0

¹ Gandhiji is here referring to a misplaced entry—the two paragraphs preceding this footnote mark belong to the previous day.

² Error of Is. was later corrected on January 31 (p. 367).

JANUARY 29, MONDAY

Lutavan left. I went to town and returned. Velshi and his son Rajabali came. Hoosen and his uncle came to J. B. Wrote to Lane about New Bill.¹

Wrote— . . . ², Alexander, Schlesin.

Rd. re.Rajabali	3.	1.	0
Prema re.Lutavan	1.	10.	0
P[ai]d fare	0.	2.	11
Leather	0.	19.	0
Books, etc.,	0.	3.	0
Manilal	0.	6.	6

JANUARY 30, TUESDAY

Hoosen and his maternal uncle³ came. Manilal and Jamnadas came. Fakiro⁴ came & returned. Velshi left. Telegraphed to Lane⁵. Abdoolla Sheth died yesterday.⁶ Letters to West, Harilal, Schlesin. Wire to Lane: [about] Dad[a]

Abdoolla; Rustomjee & Cape	0.	13.	0
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JANUARY 31, WEDNESDAY

Essop Mia left—Essack's mother came and left—Kennedy came and left—and also Naidoo. Received a long telegram⁷ from Lane. Wrote— Ha[jee], Habib, Prabhashanker, V. S. Pillay, Raghavji, Khanderia

Rd. For sandals	1.	0.	0
Paid Dano	0.	6.	6
Freight	0.	4.	6
Error	0.	1.	0
Bal.	£7.	14.	8

¹ *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", 29-1-1912.

² A word here is illegible.

³ Husband of his aunt

⁴ Fakir, referred to in the diary variously as Fakiro and Fakiri; also known among the settlers of the farm as Fakirabhai. Gandhiji refers to him as "the brave Fakira"; he was in charge of stores at Phoenix for a time; served six or seven terms of imprisonment and was sentenced later to deportation; *vide* "Johannesburg", 4-4-1910 & "Johannesburg", 18-4-1910.

⁵ *Vide* "Telegram to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", 30-1-1912.

⁶ Dada Abdoolla Hajee Adam died on January 29, 1912; *vide* "Late Mr. Abdoolla Hajee Adam", 3-2-1912.

⁷ *Vide* Appendix "Telegram from Secretary of Interior to Gandhiji", 31-1-1912.

FEBRUARY 1, THURSDAY

Budrea, Ramlal and two others came. Hoosen left. Dano came. [Wrote]—Schlesin, Chhaganlal, Editor, *I.O.*, Bhayat, Ritch, Kallenbach, Nalji Hari, Rustomjee, Osman Ahmed, Velshi Keshavji, Clement Doke. Telegraphed¹ Registrar [of Asiatics]

Rd. For Essack's father	0.	3.	6
, , John for potatoes	0.	16.	6
, , Refund loans	0.	7.	0
, , Paraffine	0.	0.	6
P[ai]d John for milk to Jan.	1.	10.	0
Telegram	0.	16.	9
Bal.	6.	15.	5

FEBRUARY 2, FRIDAY

Budrea and his friends left. Parbhu came. Hoosen came. Wrote to Miss Schlesin.

P[ai]d stamps	0.	2.	0
Wire to Registrar Bhayat	0.	1.	6
Bal.	6.	11.	11

FEBRUARY 3, SATURDAY, MAHA VAD 1

Wrote in morning: West, Chhaganlal and Purshottamdas. Pragji left. Hoosen left. Valji and Dulabh Bhaga came by evening train. Telegram from Lane saying Smuts Would reply on Monday.²

Pd. Station Master	3.	0.	0
Rd. From Parbhu	0.	2.	6
Bal.	3.	14.	5

FEBRUARY 4, SUNDAY

Wrote—Joshi, Maganalal, Thakkar, Winterbottom, Maud, Anandlal, N. M. Kadir, Munu.

¹ Telegram not available

² *Vide* footnote "Telegram to Minister of Interior", 6-2-1912.

Gordon, Quinn, Schlesin and Coopoo, who had come, left, and also Valji and Dulabh. Mrs. Naidoo and Nayana Chaki also left.

Rd. From Gordon 1. 0. 0

FEBRUARY 5, MONDAY

Wrote: Chhaganlal, West, Schlesin, Burnett.

Stamps 0. 1. 9

Wire Kall[enbach] 0. 1. 3

Bal. 4. 11. 5

FEBRUARY 6, TUESDAY

Vaja and Raja came and returned. Wrote: Dr. Gool Schlesin, Kalida Patel, Dularkhan, Amod Bhayat, Velshi. Drafted telegram to Smuts.¹

Stamps 0. 0. 6

Bal. 4. 10. 11

FEBRUARY 7, WEDNESDAY

...² man came & left. Did not send telegram to Smuts. Received one³ from him dated yesterday. Sent another⁴ in reply Wrote: Vallabhram, G. A. Makanji, Velshi, Schlesin.

Rd. re. Fakir 3. 0. 0

Pd. wire Smuts 0. 4. 3

Freight & Parcel to Gool 0. 5. 7

FEBRUARY 8, THURSDAY

Telegram⁵ from Smuts, drafted reply⁶, . Pragji came. Wrote: Schlesin

Pd. wire Kallenbach 0. 1. 6

Freight balance yesterday 0. 0. 9

Stamps 0. 2. 6

Bal. 6. 16. 1

¹ *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", 6-2-1912.

² A word here in illegible.

³ *Vide* Appendix "Telegram from Secretary for Interior for Gandhiji", 7-2-1912.

⁴ *Vide* "Telegram to Private Secretary to Ministry of Interior", 7-2-1912.

⁵ *Vide* 1st footnote of "Telegram to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", 7-2-1912.

⁶ *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", 8-2-1912.

FEBRUARY 9, FRIDAY

Budrea, Ohler [Olive?] & Govind came and left. Kalikasingh came. Budrea's son and Ablak came. Wrote: Chhaganlal, Purshottamas, Parsee Rustomjee, Joshi, Dada Osman & Anglia.

Pd. wire Smuts	0.	4.	6
	<hr/>		
Bal.	6.	11.	7

FEBRUARY 10, SATURDAY

Ablak, Kalikasingh, Manilal, Medh & Jamnadas left. Bush & Moorgan came. Coopoo and Dahya left.

Jamnadas	0.	5.	0
Coopoo	0.	3.	0
Dana	0.	7.	3
Stamps	0.	2.	6
Medh for wire	0.	2.	6
Bal,	5.	11.	4

FEBRUARY 11, SUNDAY

Tailor from Krugersdorp came & left. Brought coat. Schlesin & Coopoo Naidoo came and left. I also left to see K. along with Ritch. Doctor gave £12

Rd. from the Tailor	0.	5.	0
For <i>I.O.</i>	0.	1.	0
St[at]ion Master	3.	0.	0

Pd. Trip tickets tr[ai]n	1.	6.	3
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FEBRUARY 12, MONDAY

Went to Krugersdorp. Saw K. Lunch at Quinn's. Schlesin Incident—Hanif came—The Parbhu boy¹ came to Farm—Kallenbach, Medh, Manilal, Jamnadas, Dahya, Coopoo, Shelat etc. came to Farm—Wrote—West, Devi, Purshottam, Sanghavi, Schlesin.

Coopoo's fare	0.	3.	0
Rd. Dahya's	1.	10.	0
Parbhu's fare	0.	3.	0

¹ A student at the Farm School

Pd. fares	0. 5. 0
„ Kallenbach	3. 0. 0

FEBRUARY 13, TUESDAY

Wrote: Chhaganlal, Ani, Anandlal, Abhechand. Kallenbach went to town. Telegraphed Registrar in connection with Velshi's men. Kallenbach & Kasam came—Wrote to West, to Maganlal—Pd. wire to Chamney and Velshi

0. 6. 3

FEBRUARY 14, WEDNESDAY

Wrote—Purshottamdas, Keshav Fakir, Manilal Doctor. Schlesin, Kallenbach, Narottam & Dulabhai came. All left except K. Hoosen left for Vereeniging.

Stamps

0. 2. 3

Wire for Bhayat

0. 2. 1

Bal.

5. 10. 7

FEBRUARY 15, THURSDAY

Doctor, Chhaganlal, Editor, N. Kadir, Gangot, Velshi, Schelsin, Moosa Hajee Adam—Govan came & returned. Shelat left. Wrote—Shaer, Dr. Gool, Chhaganlal, Ritch, Tikli, Mayo.

Pd. Freight

0. 1. 3

Bal.

5. 9. 4

FEBRUARY 16, FRIDAY

Wrote—Mrs. Polak, West. Kallenbach & Hoosen came.

Wire Sorabji

0. 2. 0

Freight

0. 1. 3

Rd. Kallenbach

3. 0. 0

Balance

8. 6. 1

FEBRUARY 17, SATURDAY

[Wrote to:] Editor, Nathalia, Abdool Karim, Keshavji Goga, Velshi, Chanchi¹, Harilal².

Pd. Parbhu and Bhaga 0. 10. 0

R[ece]i[ved] from Dahya 0. 0. 6

Bal. 7. 16. 7

FEBRUARY 18, SUNDAY

Schlesin and Thambi Naidoo came. Both Left. Received telegram about Sorabji's landing at Durban. Dictated Letter for Polak to Schlesin. Wrote to Maud & Winterbottom.

FEBRUARY 19, MONDAY, PHAGAN SUD 1

Wrote—Noormahomed, Suleman Ismail Mian, Revashankerbhai, G. S. Kaul [Cole?], Purshottamdas, Raoji—pragji came. Bhago came.

Pd. Wire Sorabji 0. 1. 0

Freight 0. 1. 3

Kr[ishna] samy rail 0. 2. 11

Trip ticket 1. 6. 3

Bal. 6. 5. 2

FEBRUARY 20, TUESDAY

Went to town, taking Parbhu with me—Pragji came by evening train—Parbhu & I returned—also K.—From office, wrote letters to Purshottamdas, Doctor Rajkot³, Mahajan, Joshi, A., etc.—

Pd. leather 0. 9. 6

Fares 0. 4. 5

Bal. 5. 11. 3

¹ "Letter to Chanchalbehn Gandhi", February 18, 1912 (pp.237-8)?

² "Fragment of Letter to Harilal Gandhi", February 18, 1912 (p.238)?

³ Dr. Pranjivan Mehta in Rajkot

FEBRUARY 21, WEDNESDAY

Sorabji, Shelat, guests from Zanzibar,¹ Medh, Pragji, Budrea [?], Lalbahadurshigh came. Guests, Budrea & Pragji returned. Windmill man came & Left.

Rd. Peaches	0. 18. 6
Budrea	2. 7. 0
[Rd.] Zanzibari for sandals	0.10. 0
Bhagu	0. 5. 1
Freight	0. 1. 5
	<hr/>
Bal.	9. 10. 5

FEBRUARY 22, THURSDAY

Moonsami—Pavade came & Left—[Wrote to:] Harilal, Manager *I.O.* Jussat², A. Karim, Dada A.—Mahomed E., Miss Schlesin.

FEBRUARY 23, FRIDAY

Hoosen came—Wrote letters in the afternoon: Abdul Karim, etc. Parbhu came. Suleman and Ali left.

Fares for S. & Ali	0. 3. 9
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FEBRUARY 24, SATURDAY

Hoosen, Ferozeshah, Maneksha & Parbhu left in the morning. Sorabji, Shelat & Dano left in the afternoon. Coopoo, Hanif & Shiv left for Van Wyksrust. Wrote letters to Ani and Abhechand.

Stamps	0. 2. 6
	<hr/>
Bal.	9. 4. 2

FEBRUARY 25, SUNDAY

Gordon, Schlesin, Isaac & Coopoo came. Narayansami came. All except Isaac left.

Paid for leather to Isaac	1. 10. 0
	<hr/>
Bal.	7. 14. 2

¹ These were M. Saly, Kanjee Jeewanbhai and Laljee Meghjeebhai; *vide* "Telegram to Registrar of Asiatics", before 21-2-1912.

² *Vide* "Mrs. Jussat's Case", 9-3-1912.

FEBRUARY 26, MONDAY

Wrote—Gu[jarati] E[ditor], *I.O.*, Maud, Winterbottom, Manilal Chaturbhai, Motilal Diwan—Manilal, Isaac & Kallenbach left. Talked to Kallenbach last evening about his niece. Suleman & Dano came. Manilal & K. returned.

Rd. For Dana 0. 10. 0

FEBRUARY 27, TUESDAY

Wrote: Maganlal, West, Thakkar, Doctor, Purshottam, Polak, Amarsi Joshi, Jussat, Nathalia, Lachman Pandey. Ali came—

Rd. For peaches 1. 15. 3

FEBRUARY 28, WEDNESDAY

Wrote: Memon, [M]oosa Alisa, enclosing certificates, Mahomed Ibrahim Kunake, Patel, Shaer—Manilal left. Medh, Ismail, Fakir and Mahomed left. K. also left. Lallubhai, Gandabhai [?], Morarji, Bhikhubhai and Medh came, also K.

Pd. fares Ismail & Mahomed 0. 3. 0

Manilal 0. 5. 0

Bal. 9. 11. 5

FEBRUARY 29, THURSDAY

Went to town. Morarji, etc., left. K. left for Ermillo. Saw Mr. Howard. Ba, etc., & Krishnasamy returned.

Pd. Carriage 0. 2. 0

Fare Krishnasamy 0. 1. 2

Ricksha 0. 0. 9

Reuter 0. 10. 0

Leather 1. 14. 6

Trip ticket 1. 6. 3

Bal. 5. 16. 9

MARCH 1, FRIDAY

Telegram to Chamney. Rail letter for Schlesin. Letters to: Chamney, Greg, Ritch, Bhayat [?], Nelson. Fakir, Ismail & Mahomed came. Wrote letters to Maganlal and Manilal.

Pd. [?] & wire Chamney	0. 4. 0
Stamps	0. 2. 6

Rd. fr[om] John for flour	0. 1. 0
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Bal.	5. 11. 3
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MARCH 2, SATURDAY

Miss Knudsen came—Medh, Pragji & Jamnadas left.

Rd. John for potatoes 6/- and extras 3/9	[0]. 9. 9
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Paid John for milk	[0]. 13. 6
Jamnadas	0. 4. 0

Bal.	5. 3. 6
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MARCH 3, SUNDAY

Schlesin, Roche & Mrs. Roche and Coopoo came. All of them & Miss Knudsen returned. Kallenbach came.

MARCH 4, MONDAY

Winterbottom, Maud, Gu. S., Cachalia, Bhayat & Vallabhram came. Kallenbach, Medh & Desai returned—

MARCH 5, TUESDAY, PHAGAN VAD 1

Wrote letters: Purshottamdas, West, Harilal, Manilal, Chhaganlal, Jivaram Pandya, Motilal, Ramji—Alexander, Schlesin & Vallabhram left. Cachalia, Bhayat and K. Left in the morning. Olive & Joan [Doke] came.

Rd. Peaches sale	0. 17. 1
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Balance	6. 0. 7
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MARCH 6, WEDNESDAY

Letters: Miss Schlesin, Ranchhod Hari, *I.O.*, Dr. Porter, Lazarus, Chamney—Ritch came & let—Medh came.

Rd. John for K.	3. 0. 0
Stamps	0. 2. 0

Medh & Desai	1. 0. 0
Telegram Congress re. Nathalia	1. 4. 0

MARCH 7, THURSDAY

Polak, Thakkar, Loren, Dawad Mahomed, Velshi, Schlesin, K., came—
Wrote some letters

Rd. fr[om] Kallenbach for cable

call	0. 10. 0
Medh	0. 9. 6
Desai	0. 7. 1

Rd. from boys	0. 0. 6
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Pd. telegrams Dawad Mahomed

re. Hoosen & to West & stamps	0. 4. 6
„ Kallenbach for John	3. 0. 0

Balance	5. 19. 10
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MARCH 8, FRIDAY

Posted letters to Velshi, Nathalia, Anglia & those of J. B.—Telegram to Nathalia—Wrote letters: Manager, *I.O.*, Ani, Delaney, Velshi, De Vere[?] Schlesin, Kallenbach, Shelat came.

Wire Nathalia	0. 1. 0
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MARCH 9, SATURDAY

All left the Farm leaving Amod Bhayat [?] & K. behind. Schlesin came in the morning & left. Gajadhar from Boksburg came to fetch me.

Fares for boys	0. 11. 8
„ Hanif	0. 2. 11
Rd. From Dhaled	3. 0. 0
Pd. Hanif	0. 5. 6
Ricksha	0. 0. 9

MARCH 10, SUNDAY

Went to Boksburg, accompanied by Medh and others. Returned by 2 o'clock train—Meeting at 4 about Bhayat [?]

Pd. railway fares	2. 9. 6
Carriage, etc.	0. 4. 6

MARCH 11, MONDAY

Medh & Desai went to Durban—Boys returned to Farm, accompanied by Sorabji & Jamnadas. Bhaga Chhota & Tikli's sons came.

Rd. For Bhaga Chhota	2. 0. 0
Dahya Parbhu	1. 10. 0
For phone	0. 1. 0
Telegram re. Medh	0. 1. 0

Bal.	8. 13. 9
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MARCH 12, TUESDAY

Whittaker came—K. arrived in the evening. Wrote a letter to Ritch, also to Rustomjee.

Vesanram [*sic*] —

At night—[wrote] to Harilal Thakkar, Manilal, Chhaganlal, Rutnam, I.O., Medh, Rustomjee, Schlesin.

MARCH 13, WEDNESDAY

Wrote—Dangare [?], Moosa, Essackji, Schlesin, Chamney, Mahomed Ismail, David Keshavalu. Shelat came & left. Bhago & Sivpujan came. K. Came.

Bhaga's board	1. 10. 0
Stamps	0. 2. 6

Bal.	10. 1. 3
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MARCH 14, THURSDAY

Schlesin & Henry. Letters to Purshottamdas, Suleman Amod, Schlesin, Whittaker left.

Rd. Suleman fare	0. 3. 0
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MARCH 15, FRIDAY

Hazurasingh, Lalbahadursingh & K. arrived.

Gave cheque of £4.10.0 for Suleman.

Pd. Kallenbach for tickets	1. 0. 0
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Bal.	9. 4. 3
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MARCH 16, SATURDAY

Hazurasingh & Lalbahadursingh left—K. went & returned. Letter to Chhaganlal.

Rd. fr. Kallenbach 0. 17. 6

Pd. for tickets 0. 17. 6

MARCH 17, SUNDAY

Schlesin, Gordan, Moorgan, Naidoo & Bush came—Schlesin, Gordon & Naidoo left. Dhobi from Germiston came over to stay. Letters: Laughton, Medh, Hoosen [?], Tarasingh, Maud, Winter-bottom, Mayo, Schlesin.

Pd. Schlesin 0. 4. 0

MARCH 18, MONDAY

K. went & returned. Ba, Moorgan & Bush left. Telegram about Sodha having been detained [?] at Komatipoort. Shelat left. Letters: Schlesin, Cachalia, West, Ritch, Pranjivan.

Mrs. G. 0. 5. 0

Freight 0. 1. 3

Trip ticket 1. 6. 3

Wire Nicely¹ 0. 1. 0

Bal. 7. 6. 9

MARCH 19, TUESDAY, CHAITRA SUD 1

Sorabji came—Kallenbach came. Wrote letter to Schlesin, to Sodha.

Pd. Stamps 0. 1. 0

Rd. fr. Basda [Basela?]

for bread 0. 1. 6

MARCH 20, WEDNESDAY

Revashanker went to town—He and Ratanshi returned. Letters: Schlesin, Kastur, Cachalia.

Wire Smuts² 0. 1. 6

Bal. 7. 4. 9

¹ Telegraphic Address of Natal Indian Congress

² Vide "Telegram to Minister of Interior", 20-3-1912.

MARCH 21, THURSDAY

Soni, Tulsi & Valji came—Kanabi came. Wrote letter to Schlesin—

MARCH 22, FRIDAY

K. came—Ratanshi went & returned—Suleman came. Tulsi & Valji left—

Rd. famine fund Sodha 2. 1. 4

Rd. Amurandeh [?] 0. 10. 6

Bal. 9. 16. 7

MARCH 23, SATURDAY

Kallenbach left—Wrote: Velshi Keshavji, Mahomed, Mahomed Belim—

Rd. Bhikha 0. 2. 0

Pd. John loan 0. 10. 0

MARCH 24, SUNDAY

About six Kanabis came to see Pana Bhag—Coopoo also came—
Letters: Maud, Winterbottom, Schlesin, Ritch, Chhaganlal¹,
Abhechand—Amirudin.

MARCH 25, MONDAY

Ba & K. arrived. Ratanshi went to town.

Pd. for Hanif's mattress & rug 1. 9. 3

Pd. for Sivpujan's milk [?] 0. 5. 9

Stamps 0. 1. 6

7. 12. 1

MARCH 26, TUESDAY

Sorabji left—I went to town on foot. Started at 3 and reached J. B. at 9.15.

Pd. Hanif's benzine 0. 1. 0

Stamps 0. 0. 1

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", 24-3-1912.

Rd. from Sorabji balance	0.	0.	3
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Bal.	7.	11.	3
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MARCH 27, WEDNESDAY

Letters: Omar Zaveri, Manilal, Velshi, Mohanlal, Schlesin, Nathu Bhana, Ahmed Bhana, Padiar, Editor, West.

Pd. stamps	0.	2.	2
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Freight	0.	2.	1
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Bal.	7.	7.	0
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MARCH 28, THURSDAY

Wrote letter to Schlesin. Valji Hari and Schlesin [came?] K. came back.

MARCH 29, FRIDAY

Letter: Schlesin—K. came back.

MARCH 30, SATURDAY

Naidoo came & left. Bhikho left—Ratanshi came. K. Went & returned.

Pd. for freight on Forage	0.	1.	3
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Bal.	7.	5.	9
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MARCH 31, SUNDAY

Gordon, Schlesin and Annie [?] came. All left.

APRIL 1, MONDAY

Letters: Winterbottom, Maud, Mr. MacDonald, West, Langston, Halim—K. Arrived—A boy, Feda, came for the night. Ratanshi & Rajabali left.

Rd. stamps	0.	1.	0
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Bread Basda	0.	0.	3
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Kallenback	0.	2.	6
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Pd. freight on soap	0.	1.	0
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Rajaab's fare 0. 3. 8

Bal. 7. 4. 10

APRIL 2, TUESDAY, CHATTRA VADI

[Letters:] Medh, Hoosen Dawad, Rustomjee, West, Anglia, Chamney, Thakkar, Fancy, Diwan, Maganlal, Mahomed Ismail, West, Tata¹, Nathalia. Ritch, Schlesin, Kennedy came & let. Kallenbach came.

Stamps 0. 3. 6

APRIL 3, WEDNESDAY

Dano went to town, K. Also—Letters: Medh, Anandlal, Ani, Editor, Maganlal, Andrews, Lachman Pandey, Ranchhod Hari.

Dana's fare 0. 2. 0

APRIL 4, THURSDAY

Went to Johannesburg on foot & returned. K. & I with Sorabji, Ratanshi, Dano, Rajabali and his brother came. Reached office at 8.50.

Rd. from Luxman 3. [0. 0]

for prizes, etc. 0. 12. 0

Pd. for bag 0. 0. 9

Fare Ratansi 0. 2. 3

Paper 0. 0. 3

Leather 0. 17. 6

Buckles & tube 0. 2. 0

APRIL 5, FRIDAY

Editor, Umiyashanker, Ritch, Schlesin, Isaac, Marimootu, and a relative of Parbhu came. Alibhai, Parbhu's relative, left. Schlesin having missed the train stayed over.

Rd. from John 0. 10. 0

Stamps 0. 1. 7

John for milk 0. 12. 6

¹ "Public Letter to Ratan J. Tata", 1-4-1912.

APRIL 6, SATURDAY

[Letters:] West, and Lane. Raoji Manibhai, Naik, Schlesin, Manilal¹, Mr. [?] Editor, Cole came. Ratanshi & Miss Schlesin left—Ratanshi returned— Coriander, currants, potatoes,

railage vegetables,			
coconut covers. . . ²	1.	16.	0
Pd. for stamps	0.	0.	6
Freight	0.	1.	0
	<hr/>		
Bal.	7.	7.	0

APRIL 7, SUNDAY

Mrs. Naidoo, Mr. Naidoo, Rangasamy, Miss Bush, Moorgan came. Hanif's health remained pretty bad.

APRIL 8, MONDAY

Mr. Phillips' choir came. Ritch, Gordon and many others came. Avabai stayed over, & so also Maneksha. About 200 persons came. All left. Naidoo & Mrs. Naidoo too—Wrote letters to Winterbottom and Maud.

Pd. Schlesin for Mrs. Vogl			
re. Ind[ian] W[omen's]			
Ass[ociatio]n	1.	0.	0
	<hr/>		
Bal.	6.	7.	0

APRIL 9, TUESDAY

Letters: Mehta, Editor, Good—Ratanshi, Miss Bush, Moorgan, Cole, K. & Essack left. Wrote to Schlesin at night. K. & Cole returned.

Rd. Basda for sugar	0.	0.	3
Essack's fare	0.	2.	0
Bal.	6.	5.	3

APRIL 10, WEDNESDAY

Avabai left, Sorabji also—Dorabji came at night.
Paid freight

0.	1.	6
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¹ *Vide* "Letter to Manilal Gandhi", 6-4-1912.

² A word here illegible

APRIL 11, THURSDAY

Both went to town on foot—West, etc., came yesterday—accompanied to Farm today. Wrote to Schlesin. Sodha came.

Paid Moorgan for expenses	1.	0.	0
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APRIL 12, FRIDAY

Cole went to town & returned—Wrote to Schlesin.

Pd. for stamps	0.	1.	0
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APRIL 13, SATURDAY

Krishnasamy, Dano, Dahyo and Bhago went to town—Wrote letters—

Pd. for freight on timber	0.	10.	5
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Dana's fare	0.	2.	3
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Bal.	4.	10.	7
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APRIL 14, SUNDAY

Schlesin & Coopoo came & left. Essack came. Bhai Ismail left. Letters: Tayob Haji Khan Mahomed, L. Pandey, A[bdul] Ka[dir], Noormahomed, Mahomed Halim, Gokuldas, Chhaganlal, Manilal¹.

Bal.	4.	10.	7
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APRIL 15, MONDAY

K. & Cole went & returned—Dana & Bhago returned—Letters: Winterbottom and Maud in the morning—Chhaganlal, Schlesin at night.

Pd. stamps	0.	2.	6
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Trip ticket	1.	6.	3
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Bal.	3.	1.	10
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APRIL 16, TUESDAY

[Letters:] D.M. Khan, Dada Abdulla, Harilal Thakkar, Nana, Omar Zaveri, Parsee Rustomjee, Naik, Hajee Dada Hajee Habib, Purshottamdas, Harilal, Manager, N.A. [?], E[ditor] I.O., Cole, West, Miss West and Mrs. Left.

Rd. fr. Kal. for freight	0.	10.	5
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“for Maud	0.	9.	0
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¹ “Letter to Manilal Gandhi”, 13-4-1912.

Stamps	0. 0. 2
	<hr/>
Pd. for stamps	0. 1. 9
	<hr/>
Bal.	3. 19. 8

APRIL 17, WEDNESDAY

Letters: Budrea, V. S. Naidoo, Chunilal, Anglia, Dawad Mahomed, Harilal Thakkar, Manager *I.O.*, Ani—Mrs. Naidoo & Marimootu came. K. went & returned.

Rd. guest carriage	0. 11. 8
	<hr/>
Pd. stamps	0. 1. 9
	<hr/>
Bal.	4. 9. 7

APRIL 18, THURSDAY, VAISAKH SUD 1

K., Jamnadas & I left at 6 o'clock on foot. K. Took 4.45 hours to reach [Johannesburg], J. & I six hours.

Rd. for Naidoo	0. 10. 0
	<hr/>
Books for the boys	0. 3. 0
Potash	0. 2. 0
Tape and pins	0. 1. 6
Cheddar cheese	0. 1. 3
Paper	0. 0. 3
	<hr/>
Bal.	4. 11. 7

APRIL 19, FRIDAY

K. Went to town & to Pretoria. Letters: Chhaganlal, Tavarua, Manilal, Ismail, Jada, Thambi Naidoo.

APRIL 20, SATURDAY

Fakira & Bhanabhai left—Ratanshi, Velshi, Jivan Bojo & Ibrahim came. K. returned. Schlesin also came. Velshi sent a cheque for £3.

Rd. cheque fr. Velshi	3. 0. 0
Rd. for sugar	0. 0. 6
	<hr/>
Pd. freight	0. 1. 0

APRIL 21, SUNDAY

Vethan, Kallenbach & his wife came by car. Gordon & Jamnadas came on foot. Schlesin, etc., left. I also. Meeting in Hamidia Hall. Slept in Office. Boys slept at Van Wyksrust.

Pd. trip ticket	1. 6. 3
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APRIL 22, MONDAY

Naidoo's sons & I returned. Heard that Revashanker was beaten up by the police yesterday.

Pd. for freight	0. 1. 0
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Rd. for young Bhayat	1. 10. 0
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Bal.	4. 13. 10
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APRIL 23, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Khushalchand, Lakshmichand, Karsandas, Meghji Raoji, Revashanker Jagjivan.

APRIL 24, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Purshottamdas, Chamney, Editor

Rd. for Bhaga	0. 1. 0
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Coffee	0. 0. 6
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Stamps	0. 2. 0
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Bal.	4. 13. 4
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APRIL 25, THURSDAY

Fifteen boys, K. & I went to town on foot. Rajabali and two of us returned. Saw Kitchin[?]. Depositions before Chamney.

Pd. for Rajab's ticket	0. 1. 2
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Bal.	4. 12. 2
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APRIL 26, FRIDAY

[Letters:] Mahomed Belim, Sorabji, Schlesin.

APRIL 27, SATURDAY

Hanif & K. went to town—Letters: Chhanganlal, Revashankerbhai, Doctor, Manilal, Jeki, Maganlal, Velshi, Motilal. K. returned. Suleman Kasu brought his certificate.

Pd. Hanif	0.	7.	11
Stamps	0.	0.	9
	<hr/>		
Bal.	4.	3.	6

APRIL 28, SUNDAY

Gordon, Schlesin & I went to Germiston on foot. Ramdas, Ratanshi & Sivpujan followed. Ritch came by train. Slept last night at Ritch's. Cachalia, Sorabji & Naidoo also came.

APRIL 29, MONDAY

Slept last night at Gordon's. Arrived at Farm at 6.20 a.m., along with the boys. K. met us on the way & turned back. Albert broke fifteen days' old fast. Hanif came at night, so also Cachalia, Aswat, Vaja & other gentlemen and also Sodha. Krishnasamy, Ali & Mahomed are out.

Rd. Gordon	0.	1.	0
Fakir & Essack	3.	0.	0
	<hr/>		
Bal.	£7.	4.	6

APRIL 30, TUESDAY

A. Cachalia, Aswat, etc., left. Ali, Mahomed came. Mahomed Essack came. Ratanshi & Rambha left.

Pd. Sodha	0.	16.	10
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MAY 1, WEDNESDAY

K. and I went to J. B. on foot, starting at 1.40 a.m., and from there to Germiston. K. went to Pretoria. Krishnasamy came. Ba ill.

Rd. fr. John	0.	0.	6
	<hr/>		
Pd. fare Germiston	0.	1.	7
Freight	0.	1.	7

MAY 2, THURSDAY, VAISAKH VAD 1

Went to town with K. in morning on foot. Took 5 [hrs]-40 minutes. West, etc., returned. Chhotalal also came.

Pd. watch repair	0. 3. 6
Rail	0. 0. 2

MAY 3, FRIDAY

West went to town. Letters to Lane, Mahomed Hasam Mitha, Chhaganlal, Dangare, Mahomed Aba, Captain Stuart—Velshi, West returned.

Rd. for West tickets	0. 7. 11
Rail Naidoo boys	0. 5. 10
Whip lash	0. 0. 9
Stamp	0. 1. 0

Bal.	6. 1. 8
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MAY 4, SATURDAY

Jamnadas, . . . ¹ Dano & Hanif went to J. B. Hanif returned by afternoon train. J. & I reached in 4[hrs]-37_ minutes. Wrote letters to Hoosen & Ismail Gora.

MAY 5, SUNDAY

Schlesin, Jamnadas, Dano & Bhago came walking—Parbhu, Hanif, Dahya and also Ismail met Imam. Isaac, Miss Ploughman and Gordon arrived by train—Schlesin, Gordon, Isaac & Miss [Ploughman] left--

Pd. freight	0. 2. 0
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MAY 6, MONDAY

Kallenbach went to J. B. on foot having missed the train through forgetfulness & came back. Sorabji arrived. Wrote letters to Miss Winterbottom, Maud, etc.

Rd. fr. West fr. Vyas	1. 0. 0
Stamps	0. 2. 0

¹ A name illegible here

MAY 7, TUESDAY

The West family left. All went [to the station] to see them off. Miss West stayed on. Letters: Dawad Mahomed, A. E. Jada, Chhaganlal, Manilal, Ved Dharma Sabha, Boksburg, West, Purshottamdas, Chamney; [also] letters to Ani, Chhaganlal, Rahim, Naik, Anandlal, Vyas.

Rd. for West	0. 6. 1

Pd. trip ticket	1. 6. 3
Pd. John for milk	0. 10. 0

	5. 7. 0

MAY 8, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Editor, Schlesin, E. Kotwal, Lzarus, Raoji, Cole, Dahyabhai, Chunilal, Roche, Lane. At night Lalbahadursingh & Ramavatar came.

Pd. stamps & freight	0. 2. 0
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MAY 9, THURSDAY

K., Sorabji & I went to J. B. on foot. K. & I returned.

Rd. for Laxman	3. 0. 0
Pd. for sultanas, broom, barley, etc.	0. 11. 0
Hanif's socks and gloves	0. 2. 6
Freight	0. 0. 11

	7. 10. 7

MAY 10, FRIDAY

[Letters:] Parekh, Chamney, Polak.

Pd. freight	0. 2. 0
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MAY 11, SATURDAY

Jamnadas, Dano, Sivpujan, Coopoo & Suleman have gone to town on foot. Sent Ramdas to sleep at Devi's.

Pd. Vyas for West 0. 17. 0

Rd. for Vyas for int[erest] next

year per p.c. note 0. 17. 0

Payment not entered in cash book as £ 1 rd. 1st May not entered.

MAY 12, SUNDAY

Schlesin, Mrs. Naidoo & her sister came & left. Jamnadas, Shivpujan & Coopoo returned. Wrote letters to West, Manilal, Yashwant Sadashiv, Lazarus, Abdool Karim Zaveri, Velshi, Dawad Mahomed.

MAY 13, MONDAY

[Letters:] Editor, Manilal Doctor, Anandlal, Chhaganlal, Pranjivan. K. went to town & returned.

Pd. stamps 0. 2. 0

MAY 14, TUESDAY

[Letters:] West, Ismail Gora, Omar Zaveri, Moosa Hajee Adam, Pragji.

Rd. fr. John 0. 0. 9

Pd. wire to Manilal 0. 1. 3

Stamps 0. 0. 9

Bal. 7. 5. 4

MAY 15, WEDNESDAY

K. & I went to town on foot. Went round with Cachalia, etc., collecting funds. Slept at Gordon's.

MAY 16, THURSDAY

Returned in the morning with Schlesin & Gordon on foot. Dano came. Some friends of K.'s came & left. Gordon & Schlesin also left.

MAY 17, FRIDAY, JETH SUD, 1

Did not write a single letter during the day. Spent the whole morning in the kitchen.

MAY 18, SATURDAY

Hanif, I & Devdas went to town on foot. Busy with collection. Slept at Gordon's. Wrote to Kotwal.

Pd. Hanif 0. 2. 6

Devadas 0. 0. 6

MAY 19, SUNDAY

All three returned from town. Cole came to Farm. So did Premo. Premo returned. Letters: Maud, Winterbottom, Kalidas Patel.

MAY 20, MONDAY

Manilal Doctor & Jeki and Sorabji came. Rambha also. In the evening, Suleman, Kallenback & Narsimulu came.

Rd. fr. John 0. 1. 0

Pd. stamps 0. 1. 0

MAY 21, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Lane¹, Manilal, Lotwal, Chhaganlal, [De] Vere [?], Schlesin, Ti...²Sinsingle.

Pd. for stamps 0. 2. 6

MAY 22, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Anglia, Chamney, Rustomjee, Dada Osman, Chhaganlal, Kotwal, Dhoribjai. Rambha, Revashankers, Chotan & Jamndas left. Ramparshi Hario came. Isaac came & left.,

Rd. Dahya's Board 1. 10. 0

Rd. Jamnadas 3. 0. 0

Luggage 0. 2. 3

not entered

MAY 23, THURSDAY

[Letters:] Chhaganlal, West, Velshi, Boyd.

Pd. railage for Vijiya 0. 2. 6

Stamps 0. 1. 0

Freight 0. 1. 0

¹ Vide "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", 21-5-1912.

² Some letters in this word are illegible.

MAY 24, FRIDAY

Krishnasamy, Bhago, Dahyo & I went to town on foot. Took 5 [hrs]-14 minutes. Meeting about school—Manilal, Ba & Jeki came to town. Ba, Jeki, Manilal & I returned. So did Revashanker.

Freight	0.	1.	0
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MAY 25, SATURDAY

[Letters:] Kotwal, Chamney, Rustomjee, Manolal-Schlesin came & left—

Rd. John & stamps	0.	0.	9
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Stamps	0.	1.	0
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Bal.	2.	1.	10
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Rd. returned Jamnadas [?]	3.	0.	0
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	5.	1.	10
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MAY 26, SUNDAY

Schlesin, Gordon, Quinn & Gulam Mahomed Mulla came. All went back. Wrote letters.

Rd. fr. Devi	0.	5.	0
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MAY 27, MONDAY

[Letters:] Chhaganlal, Purshottamdas, Manilal Desai, Captain Stuart, Maud, Pranjivan, Winterbottom, Anandlal, West, Isaac, Rustomjee. Jamnadas left. Dahyo, Kallen[bach] & Cole came.

Pd. stamps	0.	2.	6
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“	0.	2.	6
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MAY 28, TUESDAY

Sent [letters] to [:] Velshi, Anandlal, Editor, Mahomed Ismail, Schlesin, Jamnadas, Chhaganlal, West, Medh.

Kunwarji, Tavaria. Dano went to town. K. & Manilal returned. Three Tamils—Francis, etc—came.

Pd. Dana	0.	2.	0
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MAY 29, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Editor, Purshottamdas, Manga Soma, Chhaganlal, Jamun[adas].

MAY 30, THURSDAY

Kallenback, Coopoo, Sivpujan and Suleman & I walked to town. Manilal & Kotwal came. Left same evening.

MAY 31, FRIDAY, JETH VAD 1

Kotwal, Manilal, Kallenback, Coopoo, Sivpujan & Suleman and also I went [to town] on foot. Devibehn, etc., came to receive us. Took 5 [hrs]-12 minutes to reach J.B. 6 [hrs]-10 minutes on the way back.

Pd. for carriage re. Kotwal's goods,

etc. 0. 3. 0

Pd. carriage Suleman & Bhaga 0. 5. 0

JUNE 1, SATURDAY

15 boys, Kallenbach, Kotwal, Schlesin, Sorabji & I went on foot to Vereeniging.¹ Ba, Devi, & Jeki Vijiya & baby left by train. Bhago & Suleman left last night to join in cooking.

Pd. for railage, etc. 1. 0. 0

JUNE 2, SUNDAY

Spent in Vereeniging. Ba, Kallenbach, Manilal, Schlesin & Sorabji returned by evening train.

Pd. Kallenbach 1. 0. 0

not entered

JUNE 3, MONDAY

All of us returned with the boys. Mr. Suji came along with us. Reached home at 4. Dano came. Ranchhod Dhana came to ask about his boy.

Rd. for Dana 0. 2. 0

Pd. Miss West 0. 2. 6

JUNE 4, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Anandlal, Purshottamdas, Schlesin, Narandas, Hazurasingh,

¹ Presumably for the party ("the treat") that Aswat gave to the "boys". *Indian Opinion*, 8-6-1912.

Kalidas Patel, Chhaganlal, Maganlal, E. N. Patel. Mr. Bhayat's three sons, Essop, Mahomed & Ibrahim came—K. came on foot.

Pd. stamps 0. 2. 0

Freight 0. 1. 7

Bal 2. 8. 0

JUNE 5, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Beethasee, Sanghavi, Dada Osman, Dada Abdoolla, Damania, Hassan, Essop Moosa Hajee Adam, Cole, Ritch, Editor, Mahomed Hassim, Bhayat. Narsimulu left.

Rd. Dana 0. 0. 6

Rail Narsimulu 0. 2. 0

JUNE 6, THURSDAY

K. & I went to town. Slept at Gordon's. K. went back. Schlesin's birthday.

Rd. fr. Dahya for Mehta's book 0. 1. 0

Pd. freight 0. 1. 0

Milk 0. 4. 0

JUNE 7, FRIDAY

Went to Pretoria. Saw Chamney and also Lane. Came back to Farm. Manilal Doctor came to town yesterday, walking.

Pd. rail to Pret[oria] 0. 10. 0

Paper 0. 0. 3

Freight on K.'s bag 0. 0. 3

Freight on goods 0. 1. 4

JUNE 8, SATURDAY

Bhayat's sons left for Boksburg. Letters: Dr. Gool, Velshi, Lazarus, Chhaganlal, West, Omar Zaveri, Fancy. Gordon came—also Valji.

Pd. stamps 0. 2. 3

Pd. Kallenbach 0. 2. 6

Bal. 1. 6. 5

JUNE 9, SUNDAY

Valji, K. & Gordon left—Dano & Bhago also. Edlestein [?] came & left.

JUNE 10, MONDAY

[Letters:] Mrs. Mayo, Chhaganlal, Editor, Maud, Winterbottom, Mehta, Bhaga Daji, Navsari [Hindu United Trading] Co[mpany], Schlesin. Joshi & Chhagan[lal Bhawanidas] Gheewala [Randeria] of Cape Town came and went back.

Pd. freight	0.	2.	1
Stamp	0.	1.	0
Freight	0.	2.	3

JUNE 11, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Maganlal, Jamnadas, West, Thakkar. Dano came—young Bhago came. So did Tikli's brother and other Gujarati Hindus [to ask] about their sons. The Hindus, Tikli's brother and Tikli left.

JUNE 12, WEDNESDAY

Dano left school.

Rd. Dr. Mehta's book Bhago	0.	1.	3
„ fr. Bhago for st[am]ps	0.	0.	9
	<hr/>		
St[am]ps	0.	1.	0

JUNE 13, THURSDAY

K., Fakir, Revashanker & Ismail went to town. I too. K. & I, with Chhotam, came back. Sorabji also came.

Rd. for sugar	0.	0.	6
	<hr/>		
Pd. carriage	0.	1.	0
Freight	0.	7.	0

JUNE 14, FRIDAY

Letters: Dada Abdoolla, Mahomed Hassim, Nathu Kasam, Dangare, Motilal Diwan. Manilal Doctor and Sorabji left.

Rd. fr. K.	1.	2.	6
P[d.] Stamps	0.	1.	0

JUNE 15, SATURDAY

[Letters:] Editor, Velshi, Manilal, Narandas.

Rd. for sugar	0.	3.	0
Rd. for stamps	0.	0.	8

JUNE 16, SUNDAY, ASHADH SUD, 1

Coopoo, Revashanker and Fakir came. Ismail did not return & has discontinued [school] from today. Coopoo, Fakiri and friends left. Letters: Purshottamdas, Chhaganlal, Winterbottom, Maud, Schlesin, Dada Osman.

Rd. for Essack	2.	0.	0
Rd. milk	0.	0.	6

JUNE 17, MONDAY

Young Bhago left. K. went to town & came back.

Pd. young Bhago	0.	1.	6
Stamps	0.	2.	3

JUNE 18, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Harilal Thakkar, Editor, West, Chhaganlal, Gordon, Ritch, Imamali. Vaja & Mohamed who had come, left.

Rd. for Mehta's book	0.	1.	3
Sugar	0.	0.	3

Stamps	0.	1.	0
Freight	0.	1.	0

JUNE 19, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Fancy, Editor, West, Shaer, Parbhu Bhaga, Narandas, Bharucha, Vaja Moojaji. Makda came & left. Naidoo's sons came.

Pd. freight	0.	2.	5
Stamps	0.	0.	4

JUNE 20, THURSDAY

K., I, Hanif, Devdas, Parbhu, Coopoo, Krishnasamy, Ali, Luxman, Sivpujan [and] Bhago went to town. Spent night at Ritch's. Rajabali went to Pretoria. Parbhu's brother brought at the office £5.

JUNE 21, FRIDAY

Still in J. B. Night at Gordon's. Went round for collection, accompanied by Sorabji.

JUNE 22, SATURDAY

K. & I returned with all the others including the boys except Ali and Parbhu. In the afternoon Schlesin came. Devi, Fakir, Bharat Sarthi, etc., had gone to receive them.

JUNE 23, SUNDAY

Boksburg people came. Quinn came. Gordan & Manilal also came. All left. Wrote letters at night.

JUNE 24, MONDAY

[Letters:] Editor, Chhaganlal, Bhayat, Maud, Doctor, Anandlal, Winterbottom, West, Abhechand, Mohanlal, Harilal Thakkar.

Kallenbach & Davis came.

Stamps	0.	2.	6
Freight	0.	2.	4

JUNE 25, TUESDAY

[Letters:] West, Thakkar, Chhaganlal.

JUNE 26, WEDNESDAY

Manilal & I went to J. B. Ba & Jeki went by train. Came back. Sorabji also came.

Wire	0.	1.	7
Freight	0.	0.	9
Not traced	1.	0.	0
Rajabali	0.	5.	3

Bal.	<hr/>		2. 5. 10
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JUNE 27, THURSDAY

[Letters:] Chhaganlal, Tikli, Hajee Dada, Hajee Habib, Mahomed Baba, Dada Abdoolla—Sorabji left. Jan Effendi [?] came. K. went & returned.

Rd. from Dahya for Dana's book	0.	0.	3
Sugar, etc.	0.	0.	6

Pd. for the mules	<hr/>		0.18. 6
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Bal.	<hr/>		1. 8. 1
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Rd. fr. Miss S. 10. 0. 0

11. 8. 1

JUNE 28, FRIDAY

Ba & I left for Durban.

Tickets to Dur[ban] 6. 6. 8

Schlesin 0. 3. 0

JUNE 29, SATURDAY

Arrived in Durban. Considerable inconvenience on the way. A good many people had come to the station. Meeting of Ottoman Cricket Club in the evening.¹ Jamnadas & the two of us went to Phoenix by evening train.

JUNE 30, SUNDAY, ASHADH VAD 1

Jamnadas, I, etc., left Phoenix on foot. Met Omar Sheth, etc., on the way & I went by carriage to attend Istanbul Anjuman meeting. Meal at Hajee Hassim's. Went to Abdool Huq's. Congress meeting in the evening. Abdool Karim Sheth elected. Problem of Colonial-born [Indians]. Night at Omar Sheth's.

JULY 1, MONDAY

Went to Phoenix in the morning. Returned by 4 o'clock train. Held meeting about Deed. Lunch at Ismail Hafejee Moosa's. Gujarati meeting in the evening. Problem of Colonial-born [Indians].

JULY 2, TUESDAY

Dawad Mahomed, Rustomjee, Abdool Karim, Abdool Huq, etc., came to Phoenix. At Chetty's by 1.36 train for lunch. Evening at Mahomed Ibrahim's. Anjuman meeting. Went with Rutnam to sleep at his place. Odd thing.

JULY 3, WEDNESDAY

Dawad Sheth left. Went to Abdool Kadir Sheth's. Met Colonialborn [Indians] in the evening. Slept at Omar Sheth's.

JULY 4, THURSDAY

Went to Phoenix in the morning. Met Raghavji, Talevant Singh.

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Durban Farewell to Pilgrims", 29-6-1912.

JULY 10, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Editor, Medh, Pragji, Anandlal, Omar Hajee Amod—Uka Bhana, Gopal Vallabh, Kanji Raoji came on Thursday [*sic*]. Ibrahim, Ahmed and Mahomed Ahmed Sunara came.

JULY 11, THURSDAY

K. & I went to town, walking. Krishnasamy & Dano also came along. Saw Chamney. K., Dano, Dahyo & I returned.

Pd. Chamney for wire 0. 3. 0

„ Wire Phoenix re. Ani etc 0. 2. 0

JULY 12, FRIDAY

[Letters:] Chhaganlal, Editor, Dada Osman, Raghavji, Purshottams. Kotwal, Manilal & I left by evening train. Function in honour of Chettiar, etc. Kotwal & I slept at Ritch's.

Rd. for Mrs. Tilak & Mrs. Stead 1. 10. 0

Richsha 0. 1. 0

JULY 13, SATURDAY

Kotwal & I returned. Jammadas. Ani and her sons came in the evening.

Rd. for sugar etc. 0. 2. 8

Pd. for wire to Gool re. Manilal 0. 2. 6

JULY 14, SUNDAY

Mrs. Badhasingh [?.], Ramji Kanji's father, Schlesin, her sister, Gordon came—All left in the evening. Dhaled had also come.

Rd. for Dahya 0. 2. 0

Pd. for stranger 0. 2. 0

JULY 15, MONDAY, ASHADH SUD 1

[Letters:] Naik, Dr. Gool, Tikli, Paul, West, Editor, Chhaganlal, Winterbottom, Maud, Mehta, Manilal, Chhaganlal, Tipnis, Rustomjee, Mrs. Shaer, Sulemanji Patel, Shelat, Anglia, Vallabhji Brothers, Kallenbach & Dano went & returned.

Pd. stamps 0. 2. 6

JULY 16, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Schlesin, Kharwa, Editor, Thakkar, Sam, Laughton, Joshi, Anglia, Telegram to Laughton.

Rd. from Dana 0. 2. 0

Pd. stamps 0. 2. 0

JULY 17, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Khan, Editor, Mararji. Bhago went to town. Sent letter to Schlesin with him.

Pd. for freight 0. 2. 0

Kallenbach's freight 0. 1. 8

Stamps 0. 0. 2

JULY 18, THURSDAY

Kallenbach, Dano & I went to town and came back. Caught cold. Saw Town Clerk. Had a talk about Malay Location and Crematorium.

Rd. for Fakir's books 1. 0. 0

Pd. freight 0. 2. 5

JULY 19, FRIDAY

Three persons came and went back—Gold continues. Sorabji came in the evening. Telegram from Interior that settlement stood.

Pd. telegrams [to] Rustomji [&]

Asiatics¹ 0. 3. 8

Pd. freight. . .² 0. 1. 0

Bal. 7. 7. 7

JULY 20, SATURDAY

[Letter:] Chhaganlal, Virji, Rustomjee, Nathalia, Virji—Nathu Naik, Gajjar, Balkrishna, Azam Abed, Suleman Mamuji, Purshottamdas, Prabhashanker, Balkrishna, Azam Abed, I.E[?]. Paredh, Diwan, Mahomed Ismail, etc. Sorabji & Schlesin came and left by night

¹ Telegraphic address of the Registrar of Asiatics

² Illegible

train—

Stamps 0. 3. 6

JULY 21, SUNDAY

Letters: Maud, Doctor & Winterbottom, Harilal—Kotwal, Kallenbach, Jamnadas & I went to town on foot. Meeting about Mrs. Tilak. Sorabji left. Gordon came to Farm & went back.

JULY 22, MONDAY

Kotwal & I returned to the Farm. Ba & Jamnadas stayed back in town. Will return in the evening. Also K. [Letters:] Khanderia, Anglia, Editor.

Pd. trip ticket	1. 6. 3
Chamney's wire re. Sorab	0. 2. 1
Freight forage	0. 1. 3
Mrs. G.	2. 0. 0

Bal. 3. 14. 6

JULY 23, TUESDAY

Dano & I went to town K. went by train. Meeting with Chamney. K. & I returned.

Pd. Mrs. Hearth 0. 1. 0

JULY 24, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Anglia, Editor, Hakim Saleji, Abdool Hajee Adam, Hajee Dada, Hajee Habib.

JULY 25, THURSDAY

[Letters:] Naik, Dada Abdoolla, Jayashanker, Editor, Chotabhai, Chhotabhai Udyar, Khushalbai, Chhaganlal, Meghjibhai, Revashanker, Royeppen, Rutnam, Purshottamdas, Harilal, Editor, Somabhai, Chhabildas, K. & Manilal went to town on foot & returned.

Pd. stamps 0. 2. 6

JULY 26, FRIDAY

[Letters:] Ibrahim Noormahomed, Shapuriji, Durbin [?], Naik, Purshottamdas, Schlesin, Charlie, Maliha, G. P. Patel. Kanji, anew boy, came. Two men had come escorting him & returned.

Rd. Kanji's board	1. 10. 0
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Bal.	5. 1. 0
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JULY 27, SATURDAY

[Letters:] Vallabh Nathu, Winterbottom, Dirk, West, Dano Bhago.

Rd. from Gordon, bread	1. 0. 0
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Pd. Kall. railage for West & wife [?]	1. 6. 9
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Gordon for Jam[nadas]'s suit	1. 10. 1
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Baths, saucepans etc.	1. 13. 0
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Knickers, Calico, etc	2. 2. 0
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Jeki's flannelette	0. 5. 0
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less including Gordon's	6. 16. 9
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Cash paid today	5. 0. 0
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	1. 16. 9
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St[am]ps	0. 2. 1
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JULY 28, SUNDAY

Schlesin & Ritch came & left. Telegram to say Gohkale will start on October 5. Manilal left for Fiji on Friday.

JULY 29, MONDAY

[Letters:] Editor, Joshi, Bhaga Daji, Mansukh¹, Fiji [?], Purshottamdas, Kalidas, Sorabji, Maud, Doctor, Gohkale², Dungarsi, Kanaiyalal, Dana Valji, Chhaganlal, K. & Dano came.

Stamps	0. 2. 0
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Bal.	3. 0. 3
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JULY 30, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Dada Abdoola, Wybergh, Osman Omar, Rooknoodeen, Hoosen Dawad, Cole, Schlesin, Suleman Mamuji, Ram Bahadur, Bhawani Dayal, Motilal, West, Chhabildas, Khan. Thambi Naidoo

¹ "Letter to Mansukh", July 27, 1912

² "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", July 28, 1912

came & took his children with him.

JULY 31, WEDNESDAY

Wrote in the evening to Keshav Fakir, Joseph, Solomon, Royeppen, Amod Metar, Govan Manji, Fulchand Shah, Govindlal. Solomon, Beethasee, Singaram, Pragji, Sheikh, Coovadia. K. & Gordon came.

AUGUST 1, THURSDAY

K., Kotwal, Ramdas & I went to town. Party to Chettiar¹. Jeki came in the evening. Manilal & Jamnadas came by train.

Trip ticket	1. 6. 3
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AUGUST 2, FRIDAY

All returned form town in the morning. K. returned in the evening.

Pd. for milk	0. 0. 3
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Leather	1. 5. 0
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Curds etc.	0. 2. 0
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Dana Valji	0. 2. 6
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AUGUST 3, SATURDAY

[Letters:] Abhechand, Chhaganlal, Albert, Naik, Vyas, Hunter, Hassan, Essack, Durbin, Ritch, Tutla, Chunu, Omar Hajee Amod, Rustomjee, Purshottamdas, Chamney,

Freight	0. 2. 6
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Bal.	<hr/> 0. 1. 9
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AUGUST 4, SUNDAY

[Letters:] Schlesin, Chamney, Maud, Thakkar, Winterbottom, Gokhale². Chhabildas, Editor, Doctor, Fancy, Sorabji, Manilal Fiji. Telegram to Chamney. Schlesin came & left, Gordon also came in the evening and left.

AUGUST 5, MONDAY

Kallenbach went to town. Ratanshi, etc., who had come also left.

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Johannesburg Banquet to V. A. Chettiar", 1-8-1912

² *Vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", 4-8-1912.

AUGUST 6, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Joshi (Cape), Schlesin—sent to Schlesin and . . .¹ her drafts of letter to Town Clerk and that about Fatima by rail post.

[Also letters to:] Laughton, Nathalia, Madhavdas, Omar Hajee Amod, Godbole, Rajkumar, Somabhai, Kallenbach Came. Naidoo's sons came.

AUGUST 7, WEDNESDAY

Kanji came. Wrote to Schlesin. Kallenbach went to town by night train.

Rd. from Kanji	0. 2. 0
	<hr/>
Freight	0. 1. 6

AUGUST 8, THURSDAY

[Letters:] Naransami Aiyar, Chhagan, Chanchal, Umiyashanker, Naidoo, Naidoo [*sic*], Ishwarbhai Gordhands, N. J. Shaikh. also Jani [?] Jagabhai Chhabildas, Gavarishanker, Christopher, Maganbhai, Editor, K. arrived at night.

Rd. for John	0. 2. 9
, , freight & ect.	0. 1. 6
Pd. freight	0. 1. 6

AUGUST 9, FRIDAY

Posted Natal Bank letter.

Pd. wire Gokaldas	0. 1. 0
Stamps	0. 1. 6
Pd. milk freight	0. 0. 3

AUGUST 10, SATURDAY

Kotwal & I went to town on foot, also Kallenbach. I went to Roodepoort & Krugersdorp, accompanied by Cachalia. Kotwal returned after affixing his signature.

AUGUST 11, SUNDAY

Left Krusgesdorp by morning train for J. B. found Ba and Ani ill. Schlesin and Fakir also came along in train.

¹ BIA., Johannesburg?

Rd. fr. Schlesin	0. 12. 6
Pd. fare Lawley	0. 2. 3

AUGUST 12, MONDAY

Illness continues, school closed in evening. Kallenbach went to town & returned. With him came Gokaldas Makwa's mother, Ba, M [?], etc. Also Tulsi

AUGUST 13, TUESDAY, SHRAVAN SUD 1

Tulsi, etc., left in the morning. Kallenbach went to town & returned. Thambi Naidoo came & left in the afternoon.

AUGUST 14, WEDNESDAY

Illness continues. *Ramzan* commences. Almost all boys observed a partial fast and had only one meal. Essack went to J. B. K. went to town by night train. Schlesin and a friend of hers came. Both left. Chettiar, who had come on Monday, left.

AUGUST 15, THURSDAY

Kallenbach arrived in the evening.

AUGUST 16, FRIDAY

Lallubhai and Lachman Pandey and Ramavatar came. Left in the afternoon. Rajabali and Mahomed went to town.

AUGUST 17, SATURDAY

Sent letter to *I.O.* Wrote to Chhaganlal¹ and Purshottamdas. Illness subsided. Hanif. Coopoo & Bhago went to town. Devibehn went to town.

Rd. for Gokaldas	0. 7. 0
Pd. Hanif	0. 4. 6
Devi	0. 5. 0

AUGUST 18, SUNDAY

Kotwal, Krishnasamy, Kanji, Gopal, Luxman, Govindoo & I went on foot. A Hindu meeting was held. Much disturbance. Had a long talk with Kotwal.

¹ "Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", August 16, 1912 (pp. 302-3)?

AUGUST 19, MONDAY

Kotwal, Luxman, Devi & I returned to Farm. Hanif, Kallenbach & Essack arrived by night train.

Rd. for Luxman	5.	0.	0
including 10% books refund	0.	0.	9
	<hr/>		
Pd. trip ticket	1.	6.	3
Freight	0.	1.	8
Luxman's ticket	0.	1.	6

AUGUST 20, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Omar Zaveri, Rustomjee, Schlesin, Chamney¹, Anandlal, Popat, Virji, Purshottamdas, Motilal, Dada Abdoolla, Chhaganlal, Velshi. Bhago, Kanji & Gopal arrived.

Stamps	0.	1.	0
Freight on fruit	0.	1.	3

AUGUST 21, WEDNESDAY

[No entry]

AUGUST 22, THURSDAY²

Kotwal & I went to town for lecture on Theosophy.

Trip ticket book for Miss West	1.	6.	3
K's present	0.	10.	0

AUGUST 23, FRIDAY

In town again.

AUGUST 24, SATURDAY

Schlesin and Geevers [?] came & left.

AUGUST 25, SUNDAY

Kotwal, I & Jamnadas attended Association meeting.³ Had lunch at Geevers'.

¹ "Letter to Registrar of Asiatics", August 19, 1912 (p. 305)?

² "The accounts under this date have been cancelled and entered under august 26, 1912

³ Vide "Speech at Meeting of British Indian Association", 25-8-1912.

AUGUST 26, MONDAY

All three returned to Farm—Mrs. P. K. Naidoo came.

Trip ticket Miss West Thursday	1.	6.	3
Present by Kallenbach	0.	10.	0
Waggon repair	1.	5.	0

AUGUST 27, TUESDAY

Geevers came.

AUGUST 28, WEDNESDAY, SHARAVAN VAD 1

Kotwal & I went to town. Tamil meeting—Returned.

Rd. Moosa Nathi	0.	3.	0
<hr/>			
Kotwal's parcels	0.	7.	11

AUGUST 29, THURSDAY

Kallenbach, Kotwal, Manilal, Sivpujan, Dano went to town on foot.

Rd. for Schlesin	0.	10.	0
Rd. for Mehta's book	0.	1.	3
<hr/>			
Pd. freights	0.	2.	6
Stamps	0.	7.	0

AUGUST 30, FRIDAY

Left for Durban—Accompanied by Kastur, Dano, Sivpujan, Devdas. Jeki, Manila, Ramdas & Revashanker came to town—

Pd. fr. Teckets etc.	9.	19.	10
Pd. tickets for Lawley	0.	8.	6
Ticket Sivpujan	3.	3.	4
<hr/>			
Bal.	7.	1.	7

AUGUST 31, SATURDAY

Reached Durban—Came to Phoenix in evening, accompanied by Purshottamdas

SEPTEMBER 1, SUNDAY

In Phoenix for whole day.

SEPTEMBER 2, MONDAY

Went to Durban town. Purshottamdas & I walked. Returned in evening.

Wires re. Makda 0. 9. 9

SEPTEMBER 3, TUESDAY

Went to town. Night in the town.

SEPTEMBER 4, WEDNESDAY

Polak came. Stayed at Mr. Moosa's. Pragji also came.

Rd. fr. Kallenbach at D[urba]n 1. 10. 0

Pd. wire re. Pragji 0. 8. 0

Wire re. Makda 0. 2. 9

Pd. Albert 1. 0. 0

Wires & fares 0. 10. 10

Bal. 6. 1. 0

SEPTEMBER 5, THURSDAY

Whole day in Phoenix. Talevant Singh came & left. Pragji, Chettiar, Palok, Mrs. Raoji & Amin arrived. Long talk with Anandlal. He took a vow to give up smoking for six months.

SEPTEMBER 6, FRIDAY

Again went to town. Meeting with Cousin[s?], also Khan. Returned in evening.

SEPTEMBER 7, SATURDAY

Went to town in the afternoon. Meeting. Omar appointed Chairman of Reception Committee.

SEPTEMBER 8, SUNDAY

Chhaganlal & I went to town by train—Abdool Huq came to receive. Meeting—Omar appointed chairman.

SEPTEMBER 9, MONDAY

Polak, Chhaganlal & I came to Phoenix on foot—Pragji came by

train.

Wire Schlesin 0. 1. 0

SEPTEMBER 10, TUESDAY

Caught cold. Polak left yesterday. I went to town today . Meeting of Committee. Slept at Omar Sheth's.

Pd. wire Goordeen 0. 1. 0

SEPTEMBER 11, WEDNESDAY

Returned from town to Phoenix. Meeting at Depot Road. Met Laughton.

Pd. Polak 1. 0. 0

SEPTEMBER 12 THURSDAY, BHADARVA SUD 1

In Phoenix till noon—At noon, again went to town. Returned to Phoenix in the evening.

SEPTEMBER 13, FRIDAY

Again went to town in the afternoon. Returned to Phoenix with Pragji by evening train.

SEPTEMBER 14, SATURDAY

Came to town by the morning train. Collected contributions. Attended Hindu meeting & left for J. B. in the evening accompanied by Navin, Chhotu, Lalita, Shivaprasad, Sivpujan and Pragji. Rd. for Govindlal

10. 0. 0

Train 0. 2. 6

J. H. B. fares for Pragji

& S. Prasad 2. 14. 3

Wife 0. 10. 0

SEPTEMBER 15, SUNDAY

In train—Wrote letters.

SEPTEMBER 16, MONDAY

Reached town in the morning. News of Godfrey's death. Paid condolence visit. Came to Farm. Found Ani & Jeki ill Pragji & Hanif and Albert also came.

Pd. carriage 0. 1. 0

SEPTEMBER 17, TUESDAY

Kallenbach & Pragji went to town.

Pd. trip ticket	1. 6. 3
Railage	0. 12. 7
Ricksha	0. 0. 3
Prunes	0. 3. 9
Milk	0. 0. 3

SEPTEMBER 18, WEDNESDAY

Went to town & returned in the evening.

Rd. from John	0. 5. 3
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SEPTEMBER 19, THURSDAY

Went to town by afternoon train—Kotwal left for Cape in the morning. Kallenbach also.

Pd. for freight milk	0. 0. 6
Kotwal	1. 0. 0
Pass for Sivpujan	0. 2. 6
Freight etc.	0. 2. 11

Bal	£8. 8. 0
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SEPTEMBER 20, FRIDAY

Went round for collections among Patidars last night. Slept in the office at night—a boy, Dayaram Sahay, came to Farm. Suleman returned yesterday. Mahomed & Ibrahim also arrived today. Telegrams from Desai & Abhechand. I returned to Farm in the morning. Pragji & Kallenbach went to town. Wrote letter to Kalidas—Also to Desai.

SEPTEMBER 21, SATURDAY

Shelat came with his wife. [Letters:] Manilal Doctor. Polak, Lachman Pandey, Kastur, Devdas, Doctor, Chhaganlal, Winter-bottom, Sorabji.

Pd. wire to Office	0. 1. 3
Stamps	0. 1. 6
Milk freight	0. 0. 3
Freight	0. 1. 10
Bal.	8. 3. 2

SEPTEMBER 22, SUNDAY

Abhechand, Mr. Kallenbach & Gordon arrived by the same train.
Dayaram drowned.

Rd. for st[amp]s *I.O.* 0. 1. 0

SEPTEMBER 23, MONDAY

Kallenbach, Jamnadas & I went to letter on foot. Retruned same day.
Posted mail t England. Suleman came. Sent wire to Maud.

SEPTEMBER 24, TUESDAY

Spent on Farm.

SEPTEMBER 25, WEDNESDAY

Two new boys came. Sivipujan, Dano [?] & Kanji and Devi & I left
for town at noon. Both slept in the office. Went to Fancy in the
evening for his contribution.

Rd. for books for the new boys 0. 10. 0

SEPTEMBER 26, THURSDAY

Maud arrived. All went to Station. Purshottamdas came. P. went to
Farm by morning train. Maud, K., Devi & I came to Farm. Kanji
came to Farm.

Rd. fr. Gordon 1. 0. 0

SEPTEMBER 27, FRIDAY, ¹ BHADARVA VAD 1

Spent [day] on the Farm—Kanji left the school.

Pd. for milk 0. 0. 6

SEPTEMBER 28, SATURDAY

Abhechand & Maud left.

Rd. fr. Abhechand for Devi 0. 10. 0

3 wires Chimney, Polak & Medh

re. Medh 0. 5. 6

¹ The printed pages (pp. 273-80) of the Diary corresponding to the dates
September 27 - October 4 appear to be misarranged owing to an error in the binding,
the page for September 29 coming before that for September 27, etc. Gandhiji, has
however, corrected the date lines in his own hand.

Freight	0.	1.	10
Stamps, freight etc.	0.	8.	0
Overlooked	1.	0.	0

Bal.	8.	9.	0
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SEPTEMBER 29, SUNDAY

Some persons from Boksburg came—Raoji, etc. returned. Bechar Brahnam and Ramsami Moodaley also came.

SEPTEMBER 30, MONDAY

Kallenbach, Manilal, Bahu and Govindoo accompanied me to town . Maud & Geevers came by train.

Leather	1.	15.	0
Freight	0.	1.	5
Stamps unpaid letters	0.	1.	2

Bal.	6.	11.	5
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OCTOBER 1, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Chhabildas, Anandlal, West, Abdool Huq, Kotwal, Rustomjee, Dawson, Kastur, Dada Abdool. Cropped Prabha's, Vijaya's, Chanda's, Rama's & Lalita's hair. Kallenbach went & returned.

Rd. for sugar	0.	0.	6
pd. Maud's boxes	2.	15.	4
Stamps	0.	1.	9

Bal.	£3.	14.	10
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OCTOBER 2, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Moosa Akuji, Velshi, Shaikh Rasul, Chhaganlal, Motilal, Millie. Prgji came at night.

Rd. for sugar	0.	0.	6
Sugar	0.	0.	9
Stamps	0.	1.	0
JOHN	0.	2.	6

BAL.	3.	12.	7
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OCTOBER 3, THURSDAY

Kallenbach, I, Pragji, Coopoo & Chhotu went to town. There was a meeting at Hosken's. Maud came along with us to the Farm.

Pd. for needle boxes and balance

to Schlesin	0. 10. 0
Rail	0. 0. 8
Tram	0. 0. 3
	<hr/>
Bal.	3. 1. 8

OCTOBER 4, FRIDAY

Geevers came in he morning. Ramdas started saltless and spiceless [diet]. Prabha also. Rajabali left.

Pd. for stamps & milk	0. 1. 3
Rajabali's fare	0. 5. 3
Cash	0. 2. 8

OCTOBER 5, SATURDAY

Maud left. Today is the ninth day since I started on a fruit diet. Three since Purshottamdas started and four since Jamnadas. Nayno went to town. Bhago too.

Rd. fr. John refund	0. 2. 6
Rd. sugar	0. 0. 6
Sugar etc.	0. 3. 9
	<hr/>
Stamps & milk	0. 1. 3
Nayna's fare	0. 2. 0
	<hr/>
Bal.	2. 16. 2

OCTOBER 6, SUNDAY

[Letters:] Lachman Pandey, Winterbottom, Umiyashanker, Anandlal, Kastur, Chhaganlal, Sorabji, West—Luxman left. His uncle & Kana's brother-in - law has come here, Miss Bush & Moorgan came & left. Medh came. Pragji also.

Rd. for Nayna	2. 6. 0
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St[am]ps. . . 'K.	0. 0. 6
Pd. Medh for wires Kalidas and Noormahomed	0. 2. 0
	<hr/>
Bal.	£5. 0. 8

OCTOBER 7, MONDAY

Medh & Desai left. Tailor & Ratanji came regarding Lallu.

OCTOBER 8, TUESDAY

Kallenbach & I went to town. Jamnadas came along part of the way.
Went round for collections in the town. Meeting at Hosken's.

Rd. sugar ect.	0. 0. 9
	<hr/>
Pd. for freight ect. to Paragji	0. 5. 0
Kallenbach	1. 0. 0
	<hr/>
Bal.	3. 16. 5

OCTOBER 9, WEDNESDAY

K & I went to town . Geevers also with us—Had a meeting with
Chimney. [Letters:] Naik, Makhera, Ram Piyari & Rutnam—Abdul
Huq.

Rd. for milk	0. 0. 6
	<hr/>
Bal.	3. 16. 0

OCTOBER 10, THURSDAY

See entry for Wednesday which was written [there] by mistake.

OCTOBER 11, FRIDAY

Bhai Kotwal came. Doctor Dunning arrived with Kallenbach at night.
pd. freight thro[ugh] P'das 0. 3. 5

OCTOBER 12, SATURDAY

[Letters:] Polak, Anandla, Abhechand, Chhaganlal, Mohanlal.

¹ A word here illegible

Telegram to Polak and Hindu . . .¹ Umiyashanker, Morarji, Bhago & Naik came at noon.

Rd. book	1. 0. 0
<hr/>	
Pd. for rubber tube Jeki	0. 5. 6
Wires	0. 2. 3
Freight	0. 1. 3
Freight	0. 0. 3
Stamps	0. 1. 6
<hr/>	
Bal.	4. 2. 9

OCTOBER 13, SUNDAY

Mr. Gordan & Maud came & left in the evening

OCTOBER 14, MONDAY

Kallenbach, Jamnadas & I went on foot. Umiyashanker by train. Mohamedali, Kanji came [back?] to school—Box 1167.

Rd. f[o]r. Kanji	[0.] 5[.0]
pd. Jamnadas for fruit ect.	1. 0. 0

OCTOBER 15, TUESDAY

Prajji & I went town. Meeting at Hosken's office.

OCTOBER 16, WEDNESDAY

Kallenbach went to town. Letters: Revashankerbhai, Anandlal, Polak, Joshi, Dr. Gool, Harilal². P. Naidoo came & went back—

Pd. stamps	0. 3. 0
„ Kotwal	1. 15. 0

OCTOBER 17, THURSDAY

K., Kotwal & I came to town. I spent the night in town .

Rd. fr. Miss Knudsen	0. 5. 0
<hr/>	
Pd. for freitht	0. 2. 9

¹ Some letters here illegible

² *Vide* "Letter to Harilal Gandhi", 16-10-1912.

OCTOBER 18, FRIDAY

Left for the Cape accompanied by Kallenbach, Cachalia & Imam.
Rd. £ 2[0?]. 0. 0

OCTOBER 19, SATURDAY

On the way [to Cape].¹

OCTOBER 20, SUNDAY

Arrived in Cape [Town] evening—went to stay with Dr. Gool,
Attended Hindu meeting at night.

OCTOBER 21, MONDAY²

Spent in Cape [Town], explaining [plans] regarding addresses, etc.
Met Nooroodeen's men. Meeting with Mr. Cousins.

OCTOBER 22, TUESDAY

Mr. Gokhale arrived in the morning. Addresses in Town Hall.

OCTOBER 23, WEDNESDAY

Went to Nooroodeen's meeting. Tea at Abdurahman's. Discussion
with Committee at night.

OCTOBER 24, THURSDAY

Left for Kimberley.

OCTOBER 25, FRIDAY

Mrs. Olive Schreiner came at De Aar. Indians came [in] special train
[and met us] at Modder River. Mayor & the Indians came at
Beaconsfield. Reached Kimberley. Mayor and others at the station.
Stayed at Sami's. Meeting at Town Hall³.

OCTOBER 26, SATURDAY

Went to see a mine—Oliver came [too]. Maclaren⁴. Banquet⁵ at night.

¹ Gandhiji here has "Have to send Sorabji £45" which he appears to have subsequently crossed out.

² Pages 297-304 of the Diary corresponding to the dates October 21—October 28 are wrongly arranged as were pp. 273-80; *vide* footnote of entry dated September 27 of "Diary, 1912". From the number of pages involved in each case, which is eight, and from the correspondence in the error between the two sets, it is clear that they both form part of a 32-page forme. While Gandhiji corrected the date lines of the first set of misarranged pages, in the second and corresponding set it would appear he followed the printed date line ignoring the binder's misarrangement.

³ *Vide* "Speech at Kimberley Meeting", 25-10-1912.

⁴ Maclaren came to represent Bloemfontein Indians' grievances.

⁵ *Vide* "Speech at Kimberley Banquet to Gokhale", 26-10-1912.

OCTOBER 27, SUNDAY, ASO VAD 1

Went to Oliver's. Meeting of Indians. Left for Klerksdorp. Addresses at Christiana, Bloemhof & Windsorton.

OCTOBER 28, MONDAY

Addresses in Klerksdorp, Potchesfstroom and Krugersdorp. Arrived in J. B. Address at station. Stayed at Mount [ain] View.

Pd. stewards 3. 0. 0

OCTOBER 29, TUESDAY

Reception by Europeans in Carlton Hotel.

OCTOBER 30, WEDNESDAY

Function at Hosken's.

OCTOBER 31, THURSDAY

Banquet at Freemason Hall.

Pd. T. Naido 10. 0. 0

NOVEMBER 1, FRIDAY

Breakfast with Chinese at Grand National Hotel, Indian meeting at Drill Hall, address by women. Night at Alexander's.

NOVEMBER 2, SATURDAY

Tolstoy Farm.

NOVEMBER 3, SUNDAY

Tolstoy Farm.

NOVEMBER 4, MONDAY

Tolstoy Farm.

NOVEMBER 5, TUESDAY

Left Farm. Tea at Chaplin's.

NOVEMBER 6, WEDNESDAY

Saw Boksburg and Germiston Locations. Left for Natal in the evening.

NOVEMBER 7, THURSDAY

Addresses in Newcastle and Dundee. Arrived in Maritzburg. Stayed at Camden Hotel. Address in Town Hall.¹

NOVEMBER 8, FRIDAY

Meeting with Indians in school. Special train arrived from Durban. Left for Durban at noon. Meeting and [presentation of] address at Town Hall, Durban.²

NOVEMBER 9, SATURDAY

Boys' sports. Gave away prizes.

NOVEMBER 10, SUNDAY, KARTAK SUD 1

Met Indians at Lord's ground. Special train left for Isipingo. Function in that town. Went to Phoenix by car in the evening.

NOVEMBER 11, MONDAY

Left Phoenix in the afternoon. Banquet at night in Drill Hall.³

NOVEMBER 12, TUESDAY

Dinner at Marshall Campbell's. Meeting of indentured labourers. Left for Pretoria.

NOVEMBER 13, WEDNESDAY

On the way, addresses at Heidelberg, Standerton & Volksrust. Address at Pretoria station. Stayed in Transvaal Hotel.

NOVEMBER 14, THURSDAY

Meeting with General Botha, General Smuts & Fischer. Function in the evening at Town Hall.⁴

NOVEMBER 15, FRIDAY

Left Pretoria by car to see Wyndham. Returned. Lunch with Gladstone. Left for Lawley in the evening.

NOVEMBER 16, SATURDAY

At the Farm.

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Maritzburg Reception to Gokhale", 7-11-1912.

² *Vide* "Speech at Durban Reception to Gokhale", 8-11-1912.

³ *Vide* "Speech at Durban Banquet to Gokhale", 11-11-1912.

⁴ *Vide* "Speech at Pretoria Reception to Gokhale", 14-11-1912.

NOVEMBER 17, SUNDAY

Went by car to see Sir Thomas Smartt. Called on Imam [A. K. Bawazeer], Fancy & Jivan Prema. Left for Delagoa Bay.

Rd. from Miss S.	15.	0.	0
Book etc.	4.	0.	0
	<hr/>		
D[elagoa] Bay tickets	6.	6.	0
Kallenbach	4.	0.	0

NOVEMBER 18, MONDAY

Arrived at Delagoa Bay. Address in Town Hall. Dinner at Hotel. Steamer Left at midnight.

Rd. from Madhavji	20.	0.	0
	<hr/>		
Stewards	5.	0.	0

NOVEMBER 19, TUESDAY

At sea.

NOVEMBER 20, WEDNESDAY

Fast. Arrived in Beira—At night

NOVEMBER 21, THURSDAY

Address in Beira—Started eating twice.

Pd. Kallenbach	9.	0.	0
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NOVEMBER 22, FRIDAY

Telegram to Agent that fare money not received in Durban. Borrowed £63 from Tayob Sakoor & paid Agent. Went round Beira in the evening. Got diary ready for Gokhale.

NOVEMBER 23, SATURDAY

Steamer left at night.

NOVEMBER 24, SUNDAY

At sea.

NOVEMBER 25, MONDAY, KARTAK VAD 1

Arrived in Mozambique. Address in the city in the morning. Went round in a rikshaw. Steamer left after three hours.

NOVEMBER 26, TUESDAY

Promised Shri Gokhale [during the voyage] that I would not leave for I[ndia] without making arrangements for the work in S[outh] A[frica] to be carried on in my absence. Most probably the management of affairs will be left in Polak's hands. I would also try to raise £600 for three years for the Committee in England. Obtained his permission to inform the people that more help was likely to be received from him.

NOVEMBER 27, WEDNESDAY

Arrived in Zanzibar in the morning. Went to the city. Called on Mr. Yusufali, etc. Function in Victoria Gardens.

NOVEMBER 28, THURSDAY

Luggage of all three put on [board] *President* in the morning. Address presented in the city in the afternoon. Spent the day in . . . ¹ Box² containing the J. B. Address seemed to have been left behind.

NOVEMBER 29, FRIDAY

President left last night. Reached Tongaat in the morning. Mr. Gokhale came to know about loss of box. Expressed regret. Kallenbach went to Tongaat and sent a telegram to [s.s.] *Kronprinz*. Parted from Gokhale at 4 in the afternoon. Boarded [s. s.] *Trebora* [and travelled] deck [class]. K. vented his feelings on board ship³.

Deck and 3rd class passage	0. 17.	0
Porterage	0. 10.	0

NOVEMBER 30, SATURDAY

Reached Zanzibar in the morning. Stayed in the city. Sent telegram to Ginwala at Delagoa Bay and another at J. B. Bought chairs, etc. Returned to *Trebora* at 10 p.m.

Deck chairs etc.	0. 9.	0
Dhotias[?] etc.	0. 13.	0
CABLES	1. 2.	0

¹ Word illegible here

² *Vide* 1st footnote of "British Indian Association's Address to Gokhale", 28-10-1912.

³ *Vide* "Gandhi under Detention", 23-12-1912.

DECEMBER 1, SUNDAY

Reached Dar-es-Salaam in the morning. Captain sent second-class ticket so that it might be easier to land. Had lunch at Mr. Ratanshi's. Wore Indian dress [for first time].

DECEMBER 2, MONDAY

Received Gokhale's cable, dispatched from Mombasa, saying that he was all right. Another from J. B. to say that his box had been found¹. Wired to [Gokhale at] Mahe & [to Miss Schlesin at] J. B. asking that the box be sent on, duly insured².

Cables 0. 16. 0

DECEMBER 3, TUESDAY

Address in Dar-es-Salaam. Mr. Kallenbach started learning Hindi,

Rd. for tickets 7. 0. 0

DECEMBER 4, WEDNESDAY

In Dar-es-Salaam. Read about Maharaj Libel case, Age Khan's case, etc.

DECEMBER 5, THURSDAY

Boarded steamer in the evening. Function at Babu's.

Rd. fr. Goolam Husein Sarnasji [?] &

Son for *I.O.* Rs. 12 [.0. 0]

Manilal Desai for Souvenir³ Rs. 7 [.0. 0]

DECEMBER 6, FRIDAY

Left Dar-es-Salaam.

DECEMBER 7, SATURDAY

Reached Mozambique at night. Experience of deck [travel] going well. Merchants came [to meet us].

DECEMBER 8, SUNDAY

Left Mozambique at 11 a.m.

¹ *Vide* entries for November 28 and 29 of "Diary, 1912".

² *Vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", 4-12-1912.

³ Souvenir Number of *Indian Opinion* published to commemorate Gokhale's visit.

DECEMBER 9, MONDAY, MAGSHAR SUD 1

Reached Chindee.

DECEMBER 10, TUESDAY

Reached Beira in the morning—Stayed at Tayob Sakoor's in the city.

DECEMBER 11, WEDNESDAY

Bought tickets for [s.s.] *Dunvegan Castle*. Left by this [boat] at noon.

Wires Schlesin etc. 0. 6. 0

Gratuities etc. portorage 1. 0. 0

DECEMBER 12, THURSDAY

At sea.

DECEMBER 13, THURSDAY

Reached Delagoa Bay in the morning. Detained some time before being permitted to land. Went to Madhavji's. Boarded train at noon & arrived in Komati[poort]. Interrogation by the police.

DECEMBER 14, SATURDAY

Arrived in J. B. —

Arrived at Lawley by 1 o'clock train. Baptism of Burnett's son.

Medh went ahead [of the others] with the luggage.

DECEMBER 15, SUNDAY

Spent at the farm. Dwarkadas Gandhi came. Gabo, Krishnasamy & Revashanker came. Gabo went back, taking his luggage with him.

DECEMBER 16, MONDAY

At the Farm. Miss Bush and her mother came. Kunake came.

DECEMBER 17, TUESDAY

Kallenbach, Govindoo & I went to town on foot. Kotwal came by train. Kotwal & Govindoo went to Pretoria. Chhotam accompanied me to Farm. Telegram from Chhaganlal about Krishna.

Ticket to Phoenix 1. 17. 1

DECEMBER 18, WEDNESDAY

Left for Durban by morning train.

DECEMBER 19, THURSDAY

Arrived at Phoenix.

DECEMBER 20, FRIDAY

Spent at Phoenix.

DECEMBER 21, SATURDAY

Went to Durban on receiving a telegram. Had an interview with Sir John Hulett—Returned by afternoon train.

DECEMBER 22, SUNDAY

Had a talk with Anandlal, West, etc. Meeting in the evening.

DECEMBER 23, MONDAY

Krishna¹ appeared to be well.

DECEMBER 24, TUESDAY

Parbhudas² fell ill. West went to town—Gajjar came-

DECEMBER 25, WEDNESDAY, MAGSHAR VAD 1

Worked till late in the press. Talk with Virji. Gajjar left. Sent Pragji with him.

DECEMBER 26, THURSDAY

Started working regularly. 5-7 in the orchard—8-11—study. 12-4.30 press—5-6 in the orchard—Budrea, Bhawani Dayal, Devi Dayal, Gajjar & his wife came. Pragji also came with them. from this year's accounts saw that the press will incur a loss next year.

DECEMBER 27, FRIDAY

Shivlal arrived.

DECEMBER 28, SATURDAY

Ram's son ill. Went to see him.

Abdool Karim Sheth came.

Bal. 2. 1. 6

¹ The younger and elder sons, respectively, of Chhaganlal Gandhi

² *Ibid*

DECEMBER 29, SUNDAY

Dada Sheth, Omar Sheth, Rustomjee Sheth, A. Huq & Ismail Haffeejee Moosa came—& left. At night Bhawani Dayal & Devi Dayal came & left.

DECEMBER 30, MONDAY

Rain—

DECEMBER 31, TUESDAY

Rain—Wrote letters. Meeting at night. Explained fresh changes.

D[ATE JANUARY] 2ND [1913]

Left Durban. Budrea gave a cheque for £15.

ON THE 4TH

Arrived in J. B. The same day Burnett's daughter fell ill at the Farm. Medh, Desa[i] & Naidoo came.

[ON THE] 5[TH]

Kallenbach went to town. Coopoo, Shanti, Umiyashanker came.

[ON THE] 6[TH]

Sivpujan . . . ¹ met

MEMORANDA²

Mrs. Shaer
c/o Mrs. Mann
Victoria Parade
Mose[ley?]
Birmingham

H. B. Godbole
Box 1541
C[ape] Town

P. Desai—
J. E. Dada [?] & Co
Nicholson's Sugar Estate [?]

¹ A word illegible here

² The addresses that follow are in English unless otherwise indicated.

Glensdale

Harila^[1]

Todani Pol No. 1514

. . . 'ni Pol

Kalupur Road

[Ahmedabad]

[*Gujarati*]

Mrs. MacDonald

521, Bannatyne Avenue

Winnipeg

Bapubhai Daulatrai Medh

Raipur

Akasheth's

Kuva Pol

[Ahmedabad]

[*Gujarati*]

Pragji K. Desai

Salej

Post Amalsad

Taluka Jalalpur

[*Gujarati*]

E. Dalborn [?]

6, Centennial Chambers

Sydney

Australia

Mehta

[c/o] M. Spendjian [?] Esq.

26, Rue de la Grande . . . ²

Antwerp

G. Isaac

19, Upper Head Row

Leeds

Cable: Islam

¹ Some letters illegible here

² Illegible

Miss A. A. Smith
22, Harley Road,
South Hampstead
N. W.

Ardeshir Jamshedji Mehta
Yokohama Specie Bank, Ltd.
Fort
Bombay

[Gujarati]

Manekbai Ardeshir Jamshedji Mehta
In the house of Dosabhai Bootwala
Khetwadi 14th Lane
[Bombay]

[Gujarati]

Kunverbai Sorabji Shpurgi Adajania
In the house of Palanji Edulji . . . ¹
Khetwadi, 10th Lane, Back Road,
Bombay

[Gujarati]

Palanji Edulji and Sons
Khetwadi, 13th Lane,
Bombay

[Gujarati]

Maud Polak
c/o Mrs. Siees
31, Myrtle Gardens
Hanwell
London

From the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 8220. Courtesy: Gandhi Smarak Nidhi

248. MR. GOKHALE AT THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale did not allow grass to grow under his feet before he commenced work in India after his return from the arduous work done by him in this subcontinent. He succeeded in having a motion carried in the Congress at Bankipore, advocating the

¹ A word here is illegible. Cf., however, Vol. VIII, p. 427.

total abolition of the system of indenture. We trust that before long we shall see an end to the system. Mr. Gokhale is not given to leaving things half done. He does thoroughly whatever he undertakes. He fights his battles to a finish. He is no retreat general. We feel sure, therefore, that the cause of the voiceless indentured labourers is safe in his hands. Besides speaking directly to his motion, Mr. Gokhale is reported to have devoted his speech to a reply to his critics in India.¹ The latter seem to have imagined that Mr. Gokhale had given away some rights and had made a bad bargain. Here his critics like Major Silburn charged Mr. Gokhale with having intimidated the people of South Africa. Truly, a public man who wishes to obey the voice of his conscience alone has a difficult if not an impossible task before him if he wishes also to please all people. With Mr. Gokhale it is well if he pleases the people, but it is well also if he must displease the people or any section of them so long as he pleases the voice from within.

From Reuter's condensed summary of his reply to his critics it is difficult to form any accurate opinion about the speech. But Reuter has supplied us with an infallible test by saying that Mr. Gokhale endorsed and urged all the demands made by us in South Africa. It may be well, therefore, to state them in a few sentences. So far as we know them they are: "Complete legal equality as to immigration throughout the Union, but, whilst we should be, we could be, no party to administrative discrimination, we should not oppose it, so long as a certain number of new Indians are permitted annually to enter the Union. (2) Our goal is most certainly complete equality in everything, but we do not agitate for disturbing the present political status and we *do* agitate for the removal of all other legal and administrative disabilities in all the parts of the Union, save the Orange

¹ According to a Reuter telegram, Gokhale had moved a resolution at Bankipore urging that the system of indenture be abolished altogether. He called upon the Government [of India] to prohibit further recruiting. ". . . Mr. Gokhale, referring to his critics, said that neither he nor Mr. Gandhi had given any assurance of the limitation of immigration in South Africa and not one particle of the Indians' rights had been surrendered. Mr. Gandhi thought, and he agreed, that it was politic and expedient to concentrate efforts on obtaining for those already in South Africa the same conditions as were enjoyed by Europeans. The grievances that could be redressed included ability to enter and leave South Africa without difficulty; to migrate freely from one Province to another; to reside where they might choose; to acquire and own land and other property; . . . to enjoy the municipal and political franchise; and to enter the Government service and public life. . ." *Indian Opinion*, 4-1-1913.

Free State. (3) As for the Orange Free State, all we ask for is that, if a General Immigration Bill is passed, there should be no racial bar so far as *immigration* is concerned. All the other disabilities in that State will remain until our irreproachable conduct and the natural working of time have softened the present prejudice of the Europeans of the Free State, who appear to be Free Staters first and South Africans after.

When we receive the full text of Mr. Gokhale's speech, there is no doubt that we shall find his case formulated along these lines.

Indian Opinion, 4-1-1913

249. TO READERS OF "INDIAN OPINION"

In this issue readers will notice a few changes. We believe these to be an improvement; we have made them because we thought that, if the journal was printed in two columns instead of three, it would look better. It would [also] be more convenient if the articles had to be published in book form. Our purpose is to publish, from time to time, articles of permanent value so that readers who like to preserve copies can later have them bound into a volume. It is our intention to continue providing the same [reading] matter [as before], but in as short a form as possible. By so doing we will be able to fit in more material within the same space or even less. Beginning this time, we have reduced the number of Gujarati and English pages, but we wish to provide more information, though not more words within these pages. It is our hope to reduce the work of the compositor while increasing that of the writer.

Our venture is more than eight years old.¹ We have published information about rates [and prices] of interest to merchants and have also discussed serious topics. Matter varying from four to twenty-two pages in length has appeared in the Gujarati Section of *Indian Opinion*. We now hope to print, for the most part, writings of two kinds: those which will provide the community with full information, in so far as that is possible, of the hardships we suffer, and we will [also] consider and suggest remedies; secondly, those that deal with an ethic of public conduct or contain, in essence,

¹ More than nine years actually, *vide* "Ourselves", 4-6-1903.

thoughts of great men on this problem. We hope that *Indian Opinion* will thus become an instrument of education.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 4-1-1913

250. ROYAL INDIAN NAVY

We learn from a cable in the newspapers that the Indian princes are prepared to offer a few warships to help the Imperial Government. It was estimated that they would cost £21 million, which amounts to Rs. 31.5 crore. In effect this would amount to a contribution of Re. 1 *per capita* of India's population. But these figures are inadequate [for conveying the true picture]. From the names suggested for the warships, it appears that the rulers who offered to help are the Nizam, the Maharajas of Mysore, Baroda, Gwalior, Kashmir, Travancore and Rajputana, and the King of Nepal. The total population of their states is about four crores. The taxes to raise this amount would have been borne by this population; that is, the tax would have amounted to Rs. 8 a head. For a very poor man, this sum represents his earnings for four months. That the Indian princes were not going to fetch this money from the heavens is certain. It was their subjects who would have had to pay up. Happily for the good name of the Imperial Government, the Reuter cable was based on a mere rumour; and that is due to India's good fortune and the grace of God which the subjects of Indian rulers still enjoy. All responsible newspapers in England dismissed the idea as impracticable. Some of them expressed strong views. One or two even remarked that, if any such help was received from the Indian Princes, it would not be voluntary. Indian states do not enjoy real independence. If they were only told that the Imperial Government would be pleased if they rendered such help, they would consider themselves obliged to do so. Alternatively, if the Political Agents brought pressure to bear on them, they might be equally ready to make contributions. Moreover, a certain paper reminds that, while the Colonies do not contribute a single penny towards the war effort of the Imperial Government, India bears the heavy cost of financing the entire Army, both white and coloured. Over and above this, the Indian Princes keep their armies in a state of preparedness so as to assist the Imperial Government. Although the clouds over India have lifted, it does not seem likely that the Indian States will remain wholly

free. Some newspapers, however, welcomed this rumour. Germany is expanding her fleet. The Imperial Government is also expanding hers comparably. This means that the British people must go on paying heavier taxes. If the subjects go on paying taxes in this fashion, they get fed up. In this situation it will not be surprising if the British Cabinet casts a coveting eye on India.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 4-1-1913

251. GOKHALE'S SPEECH IN INDIA

It would appear, from newspapers coming from India, that cables of Mr. Gokhale's speeches in this country have been received there and have caused some misunderstanding. From the *Gujarati* got from Bombay, we see that the major share of the responsibility for this misunderstanding must be that of the English newspapers. The *Gujarati* defends Mr. Gokhale's speeches. On reaching Bombay, Mr. Gokhale seems to have taken note of the misconception about his work [here].¹ And now Reuter's cables tells us that Mr. Gokhale's has answered his critics in full [in the course of his speech] at the Congress.² Here, one of Mr. Gokhale's speeches was misinterpreted by our Major Silburn. Mr. Gokhale gave a reply which appears to have satisfied everyone.³ In India, too, persons like our Mayor and Major Silburn misinterpreted Mr. Gokhale's speech. Such things have always happen, and will happen, to public men. No wonder, therefore, Mr. Gokhale's words were misconstrued.

Not that Reuter's cables always report speeches correctly. We have, nevertheless, to make meaning of the cables and arrive at what is likely to have happened at Bankipore. Before we can understand Reuter's cables, we should find out the significance of what Mr. Gokhale said here. What this patriot then said was that, if equality of rights in law is conceded under the Immigration Act, India would not object to the prohibition of Indian immigration beyond what was necessary to meet our needs [here]. He also said that we did not want political rights for the present. Replying to his critics in

¹ *Vide* Appendix "Gokhale's Speech at Bombay", 14-12-1912.

² *Vide* footnote of "Mr. Gokhale at the National Congress", 4-1-1913.

³ *Vide* Appendix "Gokhale's Answer to Silburn and F. C. Hollander", before 4-4-1913.

India, Mr. Gokhale has said that India would not place any [upper] limit to [Indian] immigration [into South Africa]. About the franchise, he pointed out that that was contained in his demand that Indians in South Africa should have equal rights with the whites. We shall see on reflection that this is not inconsistent with his speeches in South Africa. Mr. Gokhale seems to have been charged with having bound India's hands and made her responsible for ending immigration of Indians into this country in excess [of the figure agreed upon]. This charge is not just, because all that Mr. Gokhale has agreed to is only that India would not object if the Union Government were to disallow further immigration of Indians. Between this [statement] and saying that India herself has ended [emigration], there is a deal of difference. The same is true of the franchise [issue]. Between what Mr. Gokhale has said—that we do not ask for the franchise at present—and saying that India does not demand it, there exists a great difference and a contradiction. Accepting the latter proposition would make India a party to the disabilities inflicted on the Indians. Mr. Gokhale has further pointed out that he has not committed himself to the waiving of a single right. By arguing that the demands he put forward were the same as ours, Mr. Gokhale has shown that he has neither made new demands nor has he left out any from among those that we have been making. What has been established, then, is misunderstanding on the part of the Bombay critics, for they have not until this day criticized our demands!¹

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 4-1-1913

252. DECK PASSENGERS

I have already recounted my experience of how the Immigration Officer at Delagoa Bay behaves.² One reason why we must suffer this is the behaviour of deck passengers. By their general deportment they have created an impression that one can with impunity harass Indians in any way one likes. From my few days' experience of deck [travel] I realized that such criticism is not altogether unjust.

¹ As being too moderate

² *Vide* "Gandhi under Detention", 23-12-1912.

There seems to be no limit to the filthiness of deck passengers. Even though facilities for bathing are provided on the ship, many of them rarely take a bath. They feel they cannot bathe in brine from the sea. This is only superstition, but they have clung to it. Some of them bathe only once in a week due to sheer laziness. Many Indians on deck do not change at all and look very slovenly. Many spit right where they happen to be sitting. They have no thought for others' convenience. One of them spat over Mr. Kallenbach's head where he sat. The deck is so covered with leavings and spittle that one shrinks from walking barefoot over it, and if one does, there is every danger of slipping. They also quarrel with one another for places. They foul the latrines by using them so carelessly that even those who observe the minimum of cleanliness cannot but feel revulsion. If this is how we live, no wonder the ship's officers treat us with contempt. And that is precisely what happens.

Furthermore, even those Indians who ought not to be travelling deck class, do so. I believe that, when these Indians who are wealthy and well known as businessmen travel deck class, through sheer miserliness, their rivals, the white traders, cease to be friendly and to think well of them. Imagine the Manager of the Standard Bank, who draws an annual salary of £1,000 or more travelling first class on a ship. He discovers an Indian client [travelling] on deck in a wretched condition. The Indian keeps a balance of five to seven thousand pounds in his bank and enjoys credit facilities of the order of £25,000. Every Christmas, moreover, he gives the manager gifts worth twice the deck fare. Though the passenger is clearly far better off, as far as money goes, than the bank manager, he travels deck class. What thoughts must cross the manager's mind when he sees his client in these circumstances! He cannot but despise us and our money.

It is not my desire that we should imitate the whites in these matters. Even so, I would certainly say that when we compete with them in trade and the like and demand the same rights that they have, we should, provided we have the means, give them no opportunity to point an accusing finger at us in matters which do not trouble our conscience. It is the duty of well-to-do people to travel first or second class for the sake of their own prestige and that of India as well and to keep the place absolutely clean. In many situations, we forget our honour.

Those who are poor may travel deck class, but they should do

their utmost not to leave any scope for complaint. We shall become happy if we end these self-created difficulties; it will then become the officers' duty to provide us further facilities, a duty they can escape only by fulfilling it.

If we had acted in this manner right from the outset, the state of deck passengers would never have been what it is. It is not great matter to [have to] observe cleanliness, to wear clean clothes and to keep them tidy. It only calls for a little care. But what I have said should not be construed to mean that we must not protest against harassment by the ship's crew nor that whatever they do is right; this is not the construction that must be put on it. On the other hand, on the ship by which I travelled as a deck passenger, I tried to get the right thing done in every circumstance; this is the duty of every passenger who is in a position to do so by virtue of his knowledge of English, etc. A passenger from the *Purnea* brought a few facts [to our notice]. If these are correct, it is absolutely necessary that some action be taken to correct this [state of affairs]. All that I mean is that we, for our part, should not be at fault. If we are ourselves blameless, our complaints will receive a better hearing. Bathing arrangements, whether they are inadequate or totally lacking; lavatories, whether they are too few in number of foul and exposed; meagre protection against the cold or the heat; inconvenience as regards cooking; the absence of special places for women; and the shepherding about of passengers [by the crew] from one spot to another as though they were cattle—none of these can be an excuse or an answer for our inadequacies or our slovenly living, whatever we are. Passengers must do something about these deficiencies. Shipping agents ought to intervene in this matter and get the right thing done. My only aim in narrating my experience is that we should do our duty as men and as Indians, and uphold India's honour in all circumstances.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

Phoenix

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 4-1-1913

253. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-I]

I have had to reflect on the subject of health for the past twenty years. Having gone to England and having [earlier] become used to a

particular mode of living, I had to devise my own arrangements for food. I can claim that, as a result, I have acquired considerable experience, and have been able to form certain ideas thanks to that experience. I write these chapters in the hope that they may be of some use to the readers of *Indian Opinion*.

There is a saying in English, “Prevention is better than cure”. “The bund should be built before the flood”,¹ expresses a similar idea. Taking steps to prevent disease is, in English, termed “hygiene”. In Gujarati, it may be called *arogya samrakshan shastra*. This science is distinct from medicine, though some take it to be a branch of medicine. My only reason for mentioning this distinction is that, in these chapters, the means for the care of health will be described for the most part. Like a lost jewel that takes greater effort to find than it does to keep it in the first instance, good health, once it is lost, costs much time and effort to regain. It is therefore essential for thoughtful people to attach the utmost importance to the keeping up of health. We shall consider further importance to the keeping up of health. We shall consider further how health, which may be lost from time to time, can be regained.

Milton, the English poet has observed that both Heaven and Hell exist only in the mind of man.² Hell does not lie under-neath the earth, nor heaven in the clouds. This idea appears in Sanskrit literature, too. “The mind is the cause at once of bondage (hell) and *moksha*³ (heaven).” Pursuing this line of thought, we may argue that whether a person is ill or well he is himself for the most part responsible. One falls ill owing to one’s thoughts as well as one’s deeds. There are numerous instances of a father contracting cholera on seeing his son suffer from it. A distinguished physician has remarked that more patients die of fear than of the plague or other diseases. The saying that “a coward dies without being dead”⁴ deserves to be pondered over.

Ignorance is also a great cause of broken health. When overtaken by misfortune, our ignorance makes us helpless, and we don’t know what to do; with the best of intentions, we do the wrong thing.

¹ A Gujarati saying

² The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a heav’n of hell, a hell of heav’n.

³ Liberation

⁴ A Gujarati saying

Being unacquainted with the common rules concerning the human body, we often do things which we ought not to, or fall into the hands of selfish and unscrupulous quacks. It is surprising but true that we know less of things close by than of those that lie far away. I might be ignorant of the topography of my street but learn by heart the names of cities and rivers in England. I will patter away about the stars in the sky but you may be sure that I know nothing of the roof atop my house. I will think of country up the stars but do not ever feel the urge to know what there is in the roof above and how many rafters have gone to its making. I do not care to watch the drama that Nature enacts before my eyes but want to watch the got up shows in the theatre. In the same way, I have no knowledge of what happens in my body—what it is, what it is made of, how the bones, flesh and blood are formed, what their functions are, who it is within me that speaks, how my movement is affected, why I think good thoughts one moment and wicked ones at another, why my mind runs ten million miles away against my will, why, when my body moves at a snail's pace, my mind can move a thousand times swifter than the wind. I thus know less than nothing about the relation which my body, nearer to me than the nearest of things, has to my mind.

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

We shall, with the help of these chapters, try and enable readers of *Indian Opinion* to free themselves, to some extent, of such dependence and ignorance, if they have not already done that.

Not that such articles have not been published elsewhere. People, however, get into the habit of reading particular books or newspapers. The readers of *Indian Opinion* have come to read this journal along with a few others. Some of them do not read books on health. It is likely that they will benefit from the following chapters. Moreover, I

intend, in these chapters, to provide an abstract of the views found in a number of books. I have read many books, considered contradictory opinions and, having put them to the test, have formed certain ideas. Consequently, there will be found in these chapters the substance of more than one book. What is more, they will possibly spare the beginner the bewilderment caused by books that contradict one another. One book recommends the use of warm water for a particular condition while another suggests cold water. This may confuse the beginner. These contradictory courses of action will be considered in these chapters in the light of reason. Those who so desire may then refer to the original books and thus modify these conclusions. One may therefore safely assume that these chapters will prove useful, to a greater or lesser extent, to every reader of *Indian Opinion*.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 4-1-1913

254. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Wednesday [January 8, 1913]¹

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

For me, last night was momentous. Let me try to explain. I feel that you are accepting my conclusions without being ready to follow them out. Such a man dare not risk the unbalancing of his mind in the attempt to follow out somebody else's conclusions. If you had proved for yourself the correctness of the theory of life as I have endeavored to sketch it, if you had an inner conviction, if your belief in future life was unshakable, if you had become sick of the world unto death, if money had no attractions for you, if you were not influenced by your surroundings, if you were longing for poverty and suffering, it would be your duty to attempt to live the new life. But you are not any of these things, so I think that you *ought* not to think of India or work in Phoenix just now. I have an inner conviction about the things I have mentioned. My conclusions are my own and I ought to risk even the unhinging of my mind in the attempt to live the new life.

My mistake was in trying to force your pace and thinking that you could not but be right in trying to *do* right. But the trying to *do*

¹ The addressee has recorded on this letter: "Mr. Gandhi left on the 9th, Thursday for Phoenix and he handed this letter to me."

right would not have been *your* act. Or the many thoughts that arise in your mind, e.g., about Mr. Alexander¹, or getting more work or more money, would not find place in your system. The fact is, we cannot help ourselves beyond a certain point. I feel sure, as I did not up to last night, that your duty is just now to adhere to your practice and your material advancement. In doing so, you have to watch yourself. You *must not* abandon the simple life, you *must not* revert to the rake's life and pursue your calling as in trust for others. Make very little use of your riches for you own comforts and keep poverty and suffering as your goal. So doing, you will be more in tune with yourself and it will be possible for you to come to India with a better preparation. Instead of India being a preparation, let your practice be it. After all it may only mean one year, it may even mean less. But, meanwhile, you cannot live a double life. You cannot prepare in Phoenix for India. You prepare for it in the midst of social attractions. You will thus test yourself. You will soon know when you are ripe for the change. I was wrong in presenting India before you quite so soon and wrong in suggesting a study of Hindi. You may drop the latter for the time being. Of course you will continue it, if you like the study. Under this plan you would come to Phoenix as a visitor as often as possible and comparing the two lives you will make your final choice. Such is the result of my last night's hard thinking. I hope you understand my meaning. You will do exactly as you please but in my opinion you would err in thinking of India.

Herewith draft letter to Alexander.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ Morris Alexander, Jewish Member of Parliament from Cape Town

255. LETTER TO M. I. DESAI

[On or after *January 9, 1913*]¹

TO
SHRI MANILAL ICHHARAM DESAI
BOMBAY
SIR,

When news of the death of your revered father² was received in this country, a meeting of Hindus was held in Johannesburg. May I respectfully inform you that, at this meeting, a resolution was passed concerning your deceased father and condoling with you and your family.

Your servant,
MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI
CHAIRMAN OF THE MEETING

From the Gujarati, 6-4-1913

256. AN "ACT OF GRACE"

Last week we printed Mr. Polak's letter to the Minister of the Interior on the action of the Chief Immigration Officer of Natal regarding two young Indians born in South Africa claiming rights of entry into the Transvaal.³ That letter speaks for itself, and shows in a

¹ The meeting referred to in the letter was held on this date.

² Ichharam Sooryaram Desai; Gujarati writer, journalist and publisher

³ On December 22, 1912, Bhawani Dayal and Devi Dayal, both Transvaal born sons of a domiciled Transvaal resident, arrived in Durban on their way back to the Transvaal. They were both accompanied by their wives one of whom had brought her baby with her. Although one of the men could have passed the education test and both claimed that they had been in the Transvaal on May 31, 1902, Cousins, the Immigration Officer refused them visitors' permits. Polak obtained an affidavit from a respectable Transvaal Indian who vouched for their identity and certified that they had been in the Transvaal on May 31, 1902, but Cousins refused to consider their claim without instructions from the Registrar of Asiatics; he further refused to communicate with the Registrar or to give the applicants visitors' passes. Polak telegraphed the Registrar of Asiatics and asked Goodricke and Laughton, attorneys, to apply for an interdict against Cousins and other parties to prevent removal of applicants, pending consideration of their claims by the Transvaal authorities. The interdict from the Supreme Court was obtained, a condition being that applicants should lodge £100 as security. Cousins, after considerable delay, went aboard ship and demanded that applicants sign a document authorizing him to keep them under restraint at the Detention Camp and to use the security for their maintenance. Polak protested that it was unlawful, but Cousins,

telling manner how high-handed the action of the Officer concerned was. Mr. Polak addressed a letter to *The Natal Mercury* also about the same time, in which he dealt not only with the case of two young Indians, but with that of Mr. Gajjar,¹ with which also our readers are familiar. Our contemporary has written a very forcible editorial² on

learning that Polak was not yet enrolled as attorney in Natal, had him ordered off ship. Under pressure from Cousins, the applicants signed. The attorneys had meanwhile communicated with the Judge who declared that Cousins' action was not intended by his order. Although Cousins then issued them visitors' passes, he still refused to accept their applications for registration. Polak then wrote to the Minister of the Interior setting forth the details of this case and requesting that instructions be issued for a "humaner administration" of the immigration laws. The Dayal brothers applied directly to the Registrar of Asiatics, Pretoria, who had not yet replied when the period of their visiting passes expired. The Immigration Officer refused an extension. Meanwhile, the elder brother's claim to reside in Natal was admitted on grounds of his ability to pass the education test but his proof of marriage was rejected. The brothers, therefore, crossed the border accompanied by Polak. Although their application for residential rights was under consideration, they were charged as prohibited immigrants and the cases remitted to Pretoria and remanded to January 30. On January 27, however, Polak was notified by the Registrar that the cases had been withdrawn and the brothers' claims admitted. *Indian Opinion*, 4-1-1913 & 1-2-1913.

¹ Gajjar, an Indian merchant from Somerset East in the Cape, had gone to Durban to receive his family coming from India. He asked the local magistrate to issue him a visitors' permit for Natal which the latter in this ignorance of Cape Immigration laws thought unnecessary. He was, however, issued a certificate of identity which mentioned his standing in the community. On arrival at Durban, Cousins, the Natal Immigration Officer summoned him and discovered that he had neither a visiting pass for Natal nor a permit of temporary absence from the Cape. While Cousins issued him a visiting pass for Natal, he ordered Gajjar to stay on in Durban until he had obtained the Minister's instructions, but refused to allow his family to disembark on the ground that Gajjar was technically a "prohibited immigrant" in both provinces--in Natal because he had not got a visiting pass and in the Cape because he had not obtained a permit of absence. He was, however, allowed to return home as "an act of grace". Polak then wrote to *The Natal Mercury* saying, "Such, however, is the 'humane' administration of the Immigration Law that Mr. Gokhale was given to understand might be expected when he interviewed the Ministers at Pretoria. Are these expectations never to be realized, and is every conceivable occasion to be seized to harass unfortunately placed members of the Indian community?" *Indian Opinion*, 11-1-1913.

² In this *The Natal Mercury* strongly condemned Cousins. He apparently laboured, it said, under the impression that he had been placed "to give the public the greatest amount of inconvenience . . . the maximum degree of hardship he can impose"; he was "about the last man for the job" and they did "not intend Natal to rest under the stigma of being a place" where the law was administered according to Cousins' ideas. *Indian Opinion*, 11-1-1913.

these cases, which we reproduce in this issue, as also that part of Mr. Polak's letter which refers to Mr. Gajjar's case.

The most painful part of Mr. Polak's letter is where he says that Mr. Gajjar has been permitted to return to the Cape as an "act of grace". No case—and there have been harsh cases enough—under the Cape Immigration Act has, perhaps, shown in a manner as this has, the cruelty of the section that requires an Indian leaving the Province to take out a permit of absence in a particular form. Mr. Gajjar might, but for this precious "act of grace", have become a prohibited immigrant for the Cape Province although he was armed with a document of identification from the Chief Constable of his town. Under the Act, a Cape Indian paying a visit to a sister Province on the strength of a permit issued by that Province may be prevented from returning, if he happened not to know, like the Magistrate at Somerset East, the exact terms of the Cape Immigration Law. Justice in Mr. Gajjar's case has been forced from the Government by the persistent efforts of Mr. Polak, but the Cape Indians ought not to rest until the section in question has been altered and a promise taken from the Government that, pending alteration, the section will not be rigorously enforced.

So far as the action of the Officer¹ in question is concerned, the public will perhaps feel thankful to know that he has handed over the charge to Mr. Harry Smith, who is, so far as Natal is concerned, an old experienced official possessing the requisite legal knowledge of the people he has to deal with. But Mr. Harry Smith's conduct of his department under the Union Government will be watched by the Indian community with not a little anxiety. Whilst we have had to perform the painful duty of severely criticising Mr. Cousins' administration of the Immigration Act of Natal,² we have always felt that we might not have done justice to him by ignoring the fact that he is now a Union Officer, and that probably he has been acting against his own wishes and under orders from the Department of the Interior. However, we have not been able to place any such charitable construction upon his action so far as Mr. Gajjar's case, for instance, was concerned. No matter what the orders from the Department of the Interior might be, humane Immigration Officers would always find scope for their humanity in dealing with helpless men and women;

¹ Cousins

² *Vide* "The New Broom", 13-7-1912 and "More of the New Broom", 20-7-1912.

and we trust that Mr. Harry Smith will exercise, as he has often done before, kindly tact in his dealings with the Indian community.

Indian Opinion, 11-1-1913

257. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH[-II]

It is our habit that, at the slightest illness, we rush at once to a doctor, *vaidya* or *hakim*.¹ And if we do not, we take whatever medicine the barber or our neighbour suggests. It is our belief that no sickness can be cured without drugs. This, however, is sheer superstition. People who suffer from other causes are—and will continue to be—fewer than those who have suffered, and are suffering, because of this superstition. If, therefore, we can get to know what constitutes illness, we should be able to take a somewhat balanced view. “Darad”² means pain. “Roga”³ means much the same. It is right to seek a remedy for pain, but it is futile to take drugs to suppress pain. Actually, the result is often harmful. Taking medicine has the same effect as my covering up the refuse in my house. Refuse which is kept covered will putrefy and cause me harm. Moreover, the covering itself may putrefy and add to the refuse. I have then to get rid of the refuse which has since formed as well as that which was to begin with. This is the fate that befalls people taking drugs. But, if one throws out the refuse, the house will become as clean as it was before. By giving rise to illness—pain [that is]—Nature, in fact, informs us that there exists impure matter in our body. Moreover Nature has provided within the body itself the means of cleansing it, so that, when illness occurs, we should realize that there exists impure matter in the body and that she has commenced her cleansing process. I should be thankful to anyone who came forward to remove the refuse from my house. So long as he has not done with the cleaning, I might be inconvenienced but I would keep my patience. Likewise if I am patient while Nature is cleansing the body, which is my home, it will be well again, and I shall become healthy and so free from pain. If I have a cold, I do not have to rush to swallow drugs—*sunth*⁴ [for instance]. I know that some impure matter has accumulated in a certain part of my body and that Nature

¹ A *vaidya* practices the Ayurvedic and *hakim* the Unani system of medicine.

² Gujarati words for pain, ailment, disease

³ *Ibid*

⁴ Ginger, dried and ground, is a much used household remedy.

has stepped in to remove it. And so I must let her have her way, so that my body may be cleansed in the shortest possible time. If I resist Nature, her task is doubled; she has both to cleanse me and cope with my resistance. I can assist Nature, for instance, by getting rid of the effective cause of the impurity, so that more of it does not accumulate. That is to say, if I stop eating for the duration of the illness, thus preventing the ingress of further impurity, and if I exercise in fresh air, I shall also start ejecting the impurity through the skin. That this is the golden rule for keeping the body free of disease, every one can prove for himself. Only, the mind must be kept in a stable state. One who reposes true faith in God will always act in this fashion. The following [thought] will help in bringing about this state of mind: 'Even if I undergo the treatment prescribed by the *vaidya* or some such person, no one can guarantee that my disease will be got rid of. Not all those who put themselves in the hands of a doctor are cured. If they were, Mr. Gandhi should not have to write these chapters and all of us would be leading happy lives.'

Experience shows that once the [medicine-] bottle enters a house, it never leaves. Countless persons suffer from some ailment or other throughout their lives, go on adding to the drugs one after the other or go on changing their *vaidyas* and *hakims* in their search for the one who will cure them; finally, having ruined both themselves and others, they die, a troubled death. That famous judge, the late Mr. Justice Stephen, who had lived in India [for a time], once said that doctors introduce herbs, of which they know little, into bodies of which they know even less. Doctors say the same thing after attaining due experience.

Dr. Magendie has said: "Medicine is a great hoax." A famous doctor, Sir Ashley Cooper, has observed: "The science of medicine is based on mere guess-work." Sir John Forbes has remarked: "Notwithstanding the skill of physicians, it is Nature which cures most men of their diseases." Dr. Baker tells us: "In cases of night fever many more patients die of the drugs than of the disease." Dr. Froth declares that it is difficult to find a more dishonest profession than that of medicine. Dr. Thomas Watson writes: "In the most important matters our profession drifts on a sea of dubious hypotheses." Dr. Coswell feels that the human race would benefit immeasurably if the entire medical profession was ended. Dr. Frank avers that thousands have been killed in hospitals. Dr. Mason Good says: "Drugs claim a

heavier sacrifice of human lives than do wars, epidemics and famines.” We find that an increase in the number of doctors is followed in one place after another by a rise in the incidence of disease. Large advertisements appear in newspapers which do not accept other advertisements. When *Indian Opinion* used to accept advertisements, its workers had to go about soliciting these from others, but as for drug advertisements, their manufacturers pressed them on the journal and would even tempt [us] with large sums. We pay a rupee for medicine which should cost no more than a pie. Most manufacturers generally do not let us know what the drugs are made from. A drug-manufacturer recently brought out a book entitled *Secret Medicines*, his object being to ensure that people are not misled. He reveals therein that the ingredients of sarsaparilla, fruit salt, syrup and other well-known patent medicines, for which we pay from three to seven shillings a bottle, cost from a farthing to a penny. This means that we pay from 36 to 336 times the actual cost of the medicine. The profit to the dealer is thus 3500 to 35000 per cent.

The reader ought surely to see from all this that it is unnecessary for a patient to rush to a doctor or buy drugs in a hurry. But few will so forbear. All doctors are not dishonest. That every time the drug is harmful, the common man will not admit. To such persons, one may say: ‘Forbear as much as you can. Do not bother a doctor as long as you can help it. If you must call in one, get only a reliable person and, having called him, stick to him. Consult another only if he so advises. Your disease is not under your doctor’s control. If it is given to you to live, you will get well and if, in spite of all that you have done, death comes to you or to your relatives, know that death is no more than a transition.’ The purpose in my writing these chapters is that we might think and act according to this principle. In these, I wish to discuss with readers such topics as physiology, air, water, diet, exercise, clothing, water and earth treatment, accidents, child-care, the duties of men and women during pregnancy and common ailments.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

Phoenix

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-1-1913

258. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Saturday [January 11, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Just a line to say that I got the message about the fares for the Naidoo boys all right.

Here we are quite comfortable but I do not know that you could stand this life. We were most of us on the verandah sleeping side by side. Jeki¹ was next to me. We all sat at the same table last night to dine we were 20. The work is good but hard. I have been up since 4.30 a.m. and now it is 5.40 a.m. I woke up the boys at 5.20 a.m. We are in all 23 in one household. In the light of what happened at the station, in the light of what is happening here, consider my letter well. Over my meal yesterday I could not have taken more than 10 minutes. I think I took the least time of all and I did not gulp. I have simply found out, I hope, the right food for me. One can only die in the attempt to find the truth. I am passionately in search of it. May you not for the time being follow my career from a distance? Poor Mrs. Gandhi and poor you! Mrs. Gandhi must have felt simply shocked to see her neat little home turned into a menagerie. But she took it all quite calmly. Your case is somewhat different. She is bound up in my life. She is not on the fence. You are not bound up in me and you are on the fence. All these things should put you on your guard. I therefore urge again: do not be hasty, nurse your office in terms of my letter, come to Phoenix whenever you like partly to share my life but not wholly, and you will test yourself. Watch me just now not with a friendly eye but a highly critical and fault-finding eye. Assimilate the joint life as we have lived it hitherto but in my flight now hesitate, watch and wait. More when you come here. You will observe things for yourself. Please understand me. I do not want to put you off. If you will take the full step in spite of my warnings, I will not stop you.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ Jayakunvar, wife of Manilal Doctor

259. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[Before *January* 18, 1913]¹

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your two letters. I will not do anything in haste. Ideas ought to come up and great changes must take place in my way of life. But I will not do anything that might cause you apprehension. It is your duty not to lose hope. You can rise only through supreme effort. And when you have done that you will attain limitless effulgence. It is a great enterprise. You are competent to undertake it, for all souls have the same attributes. If only you lift the veils, you can see for yourself your powers. The key to this [life] is in the *yamaniyamas*². I wish to write of these hereafter. I have other things to say, but there is now no time. I have corrected the verse from the *shataka*. Look at it carefully. If you don't follow, ask again. Always, ponder what you read. Do not utter a syllable or set down a word nor do a single deed without taking thought.

David Ernest and others are coming today.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 105. Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

260. DOES IT MEAN PASSIVE RESISTANCE?

We are in possession of information of the utmost importance to the Indian community throughout south Africa. We may, next week, give the whole history of the matter, which bids fair to bring about a revival of passive resistance which we had hoped would not be necessary. We understand that the Government are not keeping their

¹ The reference by Gandhiji in this letter to the great changes in his life is presumably to his decision to leave for India about the middle of 1913, which was published in *Indian Opinion*, 18-1-1913.

² *Yama* is a duty or observance enjoined by religion. *Niyama* is a voluntary acceptance of that discipline. While writers have mentioned as many as ten *yamas*, five are commonly known: non-violence, truthfulness, non-stealing, celibacy and non-possession. The ten *niyamas* include penance, alms-giving, study, restraint, fasting and observing silence.

promise regarding those British Indians who, in terms of the settlement, should be given rights of residence in the Transvaal or the Union as the case may be. It would appear that they decline to accept all the names submitted by the Passive Resistance Committee. Delicate communications are still proceeding and we hope that they will end satisfactorily. There are also other points which, directly or indirectly, bear upon and arise out of the settlement, any one of which may produce a conflagration in the community. We warn the Government to be careful. We hope that they will. But if they do not, we know that the seasoned soldiers in passive resistance will give a good account of themselves at the call of duty.

Indian Opinion, 18-1-1913

261. THE INDENTURE SYSTEM

If any further testimony were needed to bring home to the mind the evils of the indenture system, Miss Dudley's letter, which we reproduced from *India* elsewhere in this issue, would supply it. This lady's experience of fifteen years' missionary work in Fiji leads her to say that the system is past mending, and [to] entreat her readers not to be satisfied with any reforms but to continue to use their influence against the system until it is abolished. We are grateful to Miss Dudley for her outspoken letter. Such independent testimony is worth much. Other European friends, we are sure, could add their testimony against the system and so bring nearer the end which is almost in sight. We are confident that the Hon. Mr. Gokhale means to see this thing through. The National Congress, only the other day, again brought forward a resolution dealing with this matter, Mr. Gokhale being the mover.¹ So long as women and children can be dragged away into a state of slavery under the guise of indentured labour, with results too horrible to mention, so long must we continue to advocate the total abolition of this most iniquitous, cruel, and immoral system.

Indian Opinion, 18-1-1913

¹ *Vide* "Mr. Gokhale at the National Congress", 4-1-1913.

262. INDIAN EDUCATION

In the *Natal Provincial Gazette* we read the following among the rules framed for the guidance of teachers in the Government schools:

No Native, Indian or Coloured children are to be admitted to schools other than those specially provided for them.

No pupils under standard II may be admitted to an Indian School under European teachers.

No subject not included in the Standard Syllabus for Primary Schools may be taught during ordinary school hours in an Indian School in charge of European teachers.

No pupil who has passed Standard IV will be allowed to remain at an Elementary Indian School.

Hitherto there have been no Gazetted rules specifically debarring Indian children from entering schools other than those specially established for them. But the rules before us have altered all that. The Provincial Administration have thrown down the challenge. They have made it a matter of law. The rules, moreover, hamper Indian education in many other respects. Their effect is to prevent the teaching of vernaculars in the Government schools and to prevent our children from receiving other than elementary education in Government schools. The duty of Indian parents is obvious. They ought to make adequate provision for the education, along national lines, of their own children. There should be established our own schools affording our children opportunities to learn their own vernaculars and, through them, their own history. It is a serious reflection on us that our children are being brought up without a proper foundation to build character upon.¹

Indian Opinion, 18-1-1913

263. ENGLAND'S BIGGEST CUSTOMER

A letter has been addressed to the English Press by Messrs R. Knight & Sons, of the Calcutta *Statesman*. In this letter they point out that India is now England's largest customer. In 1911, India's purchases from England amounted to £52,246,000 as against

¹ *Vide* also "For Indian Parents", 19-8-1911.

£39,284,000 from Germany, the great rival of England. These gentlemen further point out that the percentage taken by India of British produce and manufacture in 14 whereas the percentage taken by Australia is 8 and [by] Canada and South Africa 6 each. These figures carry a moral which should be driven home to every well-wisher of the Empire. The Colonies we have named have been the worst offenders in regard to their treatment of British Indians. And their trade with Great Britain is extremely small compared with India's. When India recognizes her own power, it will be difficult for British statesmen to justify their policy of *non possumus* when dealing with the disabilities of British Indians in the self-governing Colonies. They will, for instance, not look forward to another crisis which we see distinctly coming in South Africa, unless the Minister of the Interior removes the many points of soreness among the Indians here. The Immigration policy is becoming simply intolerable.

Indian Opinion, 18-1-1913

264. LORD AMPHILL'S COMMITTEE¹

The major share of the expenses of this Committee, which functions in England and which, as all agree, has done epic work for us, has so far fallen on the Transvaal. It cannot go on like this for ever. Moreover, the Committee has worked for all South Africa. In the circumstances, it is palpably unfair that the Transvaal alone should pay the expenses. Everyone realizes the utmost need to maintain the Committee. Readers will see, in another section of this issue, the suggestion in this regard made by Mr. Gokhale, that we should accordingly get together a sum of £200 each year for the Committee and so have £600 for three years.² If readers of *Indian Opinion* show the requisite enthusiasm, the collection should not take long. Those who are willing to contribute are requested to send the money to us, and we shall remit it to Mr. Gokhale. We hope contributions will also be raised by the individual Committees³. There should be no need here to speak of the importance of this work.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 18-1-1913

¹ *Vide* also "Lord Amphill's Committee", 29-6-1912.

² *Vide* the entry for November 26 in "Diary, 1912".

³ Local committees of the British Indian Association, Johannesburg

265. PARENTS' DUTY

These days many parents think [much] on the subject of what they should do about their boys. Among British families, one notices that it is the tradition to make the handsome boy a soldier, the intelligent one a doctor or a barrister, and the dullard a priest. There are many exceptions to this rule, a big one being that, in a good family, one member is prepared for public work. India is in such a state today that all parents should prepare one of their boys for public work—that is, work in the service of the community. Where there is only one boy in the family, this of course does not apply. But many families have more than one boy each. If they train one of the boys for service to the country, the uplift of the country will become possible in a short time. This is a matter worthy of the highest consideration by all parents.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 18-1-1913

266. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-III]

CHAPTER 1. THE HEALTHY STATE

It is the common belief that, if a person eats and drinks normally, moves about and does not call in the doctor, he is free from illness. A little thought will show that this belief is erroneous. Numerous instances come to notice of a person who eats, drinks and goes about and who ignores his ailments in the belief that there is nothing wrong with him.

In truth, there are very few persons in this world who are entirely healthy.

An English writer has observed that only he can be called healthy in whose pure body dwells a pure mind. Man is not all body. The body is merely his abode. Moreover, the body, the mind and the sense-organs are so closely connected that, if one of them is affected by illness or pain, the others also get out of order. The body has been likened to a rose. What shows without is the body of the rose, the fragrance is its soul. No one would care for a paper rose which does not smell like the real flower. The fragrance is the test of the rose, so is

the test of a man his fragrance—the character of his soul. We will, moreover, throw away a flower which looks like a rose but has an unpleasant smell. Likewise, even if a man's body appears to be all right, if the soul inhabiting that body tends to bad conduct, his body will hold no fascination for us. We thus see that one whose character is unworthy can never be called healthy. The body is so closely bound to the soul that one whose body is pure will be pure in mind too. In the West a whole tradition has emerged, based on this principle. It holds that those whose minds are pure can never be ill and one who is ill can cure himself by cultivating purity of mind. This tenet should not be rejected [out of hand]. It is sound, in fact, but the people of the West who claim to be civilized misuse it. The essential thing we have to learn from this tradition is that our mind is a potent means for the preservation of health, and that purity of mind ensures the maintenance of good health.

This man has a bad temper and is *tamasik*¹, that man is lethargic. A third is deaf. All these defects are, in fact, only symptoms of disease. Some doctors believe that even faults, such as stealing, are diseases. Some wealthy women in England pilfer worthless articles from shops. Doctors in that country ascribe this state of mind to a disease termed kleptomania. There are a few who are not at peace till they have shed blood. This, too, is a disease.

Arguing along these lines, we can describe only that person as healthy whose body is whole and without defect; whose teeth are sound; who has his ears and eyes; whose nose does not run; who does perspire but whose perspiration does not smell; whose feet and mouth do not give out a bad odour; whose hands and feet can perform common tasks; who is not given to inordinate sexuality; who is neither too fat nor too thin, and whose mind and senses are under control. It is no easy matter to achieve or maintain this state of health. We do not enjoy such good health because our parents did not. A great writer has said that the offspring, if any, of men and women who are fit in every way must surpass their parents. If this be untrue, those who hold that the world is progressing must revise their view. One who is wholly free from disease has no fear of death. The very fact that we all fear death shows that we are not healthy. Death is for us a great transformation and, according to the law of creation, should be a

¹ Full of darkness

noble one. It is our duty to strive for this lofty kind of health. How such health can be gained and preserved, we shall inquire hereafter.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 18-1-1913

267. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHOENIX,

Thursday [January 23, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

My heart yearns often to write long letters to you, but I am obliged to deny myself the pleasure. Such is the life here. From 4.45 a.m. to 10 p.m., I do not think I waste a single moment in talk. I see no visitors except on Sundays. But even Sunday is no free day with me. On no other terms could the new scheme be worked here effectively. My meal never now takes more than 15 minutes. Between 11 and 12, bathing and dinner are finished. Boys do no washing of pots now. Miss West alone does it and she is at the school at the stroke of 12.30 p.m. I do little personal correspondence now. Even my London letters are only a few lines. Thus do I cope with the day's programme but only barely so. The tension does not irritate me. It gives me greater pleasure.

How I wish you could stand this life. But I fear it is too much for you, at any rate at this stage. How long I shall stand it remains to be seen. But you will come and see things for yourself. Meantime you are comparing notes and collecting your thoughts and yourself. I know that you will not allow your head to guide you but your heart.

I suggest your putting the wagon and the mules at an auction sale as also everything else not required there. Your books I am keeping as they are in their cases. Only those tools which I require myself I have taken out and not the others.

I am just now on my trial. The Government have rejected two of the names given by us of educated entrants. This is a matter of principle and I have told them that passive resistance will be revived if they reject our nominees¹. So I might any moment have to abandon work here which is moulding me and those who are with me. Secondly, I have as a matter of principle boycotted the Congress as I

¹ *Vide* "Does it Mean Passive Resistance?", 18-1-1913.

boycotted the Swami. This I have done because of Anglia. My step may bring on a great deal of trouble. I must prepare myself for it. God will help me. I know that I should be a coward if I took any other step.

I am glad Geever's has at last left you. I have often blamed myself severely for inflicting him on you. I cannot to my own satisfaction sufficiently apologize for the serious blunder I committed. Anyhow that incident opened my eyes to my weakness that of vaulting ambition wrongly to serve.

With much love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

268. *NONE TOO SOON*

We publish elsewhere the report printed in a recent issue of the *Times of Natal* to the effect that the Union Government have decided to abolish the £3 tax exacted annually from time-expired indentured Indians, their wives, and their children. The news, if true, is a welcome relief, though it has come none too soon. It was high time that the people of South Africa had washed their hands clean of this blood-money. We call it blood-money after full deliberation. A tax collected from a poor man, his wife, and his children, manifestly for the purpose of driving him and his family from a country for which he and his had slaved for five years, or driving him into a further term of slavery cannot be fittingly described by any other name. When the abolition of the tax is an accomplished fact, the day should be observed as one of rejoicing by the Indian community, throughout South Africa, in that it will give relief to thousands of our dumb countrymen. The credit will be Mr. Gokhale's of this hateful impost is abolished this year.

Indian Opinion, 25-1-1913

269. *THE LICENSING QUESTION*

A very significant reference appears in the address of the President of the Natal Municipal Association, at the annual meeting of that body at Utrecht, on the 20th instant. We are informed that the

Financial Relations Bill, which was dropped in the last session of the Union Parliament, is to be reintroduced, with certain modifications, this session, and that its objects are, briefly, to transfer to Provincial Councils the revenue derived from dealers' licences *and the right to legislate, in regard thereto*, "which means that, if the Bill passes in its present form the control of the licences will be placed in the hands of the Provincial Councils". If the effect of the Bill is to take from municipalities the control of trading licences, it will undoubtedly be a matter upon which the Indian community are to be congratulated. If it means that the control of licences is to be transferred from the Union Government to the Provincial Councils, undoubtedly the result will be most injurious to the interest of the community. We feel that the Bill has not received that consideration and criticism which it ought to have at the hands of the Indian public, and it is very much to be feared that it is in conflict with Section 147 of the South Africa Act, which provides that "the control and administration of matters specially or differentially affecting Asiatics throughout the Union shall vest in the Governor-General-in-Council", that is to say, the Union Parliament and not the Provincial Councils. So far as Natal is concerned, it is notorious that widespread hopes of adding a still further burden to those already borne by the Indian population are entertained as a result of the adoption by the Provincial Council of Mr. G. H. Hulett's resolution¹, in 1911, as an act of revenge for the stoppage of the importation of indentured labour from India. There is no doubt that the question of trading licences was in the mind of the Imperial Government when they insisted upon the inclusion in the South Africa Act of the safeguards provided by Section 147. But if this Bill passes in the form that, we understand, it is to be brought forward, those safeguards will be rudely brushed aside, and since we are told on the authority of Imperial Ministers, that the King's power of veto is little else than a sham and a delusion and its enunciation in the Royal instructions a mere diplomatic blind, it follows that Indian trading rights will be given an even more precarious character than hitherto, and that they will be speedily extinguished, unless Indians take up the challenge and offer a vigorous protest.

Indian Opinion, 25-1-1913

¹ *Vide* 11th footnote of "Memorial to Secretary of State for Colonies", 15-5-1911.

270. THE INDIAN WOMEN'S BAZAAR

The Bazaar, which was to be held at the end of the year, of which Mrs. Vogl is the moving spirit, will be held about the month of May. Of course, the Bazaar will be held under the auspices of the Indian Women's Association. The readers of *Indian Opinion* who are interested in Mrs. Vogl's scheme and in the cause of Indian women's education, will, we hope, respond liberally and send what assistance they wish to before the end of April. Helpers in India should send their consignments about the end of March at the latest. The address is: The Secretary, Indian Women's Association, Box 6522, Johannesburg.

Indian Opinion, 25-1-1913

271. OUR NEGLIGENCE

Dr. Murison's annual reports on [public] health are always worth reading. We publish elsewhere a summary of the current report. Dr. Murison and Dr. Adams, who have been engaged to conduct an inquiry regarding tuberculosis, refer critically to our negligence. Dr. Adams says that we do not bring cases of infectious diseases to the notice of his department. We pay no heed to his instructions about ventilation and water. He is also critical of some of our habits. His criticism is such that we must accept it. There is no reason to suppose that the whites always write about us in this fashion only out of prejudice. We wish that we would give no one cause for criticism in such matters. If only a few leaders would evince enthusiasm and take in hand the task of imparting this kind of education to people, a great change can be effected in our condition. This work can be done for the most part by landlords¹. But before they can do it, they should stop being greedy.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 25-1-1913

¹ The original literally reads: "... Zamindars who rent out houses ..."

272. “CAN WE THUS ENSURE THE COUNTRY’S
PROGRESS?”

This line is from a well-known poem. It came to mind when we read the following paragraph from *Gujarati Panch*:

Shrimant Sardar Balvantrai Bhai Saheb Scindia has set apart a sum of two lakh rupees from which to grant a monthly allowance of Rs. 125 to each Vaishnava who renounces the world and retires into *vanavasa*¹.

Shrimant Sardar has donated this money in the fulness of his heart. It is true that some worthy Vaishnavas take to *vanavasa*. To enjoy *vanavasa*—to embrace *mendicancy*²—is a lofty state. However, holding out the inducement of a monthly allowance to a *vanavasi*³ is tantamount to a betrayal [of him]. *Vanavasa* and money are mutually opposed. It is our guess that Shrimant Sardar must have set apart this fund for the benefit of the *vanavasi*'s relations. Even that, to my way of thinking, is faulty. A *vanavasi* places no reliance on society for the maintenance of his family. He commits his children to the Almighty. If he takes out [as it were] an insurance policy thus taking man's help for his wife and children, he cannot be deemed to have taken to *vanavasa*. Moreover, one does not calculate so before adopting *fakiri* or *vanavasa*. When the power seizes him, no one in the world can stop him.

There is a great likelihood of Shrimant Sardar's [proffered] help promoting fraud. Many who are Vaishnavas in name only will come forward to adopt *vanavasa*, and their families will draw a monthly allowance of Rs. 125 each. It can perhaps be argued that these allowances will be granted each month only after proper scrutiny. To this, our reply is that the family of a genuine *vanavasi* will not submit to scrutiny. The true *vanavasi* will not himself give “notice”. Such endowments are tantamount to fraud in the name of religion. It is not by thus manufacturing *vanavasis* or patriots that [the cause of] the country can be advanced. History records no instance of any country having progressed in this manner.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 25-1-1913

¹ Literally, dwelling in the forest. The reference is to the third stage, *vanaprastha*, in the Hindu scheme of life. In this stage one retires from family life to live a life of contemplation and detachment.

² The original has “*fakiri*”

³ Dweller in the forest

273. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH[-IV]

2. OUR BODY

Earth and water, sky, fire and air

The play of these five elements, they call the Universe.

An almost full description of the human body is contained in this verse. It says that the sport of Nature or her Creator with the five elements—earth, water, sky, light and air—which he mingles, is what we know by the name of the Universe. From the substance of which this Universe is made has been fashioned this figure of clay which we call our body. We have a saying among us, “as within the body so in the Universe”¹ and, “as with oneself, so with the country”. If we remember this clue [to the mystery of the Universe] we shall certainly see that clean earth, pure water, fresh air and open space and bright sunshine are essential for the preservation of the body, and that we need not fear any of these elements. In fact, illness follows when the body becomes comparatively deficient even in one of these.

It is imperative that we know at least this much about our body, but this knowledge is not adequate for our subject.

The body is made up of skin, bone, flesh and blood. The skeleton provides the principal support for the body and it is that which enables us to stand upright and walk. The bones protect the delicate parts of the body, the skull protects the brain and the ribs, the heart and the lungs. There are 238 bones in the body by the doctors’ reckoning. We can all see that a bone is hard outside, but it is not so inside; the inside is soft and hollow. The joint where one bone is joined to another is covered with cartilage which is taken to be soft bone.

Our teeth, too, are bones. During childhood, the milk-teeth first appear and these fall out. Then permanent teeth appear, which, once they drop out, do not grow again. Milk-teeth begin appearing between the ages of six and eight months and have almost all of them appeared by the time the child is about two years old. Permanent teeth begin to appear after the age of five and they have all grown by the time he is

¹ The saying is, “यथा पिण्डे तथैव ब्रह्माण्डे”.

between seventeen and twenty-five. The molars appear last of all.

If we feel our skin, we will find a number of knobs of flesh underneath at many places. These are called muscles. Our nerves get work out of them. It is because of our muscles that we can open and close our hands, work our jaws and blink. All these actions are performed with the aid of muscles.

Complete information about the body lies outside the scope of these chapters. The writer himself does not possess this knowledge. Only facts necessary for our purpose will be set out here. Having, therefore, grasped the foregoing facts, we go on to the main parts of the body. Among these, the stomach is the most important. If the stomach were to slacken even for a moment, all our limbs would languish. Even the most ferocious beast will not have the capacity to endure the strain which we subject the stomach to. Its function is to digest food and nourish the body with the food so assimilated. What the engine is to machinery, the stomach is to man. This organ is to the left, beneath the ribs. Having passed through many processes within it, the food is then broken down into different fluids and their [nutritive] element extracted, the remaining portion being expelled from the intestines as excreta. Above the stomach is the left lobe of the liver. To the left of the stomach is the spleen. The liver is to the right beneath the ribs. Its function is to purify the blood and produce bile which is needed for the digestive process.

Behind the ribs, in the hollow of the chest, are [located] other useful organs—the heart and the lungs. The sac containing the heart is to the left, between the two lungs. There are altogether 24 bones in the chest including both those to the left and to the right. The heart pulsates between the fifth and the sixth ribs. We have two lungs, the left and the right, which consist of bronchial tubes. These are filled with air and purify the blood. Air reaches the lungs through the wind-pipe. This air must pass through the nostrils. Air which thus passes through the nostrils is warmed before it reaches the lungs. Many people, who are ignorant of the fact, breathe through the mouth and so do themselves harm. The mouth is for eating, etc. Air must be inhaled only through the nose.

We have briefly examined the structure of the body and got

some idea of its important parts. Now we shall examine the fluid—blood—on which the functioning of our body depends. Blood provides us with nourishment. It separates the nutritive part of the food, expels the useless products—excreta—and maintains the body at a constant temperature. It flows continuously through veins and arteries. It is to this flow that the pulse-beat is due. In a young and healthy person the pulse beats about 75 times a minute. A child's pulse is more rapid and that of an aged person slower.

The most important agent that keeps the blood pure is air. The blood which enters the lungs, having circulated through the body, has become useless as it now contains poisonous substances. The air inhaled into the lungs absorbs these toxic substances and passes on the oxygen it contains to the blood stream. This process goes on constantly. The inhaled air, laden with the poisons from the blood, then comes out and the blood, having taken up the oxygen, circulates through the arteries over the entire body. One can imagine the extent to which the exhaled breath is impure. Air has such tremendous effect on our bodies that it will be necessary to consider the subject in some detail in a separate chapter.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion. 25-1-1913

274. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

[PHOENIX,]

*Post Vad 4 [January 26, 1913]*¹

CHI. HARILAL,

Medh has had a letter in which his father gives news of your failure. You should have written to me.

I have not felt disappointed over your failure. Since you have resolved to pass that examination, go on working for it again. Send me your question-papers. You must have preserved them. Let me know in which subject you failed.

I read in *Mumbai Samachar*² that you were present at the Gokhale meeting. Give me your impressions of it.

I am arranging to go there in six months. I should certainly be able to go if a law satisfying to our demands is passed; so it appears. I have therefore settled in Phoenix. I don't wish to stir out from here for five months.

There are in all 30 children to be taught, including those in Phoenix.³ Jekibehn, Miss West, one Patel named Maganbhai⁴, Kashi and I do the teaching. I get up at 4.45 in the morning and wake up the children at five. The press hands, the schoolchildren and I do farming from 6 to 8. Between 8 and 8.30, the students and the press hands have breakfast. At 8.30, all the press hands return to the land and work there until 11. I take the children to the school, where they are taught to read and write from 8.30 to 10.30. From 10.30 to 11, again, they learn farm-work.

Between 11 and 12.30, people bathe and eat. From 12.30 to 4.30, work in the press where the older boys train for two hours; the last two hours [are spent on] reading and writing in the school. I cannot at all look after the school in the afternoons. I may be able to do so, I think, when things settle down a bit.

¹ The meeting referred to in paragraph 3 was convened by the Sheriff of Bombay on December 14, 1912 to welcome Gokhale on his return from South Africa.

² A Gujarati daily published from Bombay

³ Gandhiji brought with him his students from Tolstoy Farm which was closed some time in January, 1913. *Indian Opinion*, 18-1-1913.

⁴ A teacher in Phoenix, he returned to India in 1915 with Maganlal Gandhi and others.

At 5.30 the boys have dinner. After *katha kirtan*¹ from 7 to 7.30, the boys go to sleep. From 7.30 to 9, I go over Manilal's lessons. Das² wants to start a press in Durban. Perhaps Virji, too, will go there.

Send this letter for Chanchi to read. I have no time to write her another.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 9538

275. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHOENIX

Friday [January 31, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

We are planting banana plants. Sam was superintending. His holes were not in a line. He asked me if it would matter. I said 'no' so far as I was concerned but that if you were here, you would certainly insist on the holes being in a line. The next row of holes was straight. I mention the incident to tell you how near you are to me in all I am doing. I think of you continually during all the gardening operations and often wish you were near to advise me. I relate the incident also to show how we two would have acted in the matter. I knew the holes *were* wrong and allowed them to be proceeded with. You would never have allowed it. You would have had the wrong holes filled in. I do not attach any permanent value to this work. To me it is useful only in so far as it trains those who are engaged in it. The work itself is being continually done and undone. One man builds, another destroys and rebuilds according to his notions of rightness. Who is right? Who knows? But we do know when we act to our souls' profit and when we do not. And that is all that matters on this earth. It would certainly be a great thing if you would walk with Medh and Desai. Do if you can.

No, I do not work in the knowledge that I am always to be in it. On the contrary, here I am preparing for my withdrawal. It is highly likely that some of the programme here you would like very well.

¹ Listening to mythological stories and devotional music

² Purshottamdas Desai?

I have an uneasy fear that you are buying there things for the household which I have removed. If so, I shall feel deeply hurt.

More in my next. I have not had the time to go through the accounts.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

276. A CORRECTION

In our issue of the 18th ultimo we referred to the recently published rules regarding the Natal schools, and we stated that the rules were framed for the first time prohibiting the entry of Indian children into the Government Schools not specially set apart for them. Our attention has, however, been drawn to the fact that similar rules were framed some time ago and that we commented already upon them at the time. We regret that we should have inferred from the rules in question that the authorities had added a new grievance to the heavy list already existing. The wrong is none the less a serious one because it has existed for some time. The Provincial Government might have taken the opportunity, seeing that they were recasting the rules, of removing the defect instead of perpetuating it.

Our attention has also been drawn to the fact that a hasty reader might conclude, from our remarks that Indian children in Natal could not receive education in the Government schools beyond the 4th Standard. The friend to whom we are indebted for the caution points out that what was formerly the Higher-Grade Indian School at Durban provides for the education of Indian children up to the 6th Standard. This we knew perfectly well. But we mentioned that Indian children could not, in effect, receive more than elementary education. And the late Higher-Grade School, whose name was always a misnomer, gives no more than *elementary* education. The 6th Standard of that school is the 6th Standard of an elementary school, and hardly equal to the 4th Standard of a High School in India. This school affords no scope for a lad who wishes to matriculate at the Cape University. He may not be admitted to the ordinary High Schools or the Natal University College. He must take private tuition.

This is a handicap of which the community justly complains. Mr. Merriman, the other day, suggested, at the opening of a Muslim school in Cape Town, that the true solution of the colour question was education. Quite so. But the Government of the Union puts every obstacle in the way of Coloured children, whether Natives or Asiatics.

Indian Opinion, 1-2-1913

277. HERTZOGISM

If what the special correspondent of *The Star* says about General Hertzog's position in the Union Cabinet, when he was still a member of it, be true, the news is disquieting. We printed, last week, the *Star* correspondent's report, according to which the visit of Mr. Gokhale was a proximate cause of the rupture between Generals Botha and Hertzog, the latter wishing that Mr. Gokhale should interview him, as he was in charge of Native Affairs.¹ In General Hertzog's estimation, evidently, Natives and Asiatics should be classed together. However, General Botha's voice prevailed. He wanted to handle Mr. Gokhale as his visit bore an Imperial significance. General Hertzog, therefore, became irritated and delivered his famous speech on Imperial responsibility, which brought about his compulsory exclusion from the Cabinet. It was no light matter for General Botha to dismiss his colleague. He has yet to reckon with Hertzogism. We may still less lightly dismiss the great General or his policy. He is still a powerful force in South African politics. He apparently represents the extreme wing of the anti-Asiatic party that would be satisfied with nothing less than our complete segregation and national humiliation. The passive resistance compromise, which almost threatens, as we hinted two weeks ago, to break down, has still to be given legal effect to. Dealers'

¹*The Star* report quoted a friend of Hertzog as having said that, since as Minister of Native Affairs, he was concerned with the Indian question, he should receive Gokhale during his 1912 visit to South Africa. General Botha, who regarded it as an Imperial question, felt that it should be gone into by himself as Prime Minister. There then ensued a heated discussion in the cabinet; but a compromise proposal on the Indian question was adopted. The *Star* correspondent's source said that General Hertzog must have had this incident in mind when he declared, in a speech at De Wildt, that South Africa should come first and the Empire after. He thought that General Hertzog's exit from the cabinet was "a culmination of the ill feeling that had existed between General Botha and General Hertzog for a considerable time". *Indian Opinion*, 25-1-1913.

licences legislation is still a tangible grievance. Immigration administration continues to irritate the community. If Herzogism wins the day, we have trying times ahead of us. But even if it does not, it is highly likely that, so far as its anti-Asiatic programme is concerned, it may be accepted *in toto* by General Botha. When every vote counts, we who are voteless, may be safely brushed aside. But, though we are voteless, we need not be voiceless, so long as we keep ourselves well armed with the powerful, yet harmless, weapon of passive resistance.

Indian Opinion, 1-2-1913

278. GERMISTON INDIANS

It appears from [a report in] the *East Rand Express* that the Indians in the Germiston Location will have to shift to a new Location by the end of February. The Natives have all left. The Municipality has paid them £1,500 by way of compensation. The Indians have not shifted yet, though the Municipality is agreeable to paying them up to £700. Our friend the *Express* states that the Indians are not entitled to any such compensation. If the Municipality pays it, it will be an act of grace and a matter of policy. The idea is not to the liking of the *Express*. It argues that, if it is to be paid as a matter of policy, the cost should be borne by the Transvaal Government. The Municipality is then welcome to accept a share of the cost if it want to. The truth is that, whatever the Municipality pays, it will not be an act of grace, but it will be paid out of fear—fear of satyagraha, the London Committee and of the Imperial Government. Suppose the slumbering Indians wake up! Suppose Lord Amptill discredits the Germiston Municipality in public! Suppose the Imperial Government finds fault with it! Any one of these fears the Municipality could face out; but it is meek in the face of them all [together].

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-2-1913

279. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-V]

3. AIR

We have seen something of the structure of the body and have learnt that it requires three kinds of nourishment: air, water and food.

Of these, air is the most essential. Consequently, Nature has provided it to such extent that we can have it at no cost. But modern civilization has put a price even on air. In these times, one has to go off to distant places to take the air, and this costs money. It is at Matheran that residents of Bombay can get fresh air and only then does their health improve. In Bombay itself, if one can live on Malabar Hill, the air is much better. But one must have money to do this. If Durbanites want fresh air, they have to go to live in Berea. That again means expense. It would not, therefore, be quite true to say in modern times that “air is free”.

Whether air is free or has to be paid for, we cannot carry on without it for a moment. We have seen that blood circulates through the entire body, is purified after returning to the lungs and flows out again. This goes on all day and all night. Every time we breathe out, we expel fouled air and, when we breathe in, we obtain from the air without, oxygen with which to purify the blood. This respiration continues every moment and the life of our body depends upon it. When we die of drowning, it only means we are unable to inhale oxygen and exhale foul air. A pearl diver puts on a diving suit before he goes down into the water and obtains air from a tube [one end of] which remains above the water-level. It is because of it that he can remain under water for a long time.

Some doctors have conducted experiments which have established that, if a person is kept without air for five minutes, the life-giving breath leaves the body. At times a baby [lying] close to its mother dies of suffocation. This happens because the mouth and nose are smothered, and the baby gets no fresh air.

We see from all this that air is the most necessary nourishment for us, one that can be had without the asking. We get food and water, only by asking for or seeking them, but air, we take in involuntarily.

Just as we hesitate to take foul water or food, so ought we to in the case of foul air. In fact we do not take in unwholesome food or polluted water in the same quantities as we do in case of foul air. The revulsion comes from the seeing. [For] we worship idols.¹ Air cannot be seen with the naked eye. We therefore have no idea of how much foul air we take in. We hesitate to eat food touched by another; we would think twice before drinking water which another has tasted

¹ That is, we believe only in good or evil that is visible.

before us. Even if we felt no aversion¹ within us [towards filth or ugliness], we would never take the vomit of another. If vomit is put even before one famine-stricken, he would die rather than eat it. But we all inhale, without revulsion, the air “spewed” by another—that is, exhaled by him. According to the rules of hygiene, spewed air is just as bad as spewed food. It has been proved that, if air exhaled by a man is introduced into the lungs of another, the latter dies instantaneously; so poisonous it is. Yet people sitting or sleeping cooped up in a small room inhale, all the time, air which is as impure. Fortunately, air is constantly in a state of movement and agitation and diffuses rapidly. Moreover, it can enter through the smallest of pores. Consequently, even as we are huddled in a room and fouling the air inside, some fresh air comes through a clearance in the door or chinks in the roof. It is not wholly “spewed” air, therefore, that we [they] breathe. The air exhaled by us is constantly being purified. When we breathe the air inside us out into the open, the foul air diffuses instantly into the atmosphere, and Nature thus maintains the [required] quantity of pure air. The atmosphere extends over a large area, enveloping this small earth.

We can now see why so many people are ailing and emaciated. There is no doubt *that bad air is the cause of more than 99 per cent. of diseases*. Tuberculosis, fever and many diseases termed infectious are all caused by the foul air we inhale. The first, the easiest and the last means of ending them is to have fresh air, purest of the pure. There is no other, *vaidya or hakim*, that can match it. Tuberculosis is a sign of rotting lungs, foul air being the cause. Just as an engine is damaged through being fed with bad coal, so are our lungs by foul air. Hence, modern doctors who understand [this] will invariably advise tuber-culosis patients, as the first step in the treatment, to spend all the 24 hours in the open. All other remedies take effect after this, but none will work without it.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-2-1913

¹ For the same concept, *vide* “Nausea”, 2-2-1907.

280. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHOENIX

Thursday night [February 6, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your long letter. It made me sad. I can entirely enter into your feelings. I will not, therefore, strive with you. I quite see that you should now proceed along your own lines. And I have no fear, so long as your heart rules your head. You will come to India when you feel absolutely impelled to do so. And to Phoenix too you would come whenever you feel like it and not before. If you want me to return any of your tools or books, please say so. I should feel deeply hurt if you did not do so. I have told you that I have not even unpacked your books and your tools too are still most of them in the box.

My life is becoming harder day by day and I do feel that you would not be able to bear it even if you tried. Just now I hardly speak to anybody, so finely cut has my daily programme become. My meals too are invariably taken whilst I am serving the boys and as a rule I am finished by the time the boys are finished. There is not a moment's rest after the dinner. This I find absolutely necessary at least for the present. Miss West has entered into the thing wholeheartedly and works away the whole day. I would certainly like you to pay us, when you feel like it, a visit, examine the working and criticize. I know that in many things there is room for improvement. Only I cannot see it. I do need a friendly critic. West is excellent but he has his limits. His resources are exhausted and he is himself immersed in his own work.

Medh tells me you have advanced him £22. It was perhaps as well. You were certainly not bound to do so. Only his is an exceptional case. I hope you will not allow it to be used as a precedent.

Of course when the proper time comes you should remind Naidoo about the loan.

Can you remember anything about Mr. Doke's father's memoir I had? I cannot find it among the books sent here. I should not forgive myself if the book is lost. What about Just's book?¹ We have to send it to Mr. Gokhale.

¹ Return to Nature; vide also "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", 14-2-1913.

I shall say nothing about the Kaffir¹ boy. I must now watch you and wait. You are making an experiment with yourself. I can but pray that you may come out of it quite successful.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

281. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHOENIX

Friday [February 7, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

We are about to finish the work of the week. Your letter is pathetic. I feel now that I was unwise in hastening the packing of your books and tools. I can quite understand how you must be stinting yourself. I do not mind the stinting. It can only do you good. I am simply blaming my hasty judgment. I ought to have left the packing of these things to you. In that case, under the altered programme, neither the books nor the tools would have come here. But now I do beseech you to think out what you require and it can be sent to you or you could take the things with you when you are here.

If you can have Mr. Sharpe as your companion in your walk, it would be certainly good. But the walk ought not to be undertaken unless you feel sure that you could be absent from your work for so long a time.

In my opinion, now that you are living at Mountain View, you should not think of building a house but you may, by your own exertion, turn it into a nice orchard. That will give you perennial joy and healthy occupation. But these things we can discuss when you are here.

I do wish that you will leave off thinking about the synagogue. It was not to be yours. Why should it now worry you? What does it matter if your plan has been copied by someone else? Is it not rather a matter of pride that it has so commended itself to the people? And why be angry that Cohn has acted as he has done? May he not act according to his nature? When we become angry that someone has done an evil act, it really means that we might have done likewise. We do not get angry that a snake acts as it does. Just consider this and tell

¹ A term by which the native African communities in South Africa were described. The expression, however, is no longer in use.

me whether there is a flaw in the thought. Now I must stop, as I am interrupted.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

282. *TWO IMMIGRATION CASES*

Mr. Justice Broome has given judgment in two immigration cases. They both deserve to be known. In one case the father has complained that he had suffered a loss because the official had thrown his son out [of the country] without inquiry. He had filed a suit for compensation and had also pleaded that he might be allowed to produce his son [in court]. The [claim of the] boy [to stay in the country] was rejected by the official. The father then secured an interdict from the Supreme Court to stay his son's being sent back to India. Meanwhile, additional evidence was produced before the official, but he did not accept it. The official then took legal steps to have the boy deported. The case was adjourned so that a summons could be issued. Meanwhile the official changed his mind. Assuming he had the [necessary] authority, he deported the boy without issuing a summons and obtaining the order of a court. The father's contention was that the official had no such authority. The Court has rejected this contention and ruled that the official is empowered to deport anyone without the consent of the court. This ruling will have fearful consequences. Such are the tyrannical powers vested in the official that, if he chooses, he can extinguish the rights of every Indian [in the country].

The second case was for the refund of the deposit money of £100.¹ The Court has ruled that, if the deposit was made because of the Immigration Act, [the decision] to refund it or not lay within the discretion of the Government. It can be refunded if the right of the person in respect of whom it was tendered is established, and for confiscating the money so deposited, the Government needs no order from the Court. Arguing thus, the Court has dismissed the second case

¹ Wherever an Asiatic immigrant, appealing against the decision of an immigration official, wanted to have his domiciliary right tested by a court of law, he had to deposit this sum.

too; the Court has only said that where a deposit is made in good faith, the amount should be refunded on compassionate grounds.

The consequences of both these cases are fearful. There has been a considerable accretion of official power, and a situation has come about in which Indians might stop coming to this land out of sheer fright. It is our duty to wage a vigorous campaign against this.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-2-1913

283. OUR PROBLEM AT THE CONGRESS

A detailed report of the Congress [proceedings] has arrived by the post just received. We learn that, on the problem of Indians in this country, there has been more discussion than before. In his address, Mr. Mudholkar¹, the President, gave a full account of the situation in this country and has lent support to Mr. Gokhale's work. He has pointed out the need for continued help to us and has declared that indenture should be completely stopped. The Hon'ble Mr. Mazarul Haq², Chairman of the Reception Committee, stressed our problem in his speech and even went on to say that, if the Union Government did not settle the Indian question in a satisfactory manner, pressure should be brought to bear on the Government of India to take retaliatory measures. The Government of India, he argued, had plenty of means to bring the Union Government to its senses. The resolution concerning us came second [in the order of business]. That too shows how much weight our problem had with them. We already know from the cable that the resolution was moved by Mr. Gokhale. The resolution was to the same effect as that passed by the Congress last

¹ Ranganath Narsinh Mudholkar (1857-1921); President, Indian National Congress, 1912, at Bankipore.

² Maulvi Mazarul Haq (1866-1930); in 1888 established "Anjuman Islamia", an association of Muslims in England where he had gone for higher studies; appointed Munsiff in Audh in 1893 but resigned in 1896; one of the founders of the Muslim League, later became its secretary and presided over its Bombay session in 1915; elected to the Central Legislative Council under the scheme of Separate Electorates in 1910; member of the 1914 Congress delegation to England; in 1916, helped to bring about Congress-League accord at Lucknow; supported Gandhiji during the 1917 Champaran campaign and took active part in the non-co-operation movement in 1920; founded *The Motherland* and went to jail for his writings in 1921; one of the founders of Bihar Vidyapith and the Sadaqat Ashram.

year.¹ The Allahabad *Leader* tells us that Mr. Gokhale, who spoke for an hour, held the audience spellbound and that, when he came to describe the plight of indentured labourers, tears came to his eyes and his voice was choked with emotion. Our campaign also received the support of the principal leaders. The Hon'ble Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon'ble Mr. Mazarul Haq, Lala Lajpatrai², the Hon'ble Harchandrarai Vishindas, Mr. Pramathnath Banerjee, Mr. Madanjit³ and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani were among those who supported it. When our problem is being forcefully discussed in India, we here must double our efforts. Help from India can only follow on our own strength.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-2-1913

284. FRUITS OF GOKHALE'S LABOUR

Mr. Gokhale's work continues to bear fruits. One of these is seen growing in a far-away land. We have got a newspaper from Fiji from which we reproduce a paragraph in the English Section. It reports that the white owners of sugar plantations [in that island] have passed a resolution that, in view of the agitation in India in the matter of indentured labour, necessary changes should be made in the Fiji law of indenture so as to drop the clauses providing for the punishment of labourers, refusing to work, by imprisonment or fine. That the venom is contained for the most part in these clauses, there is no doubt. It is by these clauses that Indian labourers are greatly afflicted, and they constitute the greatest difference between

¹ *Vide* "Mr. Polak at the National Congress", 6-1-1912.

² Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928); social reformer, journalist and a "great public character in the older hierarchy of Congressmen"; founded the Servants of People Society; deported in 1907 for his political activities; went to England as member of the Indian deputation, along with Gokhale, in 1906 and again in 1914 with the Congress deputation; in 1920, elected president of the extraordinary Congress session held at Calcutta to decide on non-co-operation.

³ Madanjit Vyavaharik; "the man who for long years brought up the South African question before the Indian Congress", he set up the International Printing Press in Durban in 1898 at Gandhiji's instance, and in 1903, started *Indian Opinion* which Gandhiji took over in 1904; later founded and edited *United Burma*, an English journal, with the object of uniting the Burmese and associating them with the Indian National Congress; *vide* "Letter to Madanjit", 3-6-1902, "Tribute to Madanjit", 15-10-1904 and "Madanjit's Enthusiasm", before 29-1-1907.

indentured labourers and workers. If a common labourer makes a mistake, he is dismissed. But when an indentured labourer defaults, he goes to gaol, and on his release, he is back where he was. Even if these changes are made [in the law,] it is not desirable that the system of indenture should continue. Whatever the form it takes, the system deserves to be ended outright. But it is no small matter that the white owners, on their won, propose—in law which is to their advantage—changes by which they may lose. Such is the sturdy fruit that even a single man can raise by sincere effort.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-2-1913

285. *GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH* [-VI]

We consume air not only with the lungs, but some portion of it is also taken in through the skin. On the skin, there are pores, minute and innumerable, through which we draw air.

Everybody ought to know how a thing so essential may be kept clean. Indeed, as soon as a child's understanding is adequate, he should be taught about the importance of air. If the readers of these chapters perform this easy but important task and, having acquired some general knowledge about air, live according to it, pass on the knowledge to their children and make them act in accordance, I shall regard myself as having fulfilled my task.

Latrines, Open spaces, narrow lanes [dirtied through misuse] and urinals, where these are separate, are the principal agencies for defilement of air. Few are aware of the harm that can be caused by the filth from latrines. When a cat or dog defecates, it generally paws a hole and, having defecated into it, covers the faeces over with earth. Where modern water-closets do not exist, this method ought to be followed. We should keep a pail full of dry earth or ash in our latrines. Every time the latrine is used, earth or ash should be sprinkled over the faeces so as to cover them over completely. This will stop the smell, and it cannot then happen that flies and winged insects, having sat on the filth, come in contact with our bodies. One whose nose has not become defective or inured to stench can easily realize how much foul odour, filthkept uncovered can spread. If filth from a latrine were mixed in our food in our presence, we should be sick. But there is not an iota of difference between air laden with the

stench from a latrine and food mixed with faeces. If there is, it is only that the latter is visible to our naked eye, while the former is not. Seats, etc., in closets should be kept absolutely clean. We are ashamed to do this kind of work ourselves, or fret at having to do it, instead of which we should feel disgust at having to use dirty latrines. Why should we not ourselves clean up the filth excreted by our own body, which we make another person take away? There is absolutely nothing bad about doing this work oneself; having learnt this for ourselves, we must teach it to our children as well. When the pail is full, the contents should be thrown into a pit, a foot or two deep, and should be well covered over with earth. If one is in the habit of going to the fields to defecate, one should go far from where people live. There, one should dig a shallow pit with a spade to get one's business over with and should fully cover the faeces with the earth dug.

We urinate any and everywhere and this fouls the air; it is a habit that must be wholly given up. Where no special place is available for urination, we should go far from where people live; having made water on dry ground, we should sprinkle the spot with earth. There are forceful reasons, however, why excreta should not be buried too deep. One is that the heat of the sun cannot then do its work and the second that it may affect the neighbouring springs.

We spit on the carpet, on the floor, in the courtyard and where-soever we can. Spittle is often poisonous. The sputum of a tubercular patient is extremely dangerous. Germs rising from it get into the air inhaled by others and do great harm. Over and above that, the house is dirtied, but that is another matter. In this regard our duty is not to spit any and everywhere inside the house, but to keep a spittoon. Outdoors, one should spit, if one has to, on dry ground where there is plenty of dust. The sputum will mix with the dry earth and the damage will be less. Some doctors are of the opinion that tubercular patients should spit only into receptacles containing germicide. Even if a patient spits onto the dust on dry ground, the germs in his sputum are not destroyed. This dust carrying the germs rises into the atmosphere and infects others. Whether this opinion is right or wrong, we can at least learn this much from it: spitting any and everywhere is a dirty and injurious habit.

Some people are in the habit of throwing food, refuse and peelings, etc., all over. If this garbage was buried in the ground near the surface, it would not foul the air; also it would in due course make

useful manure. One should never throw out perishables. It has been found from experience that these suggestions are easily put into practice, once they are understood.

We have seen how air is fouled through our bad habits and how this can be stopped. We shall now consider how it should be inhaled.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-2-1913

286. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

PHOENIX,
February 14, 1913

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

Dr. Gool¹ just tells me that your umbrella was traced and that Mr. Joshi whom you met in Cape Town kindly took it with him when a few days ago he went to India. Your cap too has been found. Kotwal will hand it to you upon reaching India. He will be leaving shortly.

The newspaper criticism in India is now all before me. It makes painful reading. But I was prepared for it especially after our chats. I see that you are dealing with it in your own way. That criticism has produced its reflex action here. Aiyer has been writing violent articles in his paper. I am not sending you all the cuttings but you might like to see the *Advertiser* article. The *Advertiser* reproduced Aiyer's reproduction.

The Botha ministry has its own internal troubles owing to General Hertzog's defection.² The *Star* correspondent, you might have noticed in *Indian Opinion*, paid you [a] compliment by stating that General Hertzog quarrelled with his brother ministers because General Botha said that, as the Indian question was an Imperial one, you should be seen not by General Hertzog but General Botha himself.³ These internal troubles of the Ministry have disorganized the parliament and it is highly likely that the promised legislation will again be postponed. If that happens I shall be in a quandary and may not be able to leave for India about the middle of this year.

The ministers are certainly not carrying out their assurances.

¹ Dr. A. H. Gool

² *Vide* "Hertzogism", 1-2-1913.

³ *Vide* footnote of "Hertzogism", 1-2-1913.

The Immigration Acts are being administered with an ever-growing severity. Wives of lawfully resident Indians are being put to great trouble and expense. All the case are collected in *Indian Opinion*.

I take it that you will form there a permanent committee and on your going to London, reorganize the London body¹.

Mr. Petit has cabled £400 telling me that the sum included £80 given to him by you.

Mr. Kallenbach has now secured a copy of Just's book, *Return to Nature*. It was posted to you yesterday. I hope you will find time to read it.

Could the quack physician know the exact condition of his patient and whether he is carrying out his directions which he undertook to do!

I wonder if the Souvenirs were received in time for distribution at the Congress.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

Could you do anything for Mrs. Vogl's Bazaar? If some of the ladies you know would send work, we shall feel thankful. The Bazaar will be held in June.

From the original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 925. Courtesy: Servants of India Society

287. MR. GOKHALE'S INDIAN SPEECHES

The return of Mr. Gokhale to India after his triumphant tour in South Africa has brought the Indian question of South Africa to the front as perhaps it has not been before except during Mr. Polak's stay in India. But the public in India, during Mr. Polak's stay there was invariably sympathetic and uncritical. This in a way was a drawback. Mr. Gokhale's landing in Bombay led, on the one hand, to the unique demonstration there as described by the *Times* correspondent, and to criticism of Mr. Gokhale's work, on the other. The criticism, in our humble opinion, was hasty and ill-conceived. What Mr. Gokhale never did was imputed to him, and the very compromise, which was

¹ South Africa British Indian Committee, London

universally approved two years ago, was now condemned, because Mr. Gokhale had, on local examination, confirmed his original attitude towards it. Mr. Gokhale, therefore, immediately upon landing, had to enter into a defence of his own action and the part Mr. Gandhi had played in the compromise.¹ Mr. Gokhale's defence was, as was only to be expected, convincing. He returned to the subject at Poona, where, too, a great demonstration of welcome was held. But the most crushing reply to this critics was made by Mr. Gokhale at Bankipore,² where he held the Congress audience spellbound for more than an hour. The result of the discussion is that the very papers that either themselves adversely criticized Mr. Gokhale's South African achievement, or allowed their regular correspondents to offer irresponsible and ill-informed criticism, have veered round, acknowledged their mistake, and admitted that Mr. Gokhale was right, that he had not surrendered a single principle, and that he had dealt with the problem in a calm, statesmanlike, and patriotic spirit, as he alone could do. He said or did nothing new, but he did the same thing that was done by the local Indians in his own original manner, and threw the weight of his great influence and prestige in our favour. He did not speak or act for India, because he was not its accredited agent, and yet he spoke unofficially both for India and, indeed, the Empire. For Mr. Gokhale, in spite of his critics, remains the idol of his people, and commands the respect of the Empire as no other living Indian does. We hope to be able shortly to reproduce Mr. Gokhale's speech at the Congress, and an epitome of the criticism, adverse and otherwise. The ferment created by Mr. Gokhale's visit to South Africa and his return has done good in that the reacceptance of the compromise by the majority of his critics will, being now informed, add greater weight to any further agitation that may go on in India in our favour. And, Heaven knows, we want all the assistance still from the Motherland that she can give us! We are but at the fringe of our troubles.

Indian Opinion, 15-2-1913

288. WHAT A FINE SUGGESTION!

The Estcourt Magistrate has made the suggestion that the £3 tax should be levied from every Coloured person, that is, every Indian and

¹ For the text of Gokhale's speech at Bombay, *vide* Appendix "Gokhale's Speech at Bombay", 14-12-1912.

² *Vide* footnote of "Mr. Gokhale at the National Congress", 4-1-1913.

Negro. A Coloured servant of a white, however, should be allowed a remission of 10s. This, the Magistrate says, will make the Indians and Negroes work more. The gentleman has moreover suggested that no fresh licences should be issued to Asiatics; that the shifting of business from one place to another should not be allowed; that no firm should be authorized to admit fresh partners; that, when the owner of a business dies, it should be placed under a white trustee who should sell off the assets and close the business; and that the licences of Indians who cannot keep their books in English or Dutch should be terminated. If no such law is passed, the Magistrate goes on to say, Indians' control [of business] will become established. Though it is only this Magistrate who has spoken out, there are hundreds of other whites who think like him. They have not so far got what they want, for there is some spirit left in us yet. If that remains the same while the whites with these views increase in number, it is as clear as the rule of three that the hour of our doom is not far off.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 15-2-1913

289. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-VII]

We saw in the previous chapter that the correct way of inhaling air is through the nose—not the mouth; few really know how to breathe correctly. Many people breathe through the mouth. This habit is injurious. If very cold air is inhaled through the mouth, one catches a cold and the voice drops. Dust particles in the air enter the lungs of one who breathes through the mouth and they often do much damage. One immediately experiences this at first hand in a large city like London. Thanks to the large number of chimneys, frequent “fogs”—yellow mists—form in that city in November. Minute black particles are suspended in the fog. They will be found in the sputum of one who inhales air laden with this dust. To avoid this happening, some women, who are not accustomed to breathing through the nose, tie a gauze mask over their mouths. This gauze serves as a kind of strainer. The air passing through it is cleared. If this mask is examined after use, these particles are seen. God has placed a similar filter in our nose. Air breathed in through the nose reaches the lungs only after it has been cleansed. Moreover, this air goes down after it has been warmed. Keeping these

facts in mind, everyone should learn to breathe in only through the nose. This is no difficult matter. When we are not talking, the mouth should be kept shut. Those who have got into the habit of leaving their mouths open should sleep at night with a bandage over the mouth. Breathing then will necessarily be through the nose. One should also take about 20 deep breaths through the nose, morning and evening, standing in the open. By so doing the habit of breathing through the nose is formed. Even if a healthy person who is accustomed to breathing through the nose does this, his chest will become strong and broad. This experiment should be tried by everyone. One should measure one's chest before commencing this experiment and again a month later. One will find that the chest has become appreciably broader even in so short a period. Sandow and others get people to exercise with dumb-bells, and the principle underlying it is the same. Exercising briskly with dumb-bells makes one breathe hard and deep. And this makes the chest broad and strong.

Together with the knowledge of how to breathe, it is also necessary to develop the habit of inhaling fresh air day and night. Our normal custom is to remain confined in our house or shop by day, and at night to sleep in a room that is like a safe. If the room has doors and windows, we shut them. *This habit must be strongly deprecated.*

It is imperative that we inhale pure air for as long as possible, especially while sleeping. Everyone who can manage to do so should accordingly sleep in an open veranda or on the terrace, outside the house or on the balcony. Those who do not have the good fortune to be able to do this should keep as many doors and windows open as possible. There is no need to fight shy of air, which is our staple diet twenty-four hours of the day. The notion that the fresh or raw air of morning causes illness is a mere superstition. It is possible that one who has spoiled his lungs through bad habits may contract a cold by sudden contact with fresh air, but one should not be afraid of this cold. In Europe, at various places, they have now put up, for persons suffering from tuberculosis, spacious buildings, which admit plenty of fresh air. The chief cause of the pestilence of plague in our own country is our bad habit of fouling the air and inhaling this defiled air. That even the most delicate of persons can only benefit from fresh air is a certain truth. If we learn not to foul the atmosphere and to take

in only fresh air, we will, without any effort on our part, be spared many diseases, and the charge of slovenliness made against us in lands such as South Africa will to some extent be obviated.

Just as it is needful to sleep in the open, so it is not to cover one's face during sleep. It is the habit of many Indians to sleep with their faces covered. By so doing, we inhale the foul air we have exhaled. Air is a thing that finds its way through the smallest of passages. However we muffle ourselves, some air does get in. If this did not happen, we would die of asphyxiation whenever we sleep covered right up to the head. But this does not happen, since some air from without, with oxygen in it, does enter; however that is not enough. If one feels cold in the head, one can cover it separately as with a Balaclava cap, leaving the nose uncovered. However cold it may be, one should never sleep with the nose covered.

Air and light are so closely connected that a word or two must be said about light in this chapter itself. As we cannot live without air, so we cannot do without light. Hell is conceived as absence of light. Where there is no light, the air is always unwholesome. When we enter a dark room, we are bound to become aware of the smell. We cannot use our eyes in the dark; and this proves that we are born to live in the light. The darkness that Nature has thought necessary for us, she has given us by creating the comfort-giving night. Many people have got into the habit of sitting or sleeping, on the hottest of days, in cellar-like rooms, having shut out light and air. Those who live without air and light look weak and lustreless.

In Europe nowadays, some doctors cure their patients by prescribing plenty of light and fresh air. It is not only the face that they expose to light and air; the patient is almost stripped and they then bring fresh air and light to play on the skin all over the body. Hundreds of persons are cured by this treatment. In order to allow light and air to enter and leave freely, the windows of the house should be kept open day and night.

On reading this, people will wonder how it is that, if light and air are so necessary, many who remain confined to their rooms do not suffer any harm. It must be said that those who entertain this doubt have not thought about the matter. Our subject is not how to exist anyhow, but how to live, if possible, in perfect health. It has been conclusively proved that, where people get insufficient air and light, they are unwell all the time. City-dwellers are more delicate

than village folk because they get less light and air. Among our people in Durban, diseases such as tuberculosis are prevalent and the Medical Officer ascribes it to the fact that we live in such conditions that we either cannot get or do not take in fresh air. The subject of air and light has so close a relation to good health that one should pay great attention to understanding it.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 15-2-1913

290. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHOENIX,

Monday [February 17, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I do hope the mules have been found. I congratulate you upon your pickaxe work. You know how deeply hurt I would feel if you buy any tools of which I have a supply here. I shall certainly pack up your tools and send them. But I should be considerably helped if you could let me have a list of the most important ones which may be sent at once. The rest you may take with you when you come. I do not go to Durban and as a rule nobody does now. Other arrangements have been made for Town work. So we should not know who is going to Johannesburg.

Mr. Gokhale absorbed so much of my time because his possibilities are great and he has a very lofty character. I love India even impersonally. He is the man who can render her the highest service. Naturally I want to see him as perfect a being as possible. He is my political teacher. For that reason also I would like to contemplate him in his perfection. Hence my almost exclusive service to him. Am I understood? I may not have convinced you. But I want to clearly explain my position. Conviction may then come.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National

291. GOHKALE IN INDIA

Mr. Gokhale has made three noteworthy speeches in India and reports of these along with comments have reached us. The speeches

were made in Bombay, in Poona and at the Congress at Bankipore. The speech at the Congress has been considered the best. It lasted, they say, an hour and was listened to with rapt attention by the audience; such great effect did it have. As soon as Mr. Gokhale landed at Bombay, he found two groups. One, headed by Sir Pherozeshah¹, considered that Mr. Gokhale had returned after having given away Indians' rights. He had not done right [they argued] to assent to the settlement arrived at through Mr. Gandhi. One writer even went to the extent of remarking that the money sent to South Africa had all been wasted. This group was of the view that Gokhale should not only have secured Indians' legal rights to enter South Africa but should also have asked permission for unlimited numbers—[indeed] for any Indian who may wish to do so. It made no difference to this group that, in case such freedom was denied, all the Indians might have to quit. That this group is a very small one is shown by the meetings that Gokhale addressed in Bombay and Poona and at the Congress for, at these, no one came forward to oppose him. However, a paper like *The Bengalee* was misled by this group. After Mr. Gokhale's Congress speech, newspapers which had earlier made adverse comments showed regret and said that they had written under a misconception.² Speaking at the Congress, Mr. Gokhale has explained [his case] so well that nothing can now be said against his action. What is more, it should now be conceded that what he did was best.

We think that it has been all to the good that there was difference of opinion in India and that Mr. Gokhale's action had

¹ Sir Pherozeshah Merwahnji Mehta; "uncrowned king" of Bombay who "roared like a lion in law courts"; was associated with the Congress since its inception and presided over its sixth session at Calcutta in 1890; elected President of the 24th Session of the Congress (in 1891) but resigned dramatically six days before assumption of office; did much committee work for the Congress, particularly in connection with the protest against the Public Service Commission recommendations in 1892; member of the 1894 deputation to Lord Elgin; in 1896, met Gandhiji for the first time "as a loving father would meet his grown-up son" and helped him to call a public meeting in Bombay which both of them addressed; in 1901, advised Gandhiji against going to South Africa; first sceptical of satyagraha because he thought that nothing could be done for Indians abroad unless the country was free, but declared at a Bombay meeting in 1914 that "his blood boiled at the thought of these women lying in jails".

² *Vide* "Mr. Gokhale at the National Congress", 4-1-1913 and "Gokhale's Speech in India", 4-1-1913

been criticized. This gave rise to a great debate all over the country on our problem, which led to a better understanding of the true significance of our campaign. Those who had so far had only a superficial understanding now began to go deeper into the matter. Had they gone into it at the outset, there would have been no misunderstanding at all. Why should the selfsame men who approved of the settlement two years ago censure Mr. Gokhale now for accepting that very settlement. Why should they now oppose it? But everyone would want to know what a man such as Mr. Gokhale had done and be led thus to reflect over the matter. While doing so, people may in their impatience in fault. This is what had happened this time. The result, however, has only been beneficial. It is certain that our problem has assumed greater importance than before in India as in England.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 22-2-1913

292. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-VIII]

4. WATER

We have seen earlier that air is food. The same is true of water. Air enjoys the first position, and water comes second. Without air man can survive only for a few minutes, whereas he can live without water for hours, even for days on end, depending on the country. Even so, it is certain that one cannot subsist without water for as long as one can without food. If, however, a person can have water, he can live for many days without food. Water makes up more than 70 per cent. of our body. Without water, it is believed, the body would weigh 8 to 12 lbs. In all that we eat, there is more or less water.

Yet we take proportionately little care of a thing which, for us, is very important. Diseases like the plague beset us because of our carelessness in the matter of air. Similar results follow from our carelessness regarding water. Typhoid often breaks out among troops in battle and the cause, it has been proved, is polluted water, because on the front soldiers have to drink whatever water they can get. Typhoid breaks out also among those who live in cities, and the cause is mostly bad water. Drinking bad water often gives rise to diseases like stone.

There are two causes for contamination of water—one, that the

water is found in places where it cannot remain pure, and two, that we sully the water. We ought not to drink water which is stored in or comes from a dirty place, and for the most part, we do not; but we do not hesitate to drink water which has been polluted by us through neglect. For instance, we throw whatever we like into a river and then proceed to use that very water for drinking and washing. The rule is that one should never drink water from the place where one bathes. River-water should be drawn from a spot up stream where no one bathes. In every village, therefore, the river should be divided into two sections—the lower section for bathing and washing and the upper for drinking. When an army camps in the vicinity of a river, the direction of the river-flow is ascertained and a flag put up [at a given spot] on the bank. Anyone who bathes in a place higher up is punished. Where, in our country, these arrangements do not exist, careful women dig pits in the river-bed and take water from these; this practice is very wholesome as the water gets filtered as it passes through the sand. Well-water is sometimes dangerous to drink. In shallow wells, the liquid from the excreta absorbed into the surrounding ground seeps in and pollutes the water. Sometimes dead birds fall into them; often birds build their nests within. Moreover, if there is no masonry round the well [at the top], dirt from the feet of persons drawing water falls into the well and fouls the water. It is therefore necessary to employ the utmost care in using well-water for drinking. Water stored in tanks is oftentimes bad. To prevent deterioration of such water, the tanks should be cleaned from time to time and kept covered; the roof and other places from where [drinking] water comes should be kept clean. Few, however, make the effort to maintain such cleanliness. The golden rule is therefore to rid the water of impurities to the extent possible; to boil it for half an hour; to let it stand for a time; to pour it into another vessel without disturbing the water and then to drink it only after straining it through thick, clean cloth into a third vessel. One who does this is, however, not released from his duty towards others. Water which is maintained for public use is in the nature of property which jointly belongs to him and to all others living in the locality. He is obliged to use it like a trustee. He must, therefore, do nothing which might foul the water in any way. He must never foul a river or well. He must not bathe or wash clothes near any source of drinking water or defecate in the vicinity. He may not cremate dead bodies near by or throw the ashes into the water.

Even after taking these precautions, we do not get water that is

perfectly pure. It contains a certain amount of salts and, occasionally, rotten vegetable matter. Rain water is regarded as the purest of all, but before it reaches us the dust particles, etc., in the atmosphere get mixed with it. Absolutely pure water has a different effect on the body. Knowing this, certain doctors prescribe distilled water for their patients. This water is made by boiling water into steam and cooling the latter. Anyone suffering from constipation may, if he chooses, have first-hand proof of the efficacy of distilled water. Such water is sold by all chemists. A book has recently been published on the subject of distilled water and its uses. The writer believes that a large number of diseases can be cured by the use of water so processed. This is an exaggeration, but it is not improbable that absolutely pure water has considerable effect on the body.

Not everyone knows that water is of two kinds, hard and soft; but the fact is noteworthy. Hard water is that in which soap does not readily lather but remains insoluble. This means that the water contains salts in large quantities. It is difficult to use soap with hard water, as it is with brackish water. With hard water, cooking too is difficult and, for the same reason, drinking it should, and does, make it difficult for us to digest our food. Hard water always tastes brackish whereas soft water is either sweet or tasteless. Some believe that, as the substances dissolved in hard water are nutritive, its use is beneficial, but we generally find that soft water is the right one to use. Rain is Nature's purest form of water. It is of course soft and all agree it is good to use. If hard water is boiled on a *chula* for half an hour, it becomes soft. After it is taken off the fire, it should be processed as described earlier.

When to drink water and how much—the question sometimes arises. The simple answer to this is that water should be drunk when one feels thirsty and enough to quench one's thirst. There is nothing wrong in drinking water during or after a meal. Those who drink in the course of a meal should, however, remember that water is not to be drunk for washing down the food. If food does not go down by itself, that is either because it has not been properly chewed or because the stomach does not need it.

In fact, it is not—and it should not be—generally necessary to drink water. Just as our bodies consist of over 70 per cent. of water, so does our food. In some foods, the proportion of water far exceeds 70 per cent. There is no food that is wholly devoid of water. Furthermore,

much water is used in cooking. Why then does one feel thirsty? A complete answer to this question can be had only by reference to the constituents of our diet. Here, it may be simply said that those whose diet does not contain things like spices and chillies, which create an unnatural thirst, need only a little water. Those whose diet consists mainly of fresh fruit will seldom want to drink water by itself. If a person is constantly thirsty without reason, we may take it that he suffers from something or the other.

One notices that some people drink water indiscriminately, having superficially observed others doing so without any apparent ill-effects. The answer that was given to a similar question in the chapter on air applies here also. Moreover, the blood in our body possesses such wonderful properties that it destroys a number of toxins itself. But a fine sword is damaged if not burnished after use, and so with blood. If we get blood to do the work of a watchman, but do not look after it, it is not surprising that its power is sapped and finally lost altogether. Thus, if one always drinks bad water, the blood will in the end certainly stop doing its work.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 22-2-1913

293. *LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH*

PHOENIX,

[February 25, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Your letter calls for a long reply. I see that you are very happy. The remedy is not in Palestine, not in studies in London. It lies in two things: either in applying yourself entirely to your office and studying whilst in practice or in your living with me and coming to India. The first is hardly feasible for you as you are; the second is, as you yourself say, the course for you but it is hard. There's the rub. You want to avoid difficulties and yet do the right thing. The two things are inconsistent. You would study in London. That is an easy life and pleasant. No worry of office. You would go to Palestine and there (at the bottom of the idea) have an independent and simple life, such as you have come to appreciate. It won't do. You have to see happiness in unhappiness and feel that life is made up of wordly miseries which rightly understood hammer us into shape. You cannot

serve God and Mammon. The Mammon of ease, self-pride, luxury should be permitted to do its worst and inflict all the hardships it can by depriving us of its gifts. Then and then only could God be enthroned in our hearts. Thus far I can see quite clearly. Whether you should go to India with me or whether you should continue your practice is a difficult question to answer. It largely depends upon yourself. My suggestion is, come down here for a brief visit. See things for yourself. We would compare notes. And then you may tentatively decide. You could usefully occupy yourself doing gardening in the morning. The afternoon you could devote to study. We could chat on Saturdays and Sundays and thus you could pass a fortnight, longer if you wish. What you should do is to think for yourself but not independently of me. We would discuss, thrash out and then you will finally decide what to do.

The charge of your being able to do things with me which you would not continue for long without me is not without foundation. Only the analysis made by those who bring the charge is faulty. You are not hypnotised. You are acted upon by what is good in others. My life seems to stand your scrutiny and therefore you often prefer my judgement to your own. And that is what every one of us does. We worship our idols. I surrender my judgement to Mr. Gokhale's in matters in which I told him to be my superior. I surrender my judgement to yours in gardening, architectural and several other matters. But it would be false in either case to consider me as hypnotised either by Mr. Gokhale or by [you]¹.

I shall pack up the tools and send them to you, I hope before the week is out.

More later. The time for the evening school is on.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ The original has "me".

294. LETTER TO H. L. PAUL

JOHANNESBURG,
February 25, 1913

DEAR MR. PAUL,

Yes I am simply buried in work. I am keeping Miss N. informed of everything.

As to Mr. Serridge I am sorry nothing can be done just now. There is no Indian school here worthy of the name. But what I suggest is that he should forward his application through the Superintendent there. And if the Superintendent back it strongly, Mr. S. would stand a fair chance when the proper time comes.

I am sorry you are keeping in the same sorrowful mood.¹ You should try to get rid of it. The sorrows come not to make men despondent but to chasten.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the original: C. W. 4902 Courtesy: Eugene Joseph Paul, Pietermaritzburg

295. JOHANNESBURG SCHOOL

It was only recently that this school was started, but there seems to be trouble already. Everyone has been under the impression that Tamil and Gujarati will be taught during school hours. We now hear that Tamil can only be taught outside school hours, which means it cannot be taught at all. If the Government does that, that will be a great injustice. In a talk with member of the School Board, Mr. Gokhale was given a clear promise that the Government would arrange for the teaching of any Indian Language if there was a considerable number of students of that Language [group] in the school. Tamil is an important Indian Language. A fair number of boys who know that language have joined the school. It is the Government's duty to give these boys a fair knowledge of that Language. The new Committee that has been set up would do well to agitate in this regard. Justice will not be difficult to get. When children

¹ Following the death of Clement, addressee's son

are not taught through their mother tongue, they only acquire a parrot-like knowledge. A boy studying in a Government Indian school, where the teacher did not know the mother tongue of the pupil, had been taught the English word for *popat* [i.e., parrot], but he did not know that the word denoted *popat* in Gujarati. When, therefore, he was asked to explain the English word, he did not know it. He only knew that it was a kind of bird. This is the state of many Indian children in schools in this country, for the Government have evolved an erroneous system. They impart knowledge only through the English language. For all that they [the pupils] learn turns out to be parrot-learning. It is assumed all round that the Johannesburg school would be free of this defect. It is the Committee's responsibility to bring about that state of affairs.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-3-1913

296. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-IX]

5. DIET

Air, water and food constitute our nourishment. But as a rule we look upon food alone as nourishment, and by food we only mean food-grains. We will not believe that a person lives on food unless he eats wheat and rice.

The truth is that air is the principal form of nourishment. We have seen that we just cannot exist without it, also that we are taking in this essential form of nourishment every moment, whether we are aware of it or not. Water comes next in importance to air but before food, and so nature has seen to it that this also is more readily available than food. Food occupies the third and last place.

Food is unite a complicated subject to write on. There is much difference of opinion regarding what food to take and when. Habits differ from nation to nation. The same item of food affects different individuals differently. It is difficult, even impossible, to be dogmatic in this matter. In certain parts of the world men kill human beings and eat their flesh ; for them it is food. There are also some who eat excreta. That is food for them. Some live entirely on milk; for them milk is food. Others, again, live on fruit and for them that is food. In this chapter the term "food" covers all these

things. Although it is difficult to lay down what food should be eaten, it is necessary for each one to come to some decision for himself. It is of course superfluous to observe that the body cannot function without food. We are ready to suffer innumerable hardships, even commit sins, in order to obtain food. Under these circumstances it is necessary to inquire into the purpose of taking food. We shall then be able to determine what food we should take. All will agree that out of every 100,000 persons 99,999 eat merely to please their palate, even if they fall ill in consequence. Some take a laxative every day in order to be able to eat well, or some powder to aid digestion. Some, having gorged an enormous meal with great relish, vomit it out and are ready again for other delicacies. Some eat large quantities and then miss a couple of meals. Some die of thoughtless overeating. The author has himself come across all these types. There has been such a transformation in his own life that he can now laugh at many of his past follies and is ashamed of some others. There was a time when the author would drink tea in the morning, have breakfast two or three hours later, a regular meal at one p.m., then tea at about three o'clock and a full meal between 6 and 7 in the evening. His condition in those days was pitiable indeed. He used to get oedema. A medicine bottle was always at his side. He would often have a laxative in order to be able to eat, and afterwards a dose from another bottle by way of tonic, as a matter of routine. He feels that he now has three times the energy for work that he then had, although he must be said to be no longer in his prime. Such a life is indeed to be pitied, and is if we go deeper into the matter, low, sinful and despicable.

Man is not born merely to eat, nor does he live merely for the sake of eating. He is born in order to know his Maker and he lives to this end. This cannot be done unless one keeps one's body alive and the latter cannot exist without food. This is why food is a necessity. This is the ideal attitude and it will do for those who believe in God. But even the atheist will admit that one must eat with due regard to one's health and with the object of keeping the body fit.

Consider beasts and birds. Cattle do not eat for the satisfaction of the palate, nor do they eat like gluttons. They eat when they are hungry—and just enough to satisfy that hunger. They do not cook their food. They take their portion from that which Nature proffers to them. Then, is man born to pander to his palate? Is he alone fated to be always ill? Among the animals which are not domesticated, there is

no starvation; they have no rich and poor, nor is there one group that eats ten times in a day and another that can scarcely eat even once. All these distinctions are to be found only in our species, yet we regard ourselves as superior in intelligence to animals. It is, however, evident from all this, that if we make our stomach our God and spend our lives in its worship, we must surely be inferior to them.

If we think carefully, we shall discover that the root cause of the many evil things that we do, such as lying, pleasure-hunting, perjury, theft and so on, is our failure to restrain the craving of our palate. If we could keep it under control, we would find it easy enough to rid ourselves of the other cravings. In spite of our knowing this, we fail to regard over-eating or taking too much pleasure in food as a sin. If we steal or fornicate or tell a lie, others regard us with contempt. Among books on ethical subjects, many fine ones have been written on lying, stealing, adultery, etc., but there is no book about the kind of person who cannot control his palate. This subject is not, as a matter of fact, considered as falling under ethics. The reason for this is that we are, all of us, in the same boat. How will the pot call the kettle black? Even our great men do not appear to have succeeded in mastering the desire for tasty food. Consequently, indulging one's palate has never been considered to be wrong. The most that books recommend is that, in order to control the senses, it is desirable to limit the amount of food eaten. But it has never been said that the pampering of our palate makes us prone to other weaknesses as well. Thieves, cheats and sensual men are shunned by respectable people. But these same respectable people must be indulging in pleasures of the palate hundreds of times more varied than those of ordinary men and women. *A man's gentlemanliness is supposed to consist in the richness of his meals.* Thus, just as in a thieves' settlement stealing would not be a sin, so we, being all of us slaves of the palate, do not frown upon such slavery or even notice it. On the contrary, we are happy with it. At a wedding we give feasts to minister to the pleasures of the palate, our own and those of others. Some give dinners at funerals, too. On festival days, there must be sweets. When a guest comes, tasty dishes must be prepared. Not to invite neighbours and friends to partake of meals and not to go to them for the same purpose is frowned upon as grossly unsocial conduct. Unless we press the invited guest to overeat, we are considered to be extremely stingy. On every holiday, we feel bound to prepare special dishes. On Sundays, we seem to think that we have the right to eat till we are sick.

What is, therefore, in the nature of a great fault has been transformed by us into an essential social obligation. The serving of meals is accompanied with numerous formalities of hypocritical nature, so that our slavery, our animality is completely hidden from ourselves. How shall we free ourselves from this darkness? This problem lies beyond the scope of simple hygiene. We can, therefore, only pose it and leave it there; it must be considered, however, to the extent that it bears on the problem of health.

Let us now look at the subject from another angle. It appears to be a universal law that the food needed by living creatures, whether human or animal, is provided by Nature from day to day. There is nothing strange in this. In Nature's kingdom no insurance is required. No one is found remiss in his duty, none sleeps, no one is lazy. The water-wheel of her processes is in perpetual motion without so much as a moment's pause. And so Nature does not have to lay by a store for a year or even for a day. By this inexorable law are we governed, whether we wish it or no. If we understand and abide by it, not a single family will have to starve even for a day. Now, it is obvious that, if just sufficient food is produced every day and if one person eats more than his share—eats more than he needs, there is bound to be a shortage to that extent, and, therefore, insufficient food for another. This is the simple explanation why large numbers of people have to go without food. In God's creation, in the kitchens of thousands of kings and hundreds of thousands of rich men, food is prepared that is far in excess of what they and their servants need. This excess has been taken out of the mouths of others. Will not these others then go hungry? If two wells are served the same current of water, and if this current carries just sufficient water for the two, it is quite plain that an excess of flow into one will mean shortage for the other. If this rule is correct—a rule which is not a figment of the author's imagination but one which has been propounded by highly intelligent men—it means that, whatever we eat after our hunger has been satisfied is stolen food. Akha¹, the goldsmith, has truly sung: "Like unto unprocessed mercury swallowed in place of food is wealth stolen from another." Whatever we eat for the sake of its taste alone is to be paid for by the body through toxic reactions, either visible or invisible; we lose our

¹ A Gujarati poet of the 17th century

health to that extent and suffer. After this discussion, it will be easier for us to consider what and when to eat.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-3-1913

297. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR¹

March 4, 1913

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter² of the 24th ultimo regarding the procedure adopted at the Ports in respect of those British Indians who come from India and who have residential rights in the Transvaal.

In the humble opinion of my Association, the reply is highly unsatisfactory, for it ignores the real state of things obtaining at the Ports.

Your letters seem to suggest that Indian passengers arrive from India with unsupported claims for the Transvaal and that such persons are detained on board pending investigation by the Registrar. If persons having unsupported claims were in the habit of coming in any numbers, and if they were allowed to remain within the borders of the Union, though under detention, my Association would have no cause for complaint. But it is the experience of my Association that Indians with unsupported claims do not, as rule, come, and that those who do come are not detained, but sent away by the vessels that bring them.

In the case of the brothers Dayal, their claims were, as the Hon'ble the Minister is aware, fully supported, yet the boys would

¹ This letter was presumably drafted by Gandhiji.

² This letter from the Under-Secretary for the Interior was in reply to an earlier request by the Chairman, BIA, that Indians arriving from India and claiming rights of residence in the Transvaal be issued visiting permits at the port of arrival against a security deposit to enable them to prove their claims. The Under-Secretary said: "The practice in Natal is to allow the promptest landing, on visiting passes, of all Transvaal Indians whose papers are found, upon arrival of the parties, to be in order, and to detain on board under a restriction order all those passengers having unsupported claims to go to the Transvaal until such claims are admitted by the Registrar. In this connection, every facility is afforded to claimants to submit their cases, and if Indians come to Natal without procuring proper admission papers, they have no one but themselves to blame for any inconvenience they may suffer, and it is regretted that present arrangements in this connection cannot be disturbed." *Indian Opinion*, 8-3-1912.

have been sent away, had not the Supreme Court intervened¹. What my Association submits is that the relief which the Supreme Court grants should be accorded to such applicants without their having to call in its intervention.

To explain its position better, it is perhaps necessary for my Association to set forth the classes of persons who have Transvaal claims.

Those Indians who are registered under the Asiatic Act and hold registration certificates form one class. These are able to produce documents to prove their right of residence in the Transvaal.

Those Indians who are not yet registered but who have a right to be registered form the other class.² These cannot always have documentary proof, and never such as could be effectively checked by the Port Immigration Officers, for a majority of them can support their claims only by producing evidence of witnesses in the Transvaal. Such was the case with the brothers Dayal. Their title to registration was based on the fact that they were in the Transvaal on the 31st May, 1902. My Association suggests that it was not possible for them to prove their claim, unless they were enabled to bring forward evidence that was available only in South Africa. It is for such persons that my Association seeks protection, which has been cruelly and vexatiously denied hitherto by the Immigration Officers at the Port; and my Association trusts that the relief requested will be granted.

A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Indian Opinion, 15-3-1913

¹ *Vide* 1st footnote of “An Act of Grace”, 11-1-1913.

² For the categories of Indians whom Gandhiji considered eligible for registration under the Provisional Settlement, *vide* “Letter to E. F. C. Lane”, 4-5-1911.

298. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Unrevised

PHOENIX,

Wednesday night [March 5, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Your letter calls for a prompt reply. You are in a self-searching mood and are therefore hypercritical of yourself. I do not mind it at all if you make good use of this self-examination. But it has its limits. Carried too far, it makes one morbid and sometimes leads to loss of mental balance. If you have wasted 42 years then do not waste the 43rd. Let the past be a beaconlight. But you seem to have become prostrate before the enormity of your own wickedness and so almost seem to wish to remain in it. But why all this imputation of vice and weakness to yourself? Are your contemporaries stronger and better? I deny. They are more amenable to the voice of Satan than you are. Have you wasted your life in that you have overcome ten thousand temptations and succumbed to the ten thousand and first? By all means avoid now the second mistake after the ten thousand and first and take courage from the fact that you had strength to resist ten thousand attacks. Find out the cause for the stray mistake made and you will certainly avoid it. The true remedy is to compel yourself into ceaseless activity. Refuse to believe that you are weak and you will be strong. Believe continuously that you are wicked and you will sink.

Have you never done a good turn to anybody? Have you never given a helping hand to a stranger? Have you never denied yourself pleasure of life? Why do you attract Mrs. Mayo to yourself or Maude! Why do you gain the ear of Liddle when others fail? Why have you been often saved against yourself? I do not suggest that you may pat yourself on the back for these things. But you must use these good points to enable you to go forward. A man in the midst of plague-stricken patients gets frightened and has the plague himself. You imagine yourself to be in the midst of plague-stricken companions conjured up by your imagination and may well end by getting the plague yourself. Why not think that these companions are passing phantoms that will disappear before the other healthy-thought companions you may create for yourself. And after all, this heart-searching is a species of subtle pride. At the bottom, there is a desire to shine, to be considered, rather than be, good. If this is not true, you

know yourself that you are good because you try to avoid evil. The world, however, knows only your failures. Are you pining to show the world your successes? If you are, you are on the wrong track. But I know that you are not consciously pining. I do know, however, that you are desirous of showing to yourself service. But why desire so? The only legitimate desire we can have is to perfect ourselves. If we keep that as our goal, we shall never despond, we shall never weaken; we shall ever go forward and never go mad. You are made for this better state. For Heaven's sake do not unmake yourself by thinking evil of yourself as you have the knack of doing when the mood comes on you.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

I have your books in mind. I am letting West read them.

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

299. *WELCOME*¹

In common with our countrymen we extend a hearty welcome to Mr. Hajee Dawad Mahomed. It is the dearest wish of a devout Mahmomedan to be able to pay a visit to holy Mecca and to be called a "Hajee". Mr. Hajee Dawad Mahomed has had his wish fulfilled. And he now returns to the land of his adoption to take up the work of serving his countrymen. We wish him long life and success in his arduous task.

Indian Opinion, 8-3-1913

¹ *Vide* also "Speech at Durban Farewell to Pilgrims", 29-6-1912 and "Dawad Mahomed", 6-7-1912.

300. GOGA'S CASE

Mr. Goga has lost again.¹ In our view, however, Mr. Goga has won. We congratulate him on his untiring efforts. We are sure that he will succeed if he fights to the finish. Once again, he has filed an appeal against the decision of the Licensing Board. This time the judgment of the Supreme Court may possibly go against him. We would advise Mr. Goga to move [the court at] Bloemfontein if he loses in the Supreme Court, and, should he fail there too, to take the matter even to England. Meanwhile, other Indians would do well to declare their support to Mr. Goga. They should hold meetings and make representations to the Government. Satyagraha can also be employed in a case like this. If we are brave enough, we can collect such cases and hold mass meetings in every town and so convince the Government that Indians will permit neither themselves nor the Government to rest in peace till the Licensing Act is repealed or amended.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-3-1913

301. BHAWANI DAYAL'S CASE²

The British Indian Association at Johannesburg is still pursuing this case. The latest communication³ from the Government must be considered unsatisfactory. It is clear enough from the letter that the Immigration Officers do not supply all the information to the Government and that the latter too anxious to obtain it. If the Government had acquainted itself with all the facts, it could

¹ M. A. Goga, an Indian trader of Ladysmith, had been refused transfer of his trading licence to himself and his son by the Borough Licensing Officer, the Ladysmith Chamber of Commerce appearing as objectors. On appeal, a Full Bench quashed the proceedings and mulcted the Chamber in costs (£59). Goga's application for transfer was then heard *de novo* by the Licensing Officer and rejected. On appeal the Borough Licensing Appeal Board upheld the officer's decision. For Goga's earlier cases concerning trading licences, *vide* "Goga's Licence", 2-3-1907, "Statement of Natal Indian Grievances", 10-8-1909 and "Indians Under the Union", 13-8-1910.

² *Vide* also 1st footnote of "An Act of Grace", 11-1-1913 and "Letter to Secretary for Interior", 4-3-1913.

³ *Vide* 2nd footnote of "Letter to Secretary for Interior", 4-3-1913.

not betray the ignorance that we find it does in its latest communication. The Government forgets that the immigration officers, if they are not satisfied with [the claims of] immigrants from India, do not keep them on board the ship but deport them. It seems to be under the impression that such Indians are detained on the ship. If this were done, we would indeed be spared the enormous expenditure and inconvenience to which we are put. Mr. Cachalia's letter¹ has now made all these things clear. The Government will have a difficult job replying to this letter, or it will have to admit that the Government is bent on harassing even old-residents. In this case, Mr. Polak had asked for payment of the costs by the Government. Whether costs are granted or not, the Government is going to realize that its high-handed attitude may be advertised all over the Empire.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-3-1913

302. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-X]

In considering what food we should eat, let us first ask what we should not eat. If we designate as food all that enters the body byway of the mouth, then alcohol, cigarettes, tobacco, hemp, tea, coffee, cocoa, spices—all are food.

All these should be avoided. The author has found this to have been borne out by experience. Some of these articles he has consumed himself; regarding the rest he has observed the experience of others.

It is necessary to write about alcohol and hemp. All religions regard them as bad. There is hardly anyone who will defend their consumption. Alcohol has brought destruction to entire families. Millions of drunkards have been ruined. Under the influence of drink a man ceases to be himself. Such a one sometimes forgets the difference between mother and wife. This vice corrodes the intestines and, in the final stages, the victim becomes a burden upon the earth. Drunkards may be seen rolling in the gutters. A respectable man turns into a man of straw when he gets drunk. It is not that a person falls into such a state only when he drinks. An alcohol addict, one will observe, is feeble-minded even when sober. He has no control over his

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", 15-3-1913.

mind, which wanders like a child's. Alcohol, as also hemp, deserves to be entirely avoided. There is no room for two opinions on this. Some think alcohol may be taken as medicine. However, doctors in Europe, which is the home of wine, say that even this is not necessary. At first alcohol was used there for many ailments, but that has now been stopped. As a matter of fact, this whole argument is advanced with dubious motives. If wine can be used for medicinal purposes [the argument runs], there can be no objection against its use as drink either; that is the game of these advocates of drink. But aloes and crotons are good medicine; yet no one suggests that they be used as food. It is possible that alcohol may prove beneficial in certain illnesses, but the havoc that it has wrought is so great that it is the duty of every thoughtful person to give up even its medicinal use, at the cost of his life if need be. If, by using alcohol for preserving the body, we are likely to harm the best interests of hundreds of people, our duty requires that we sacrifice the body instead. There are in India hundreds of thousands who do not take alcohol in spite of the doctor's orders. They are not willing to prolong their lives by taking alcohol or anything else to which they have an objection. The great people of China, enslaved by opium as they are, will soon perish in spite of the freedom that they have achieved. The *garasias*¹ among us have lost their patrimony, thanks to their addiction to opium.

The reader will easily recognize the harm in alcohol, hemp and opium, but not so readily that in cigarettes and tobacco. These have spread their tentacles so firmly over the human race that it will take ages to free it of them. Young and old, all alike have got into their clutches. Even people regarded as virtuous have taken to smoking and the habit is not regarded as something to be ashamed of. It is quite a popular form of hospitality among friends. Instead of being checked, the habit is spreading. The ordinary man is not even aware of the fact that cigarette dealers use every kind of trick in the manufacture of cigarettes to confirm the hold of the addiction over its victims. Various kinds of perfumed solutions² and even opium water, are sprinkled on the tobacco. As a result of these practices, cigarettes acquire a stronger and stronger hold over us. Thousands of pounds are spent on advertisement in order to popularize them. Cigarette

¹ Landowners inheriting shares of state lands in virtue of relationship with the ruling family.

² Literally, "acids"

companies in Europe run their own printing presses. They purchase bioscopes and offer all kinds of prizes, start lotteries and spend money like water on advertisements. The result is that even women have begun to smoke. Poems have been written about the cigarette, which has been called the poor man's friend.

It is impossible to estimate the harm done by smoking. A smoker becomes so brazen-faced that, indifferent to the feelings of others, he will light his cigarette even in another's house without so much as asking for permission to do so. He respects no one's presence.

It has been observed that cigarette or tobacco smokers will commit many other crimes in order to obtain these things. Children steal money from their parents, In gaol, prisoners treasure stolen cigarettes at great risk. they can get on without food but not without cigarettes. During war, soldiers addicted to smoking are in a pitiable condition if they do not get cigarettes. They become practically useless.

The late Tolstoy, writing on this subject, tells the story of a man who planned to kill his beloved. He drew his knife and got ready to use it. Then he relented and turned back. After this, he sat down for a smoke. The fumes of the cigarette entered his head, the poison affected his brain and he finally committed the murder. It was Tolstoy's firm belief that the cigarette is so subtle a form of intoxication that it should be regarded as in some ways a greater menace than even drink.

Smoking is also very expensive and, indeed, every smoker feels the strain of the expense to a greater or lesser degree, depending on his means. Some people spend five pounds or seventy -five rupees a month on cigarettes. The author has himself come across such a case.

Smoking weakens the digestion, renders food tasteless so that more and more spices have to be added to it. The smoker's breathe is offensive. The smoke that he exhales pollutes the atmosphere. At times he gets small ulcers in the mouth. Gums and teeth become black or yellow, and some persons have even contracted serious diseases in consequence. It seems strange that people who disapprove of drinking see nothing wrong in smoking; when, however we remember how subtle is the poison of smoking, we see easily enough why it is that men who hate alcohol are nevertheless ready to enjoy smoking. Those who wish to remain healthy should definitely give up the cigarette.

Drink, tobacco, hemp, etc., not damage physical health but also impair mental fitness and entail wasteful expenditure. We lose all our moral sense and become slaves to our weakness.

About tea, coffee and cocoa, however, it seems extremely difficult to explain the truth and convince anyone that they are harmful. One must say, all the same, that they, too, are harmful. These also contain some kinds of intoxicants. If milk and sugar were not added to tea and coffee, they would have no nutritional value whatever. Experiments in living exclusively on tea and coffee indicate that they contain no nourishment for the blood. Only a few years ago, tea and coffee were generally not drunk among us. They were only taken on certain occasions or with medicine, but, in the wake of modern progress, they have become a daily necessity. They are offered even to a casual visitor and frequent tea-parties are given. During Lord Curzon's regime, tea wrought terrible havoc. That gentleman, seeking to promote the interests of tea merchants, introduced tea into every household so that those who were previously accustomed to wholesome drinks now take tea.

Cocoa has not yet become so popular because it is slightly more expensive than tea. Fortunately for us, we have not yet made friends with it, but it holds strong enough sway in fashionable homes.

Tea, coffee and cocoa, all have a certain property that weakens our digestive powers. They are intoxicants because they form a habit which cannot be broken. When the author was in the habit of drinking tea, he felt lethargic if he did not get tea at the usual hour—this is the conclusive test of an intoxicant. On one occasion, about 400 women and children were gathered together at a function. The organizing committee had resolved not to provide tea or coffee. The women in the gathering were in the habit of taking tea at four every afternoon. A message was soon conveyed to the organizers that, if tea was not served, the ladies would fall ill and be unable to move. And so the resolve had to be set aside. As arrangements were being made for serving tea, excited messages poured in demanding that the organizers should hurry up. The ladies' heads had begun to ache and every moment felt like a month to them. It was only after they had their tea that these worthy ladies' faces brightened up and they calmed down. This incident has been described exactly as it happened. One woman had suffered so much harm because of the tea habit that she could not digest any food and had constant headaches. Her health, however, has

greatly improved since she, with a strong effort of will, gave up tea. A physician in the employ of Battersea Municipality in England has discovered that thousands of women in that area suffer from nervous disorders, which he ascribes to their addiction to tea. The author has come upon innumerable examples of the harm done to health by tea and he is personally convince, therefore, that tea is very injurious to health.

As regards coffee, there is a couplet which has become well known:

Counters phlegm and wind, ¹ but lower vigour and strength
And turns blood to water—two merits against three faults.

This verse sounds quite convincing. Coffee may have the virtue of counteracting phlegm and wind. But so have some other substances. Those who wish to drink coffee for the first two reasons should take a little ginger juice; it will serve the same purpose as coffee. But a preparation detrimental to vigour which needs to be fully conserved, one reducing strength and turning blood into water, surely deserves to be wholly shunned.

Cocoa shares the defects of coffee. Like tea, it also contains a substance which has the effect of making the skin quite rough.

For those who include morals in their conception of good health, there is a further argument against these three beverages. Tea, coffee and cocoa are produced for the most part by indentured labour. In cocoa plantations, Negro workers are subjected to such inhuman treatment that if we witnessed it with our own eyes we would have no desire to drink cocoa. Volumes have been written on the tortures inflicted in these plantations. To be sure, if we made searching inquiries regarding the origin of the various articles of our diet, we should feel called upon to reject 90 per-cent of them!

In place of these three drinks, a harmless and nourishing beverage can be prepared in the following manner. Those who like can certainly call it tea. Many coffee lovers cannot distinguish it from coffee. Wheat should be well cleaned and roasted in a pan. It should be kept on the fire till it becomes red and is about to turn black. It should then be taken off the fire and ground rough in a coffee-mill. A teaspoon of this powder should be put into a cup and boiling water

¹ The original has *kaph* and *vayu*—terms in Ayurveda, a system of Indian medicine.

poured over it. Boiling this mixture for a minute improves the flavour. Milk and sugar to taste may be added but it can also be taken without them. Every reader will find it worth while to make this experiment. If he acquires this habit and gives up tea, coffee and cocoa, he will save such money and also be spared the risk to his health. Those who do not want the bother of roasting and grinding the wheat may send 9d. to the Manager, and they will receive one lb, of the prepared wheat powder.

[From Gujaraji]

Indian Opinion, 8-3-1913

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

SUMMARY OF THE PROTECTOR'S REPORT

The Report of the Protector of Indian Immigrants for the year 1910 shows that considerably more than double the number of men, women and children were introduced into Natal under the indenture system during 1910 than in the previous year, the figures being 5,858 and 2,487 respectively. There were sixteen deaths during the voyage, which, says the Protector, "is considerably above the average, and was largely occasioned by the number (eight) who died on the s.s. *Umhloti's* sixth voyage from Madras." It will be remembered that the *Umhloti* was the boat on which the outbreak of "spotted fever" occurred. Some light may be thrown on the outbreak when we read what the Protector says: "The Surgeon-Superintendent informed me that several of the children were embarked in a very weak state, and this had to be, or a considerable number of Indians would have had to be kept back." So we see that the agents were so anxious to get off a large shipment that they were prepared to run the risk of sickness and death on the voyage, and, as it happened, an outbreak of a serious disease. We are also informed that there were several deaths among the Indians of this shipment after landing including eight from cerebro-spinal meningitis or "spotted fever". There were 14 deaths during the year from this disease. We venture to think that the Protector's reply to our enquiries at the time, that "there was no need for any alarm", that "a few had died" and that "it was expected that the disease had run its course", was hardly a sufficient one in view of the above facts.¹

¹ Some deaths due to "spotted fever" were reported among a batch of indentured Indians (intended especially for Sir Liege Hulett's estate) on board s.s. *Umhloti* which reached Durban in September, 1910. Official information being unavailable, *Indian Opinion* wrote on September 22 to the Protector of Indian Immigrants, Polkinghorne, seeking confirmation of the report. Replying on September 24, Polkinghorne admitted that "a few" deaths had occurred but assured that there was "no need for any alarm". The Editor wrote again enquiring about the number of those dead, affected or detained owing to the disease. In reply, Polkinghorne referred him to a *Natal Mercury* news report. *Indian Opinion* of October 1 commented strongly on this reply, at which the Protector declined to give any further information to the Editor. On October 26, the Natal Indian Congress wrote to Polkinghorne who said he would supply the desired information provided they did not publish it in *Indian Opinion*. The Congress wrote to him on October 31 saying that, as the matter was a public one, they would certainly hand over Polkinghorne's reply to the Press and that *Indian Opinion* could not be prevented from taking a "copy from the local dailies"; vide "Indentured Indians' Plight", 1-10-1910 and *Indian Opinion*, 1-10-1910 & 19-11-1910.

There were 1,955 deaths during the year, being an increase of 268 on the previous year. The Chief causes of death were diarrhoea 249, tuberculosis of the lungs 189, bronchitis 133, and pneumonia 283. There were 24 suicides, being a decrease of 10 on the previous year. Why there should be even 24, which is a very high figure, remains a mystery which the Protector does not enlighten us upon. The high figures for diarrhoea, tuberculosis, and pneumonia call for attention from those in authority. The very high death rate of 22.15 amongst free Indians is explained by the fact that all children of indentured parents are classed as "free". The death rate of Indian Children (noted in last year's report as being so exceptionally low, 6.56) has this year risen to 23.33. The weather conditions of the latter half of the year, the Protector thinks, may probably account to some extent for this increase. We are not aware that the weather conditions were so severe as to make [for] such a huge increase in the death rate. Seeing that the heavy death rate among children was "under consideration", we should have thought the Protector would have been able to give some substantial reason for this excessive death rate.

There is a distinct indication that wages are on the increase, says the Protector. This, of course, applies only to re-indentured Indians. There was no indication that the rate of wages of first-indentured men would be increased. Consequently there were applications for 15,114 more men. The Protector anticipates that, owing to the increase in the percentage of those re-indenturing, there will probably be at the end of 1911 as many men under indenture as there have been for the last two years. It is possible that this may be found to be the case, as, apart from the increase in wages offered, the £3 tax still remains as a compelling force upon them to give up their liberty. We are glad to note that, in the opinion of the Protector, "employers generally are now more careful in the management of their Indians, and are more willing to dismiss overseers and sirdars for wrongful conduct towards the Indians, and less inclined to screen them than in years gone by." This is satisfactory as far as it goes, and we have, no doubt, to thank for this very largely the efforts of those who have endeavoured to give publicity to the evils of the indenture system. The question of overwork still remains unsettled to the satisfaction of the Protector. This is due in a measure, he thinks, to the inherent difficulty of settling what is a fair task. He might have added that the task system is altogether unfair. What we have seen is that whilst a strong man or woman cutting cane finishes the set task early in the afternoon, the weaker ones have to work until dark night. And in the work of filling carts, the question of finishing the task depends largely on the number of carts and the distance to travel. Even if every other condition was satisfactory, the task system would make life a burden to many an indentured Indian. It can easily be imagined that those who fail to finish their task fall under the displeasure of the managers and sirdars, and where ill-treatment is complained of, the task system will invariably be found to be the cause.

The Deputy Protector, in his report, says that a number of deserving women have been relieved of the payment of the annual £3 licence under Act 17 of 1895, and he understands that women generally are not unduly pressed for payment. The

Protector adds that 485 women have been granted exemption passes by the Magistrates. Surely it must be evident that, whatever this figure represents, women should not be asked to pay it at all. It is bad enough that men should have to pay for the privilege of remaining as free men in a country which they have done so much to build up, but for women and girls over the age of thirteen to be taxed to such an extent to monstrous. We know of several cases in which the Magistrates have refused to grant exemption certificates to Indian women. Why should such a matter be placed at the mercy of a Magistrate? At Verulam, the Magistrate wisely exercises a wide discretion, exempting all women claiming exemption; but at Stanger the Magistrate has scarcely exempted a single poor woman of his district.

This year has seen the stoppage of further supplies of indentured Indians from India, and for this we are thankful. We believe that the resident Indian population will benefit by the action of the Indian Government. *The Natal Mercury* thinks that, now that Indian immigration is stopped, the European population will increase at a greater ratio than the Indian, as in the one case there will be the open door to immigrants, and in the other it will be closed. Whether that will be so or not remains to be seen, but, there it will now be no excuse whatever for persecuting the resident Indian population. They are here for good or ill, and it depends very largely on the European community what the future will be. If South Africans act up to the traditions of the British Empire, there is no reason to fear but that all sections will find room in this country. For ourselves we shall not rest until the indenture system is abolished, We believe in freedom for all. We want to see the Indian community of South Africa a free and happy people, and this can never be, so long as there are thousands of men, women and children living in what, even under the best conditions, can only be described as semi-slavery.

Indian Opinion, 11-11-1911

APPENDIX II

CORDES'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

[ADYAR,

November 12, 1911]

MY DEAR GANDHI,

I send you the trust deed duly signed and witnessed.

I shall be passing Calcutta on the 16th of December and have written to Natesan to find out whether I can get a chance of a handshake with you on old *Aryavatha's* soil. I hope you will be as pleased as I was personally. We are the best of friends. And from man to man be it said that I have not met your equal as regards outward virtues. I know that young Krishnaji is your equal, in fact he surpasses you in *sweetness* already but I spoke of grown-ups. You are a mystic & those I am privileged to know & love now are occultists who see & are not content to go on without it. My

brother, the Doct . . .¹ is like you a true mystic \& abhors astral visions, etc. I wish he were as magnanimous as yourself. However we shall see each other at Calcutta ere this meets your eye on your return. If not, it is meant to take the place of the brotherly handshake. wishing you a merry Xmas at Phoenix near old Kallenbach if possible.

Fraternally yours,

JOHN H. CORDES

[PS.]

Kindest regards to dear Manilal, Ramdas & Devdas, Maganlal & the others, Mrs. Gandhi & the ladies & kiddies.

From a photostat of the original: S. N. 5592

APPENDIX III

LORD CREWE'S SPEECH ON INDIANS IN DOMINIONS AT IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

LONDON,
June 19, 1911

A

The Imperial Conference met in London on June 19, 1911 with Rt. Hon'ble L. Harcourt, Secretary of State fore the Colonies, in the chair, Gen. L. Botha (Prime Minister of the Union), F. S. Malan (Minister of Education) and Sir David de Villier Graaff (Minister of Public Works, Posts and Telegraphs) attended on behalf of the Union of South Africa. A memorandum about the problem of Indian subjects of the Empire in the Colonies was also circulated.

The agenda for discussion included a resolution by the New Zealand Prime Minister who sought to confine Coloured races to their zones and later changed his resolution to deal with rights of self-governing Colonies "with wider legislative powers" in respect of British and foreign shipping.

The proceedings of the Conference began with some general remarks by the Earl of Crewe, Secretary of State for India, on Indians within the Dominions. Extracts from his speech are given below:

. . . if there was any question which seemed to threaten not merely the well being, but the actual existence, of the Empire as an Empire, it was this difficulty between the white races and the Native races, because I ventured to point out, as between the Dominions and the Mother Country there could be no question, whether it was a question of commerce or a question of defence or any other of the questions which we now discuss, which could not be solved by good-will and by good sense on both sides . . . I understand that this memorandum which I have before me has been circulated to all the members of the Conference, and those who have read it will recognize that it

¹ Two words illegible here

deals both with the general principles of the question, and also with special instances of difficulty which have arisen in the various Dominions with regard either to the ingress of Indians or to the treatment of Indians when they are there . . .

Now I desire to say first, that I fully recognize—as His Majesty’s Government fully recognize—two facts: the first is, that as the Empire is constituted, the idea that it is possible to have an absolutely free interchange between all individuals who are subjects of the Crown—that is to say, that every subject of the king wherever he may be or wherever he may live has a natural right to travel or still more to settle in any part of the Empire—is a view which we fully admit, and I fully admit, as representing the India Office, to be one which cannot be maintained. As the Empire is constituted it is still impossible that we can have a free coming and going of all the subjects of the King throughout all parts of the Empire. Or to put the thing in another way, nobody can attempt to dispute the right of the self-governing Dominions to decide to themselves whom, in each case, they will admit as citizens of their respective Dominions.

That is one of the facts which on behalf of His Majesty’s Government I fully recognize. I also recognize this—that we are or may be easily prone in this country to underrate the difficulties which confront the Dominions in this matter, because we are not troubled to any extent by a similar problem here. It so happens that there never has been any influx of Coloured races into this country on a scale which has awakened any of the difficulties, which, as I well know, confront you gentlemen in the different self-governing Dominions . . .

. . . Many have now abandoned, for instance, the theory that labour can be regulated simply by the conditions of supply and demand. There are many nowadays, too, who have abandoned the theory that the remuneration of labour need necessarily stand in any very close relation to the value of the work done, and that being so, it is clear that the rivalry of cheap labour such as may be introduced from India seems a greater hardship than it did in the days of a harsher political economy which was generally accepted . . . during the greater part of the nineteenth century . . . we are certainly approaching, if we have not already arrived at, the time when organized labour will seriously object to the importation of any kind of lower paid labour, whatever its colour and whatever its nationality, if it is of a competitive character. This is one of the main difficulties, indeed, which is connected with this question of Indian immigration . . . But as to the existence of the colour difficulty in its crudest form there can, of course, be no question whatever.

. . . It is one of those prejudices or beliefs which become stronger as people become more educated and more generally superior, and in this respect it differs from most of the easy and foolish prejudices which are held against the Native races. I am disposed to go so far as to say that in most respects the less a white man has individually to be proud of, the prouder he is apt to be of his whiteness, and the more he considers himself . . .

. . . among the observations made by Mr. Chamberlain in his address to the

Conference in 1897. Those words are, if I may venture to say so, well worth weighing. I will not attempt to enlarge upon or in any way to develop what Mr. Chamberlain there so admirably said. I might, however, venture perhaps to remind you that, on the point of the national claims of Indians grounded on their past history . . . this at any rate is not a moment when we desire to ignore those considerations. The ceremony of Thursday next, to which we are all looking forward, depends to a great extent for its meaning upon the long line of British sovereigns, through the Stuart, Tudor, and Plantagenet dynasties back to the time of the Norman Conquest and dim ages of the Saxon monarchy; and yet there are to be found in India those whose pride of descent is no less well founded and no less real than that of the King of England himself. Then, again, as regards history we must never forget that not merely has India produced a great number of remarkable men both in the public service, and, to go back further, notable in ancient literature, but that she is most closely linked to a great number of the most famous men of our own race—statesmen, soldiers and others. Now, of course, these considerations do not appeal to everybody . . . If “A man’s man for a’ that” is to be our motto, the claim of a large number of Indians is a real and solid claim indeed. Whether we value intellectual culture, whether—apart from questions of creed—we value the religious mind, whether we value that remarkable devotion to and understanding of the things which are not seen which is so exceptionally deep in India and which, I think, appeals to many people in these harder and material days, whether, again, we value simple intellectual force, uncertain in its exercise in some directions I admit, but which in others produces as keen and fine an instrument as you can find in any part of the world—whether we value all of those things or any of them it is undoubtedly the fact that India and Indians can establish a high and real claim for our consideration, apart from all others.

. . . India must admit the main postulates with which I opened those observations, that is to say the undoubted liberty of the self-governing Dominions to lay down the rules of their own citizenship, and I can say cheerfully on behalf of the India Office and the Government of India that we will always do our best to explain to the people of India how the position stands in this matter. We will not encourage India in any way to develop what, as circumstances are, can only be called extravagant claims for entrance into the self-governing Dominions, and we will do our best to explain to them what the conditions of the Empire really are . . . all sections and shades of Indian Opinion . . . combine when it is a question of Indian disability in any part of the British Empire. It cannot be denied that this difficulty is a very real asset, and a valuable asset in India to those who are opposed to our rule there . . . If, they ask, Indians are to suffer from disabilities in various parts of the Empire, what good in the British connection at all? . . . I may point out also that the growing tendency to apply principles of self-government to India adds greatly to the complication and difficulty of the matter, because when a legislative council, as always possibly may happen, takes occasion to make a particular protest against some legislation or some administrative act on the part of the Government of a Dominion, It becomes . . . a far more serious matter than if a mere uninformed

grumble . . . is heard.

. . . On the other side, as regards the protection of those who are already domiciled there, some, I may remind you, have been there for a very long time indeed. There is at any rate one of the Dominions in which Orientals have been domiciled for some 200 years.

. . . The difficulty, of course, does not arise, I know very well, from the views or prejudices of Ministers themselves, but it cannot always be easy for them to impress upon their subordinates, quite subordinate officials who are probably imbued with a very strong anti-colour prejudice, the importance which we attach, and which those who have to do with India and know India always attach—to what may seem small matters of this kind. . . . however close the connection and however perfect the understanding between the Mother Country and the self-governing Dominions, we are not a united Empire unless that understanding spreads to some considerable extent also to that vast part of the Empire of which, of course, India is the most prominent division, but which also includes all the Crown Colonies which are inhabited by the various Native races . . . it is a distinct misfortune and a derogation from the unity of the Empire if the Mother Country continually finds itself implicated in difficulties between various parts of the Empire.

. . . I do not pretend, as I repeat once more, that the question is really a soluble one in the full sense—I do not think it is—but I am quite certain that if the Dominions will agree all thorough to show an accommodating and friendly spirit towards India, . . . the best public opinion in India will recognize your efforts . . .

India Opinion, 14-10-1911 & 21-10-1911

B

INDIA OFFICE MEMORANDUM FOR IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

INDIA OFFICE,

June, 1911

The general principles which His Majesty's Government desired to maintain in regard to the relations between His Majesty's Indian subjects and the self-governing Dominions were thus stated by Mr. Chamberlain in the course of his address to the Conference of Colonial Premiers in 1897:

“We quite sympathize with the determination of the white inhabitants of the Colonies which are in comparatively close proximity to millions and hundreds of millions of Asiatics that there shall not be an influx of people alien in civilization, alien in religion, alien in customs, whose influx, moreover, would most seriously interfere with the legitimate rights of the existing labour population. An immigration of that kind must, I quite understand, in the interest of the Colonies, be prevented at all hazards, and we shall not offer any opposition to the proposals intended with that object, but we ask you also to bear in mind the traditions of the Empire, which makes no distinction in favour of, or against, race and colour; and to

exclude, by reason of their colour, or by reason of their race, all Her Majesty's Indian subjects, or even all Asiatics, would be an act so offensive to those peoples that it would be most painful, I am quite certain, to Her Majesty to have to sanction it. Consider what has been brought to your notice during your visit to this country. The United Kingdom owns as its brightest and greatest dependency, that enormous Empire of India, with 300,000,000 of subjects, who are as loyal to the Crown as you are yourselves, and among them there are hundreds and thousands of men who are every whit as civilized as we are ourselves, who are, if that is anything, better born in the sense that they have older traditions and older families, who are men of wealth, men of cultivation, men of distinguished valour, men who have brought whole armies and placed them at the service of the Queen, and have in times of great difficulty and trouble, such, for instance, as on the occasion of the Indian Mutiny, saved the Empire by their loyalty. I say you, who have seen all this, cannot be willing to put upon those men a slight, which, I think, is absolutely unnecessary for your purpose, and which would be calculated to provoke ill-feeling, discontent, irritation, and would be most unpalatable to the feeling not only of Her Majesty the Queen but of all her people.

What I venture to think you have to deal with is the character of the immigration. It is not because a man is of different colour from ourselves that he is necessarily an undesirable immigrant, but it is because he is dirty, or he is immoral, or he is a pauper, or he has some other objection which can be defined in an Act of Parliament, and by which the exclusion can be managed with regard to all those whom you really desire to exclude. Well, gentlemen, this is matter, I am sure, for friendly consultation between us. As I have said, the Colony of Natal has arrived at an arrangement which is absolutely satisfactory to them, I believe, and remember they have, if possible, an even greater interest than you, because they are closer to the immigration which has already begun there on a very large scale, and they adopted legislation which they believe will give them all that they want, and to which the objection I have taken does not apply, which does not come in conflict with this sentiment, I am sure, you share with us; and I hope, therefore, that during your visit it may be possible for us to arrange a form of words which will avoid hurting the feelings of any of Her Majesty's subjects, while at the same time it would amply protect the Australian Colonies against any invasion of the class to which they would justly object."

The position of India in the British Empire was again emphasized by Mr. Asquith at the Colonial Conference of 1907, when he said: "We should never, under any conceivable circumstances, accept here a preference granted to us only in respect of goods carried in ships in which the whole of our fellow subjects in India were not allowed to serve. We could not possibly accede to that, and everybody here would say we would rather have no preference limited by such condition as that."

PARTICULAR DIFFICULTIES

It is unnecessary to recapitulate the course of events since 1897, but the forms in which Asiatic questions have arisen in the self-governing Colonies may be briefly indicated.

NATAL

In Natal, which alone imported Indian labour, the resident Indian population was increased by a large influx of colliers who, at the end of their indentures, remained in the Colony subject to special taxation, and by a small "free" immigration of persons who were able to pass the education test imposed by the Immigration Act. Difficulties arose about traders' licences, municipal franchise, and the education of Indian children, and these were accentuated by the passing in 1908 by the Natal Parliament of two Bills which were reserved and have not come into operation, one to bring to an end the issue of new trading licences to Asiatics, the other to prohibit after a certain time, the holding of trading licences by Asiatics. In 1909, however, the Dealers' Licenses Act of 1897 was so amended as to allow an appeal to the Supreme Court on the renewal of existing licences, though not on their transfer or on the issue of new licences.

TRANSVAAL

In the Transvaal, which most of the resident Indians had left during the War, acute difficulties were caused by an influx of Indians after annexation and by doubts as to the exact effect of some of the laws and regulations of the South African Republic. Under the Peace Preservation Ordinance permits to Asiatics to enter the Colony were granted only to persons who had resided before the War. This provision was stereotyped by the Asiatic Law Amendment Act of 1907, passed immediately after the grant of responsible government, and, although the Immigrants' Restriction Act of the same year was in form modelled on the Natal Act, the effect of the two Acts read together was that no Asiatic, however well educated, could claim as a right to enter the Colony unless he could prove that he was before the War a *bona-fide* resident. This position, which had no parallel in any other part of the Empire, was, with great reluctance, accepted by His Majesty's Government. The stringent provisions for proof of the identity of lawful residents, though declared by the Transvaal Government to be necessitated by the trade in forged documents, gave rise to an acute and bitter controversy, which was allayed only for a few months by an amending Act of 1908. On the one hand the Indians deliberately adopted a policy of passive resistance to the law; on the other hand some of the incidents of imprisonment and deportation of Indians awoke in India itself a feeling of indignation the sincerity and the importance of which were very imperfectly appreciated in South Africa.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE AND ORANGE FREE STATE

In Cape Colony, which allowed the entry only of Indians who could pass an education test, and in the Orange Free State, where an Asiatic question had never arisen, nothing had recently happened which calls for notice, except for one or two complaints that old residents who went back to India on a temporary permit were refused readmission to Cape Colony on technical grounds, which caused hardship.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Under the Act of Union matters differentially affecting Asiatics were reserved for the Union Government. The Union Government introduced an Immigration Bill in the recent session of Parliament which aimed at a final settlement of the question. The Bill was withdrawn at the end of the session, but it is understood that the subject will again be taken up. Meanwhile, a provisional settlement has been arranged by the Union Government which has led to the abandonment of the passive resistance movement. The stoppage of indentured emigration from India to Natal has now prevented the further recruitment of the uneducated classes of Indians within the Union. Thus, in South Africa, the problem henceforth will practically be that of the government of a resident Asiatic population, considerable in numbers only in Natal .

...

QUESTIONS OF POLICY

The foregoing summary shows that the question of Indian immigration affects the several Dominions in different ways and in varying degrees. But the question may be said to fall under three heads:

- (1) The entry of new immigrants.
- (2) The status and condition of Indians who have been allowed to enter.
- (3) The employment of Indians on ships in colonial waters.

(1) ENTRY OF IMMIGRANTS

His Majesty's Government fully accept the principle that each of the Dominions must be allowed to decide for itself what elements it desires to accept in its population. The extreme contention urged by some Indians, thought not by those who speak with responsibility, that membership of the British Empire shall entitle any British subject to reside where he chooses, is disposed of by acknowledged political facts. At the same time it is of great importance to recognize that subjects of the King, however different in physique, customs, and religion, from the European races, are not aliens. It is not sufficiently realized that, for purely local reasons, the Dominions have adopted a policy which puts Asiatic British subjects on the same footing as alien Asiatics. In fact, for reasons noted above, the Dominion of Canada is more rigorous towards British Indian than towards Japanese immigration. A second important fact, generally overlooked, is that some parts of the British Empire have adopted, towards Asiatic British subjects a policy of exclusion which foreign nations

have found unnecessary. It is of course the case that the tropical and sub-tropical possessions of European Powers correspond in climate and conditions to the British Crown colonies, and do not reproduce those local conditions which account for the immigration policy of the Dominions. None the less, it is a striking fact that British Indians are allowed by foreign countries privileges denied to them by the Dominions.

It is useless to attempt to veil the fact that the policy of building up new nations of European blood within the empire the absolutely incompatible with the idea that every British subject, whatever his race, shall have free right of ingress to any part of the Empire. This being so, all that His Majesty's Government is entitled to ask is that the immigration policy of the Dominions shall be so framed and expressed as to avoid wanton injury to the self-respect of non-European British subjects. The policy of basing exclusion upon an educational, not a racial, criterion, meets this requirement, although, in its application to individual cases, it admits of being administered so as to exclude Indians on racial grounds. Other methods of restricting immigration, without in statutory terms differentiating against a particular race, find place in the Canadian law, which gives power (1) to exclude immigrants deemed unsuited to local climate or requirements, or immigrants of any specified class, occupation, or character; (2) to require immigrants to be in possession of a certain minimum sum of money.

It will not be disputed that each of the Dominions is under the strongest moral obligation to take no isolated action which would involve the Empire in war with a foreign power. But it does not appear to have been thoroughly considered that each Dominion owes responsibility to the rest of the Empire for ensuring that its domestic policy shall not unnecessarily create embarrassment in the administration of India. It is difficult for statesmen who have seen Indians represented only by manual labourers and petty traders to realize the importance to the Empire as a whole of country with some three hundred million inhabitants, possessing ancient civilizations of a very high order, which has furnished and furnishes some of the finest military material in the world to the Imperial forces, and which offers the fullest opportunities to financial and commercial enterprise. It is difficult to convey to those who do not know India the intense and natural resentment felt by veterans of the Indian Army, who have seen active service and won medals under the British flag, and who have been treated by their British officers with the consideration and courtesy to which their character entitles them, when (as has actually happened) they find themselves described as "coolies", and treated with contemptuous severity in parts of the British Empire. Matters like this are, of course, very largely beyond the power of any Government to control, but popular misunderstandings are such a fruitful source of mischief that it seems worth while to put on record the grave fact that a radically false conception of the real position of India is undoubtedly rife in many parts of the Empire

. . . The immigration difficulty, however, has on the whole been met by a series of statues which succeed in preventing Asiatic influx without the use of deferential or insulting language. It is accepted that the Dominion shall not admit as

permanent residents people whose mode of life is inconsistent with their own political and social ideals.

But the admission of temporary visitors, to which this objection does not apply, has not yet been satisfactorily settled. If the question were not grave, it would be seen to be ludicrous that regulations framed with an eye to coolies should affect ruling princes who are in subordinate alliance with His Majesty, and have placed their troops at his disposal, members of the Privy Council of the Empire, or gentlemen who have the honour to be His Majesty's own Aides-de-Camp. It is of course true that no person of such distinguished position would in fact be turned back if he visited one of the Dominions. But these Indian gentlemen are known to entertain very strongly the feeling that, while they can move freely in the best society of any European capital, they could not set foot in some of the Dominions without undergoing vexatious catechisms from petty officials. At the same time the highest posts in the Imperial services in India are open to subjects of His Majesty from the Dominions.

The efforts of the British Government to create and foster a sense of citizenship in India have, within the last few years, undoubtedly been hampered by the feeling of soreness caused by the general attitude of the Dominions toward the peoples of India. The loyalty of the great mass of Indians to the Throne is a very conspicuous fact, and it is noteworthy that this feeling is sincerely entertained by many Indian critics of the details of British administration. The recent constitutional changes have given the people of the country increased association with the Government, and have at the same time afforded Indians greater opportunities of bringing to the direct notice of Government their views on the wider question of the place of India in the Empire. The gravity of the friction between Indians and the Dominions lies in this, that on the Colonial question, and on that alone, are united the seditious agitators and the absolutely loyal representatives of moderate Indian Opinion. The Government of India, while appreciating the Colonial point of view, cannot, and do not, wish to dissociate themselves from general feeling of disappointment at the unwillingness of the Dominions to recognize that Indians are entitled to consideration. Many highly educated and well-bred Indians have natural and laudable desire to see other parts of the Empire, but at present are deterred from visiting the Dominions. It is earnestly hoped by His Majesty's Government that the measures necessary to prevent such an influx of the lower classes of Indians as would modify the population of the Dominions and create grave internal difficulties will not be extended to visitors of good social rank, merchants of sound commercial position who have interests outside India, or students who have attained to University standing.

(2) THE STATUS OF INDIANS RESIDENT IN THE DOMINIONS

It is in South Africa alone that there is any large resident Indian population, and its existence here is in the main due to the deliberate importation by Natal (inaugurated under Crown Colony but continued under Responsible Government) of contract Indian labour. In Canada and Australia Indian immigrants have been

comparatively few in number and have come on their own commercial business. But in South Africa—apart from the entry of some representatives of those Indian traders who have for centuries past done business on the east coast of tropical Africa—the Indian element is, in origin due to the action of Government undertaken at the instance and in the interests of a very important section of the European population of Natal.

So far, then, as an Indian population exists, the Dominions can do much to allay unrest in India by abstaining from any administrative policy which could be represented as showing an intention to expel them, or to reduce them to a position of degradation. In South Africa Indians compete chiefly with European traders—often with a low class of Europeans of alien origin,—while in British Columbia they are in competition with white workmen. It is thus inevitable that from time to time this economic rivalry should lead to friction. But the treatment of Indian traders by municipal authorities in Natal has at times been flagrantly unfair, and even now security for permanence of trading rights is given, by means of Appeal to the Supreme Court against licensing boards, only to individuals who already possess trading licences. The transfer of existing, or the grant of new, licences, is entirely in the hands of municipal authorities. Certain schemes of legislation in Natal, and of administrative measures in the Transvaal, have caused much apprehension among Indians, and it is to be hoped that, when the union has satisfied itself that safeguards against unlimited Asiatic immigration have been provided, it will be possible to treat resident Indians generously.

Any system of generous treatment may be held to involve:

- (1) avoidance of any measures calculated to take away the means of livelihood from respectable traders by vexatious regulations;
- (2) restriction of sanitary measures to cover real sanitary needs, and regulations adequate to prevent the use of such measures as an indirect means of disturbing Indian residents;
- (3) the grant of educational facilities, which, of course, need not lead to the admission of Asiatic and European children into mixed primary schools;
- (4) a determination not to utilize immigration laws to banish lawful residents by means of legal quibbles, or to break up domiciled families, or to refuse temporary admission on visiting permit to relatives whose presence is urgently required by resident Indians. (Such an incident as the refusal of a permit to a son to attend to funeral of his father, which is alleged to have occurred in British Columbia, would create very bitter feeling amongst a people who attach supreme importance to funeral rites.)

It is practically certain that there will never be any large Indian population in Canada, Australia, or New Zealand, the Dominions in which the aboriginal population is small, and in some cases decreasing, and which will, in the ordinary

course of events, be, for all practical purposes, purely European. But in South Africa not only does the Native population so enormously outnumber the whites that unskilled labour will probably always remain in Native hands, but a small Asiatic element has existed for nearly two centuries. Cape Colony has found it possible to govern without friction and to utilize the "Malays" imported by the Dutch East India Company, who are Mahomedan in religion and distinctive in their social habits. They have established a position as fishermen, drivers, and petty agriculturists. It cannot be maintained that South Africa can accommodate only white and black, and has no place for the brown races. For although in a comparatively recently colonized area, such as the territories of the two former republics, this might be argued, Cape Colony affords an example of a large element, consisting not only of the "Malays", but of the "Coloured people", which is intermediate in civilization and habits between the Native Africans and the Europeans. There is no intention to minimize the difficulties caused by the presence of an intermediate element, whether of mixed blood or purely Asiatic. But it is believed the equitable administration can prevent these difficulties from becoming dangers.

(3) THE EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS IN SHIPS IN COLONIAL WATERS

It is unnecessary to add to what is said on this point in the historical summary, where the serious disabilities which the New Zealand Shipping Bill of 1910 would impose on Indian seamen are pointed out.

Indian Opinion, 9-9-1911, 16-9-1911, 23-9-1911 & 30-9-1911

APPENDIX IV

UNION MINISTERS' MINUTES ON IMMIGRANTS' RESTRICTION BILL (1912)

A¹

In the course of conversation this morning General Smuts referred to the draft Immigration Bill. I asked him what would be the position, under Clause 28, of one of the limited number of educated Indians to be admitted into the Union under the dictation test if he wished to enter the Free State. The Minister said there would be no restriction upon his entry into the Free State or into any other Province, and the only special disabilities to which he would be subjected would be the prohibition to acquire fixed property, or to engage in commerce or farming in the Free State, as set forth in Sub-clause 2 of Clause 28. According to what General Smuts said, there would be nothing to prevent him from establishing himself as a doctor except the absence of sufficient number of his compatriots to make professional practice lucrative. The rest

¹ This is a report by the Private Secretary to the Governor-General based on a discussion he had with Smuts. It was forwarded by Gladstone to the Colonial Office on October 28, 1911.

of Chapter 33 of the Orange Free State Law Book was not being repealed, but its provisions, with the exception of Article 7 and 8, would be practically inoperative so far as the Indians admitted under the dictation test were concerned, as their status and rights were protected under the draft Bill. I asked the Minister whether he did not anticipate strong protests from Mr. Gandhi and his followers in regard to the specific retention of Articles 7 and 8. He said that Mr. Gandhi would raise no objection so long as the right of entry into the Free State were secured, as it was under the draft Bill. I did not anticipate such a sanguine reply, but I conclude from the confidence with which General Smuts spoke that he has been in communication with Mr. Gandhi and has satisfied himself on this point. He appeared to be convinced that the Bill, so far as it went, would be acceptable to the Indian community in this country. As regards the attitude of the Orange Free State members, General Smuts recognized that Sub-clause 2 of Clause 28 did not go so far as they would desire. Their wish would be to prevent any Indian from entering their Province, and time would show whether they would prove intractable. He hoped that they would be reasonable enough to appreciate that it would be intolerable if they endeavoured to wreck the Bill because it did not meet all their aspirations in every particular, and he considered that he had a strong argument in his armoury in that there was no absolute bar upon the entry of Indians into the Province under the present law, as the grant or refusal of permission in each case was left to the exercise of ministerial discretion, and there was nothing to prevent a Minister from admitting an unlimited number of Asiatics into the Free State if he saw fit, subject always to the statutory bar in regard to their owning fixed property, or their engaging in commerce or farming. He seemed to think that, if this circumstance were brought home to them, their attitude might not improbably undergo some modification. I may add that I have reason to believe that the draft of Sub-clause 2 was specially submitted to General Hertzog, and that he did not take exception to its terms.

2. I mentioned that I had failed to observe in the draft Bill any provision for giving effect to the Minister's undertaking in his correspondence with Mr. Gandhi that provision should be made for the registration of passive resisters who, but for their passive resistance, would previously have been entitled to registration. This point, it will be remembered, was alluded to in Paragraph 15 of Lord Gladstone's despatch Confidential (2) of the 23rd October, General Smuts replied that it had been found that no special legislation was required for the purpose of carrying out this pledge, and that certificates of registration were now in fact being granted.

3. As regards the dictation test, General Smuts volunteered the statement that he was considering the expediency of adopting the Australian model in its entirety and of providing that the subject of the test should be restricted to European languages. He thought there would be no difficulty in scheduling a list of European languages, and he would be prepared to include Yiddish in the list as the overwhelming majority of white immigrants at present were of the Jewish race.

4. He said that he was very hopeful of passing the Bill into law during the next session, and would use every endeavour in that behalf, as it was of the greatest

importance that the immigration question should be regularized and settled. The emphasis with which he spoke is the more satisfactory as a few months ago there were indications suggesting the possibility of some slackening of interest in the subject.

. . .¹ engage in productive industry. It will be noted that his observation on the general question of white immigration differ considerably, both in tone and in intention, from the public utterances of at least one of his colleagues.

6. As regards the Asiatic question in the Transvaal, he expressed himself as gravely concerned by the interpretation placed by the Divisional Court upon Section 77 and 130 of the Gold Law, to which reference was made in Lord Gladstone's despatch No. 917 of the 23rd instant. He considered that the decision was bad in law but he did not propose to interfere with it. Its effect he understood to be that wherever a right to let Stands to Asiatics had existed in mining areas, outside of townships, prior to the passing of the Act, that right could still be exercised. The result would be that a large number of Asiatic stores would spring up all over the reef, that the white trader would be crowded out, and that a considerable impetus would be given to the illicit traffic in gold and liquor in which Asiatics were prone to indulge. He thought that further legislation might be necessary, and a solution, to which he inclined, both in regard to this particular difficulty and to the general question of Asiatic trading in the Transvaal, might have to be found in the introduction of a licensing system resembling that of Natal. It will be remembered that the contemplation of some such expedient was indicated by Ministers in their Minute No. 1028 of the 2nd September, which was transmitted to the Secretary of State with Lord Gladstone's despatch No. 737 of the 4th idem. The scheme in General Smuts' mind appears to be the introduction of an universal system of licensing of all businesses in the Transvaal by the local authorities, without any explicit discrimination against Asiatics, and subject to the preservation of existing rights and to an appeal to some central authority with a view to obviating the infliction of undue hardship. He has evidently not yet come to a definite conclusion on the subject, and he appreciates that any such proposals would encounter formidable opposition in several quarters. He said, however, that he was strongly impressed with the necessity of taking some action to check what he described as the alarming development of Asiatic trading in this Province; and that, of course, would be the practical effect of the introduction of a licensing system, however free from racial differentiation it might be in form. The white trader, he asserted, could not exist side by side with Asiatic competition. He quite recognized that the business methods of white trader did not entitle them to very much sympathy, as they had taken an unreasonable advantage of their opportunities and were inclined to charge excessive profits. But however that might be, he was not prepared to face the alternative of the whole retail trade of the country falling into Asiatic hands. As between the two evils of the undesirable business methods of white traders on the one hand, and the unlimited extension of Asiatic trading on the other,

¹ A page is missing here.

he could not hesitate to choose the former, unless he wished to stultify his ideal of South Africa as a white man's country. The tone of his remarks left no doubt in my mind that he was giving the question serious attention, not merely as a subject for theoretical consideration, but with a view to effective action, and it would, I fear, be idle to hope that it will be allowed to remain to abeyance.

H. J. STANLEY

Colonial Office Records: C.O. 551/14

B

November 28, 1911

1. It is not considered necessary to provide by law for the validation of the settlement of the Transvaal passive resistance controversy.

2. Clauses 5(f). Domicile does not necessarily confer the right to reside: e.g., by failure to comply with the Asiatic Registration Laws a domiciled person would lose any right to reside.

3. Clause 5(e) and (g). The point raised by the Secretary of State will be borne in mind.

4. Clause 5(h). It is not anticipated that the use of the term "white" will cause any difficulty. The object of the clause as at present worded is to compel any Government to go to Parliament whenever there is an intention to introduce Coloured or Asiatic labour into the Union from other parts of the world.

5. First Schedule. Although His Majesty's assent was never given to Transvaal Act No. 36 of 1908, it remains on the Statute-book, and legal questions may afterwards arise which it may be advisable to obviate by formally removing it from the list of laws passed by the Transvaal Parliament.

6. Clause 7 and 28(2). Indians admitted into the Union under the provisions of Section 4 (a) will require no further permission to enter the Orange Free State; but if they do enter that Province they will naturally be subject to the disabilities in respect of trading, farming and ownership of land which are imposed by Chapter XXXIII of the Orange Free State Law Book.

Those clause although they do not represent a hard and fast agreement with the Indian leaders are, it is believed, most likely to prove satisfactory to them, as they are in accord with representations which have been made to the Government from time to time by the Indian leaders.

7. With regard to the question raised by the Secretary of State for India as to the position of Natal Indians desirous of emigrating to the Cape and *vice versa*, Ministers desire to state that the Provisions of Clause 7 are intended to prevent the Natal Indian population from migrating to the other Provinces. The European inhabitants in the Cape, Transvaal and Orange Free State would resent most strongly the intrusion of Natal Indians and Ministers are not prepared to state that, under the provisions of this Clause, even selected Natal Indians would be allowed to enter the Cape in future.

Ministers desire to point out that the difficulties in connection with the Indian population of South Africa require most careful handling on the part of the

Government and if Cape members of Parliament were to gain the impression that Natal Indians would be allowed into the Cape Province their opposition might possibly prove fatal to the Bill.

LOUIS BOTHA

Colonial Office Records: C.O.551/14

C

secret

November 30, 1911

Immigration Bill. Reference my telegram of today's date.

I saw J. C. Smuts after receiving Ministers' reply to your questions. He strongly deprecates raising question of validating registration certificates for passive resisters. A separate bill would be necessary. The Government are issuing certificates and their validity could only be challenged by themselves. By issue they will themselves be stopped. It is their intention to safeguard position of passive resisters. I think that it will be best not to press them on this points.

As regards answer 3 of Minister's minute J. C. Smuts quite recognizes your point. But he says that it is new and to make provision in bill [for?] fresh immigrants would be dangerous. He prefers to deal with point in Parliament in the event of its being raised and then to deal with it as best he can. Gandhi has not raised it.

As regards answer 4 he does not think Gandhi will make difficulty. He thinks that paragraph can be considered from points of view other than differentiation. Attempts now being made to organize entry of Natives from Liberia and he believes elsewhere, and therefore he provides in such cases for necessity for legislation. Whites must be exempted in view of white immigration scheme approved by Government for land and other development here.

He cannot say that he has an agreed scheme with Gandhi. They are in agreement generally but J. C. Smuts does not wish to incur risk of being charged with breach of faith constructive or otherwise which unforeseen developments might produce.

Owing to opposition in Orange Free State and the Cape, and from Jews, he is doubtful whether he can get the Bill through, and he wishes to avoid its position being prejudiced in advance.

GLADSTONE

Colonial Office Records: C.O. 551/44

January 6, 1912

With reference to His Excellency the Governor-General's Minutes Nos. 15/234 and 15/235 of the 18th ultimo on the subject of the draft Immigration Bill, Ministers have the honour to state that they have given careful consideration to the further points which have been raised by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Secretary of State for India.

With regard to the recent settlement with the passive resisters, Ministers do not anticipate that any difficulty will occur in connection with the validation of certificates which have been issued to Indians in terms of that settlement. The Indian leaders themselves do not ask for such legislation, and in Ministers' opinion no question is likely to arise with any future Government of the Union, as the certificates in question are limited in number which will all have been issued in the space of a short time, and it would be impracticable, even if it were legal and possible, for any Government to recall or to refuse to recognize any such certificate which had been officially issued.

Clause 5(g): Both under the law in South Africa and under the practice in the past polygamous marriages have not been recognized, and Ministers are unable to *provide* any facilities in the draft Bill which would have the effect of altering the present position in South Africa.

Clauses 5(h): The Indian leaders, to whom the draft Bill has been shown, have raised no objection to Clause 5(h) in its present form, but should it appear, during the passage of the measure through Parliament, that opposition exists to the use of the word "white", Ministers will be prepared to consider the question of an amendment.

Clauses 6 and 7: Ministers desire to state that the interpretation placed on these Clauses by the Secretary of State for the Colonies is the correct one.

Clauses 7 and 28(2): The leaders of the Indian community have raised no objection to the reference to Chapter XXXIII, but have, on the contrary, intimated that the Clause as drafted appears to afford a satisfactory solution of the difficulties which have been experienced in this matter. Ministers desire, however, to add that the question whether it will be possible to carry the Section as it is at present drafted depends very largely on the attitude of the members of Parliament from the Orange Free State, who are most strongly against any relaxation of the provisions of the Chapter in question.

J. C. SMUTS

Colonial Office Records: C.O. 551/25

¹ Gandhiji met Lane in Johannesburg on December 22, 1911, and was shown a copy of the new immigration bill; *vide* "What to Expect from the Imperial Government", 23-12-1911. Gandhiji says in his letter to Lane of January 29, 1912, that the bill, as published in the *Government Gazette* had undergone some changes since he had seen it last.

APPENDIX V

EXTRACTS FROM IMMIGRANTS' RESTRICTION BILL (1912) AND ORANGE FREE STATE CONSTITUTION

To consolidate and amend the laws in force in the various Provinces of the Union relating to Restriction upon Immigration thereto, to provide for the establishment of a Union Immigration Department and regulate Immigration into the Union or any Province thereof.

The Governor-General may appoint an immigration board at any such port of entry as may seem to him expedient, and the duty of any such board shall be to advise the Minister as to whether persons alleged to be prohibited immigrants should be permitted to enter the Union, and as to matters incidental to their entrance. (Section 3) (3).

The term "prohibited immigrant" includes:

- (a) any person who is unable to pass the dictation test, that is to say—when an Immigration officer dictates to him not less than fifty words in the language selected by such an officer, fails to write out those words in that language to the satisfaction of that officer;
- (c) any person who, from information received from any Government (whether British or Foreign) through official or diplomatic channels, is deemed by the Minister to be an undesirable inhabitant of or visitor to the Union. (Section 4).

The exemption clause includes:

- (e) subject to the provisions of section seven, any person born in any part of South Africa included in the Union;
- (f) subject to the provisions of section seven, any person who satisfies an immigration officer that he still is both domiciled and entitled to reside in the Union or any Province, and that during his absence from the Union he has not become such a person as is described in paragraph (c), (d), (e), (f) or (g) of the last preceding section;
- (g) subject to the provisions of section seven, any person who is proved to the satisfaction of an immigration officer to be the wife, or the child under the age of sixteen years;
- (i) of any person who by passing the dictation test described in paragraph (a) of the last preceding section has been permitted to enter the Union;
- (ii) of any person described in paragraph (f) of this section, provided that the wife or the child (as the case may be) does not fall within the classes of person described in paragraphs (c), (d), (e), (f) or (g) of the last preceding section. (Section 5).¹

(1) Every prohibited immigrant who, after the commencement of this Act, enters or is found within the Union, shall be guilty of an offense and liable on conviction

¹ *Indian Opinion* adds the following by way of comment: "Paragraphs (d), (e), (f) and (g) refer to persons suffering from certain diseases or convicted of certain crimes."

(a) to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months without the option of a fine; and

(b) to be removed at any time by the Minister's warrant from the Union.

(2) Pending the removal, the prohibited immigrant may be detained in such custody as may be prescribed by regulation.

(3) The prohibited immigrant may be discharged from the imprisonment or custody aforesaid if security be given to the satisfaction of the Minister that the prohibited immigrant will within one month leave the Union, and not return thereto.

(4) Every such sentence of imprisonment shall terminate as soon as the prohibited immigrant is removed from the Union. (Section 6).

Notwithstanding that a person is domiciled and entitled to reside in any particular Province either at the commencement of this Act or thereafter, nothing in this Act contained shall be construed as authorizing him to enter or reside in any other Province wherein he has not become entitled to reside unless he is able to pass the dictation test described in paragraph (a) of section four, and he may at any time be required to pass that test. For the purposes of this Act every such person shall, unless he has passed the said test, be a prohibited immigrant in respect of the said other Province and the provisions of the last preceding section shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to him. (Section 7).

(1) No prohibited immigrant shall be entitled to obtain a licence to carry on any trade or calling in the Union or (as the case may be) in any Province wherein his residence is unlawful or to acquire therein any interest in land, whether leasehold or freehold, or in any immovable property.

(2) Any such licence (if obtained by a prohibited immigrant) or any contract, deed or other document by which any such interest is acquired in contravention of this section, shall, on conviction of the prohibited immigrant as such, be null and void. (Section 8).

(1) Every person who is suspected on reasonable grounds of being a prohibited immigrant may be arrested without warrant by an immigration officer or police officer, and shall be brought as soon as possible before a magistrate's court to be dealt with according to law. (Section 9).

An immigration officer may require any person entering the Union to make a declaration in the form prescribed by regulation that he, or any person accompanying him, is not a prohibited immigrant and to state in the declaration such further particulars as may be prescribed by regulation, and may require him to fill in and complete in every respect that form and to produce, in support of the declaration, documentary or other evidence.

Every such declaration shall be exempt from any stamp duty ordinarily imposed by law on affidavits or solemn or attested declarations, anything to the contrary notwithstanding in any law in force in the Union relating to stamp duty.

Any person who fails on demand to comply with any provision of this section or who declares upon the form anything as a fact, or produces or gives such evidence

as aforesaid which he knows to be false, shall be guilty of an offence. (Section 18).

Any person who

(a) has been convicted, whether before or after the commencement of this Act, of a contravention of any of the provisions enumerated in the second schedule thereto, or of any amendment of those provisions;

(b) having been removed at the expense, either whole or partial, of any Government from the Union, or any part thereof now included in the Union, or being the subject of an order issued under any law to leave the Union or any part thereof now included in the Union, returns thereto without lawful authority or has failed to comply with the terms of any such order;

(c) having been refused by an immigration officer permission to enter the Union or any Province, has entered the Union or that Province;

(d) admits to an immigration officer in a written document that he is a prohibited immigrant either in the Union or in any Province;

may, if not already under detention, be arrested without warrant and removed from the Union or (as the case may be) from the Province, by the Minister' warrant and, pending removal, may be detained in such custody as may be prescribed by regulation. (Section 21).

(1) The burden of proving that a person has not entered or remained in the Union or any Province in contravention of this Act or any regulation shall, in any prosecution for or in respect of such a contravention, lie upon the accused person. (Section 23).

(1) Anything to the contrary notwithstanding in this Act contained, the Minister may in his discretion issue a temporary permit to any prohibited immigrant to enter and reside in the Union or any particular Province upon such conditions as to period of residence or otherwise as the Minister may in the permit specify.

(2) The Minister may also in his discretion issue a permit to any person who is lawfully resident in the Union or any Province and who, desiring to proceed thereout with the intention of returning thereto, for any reason apprehensive that he will be unable to prove on his return that he is not a prohibited immigrant. The permit in this sub-section mentioned shall expressly authorize the person named therein to return, within a period specified in the permit, to the Union or the particular Province (as the case may be), but before issuing the permit the Minister shall require such proof of the said person's identity add such means of identification to be furnished as may be prescribed by regulation (Section 25).

(1) Anything to the contrary notwithstanding in Act No. 36 of 1908 of the Transvaal, a person who, by passing the dictation test described in paragraph (a) of section four of this Act has been permitted to enter the Union shall not be deemed to be subject to registration under the provisions of the said Act of the Transvaal.

(2) Any person, being such a person as is described in Chapter 33 of the Orange Free State Law Book, who, by passing the said dictation test, has been permitted to

enter the Union or, by passing the dictation test in accordance with section seven of this Act, has been permitted to enter the Orange Free State from any other Province, shall be subject in all respects to the Provisions of article seven and eight of the said Chapter 33. (Section 28).

The Immigration Laws of all the Colonies are repealed; as also the Asiatic Law Amendment Act of the Transvaal, No. 2 of 1907,—the whole, except so far as it is applicable to the registration of minors lawfully resident in the Transvaal.

ORANGE FREE STATE LAWS

The following are Sections 7 and 8 of the Orange Free State Constitution, Chapter XXXIII:

7. No such Coloured person as is mentioned in the preceding articles (i.e., Arab, Chinaman, Coolie, or other Asiatic Coloured person) nor the successor in title of any such Coloured person shall, under any circumstances, have the right to have fixed property registered in his name in this State.

8. No such Coloured person as is mentioned in the preceding Articles shall, under any circumstances, be permitted by the State President to settle in this State for the purpose of carrying on a commercial business or farming, either directly or indirectly, and each applicant, before obtaining permission to reside in this State, shall make and sign a sworn declaration before the Landdrost to whom he makes the application, in which he shall declare that he will neither directly nor indirectly carry on a commercial business or do any farming in this State, and each such Coloured person carrying on any other business or trade than the one for which he obtained permission to settle in the country shall be liable to fine or punishment as provided in the following Article. (1st offences, a fine not exceeding £25 sterling or in default of payment imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months, and for subsequent offences the fine and punishment shall each time be doubled).

Indian Opinion, 3-2-1912

APPENDIX VI

TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR TO GANDHIJI

January 31, 1912

FURTHER TO YOURS YESTERDAY. IN REGARD TO SECTION FIVE, NO LEGAL RIGHTS ARE DISTURBED BECAUSE, IN ANY CASE, A DISCRETION WILL HAVE TO BE LEFT TO THE OFFICER. THAT DISCRETION MAY BE REVISED BY THE BOARD AND, IN THE LAST RESORT, BY THE MINISTER. UNDER SECTION 7, NO EXISTING RIGHTS ARE DISTURBED, AS INTERPROVINCIAL IMMIGRATION WOULD STILL BE A MATTER FOR ADMINISTRATIVE DISCRETION, BUT, OF COURSE, IT IS WELL UNDERSTOOD THAT AS FAR AS POSSIBLE SUCH IMMIGRATION WILL BE KEPT WITHIN NARROW LIMITS, AS YOU

ARE AWARE THAT WAS THE POLICY CARRIED OUT UNDER EXISTING IMMIGRATION LAWS. IN REGARD TO THE DOMICILE CERTIFICATES IN NATAL, THEIR ISSUE WAS OPTIONAL, AND COMPLAINTS HAVE BEEN REPEATEDLY MADE TO MINISTER THAT THEY HAVE BEEN ABUSED. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO CONTINUE ISSUING DOMICILE CERTIFICATES APART FROM SYSTEM OF REGISTRATION AND IDENTIFICATION, AS THOSE CERTIFICATES ARE FREQUENTLY PASSED ON TO OTHERS WHO ARE NOT ENTITLED TO THEM. THE SYSTEM OF PERMITS IN FORCE AT THE CAPE IS NOT BEING ATTENDED ALL OVER THE UNION, AND THE MINISTER IS SURE THAT WITH A REASONABLE ADMINISTRATION IT OUGHT TO GIVE SATISFACTION TO INDIANS WHO WISH FOR LONGER OR SHORTER PERIODS TO VISIT THEIR OWN OR OTHER COUNTRIES. WITH REGARD TO SECTION 28, THE SWORN DECLARATION IS NOT AN IMMIGRATION PROVISION, AND IS ONLY INTENDED TO SAFEGUARD THE ABSTINENCE OF THE PERSON ENTERING FREE STATE FROM CARRYING ON FARMING OR TRADING. THAT BEING SO THE MINISTER DOES NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT POSSIBLE OBJECTION THERE CAN BE TO IT. IF IT IS AGREED TO BE REASONABLE THAT ASIATICS SHOULD NOT TRADE OR FARM IN THAT PROVINCE, SURELY IT IS QUITE REASONABLE TO REQUIRE THEM TO MAKE THE DECLARATION.

From a photostat of a typewritten copy: S.N. 5619

APPENDIX VII

TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR TO GANDHIJI

February 7, 1912

6/E. REFERENCE YOUR TELEGRAM 1ST FEBRUARY, THERE SEEMS TO BE SOME MISUNDERSTANDING IN YOUR MIND. NOWHERE IN THE BILL ARE THE LAW COURTS EXCLUDED FROM JURISDICTION, AND IT IS A MISTAKE TO THINK THAT UNDER CLAUSE FIVE OR ANY OTHER CLAUSE AN APPEAL WOULD NOT IN LAST RESORT LIE TO A LAW COURT. WITH REGARD TO THE DOMICILE CERTIFICATE, IT IS QUITE IMPOSSIBLE TO HAVE SUCH A SYSTEM INAUGURATED ALL OVER THE UNION. EVEN IN NATAL THERE HAS BEEN A GROSS ABUSE OF THESE CERTIFICATES, AND MORE THAN ONE THOUSAND HAVE ALREADY BEEN CONFISCATED IN THE HANDS OF PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT ENTITLED TO THEM. THE QUESTION WHICH ARISES UNDER SECTION 8 OF CHAPTER 33 WITH REGARD TO A DECLARATION BY AN IMMIGRANT, THE O.F.S. RAISES SOME DIFFICULTIES AND THE DEPARTMENT IS TAKING THE OPINION OF THE LAW OFFICES ON IT. IT SEEMS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER AS THE CLAUSE STANDS

IN THE BILL THE DECLARATION CAN STILL BE REQUIRED.. IT IS HOPED THE PROVISIONS OF THE BILL THESE EXPLANATION [sic] WILL PROVE ACCEPTABLE, AS ANY OTHER ATTEMPTS TO PASS A GENERAL IMMIGRATION LAW WITHOUT DIFFERENTIAL PROVISIONS WOULD BE VERY UNLIKELY. MINISTER HAS DONE HIS VERY BEST TO COME TO A FINAL SETTLEMENT ON A QUESTION WHICH HAS DEEPLY AGITATED ALL PARTS OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND HOPES THAT HIS EFFORTS WILL BE SUPPORTED BY THOSE IMMEDIATELY CONCERNED, AND VENTURES TO EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT YOU WILL USE YOUR UNDOUBTED INFLUENCE WITH YOUR COMPATRIOTS TO THIS END. THE BILL CONTAINS NO DIFFERENTIAL PROVISIONS, AND SATISFIES THE POINTS OF HONOUR AND SELF-RESPECT ON WHICH YOU HAVE ALWAYS LAID THE MOST STRESS.

From a photostat of a typewritten copy: S. N. 5619

APPENDIX VIII

LANE'S LETTER TO GANDHI

CAPE TOWN
May 14, 1912

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I am asked by the Minister to refer you to your letter of the 24th February in which you refer to an opinion given you by your Counsel in regard to the proposed Immigration Bill. General Smuts asks me to forward for your information a copy of the new draft sub-section which he proposes to insert in place of sub section 2 of section 28 of the draft Immigration Bill now before Parliament. You will remember that it was not certain whether under the provisions of the clause as introduced, the declaration required under section 8 of Chapter XXXIII of the Orange Free State Laws would be required of educated Asiatic immigrants, and that before coming to a definite decision the Department undertook to look into the point.

The matter has been considered and the amendment forwarded under cover of this letter has been drawn up as an alternative to the clause as it stands in the Bill at the present time, the legal advisers being of the opinion that if the provisions of the declaration are included in the Bill the necessity of completing the declaration as set out in schedule 2 of the Chapter is done away with.

With regard to the question of domicile which you raise, I am to say that the Minister intends to insert a clause which, by removing all doubts in the matter, will meet with your support.

I shall be glad if you will let me have an expression of your views on the amendment now before you at an early date as the Minister hopes to bring the Bill forward very shortly in the Assembly.

*Believe me,
Yours sincerely,*
ERNEST F. C. LANE

From a photostat of the typewritten original: S. N. 5650-1

APPENDIX IX

SMUTS' SPEECH ON I. R. BILL (1912) IN UNION PARLIAMENT

CAPE TOWN,
May 30, 1912

In the House of Assembly on the 30th ultimo, the Minister of the Interior moved the second reading of the Immigrants' Restriction Bill, and stated that the Tuberculosis Commission had been instructed to report first on such questions as might be of importance in regard to the Bill. The report, he thought, was a valuable one, and parts of the recommendations would probably be adopted by the House before the Bill became law. Although the Bill was not of the most urgent importance from a purely South African point of view, yet it was important and urgent from the wider point of view. The questions that received solution in the measure were of great Imperial importance. The Bill intended to put in force and embody in legislation an understanding come to as far back as 1910 with the British Government regarding Asiatics and the immigration of Asiatics, especially Indians, to South Africa. The Minister added that this was not merely a Bill dealing with white immigration to South Africa, but dealt also with the somewhat different and more complicated subject of Asiatic immigration to South Africa. The Asiatic population, and especially the Indian population, of South Africa had taken up an attitude, in which they were supported by the India Office and the British Government, whereby they claimed, as regarded the laws of South Africa, that there should be no differentiation between them and the whites. They did not object to differential administrative action or difference applied in practice to them; but they objected to and opposed most strenuously any legislative stigma being put on them, so far as the statutes of this country were concerned. In this attitude they were supported by the British Government, and it was now, as members knew, after a great deal of trouble and negotiation on the part of the present Government, that they had acceded to that position, and they had recognized that in the legislation of the country there should be no difference, but the difference would be confined to the administration of the laws which they might pass. The difficulty in working the Immigration Law in this country was considerable, because whilst, on one hand, they were most anxious to foster the immigration of white people, they were equally anxious to keep Asiatics out. (Hear!Hear!)They had therefore to pass a law applying in the same terms to all

sections, but aiming at bringing certain people in and keeping others out. It looked almost like a Chinese puzzle. After a great deal of consideration, they had decided to adopt the suggestion of the Colonial Office, supported by the Government of India, to apply the Australian education test. This apparently was a very stiff test, but it admitted of being applied with rigour in one case and laxity in another, so that whites might be engaged to come to the country, whilst Asiatics would be kept out. That Australian test, as adopted in the Bill, was the principal provision of the Bill and that was also likely to give rise to the most discussion. It apparently placed enormous powers in the hands of the Government, yet he was prepared to state, on the part of the Government, that in the administration of this law there was not the slightest intention of making it more difficult for white people to come into the country than it was today. The intention was rather the other way. In the past there had been too great a tendency under their existing legislation to lay stress on purely educational qualifications. (Hear! Hear!) A man who wanted to come to this country, and was physically fit and otherwise might be a good citizen, was asked to test his knowledge in some European language. Some of these languages did not concern them in this country in the least. A man who had a very high knowledge of Yiddish did not impress him, and the same applied to Russian and many other languages. What they did want in this country was a certain type of character and physical fitness, and they should not look too much to immigrants' literary attainments or educational qualifications in languages of little use in this country. As for the rest, the Immigration Department would be carried on the same as under existing laws. He was perfectly prepared to state, as he now did, that no test would be applied to white people more difficult in future than was applied in the past. So far as the Indian and Asiatic populations were concerned, he was going to carry out the arrangement with the British Government, and that was that they would permit a small number of educated and professional Asiatics to enter South Africa yearly, but, of course, in limited numbers, but they certainly would provide for others in such a manner that there would not be any influx into this country of Asiatics.

I do not wish to say anything to influence this House. They have seen the Bill, and they are most anxious it should be put on the Statute-book, although they have raised one point in regard to domiciled people which is not in the Bill, but which I want to bring forward as an amendment. The Government of India have also seen the Bill, and agreed to it, and their desire is that it should appear on the Statute-book as soon as possible. Proceeding, Mr. Smuts said the Bill contained the usual provisions as to what were prohibited immigrants and what were not. In this regard he wished to say that, in accordance with the report of the Tuberculosis Commission, they would now have to add another paragraph to his section, by which it would be provided that persons infected with tuberculosis might be permitted into this country under certain conditions. Opinions differed as to whether they should allow people suffering from tuberculosis into this country, but it would, however, be a considerable hardship to close the door to these people without respect to the degree of tuberculosis from which they were suffering, and the Commission had come to the conclusion that these

people might be allowed in under certain conditions, and provided they conformed to certain regulations discussed in the Commission's report. That part of their report he would like to adopt (Hear! Hear!) They should fight the scourge [of] tuberculosis in this country, for it was rapidly becoming one of the most dangerous diseases in the country. They should make a commencement at their seaboard, so that they should not be further infected with this disease. (Hear! Hear!) He agreed they should not entirely close their doors, but he also thought that if the recommendations provided for were accepted it would be possible to prevent any further infection from abroad. Exceptions were also provided in the Bill—that was to say, certain classes of people would be free to come into this country, and would not fall under the provisions of this Bill at all. The provisions of the Bill of last year in this respect had been somewhat extended, so that now all South Africans would be able to come in from abroad with their wives and children. Some difference of opinion has arisen with the Chamber of Mines in the Transvaal as to one of the paragraphs. Provision was made in Clause 5 that the following persons would not be prohibited immigrants, namely, any person who entered the Union in accordance with any law or convention with a neighbouring Government. This provided for the exemption of all those Native labourers from the East Coast of Africa. The convention referred to here was the Mozambique Convention. The Chamber of Mines had raised several difficulties, and had pointed out that Natives coming from Basutoland might technically under this section be prohibited immigrants. Natives coming from Nyasaland, they pointed out, might also be prohibited immigrants. He thought there was not much force in these objections. With regard to Natives from Basutoland, the provisions of the recruiting law of last year dealt with them. The Chamber also pointed to the case of the Nyasaland Natives. Of course, Natives from Basutoland were not prohibited immigrants, as Natives who came here in accordance with any other law were exempted, but if there was any doubt he was prepared to meet the Chamber of Mines. As regards the Nyasaland Natives, his information was to the effect that they were not recruited in Nyasaland. They usually went into Portuguese territory from where they were recruited by the agents of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, so that they fell under the Mozambique Convention. He, therefore, thought no amendment would be required in regard to these objections. Another important point under this Bill was with regard to the movement of Asiatics in South Africa. It would in future be possible to prevent wholesale immigration into the Union, but the difficult question in regard to interprovincial movements still remained, and this was one of the points which the British Government had impressed upon them. There was practically no immigration of Asiatics allowed into the Transvaal or Free State, but under the laws of the Cape and Natal Provinces it was possible for Indians and Asiatics to comply with the Education test and enter these Provinces, not only from abroad, but from other Provinces. The Natal Indian who wished to go to the Cape need only pass a low test under the Cape law, and similarly the Transvaal or Cape Asiatic who wished to go to if Natal could do so he passed a test under the Natal law. There was no law in the Cape or Natal as regarded immigration of Asiatics, and therefore, hon. members would

understand the difficulty, as Asiatics could not at present go to the Transvaal or Free State. Now the British Government had asked them in the application of this Bill not to make the position of Asiatics worse than it was. Although they did restrict, under the Bill, the interprovincial movements of Asiatics, they had asked so far as the Caps and Natal were concerned not to go further in actual administration than the law allowed to be done. As regards the position in the Transvaal, added the minister, "We have a free hand, and we can debar their entrance from other parts of the Union to this Province." Whilst it was intended to enforce their law in the interior provinces, they were prepared to make its administration not more drastic than hitherto under the existing law. The question arose, what would be the actual position in a Province like the Free State if this Bill became law? The position there would be that this limited number of Asiatics who would be admitted annually into the Union under this Act, if they were educated or professional people; and if, also, they were in limited numbers as the Union Government might agree to let in.¹ These people would be admitted into the Union, and it would be free for them to settle if they desired in any Province of the Union, even in the Free State, but the provisions of the existing law in the Free state made impossible for them to exercise certain trades and professions or to hold ground. All these prohibitions would remain in force, and the disabilities imposed there would remain, even if they chose to go there. If Clause 28 did not appear quite satisfactory, he was prepared to embody an amendment to make it still more explicit that these people, although they could go anywhere in the Union, even in the Free State, should be debarred from exercising any of those rights they were at present debarred from by existing laws in the Free State. The net result in the Free State would be that the position would be safer from the white point of view, because the present Free State law was certainly of the most lax character. The present law of the Free State provided that an Asiatic might come into the Free State, but within two months of his arrival must apply for permission to remain there. If he got permission he remained, but the door was opened. The Asiatic came first to the Free State, and after two months got permission. That was a most unfortunate provision, for if people were to be prevented from entering the Province it was best to prevent them at the border. Once in the Province, it was very difficult to remove them. The result would be that the position in the Free State would be safer. Continuing, the Minister said that a deal of dissatisfaction arose from time to time with regard to the administration of the Immigration Department. Officers of the Department were able and painstaking, but they were also human beings and no doubt sometimes did make mistakes, which produced a certain amount of public commotion. Their decisions created some criticism which he thought avoidable, and he proposed, therefore, to appoint Advisory Boards at certain points. It was impossible to appoint a Board at every port of entry into the Union by rail, as well as by sea, but he thought that at Cape Town

¹ There appears to be some mistake in the reproduction of the foregoing point. What Smuts seems to mean, however, is that only those Asiatics would be allowed into the Free State that have passed the Union immigration test and no other.

and Durban they should have Boards which could consider cases where the Immigration Officer was about to prohibit a man from entering the country. These Boards would be so constituted as to provide for fair and impartial consideration to appeals. Some amendments would be necessary to the Bill, such as that a man domiciled in South Africa should have leave to appeal to the law courts. He moved the second reading of the Bill. (Cheers.)

Indian Opinion, 8-6-1912

APPENDIX X

LORD AMPHILL ON PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENT IN HOUSE OF LORDS

LONDON,
July 17, 1912

MY LORDS,

I am not going to take up your Lordships' time with a speech, but I must say a few words of explanation with regard to the Question which stands in my name. I am obliged to put this Question because there was no opportunity in another place for those interested in this supremely important question of the treatment of British Indians in South Africa to elicit information from the Secretary of State. Your Lordships will remember that the Secretary of State took the members of the House of Commons for a tour round the Crown Colonies, which was so interesting and protracted that there was not opportunity to go further. Those of us who have for some years past been interested in this question are feeling very grave anxiety at the present time. Our anxiety is due to two causes—in the first place, that the settlement which was promised so long ago, promised so definitely and so hopefully by the late Secretary of State for the Colonies, has again been postponed; and, in the second place, that the management of the settlement is now in other hands. General Smuts, who was Minister for the Interior, was personally pledged to carry out a settlement which, as we believe, had been agreed upon as satisfactory, not only by the Indian community in South Africa, but also by His Majesty's Government and by the Government of India. But now, unfortunately, the Bill has been postponed, and the office of Minister of the Interior is in other hands—in the hands, I believe, of Mr. Fisher, who unfortunately we know to be, I will only put it this way, less amicably disposed towards the British Indian community than was General Smuts. We should like to know most particularly whether the fact that there is a new Minister of the Interior will make any difference as regard the settlement, and also, of course, why exactly it has been found necessary to postpone this settlement.

Your Lordships will remember that more than a year ago we were assured most confidently and hopefully by the noble Marquess, the Leader of the House, who was then Secretary of State, that the settlement was close at hand, that he was really confident it would be brought about. Perhaps I may remind your Lordships what that settlement was. The essence of the settlement was the repeal of the Transvaal Act No.

2 of 1907, which was so hurtful to the feelings of our Indian fellow citizens in South Africa. That Act, which served no useful purpose and only acted as a humiliation and a soreness to the Indians in South Africa, was to be repealed, while the rights of minors were to be safe-guarded and the principle of the restriction of Asiatic immigration—to which the Indians themselves assented and which they recognized as inevitable and reasonable even—was to be that there should be no racial bar on the Statutes of the Colony. That was the one thing they had been contending for—that Indians should not be excluded on account of their colour. “If you must exclude us”, they said, “let it be by administrative differentiation. Do it because it is a matter of economics convenience, but do not do it on the ostensible ground that you think we belong to an inferior race.” We had hoped that the settlement might have been brought about long ago. It has been twice postponed. Therefore the first thing I want to know is what are the exact causes of the postponement, and then I should like to know whether His Majesty’s Government are satisfied that the Bill which has recently been before the Union Parliament does actually fulfil those conditions of settlement to which I have referred. I know that there are competent lawyers in South Africa who say that it does not fulfil those simple and plain conditions, but that the racial bar is maintained in another form. What is the opinion of His Majesty’s Government on that point? And supposing they are not satisfied, what steps have they taken, are they taking, or are they going to take to set that right?

Then it is also alleged—I speak subject to correction, but it is one of the points on which I am asking the noble Lord for information—that this Bill does deprive Indians in the Coast Provinces of rights which they have hitherto held undisputed. Is that the case or not? His Majesty’s Government, in the Despatch of October, 1910, I think it was, said that no settlement of the Transvaal Indian trouble would be acceptable if it diminished the rights of Indians in other provinces. All along it was the profession of the South African Government, long before the Union, that they did not wish to diminish the rights of Indians who were already lawfully resident in that country. Lord Selborne, when he was High Commissioner, made that the keynote of his statements on the subject. He said he did not wish in any way to treat Indians who were lawfully resident in the country one whit less well than they had been treated before. The only things he stuck out for was that no more were to be admitted, with the reasonable exception, which has been agreed to now by all parties, that the few educated men who are required for the natural life of the community, as ministers of religions, as doctors, and as lawyers, should be admitted. The number of six per annum was given as a probably reasonable limit to the requirements of the community. I hope it is not the case that, after competent examination, it has been found that this new Bill does actually diminish the existing rights of Indians in the country, because, if that were so, it would be a very grave and unpardonable breach of faith. I trust, therefore, that we shall hear that His Majesty’s Government have examined very carefully into that point and have been in friendly communications with the Union Government about it.

But there is one more word which I must say in order to explain the object of

my question, and that is, that the spirit of this settlement, which we were told was so near at hand, seems to have been violated during this period of delay. It was because we were allowed to expect that there would be an immediate settlement that the Indian community themselves agreed to drop their passive resistance movement. It was because we were told that a settlement was at hand that friend of the Indian community in this country stayed their hand and have since shown considerable reticence and self-restraint. We have waited most patiently, we have not bothered the Government with Questions and Motions in Parliament, we have treated them with very considerable trust and confidence and have waited patiently for a long time before asking them again what they were doing in regard to this question. I say that advantage has been taken of this delay to violate the spirit of the settlement. The spirit of the settlement was to treat Indians who were lawfully resident in the country as well as possible. I must show what I mean by quoting some instances. In the first place, the Transvaal Supreme Court have taken a very serious course in deciding against the introduction of plural wives married according to the law of Islam, and there has been a notorious case in which it has been decided that the second wife of Mahomedan cannot be admitted into the Transvaal. It is going further than that. It seems to me to be part of a very deliberate movement, for there is now an attempt to secure a decision against the admission of Mahomedan wives at all into the country on the ground that polygamous marriages are not recognized by the Transvaal law. From there it would only be a step to declare that the offspring of these marriages are illegitimate. I need not enlarge upon that point. I need only appeal to your Lordships' imagination. Your Lordships have only to think for a moment what the consequences would be in India, in Egypt, in every part of the Empire where there are thousands of His Majesty's loyal Mahomedan subjects, if an affront, and insult, of this kind were levelled at the Mahomedan religion. Surely the whole spirit of rule under the British flag wherever it was flown has been religious toleration. There seems to me absolutely no ground for departure from that principle, and surely, whatever the risk may be, it is the duty of His Majesty's Government to uphold that principle wherever there are British citizens under the British flag. That is a very serious matter. Apart from everything else, a necessary question, if the movement is allowed to continue, is the breaking up of homes, the wives not being allowed to come in or being turned out of the country, the separation of families, the ruin of business, the expulsion of men whose right to be in the country has never been questioned, and consequences which I leave to the imagination of any one of your Lordship who will take the trouble to give the matter a thought. I want to know what His Majesty's Government have done in regard to this decision of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal. Have they pointed out how fatal would be the consequences of carrying this movement any further? Have they protested? What has been the nature of their protest, and what answer have they received?

There is another matter, and that is the growing tendency on the part of the immigration officers to exercise arbitrary power. On one case I had occasion to correspond with the Colonial Office, but I got vary little satisfaction. That case

showed this, that even of an Indian can prove his right to be in the country to the satisfaction of the Supreme Court, it is within the power of the immigration officer to keep him out. That was proved by the decision in that particular case. It is said—I want to know whether it is the case or not—that the present Bill increases the arbitrary powers of the immigration officers. General Smuts, in introducing the Bill, did make some sort of apology for what he regarded as the occasional excesses on the part of the immigration officers. On a par with this action of the immigration officers is the exclusion of children of lawful residents in the country by the Portuguese officials at Mozambique at the instance of the Immigration Department of the Union. What has been the consequence of this? It is a very serious consequence, and I cannot understand for the life of me why more notice has not been taken of it. The result is that the Germans are imitating our example. In German East Africa they are proposing anti-Indian legislation on the ground that we are pursuing the same course. What will be our position as a nation before the people of India if we are obliged to confess that we cannot protest against this exclusion by a foreign country because it is merely what we are doing ourselves? There are other matters which are serious enough, though they are smaller. For instance, the growing tendency to exercise the trade licensing laws in Natal with the apparent object of making it impossible for Indians to have a right to be in Natal, whose right has never been questioned, with the object of compelling them to leave the the country. The same is being done, during this period of delay of which I have spoken, with the Township Act in the Transvaal and the Gold Law. The tendency of the regulations, which seem to be unlawful regulations, under that Act is to force Indians into Locations. I should have thought that His Majesty's Government, of all people, would instantly object to and resent any attempt to force Indians into Locations. That was the test of Chinese slavery. The one test was that Chinese labourers were obliged to live in Locations. What, then is the Government answer to and their justification of this deliberate tendency to force Indians into Locations?

I could give scores of instances of the way in which advantage has been taken of this Bill to oppress—there is no other word—the lawful Indian residents in the Transvaal. What I want to know is whether His Majesty's Government have been taking note of these oppressive sets, whether they have done anything to protect His Majesty's subjects, our Indian fellow subject, who are in South Africa and have every right to be there, whose right have never been questioned. I emphasize that because it is not a case of immigrants who have forced their way in without permission. I do hope the noble Lord who is going to answer me will not give that answer which I have often heard before, and which I dare say the occupants of the Front Bench opposite think good enough for me. It is not good enough for those on whose behalf I speak. It is not good enough for anybody who regards this question from the point of view of common sense and the interests of the Empire as apart from the ordinary devices of political parties in Parliament. That answer is that you cannot interfere with a self-governing Colony. That comes to be satisfying to many people, but it is a rotten answer, a stupid answer. In the first place, there is no question of interference.

Let me remind you of the Malecka case. If you can interfere with the Government of a foreign country, over which you cannot possibly exercise any compulsion, in order to secure the reversal of the acts of a Court of Justice on behalf of one single person who was only half British citizen if she was a British citizen at all, then surely you have a right to do something, to say something, to make a bargain, to come to an understanding, about thousands of persons who are wholly British citizens, and to that understanding with people who are your own national kinsmen, who are under the British flag, who are under the authority of our Sovereign, and with whom—and that is the point—we have absolutely vital interests in common. If you cannot come to an agreement with our kinsmen in our Dominions oversea about matters which concern the whole welfare of the Empire, then I say that the Empire itself cannot have any existence in fact.

I wish to Heaven that I had the power or the knowledge which would enable me to create public opinion and propitiate those wizards of the Press who, for good or for evil, influence our destinies in the same way as opinion was created and the Press were propitiated in regard to the Malecka case. Ten thousand times justification has there been during the last five years in the case of our Indian fellow subjects in Transvaal; and if the pressure which I refer to in the Malecka case was potent to move the Government in this country to action, to oblige them to interfere, with a foreign country over whom we have no power of control, how much more, had I known the trick, would it have been possible to move them into action in regard to our Indian fellow subjects in Transvaal? I hope I have made it clear to the noble Lord what are the exact points on which I wish to have an answer.

Indian Opinion 7-9-1912

APPENDIX XI

UNION MINISTERS' MINUTES FOR IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT REGARDING TOWNSHIPS AMENDMENT ACT (1908)

A

June 16, 1911

With reference to His Excellency the Governor-General's minute, of the 12th instant, No.15/139, transmitting a telegram from the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for the Colonies, asking for Ministers' observations on the petition of the British Indian Association, copy of which was enclosed in His Excellency's minute of 8th May, and on the question raised by the South Africa British Indian Committee in their letter of the 5th May, on the subject of the effect of Section 130 of the Transvaal Gold law, Ministers desire to state that they do not think that is necessary to review the situation which has arisen under Law No. 3 of 1885, and subsequent laws dealing with the rights of Asiatics to own or otherwise hold property outside Locations and Bazaars.

The grievance to which attention is particularly drawn in the enclosures to the Governor-General's minute refers to certain police action which has been taken at Klerksdorp under Section 130 of the Precious and Base Metals Act of 1908. The reference by the British Indian Association to the Townships Amendment Act, 1908, is not understood by Ministers, as no provision such as is alleged to exist is contained in that Act.

With regard to the Section of the Precious and Base Metals Act referred to, Ministers wish to point out that that law deals primarily and almost entirely with mineral and mining rights, from which Coloured people have always been excluded under the provisions of the Mining Law of the Transvaal. No doubt the language of Section 130 is wide enough to cover all rights conferred under the Act of 1908 as well as under previous Gold Law; but there is no intention of interfering with the business or rights of carrying on business which Indians have acquired and exercised previous to the enactment of Act 35 of 1908. Ministers are informed that the Stands at Klerksdorp in reference to which action has been taken were clandestinely acquired for business purposes by Indians subsequent to the passage of the Act, and in contravention of the Section referred to. They understand that action has been taken at the instance of the local trading community, which is profoundly exercised over the rapid ousting of white traders by the Indians. Ministers are, however, causing further enquiries to be made in order to avoid as far as possible any harsh application of the provisions of Section 130 of the law in question.

J. C. SMUTS

B

December 2, 1911

With reference to His Excellency the Governor-General's Minute No.15/170, of the 1st September, on the subject of the position of British Indians under the Transvaal Townships Amendment Act of 1908 and the Transvaal Gold Law, Ministers have the honour to state that the Courts by their recent judgment in the Tamblin case¹ seem now to have finally interpreted the meaning and scope of Section 130 of Act (Transvaal) No.35 of 1908, so far as it affects the right of occupation of Stands by Coloured persons under lease from white holders on proclaimed areas outside townships.

¹ At Roodepoort, one Alfred Tamblin was charged under Section 130 of the Gold Law of 1908 for subletting a mining Stand to two Asiatics, Ahmed Khan and Abdulla Khan. His counsel argued that under the old Gold Law, an owner had the right to sublet his Stand to Coloured persons and that under Section 77 of the present Gold Law, Coloured persons were entitled to acquire rights to Stand, but the case was remanded. Subsequently, a Krugersdorp magistrate found Tamblin guilty and sentenced him. On appeal, the Transvaal Division of the Supreme Court Africa acquitted Tamblin and ruled that the Asiatics in question were protected by Section 77 of the new Gold Law. *Indian Opinion*, 24-6-1911 & 2-9-1911.

With regard to the position of such persons in townships within mining areas it is, an His Excellency will be aware, one of the conditions attaching to freehold grants in Stand townships and private townships that the land shall not be occupied by Coloured persons. Ministers, however, desire to repeat the assurance they have already given that they do not propose to interfere with vested rights in such townships which were acquired by individuals prior to the date of such grants; but it is impossible for them to allow attempts in the direction of the acquisition of new rights to be made without taking action. In this connection they desire to add that the leaders of the Asiatic community appear to be making an organized attempt to invade townships where Asiatics had no rights before, and public opinion amongst the European community is, consequently, becoming greatly exercised; so much so that Ministers will, in all probability, be compelled to take action under the Townships Act to enforce the conditions contained in the title-deeds.

S. W. SAUER

Indian Opinion, 27-4-1912

APPENDIX XII
GOKHALE'S LETTER TO GANDHI

THANET HOUSE,
231-2, STRAND,
LONDON, W. C.
July 27, 1912

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I wired to you the day before yesterday to inform you definitely that I have booked my passage by the *Saxon*, which sails from Southampton on 5th Oct[ober]. This means that I shall reach Cape Town on 22nd Oct[ober] and it will give me about 24 days in South Africa, and I must leave Durban for Bombay on 16th Nov[ember.] Last Saturday I had a letter from Lord Crewe, offering me a seat in the proposed Royal Commission on Public Services in India and I have accepted the offer. But the Commission will not begin work till the beginning of January next. So that will not now necessitate my starting for South Africa earlier than 5th Oct[ober]. Miss Polak tells me that she has written to you by the letter going out today about the difficulty I have had in the matter of my booking my passage. This morning, however, I had a letter from Sir Owen Phillipps, Chairman of the Union Castle Company, telling me that things would be put right and that everything would be done to make my travelling comfortable. If Sir Owen's reply had been unsatisfactory, I had meant to write to the papers and several editors—Mr. Spender of the *Westminster Gazette*, Mr. Gardiner of the *Daily News*, Mr. Massingham of the *Nation* and a member on the staff of *The Times* would have vigorously taken up the matter and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had intended asking questions in the House. Mr. Harcourt, too, whom I met at a lunch the other day at the house of the Spenders, was very angry and had asked me to let him

know if Sir Owen's reply failed to give me satisfaction. However, I don't think anything should now be done in this matter, though in a way I am sorry to drop it, as the question of principle involved in it remains more or less unsolved.

Miss Polak also tells me that she has written to you to suggest that she should pay a visit to South Africa this autumn so as to be able to deal here with first-hand knowledge with our S. A. problems. I entirely agree with her, & I do hope most earnestly that you will approve her proposal. I have been least that enormous difficulties she has to contend against in this office, & the least that can be done to help her in her work is to give her an opportunity to acquire a first-hand knowledge of South Africa. From every point of view, her idea is the right one. If the question of expense is likely to deter you from approving it, I undertake to raise the hundred pounds which her visit will cost, on my return to India. Please therefore approve her plan & authorize her by wire to engage her passage.

I leave for the continent on 5th Aug[ust]. Letters received here at the National Liberal Club (Whitehall Place, S. W.) will be forwarded to me wherever I may be.

Yours sincerely,

G. K. GOKHALE

From a photostat of the handwritten original: S. N. 5672

APPENDIX XIII

POLAK'S LETTER TO INDIA GOVERNMENT ON GOLD LAW AND TOWNSHIPS ACT (1908)

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY,
SIMLA

April 19, 1912

[SIR,]

In view of the recent publication of the White Paper [Cd. 6087], containing "correspondence relating to the position of British Indians under the Gold Law and Townships Amendment Act, 1908, of the Transvaal", and especially of paragraph 2 of the Union Government's Minute (Enclosure in No. 9), at page 17 thereof, I have the honour, on behalf of the Indian community of the Province, to offer the following observations.

2. Law 3 of 1885, operating against the Native races of Asia, excludes Indians and other Asiatics from the ownership of landed property, except in Bazaars or Locations.
3. The Transvaal Administration, however, have declined to grant them freehold or long leasehold title of landed property in such Locations, but have permitted them to acquire leases, of 21 years only, of the Stands into which these Locations are divided, and, in Johannesburg, a monthly tenancy is alone allowed.

4. In spite, however, of the legal prohibition against the ownership, by an Indian, of landed property, the custom grew up of the creation of virtual trust, whereby European friends of Indian traders took nominal transfer of certain properties, which, however, were bought and paid for by the Indian, and virtually owned by them. These properties were acquired, not for speculative purposes, but for the furtherance of legitimate business interest, and the virtual Indian owners, as a rule, built substantial and modern structures thereon, costing many thousands of pounds in the aggregate, as residences for themselves and as business premises.

5. Of the fact that these transactions were not secret means of defeating the law, there is ample evidence.

6. Before Law 3 of 1885 came into force, Messrs Mahomed Ismail, Indian traders of Klerksdorp, bought at public auction certain Stands in the Township, upon the condition of the payment of monthly licences thereon, and the Stands were registered in their name. It became customary amongst the Klerksdorp Stand-holders to pay the Stand licences half-yearly, and Messrs Mahomed Ismail made payment in this way. After some time, an anti-Indian agitation arose, the Republican Government intervened, and summarily confiscated the Stands without compensation to the Indian owners, who strongly protested against this unwarranted act of spoliation. After lengthy negotiations, the Government notified the Indian traders that they would be permitted to resume the ownership of the Stands, upon condition that these were registered in the land registered in the name of some European. The condition was accepted, and the land was so transferred, at the suggestion of the authorities themselves.

7. The late Mr. Aboobaker Amod, the pioneer Indian trader in South Africa, bought in 1885, a certain Stand, in Church Street, Pretoria, before the law was enforced, but transfer was not granted before that date. The Indian owner died, and transfer was refused direct to the heirs, but granted to certain European nominees on their behalf. The injustices of the situation was realized by the new Transvaal Government, in 1907, who, in Act 2 of that year, endeavoured to provide for transfer to the heirs. The property had meanwhile been registered in my name. On an application to the Supreme Court, however, it was held that the provision of Act 2 had been so worded as to preclude transfer to the heirs, and, in framing Act 36 of 1908, provision was made, in terms, for the transfer to them of the Stand registered in my name, the entire transaction being recorded in a clause of a Transvaal Act of Parliament.

8. In the year 1905, in the appeal case of *Syed Ismail and Another v. Jacobs, N. O.*, such virtual trusts were distinctly recognized by the Court. Some months afterwards, when the legality of such transfers was questioned by the Deeds Office, and legal opinion was sought by the Department, it was held that the Supreme Court's decision in this case put the legality of such transactions beyond dispute, and a number of similar ones took place subsequently to that time.

9. In the debate in the House of Lords, on the 19th February last, on Lord Amphill's questions dealing with the operation of the Townships Amendment Acts

of 1908 and 1909, Lord Selborne, late High Commissioner for South Africa and Governor of the Transvaal, put the matter of the openness with which those transactions were carried out beyond all doubt. In the Official Report, he is recorded to have said: "A British Indian subject might not own the freehold of land and he might not engage directly in a mining enterprise. I say here, my Lord, what I have said before to a Transvaal audience. I do not think these two restrictions are justifiable. I think they are not only not justifiable, but they are very foolish, *because they are perfectly inoperative*. A British Indian is forbidden to hold land in freehold, *but he holds it absolutely securely through the medium of a white man with whom he makes arrangement*."

10. Whilst, then, it is plain that the law denied Indians the right of ownership of fixed property, it is equally evident that, apart from certain extra incidental expenses, the wealthier members of the Transvaal Indian community suffered little actual hardship from the denial, by reason of the growth of a custom of indirect ownership, recognized both by the Courts and by the Government of the Colony.

11. If the Imperial Government and the Transvaal Indians pressed for the repeal of the prohibition clause of Law 3 of 1885, it was not only for the protection of the less well-endowed members of the community, but for the removal of a racial disability, imposed neither upon the aboriginal Natives nor upon any other Coloured British subjects in the Transvaal.

12. It should be realized that, whilst individual Indians have availed themselves of the right of indirect ownership of landed property, the right was held prospectively by every single member of the community.

13. In the year 1908, the Townships Amendment Act (No. 34 of 1908, Transvaal) was passed, amending the Townships Act of 1907, and dealing specifically with Stands in a township. This measure, and a subsequent amending Act of 1909, were framed in general terms, i.e., they contained no racial differentiation, and made provision for the conversion, in certain circumstances and on certain conditions, of leasehold titles into freehold titles.

14. Whilst, however, in ordinary circumstances, no leaseholder is obliged to make application for the grant of freehold, in certain circumstances, such an application is rendered compulsory.

15. These Acts provided for the publication of regulations (see Appendix¹ to White Paper [Cd. 6087]), setting forth the conditions upon which the freehold grants are to be made.

16. These conditions were published under Government Notice (Transvaal) NO.640 of 1909, and sub-clause (d) reads as follows: "It (the land granted by the deed of grant) or any portion of it shall not be transferred, leased, or, in any other manner, assigned or disposed of to any Coloured person; and no Coloured person, other than the domestic servants of the registered owner or his tenant shall be permitted to reside

¹ Not reproduced here

thereon or in any other manner occupy the same. *Any branch of the foregoing condition shall entitle the Government of the Transvaal to cancel this grant and resume possession of the land hereby granted, without payment of any compensation in respect of buildings or structures erected on or improvement effected to the said land.*”

17. It should be observed that, though the parent law is couched in nondifferential terms, the conditions of the Crown Grant, which from an integral part thereof, impose a serious racial disability, in that they deprive the Indian community of the indirect right, hitherto possessed by them, of holding fixed property, Moreover, in the circumstances alluded to in paragraph, 14 hereof, Indians at present owning landed property indirectly may be at a future date, deprived of their property lawfully acquired without compensation.

18. The Indian community hold that these conditions are *ultra vires* of the law, or, in the alternative, that the law itself is *ultra vires*, and, therefore, unconstitutional. They hold that the tenor of the Townships Amendment Acts of 1908 and 1909 is such as to preclude the framing of differential regulations. On the other hand, the Transvaal Constitution of 1906 provides that differential legislation must be reserved for the expression of Royal wishes thereon. The Acts of 1908 and 1909, being in general terms, were not reserved, but were assented to immediately by the Governor. The differential regulations framed thereunder were never brought before the cognizance of Parliament, nor were they submitted to the scrutiny of His Majesty’s Secretary of State. It is held that the requirements of the Constitution have not been complied with, and that the regulations are of no force or effect.

19. Partly in order to extend his business and partly to test the validity of the regulations, Mr. Ahmed Moosa Bhyat, in the latter part of last year, in the exercise of the right of indirect ownership of landed property hitherto recognized by the Courts and Government of the Province, purchased the freedhold of certain Stands in the Township of Boksburg, which were registered in the name of Mr. Lewis Walter Ritch, Barrister-at-Law, lately the Secretary of the South Africa British Indian Committee, in England, and presently practising as an Attorney of the Supreme Court of the Union of South Africa, in Johannesburg.

20. Previously to that date, the white inhabitants of the township had combined to refuse to sell indirectly to Indians any Stands therein, with the object of maintaining Boksburg as a white preserve, confining the Indian residents to the Location. Mr. Bhyat, having been able to find a seller, purchased the aforementioned property, erected, at great expense, suitable premises, and opened a general dealer’s business therein, having previously obtained from the Government a licence thereto.

21. The trade jealousy of Mr. Bhyat’s European commercial rivals has, however, been aroused, he has been the victim of an organized boycott, and the white residents have induced the Union Government to institute proceedings against Messrs Ritch and Bhyat for the cancellation of the title-deeds, a declaration of forfeiture of the property, ejection, and damages. In order to defend their position, they are both

faced with costly litigation, whilst Mr. Bhyat stands to lose his property and his business, without compensation therefor. It should be added that his stock has been supplied to him by European wholesale firms of Johannesburg, to whom he has been known, as a trader of high integrity, for many years.

22. In bringing these facts to the notice of Government, I am desirous of emphasizing the growing tendency in the Union to legislate by means of regulations of which both the Union parliament and the Imperial Government are wholly ignorant. I wish also to make it clear that the Indian community are claiming no new right or privilege, but merely the retention of one that existed up to the date of the enforcement of the aforementioned Acts, whilst, nevertheless, not withdrawing the demand for the repeal of the differential provisions of Law 3 of 1885, whose injustice has been the subject of many remonstrances by the Imperial authorities, both before and since the War.

23. I venture, accordingly, to request Government to use their utmost efforts to prevent the imposition of further disabilities upon an already overburdened community, and to secure the preservation to them of a right, actual and potential, always hitherto recognized and justified.

[*Yours, etc.*]

H. S. L. POLAK

Indian Opinion, 6-7-1912

APPENDIX XIV

GLADSTONE'S MINUTE ON MEETING WITH GOKHALE

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

PRETORIA,

November 19, 1912

CONFIDENTIAL

SIR,

Mr. Gokhale came to luncheon with me yesterday, and subsequently we discussed the British Indian question.

2. I ascertained from the Prime Minister that some of his Ministers and many persons in the Orange Free State had taken umbrage at what they considered a minatory passage in one of Mr. Gokhale's speeches. But I am satisfied that Mr. Gokhale has no intention of making a threat. He wished to present to his audience the position in India, and the danger which might result from a continued state of friction in South Africa. The danger is all the greater because of inevitable exaggerations, and the efforts of revolutionaries to use the grievances of British Indians in South Africa against the British in India. In one of his speeches at Durban, he made his intention clear. He stated that he is sincerely anxious for the passage of the Immigration Bill, though he is disturbed at Mr. Fischer's apparent wish to

substitute a Canadian test for the Australian. Ministers however say that Mr. Fischer's idea is his own and not theirs. Mr. Gokhale appeared to attach much more importance to the licensing question and the £3 tax.

3. As regards the £3 tax, the Prime Minister told me that he thought it would be possible to meet Mr. Gokhale's view, though there might be strong opposition in Natal. From what Mr. Gokhale said I gathered that the Prime Minister had given him a satisfactory assurance.

4. The licensing question is likely to cause trouble, but for the present I think it is best to concentrate effort on the passage of the Immigration Bill. I am convinced that the Prime Minister and General Smuts are sincerely anxious to put it through, and probably the irritation caused by Mr. Gokhale's somewhat indiscreet language on the position in India will die down.

5. Mr. Gokhale has seen most of the influential members of the Unionist party, including Mr. Alexander, who was the protagonist against the Bill. From all of them he says he has received satisfactory promises of support when the Bill is before Parliament. He had arranged to see Sir Thomas Smart before sailing from Lourenco Marques on Monday.

6. Last session the Second Reading of the Bill was taken dangerously late. Its fate was sealed by the silence of the Opposition leaders, and the determined opposition of some of the rank and file.

7. I can hardly believe that the Unionist party will again fail next session to support General Botha and his colleagues in their endeavour, in the highest interests of the Empire, to remove grievances in South Africa which are productive of grave mischief and danger in India. If the Opposition leaders do their duty to the Empire next session, and if Ministers fulfil their promise to bring in the Bill at an early date, there seems to be no reason to anticipate another regrettable failure.

8. Mr. Gokhale expressed his gratitude for the courtesy and consideration of the Union Government and all the officials concerned in their arrangements throughout his stay in South Africa for his comfort and convenience.

9. He will present a report to Lord Hardinge as soon as possible after landing in India, which in due course will doubtless be transmitted to you.

I have, etc.

GLADSTONE

GOVERNOR-GENERAL

Colonial Office Records: C.O. 551/30

APPENDIX XV

GOKHALES SPEECH AT BOMBAY¹

December 14, 1912

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale, who was received most enthusiastically, then said: “Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I cannot tell you how glad I am to be back again in India and my joy is further intensified by the kind and cordial greetings which this great gathering has extended to me and the generous terms in which, you, Sir, have spoken of my work in South Africa. Your warm welcome joined to the undoubted satisfaction with which our countrymen in South Africa have regarded the visit, is to me ample reward for such strain as the work imposed on me while it lasted. You probably know, what I have publicly stated more once, that my visit was undertaken in response to an earnest invitation repeatedly pressed on me by our great countryman there, Mr. Gandhi. When I first made up my mind, however to pay the visit, my idea was to go about the country as quietly as possible to visit all important Indian centres, to collect such facts as I could concerning the treatment to which our countrymen were subjected there [and] on my return to lay those facts before the Government and the people of this country in the hope of stimulating thereby greater exertion on this side in support of the Indian cause in South Africa . . . When, however, I reached Cape Town and actually saw how anxious the Union Government was to treat me with every consideration and how arrangements had already been made for my meeting not only my own countrymen at all important centres, but also members of the European community at these centres, the only thing left to me was to enter whole-heartedly into the spirit of the arrangements and utilize to the full the opportunities placed within my reach. To have done anything else in these circumstances would have been to betray the cause which I had gone there to serve and to show myself unworthy of the confidence which my countrymen there had chosen to repose in me.”

HOW THE TIME WAS SPENT

Mr. Gokhale then described how his four weeks in South Africa were spent in visiting important Indian centres, meeting not only thousands of Indian residents in that country, but also a large number of Europeans, many of them men of note, addressing meetings sometimes composed exclusively of Indians, sometimes of Europeans, but more often mixed gathering of both Europeans and Indians discussing the several phases of the question in interviews and at conferences with leading men of all shades of opinion and representing various interests. He was already fairly familiar with the Indian side

¹ Gokhale arrived in Bombay from South Africa on December 13, 1912, and this speech was delivered on December 14 at a public meeting convened in the Town Hall by the Sheriff and attended by both Indians and Europeans.

of the question and it did not take him long after his arrival at Cape Town to acquire a firm grasp of the facts of the case so far as the Indians were concerned. And the access that he was enabled to have to the European community gave him exceptional opportunities to acquaint himself with the feelings and opinions of different sections of the European community. After examining the whole question from every point of view, Mr. Gokhale met the Ministers—General Botha, General Smuts and Mr. Fischer—on 14th November at Pretoria in a long interview lasting for two hours, when they went over the whole ground point by point and there was a full and frank interchange of views, the Ministers promising a careful consideration of the case submitted to them and they on their side explaining what they considered to be the special difficulties of the position. On the following day Mr. Gokhale had an opportunity of laying the whole matter before the Governor-General, H. E. Lord Gladstone, and then he left South Africa, feeling satisfied in his own mind that he had done all that he was capable of and bringing away with him the liveliest recollections of the wealth of affection lavished on him by his countrymen there, of the extreme kindness with which the European community had treated him and of the great consideration and courtesy shown to him by the Union Government.

A POSITION OF DIFFICULTY

Proceeding, Mr. Gokhale said: “Before I attempt to give you an idea of the state of things as I found it there . . . I should like to make one or two observations of a somewhat personal character. The first is about the extreme difficulty of my position in South Africa. Never before in my life, I assure you, had I to walk on such difficult and delicate ground, nor did I ever feel so oppressed with a sense of responsibility as during my four weeks in South Africa . . .

“My second observation will be about my dear and illustrious friend, Mr. Gandhi. From the moment I landed at Cape Town to the moment I left South Africa and even afterwards during nearly the whole of my visit to East Africa, Mr. Gandhi was with me and we were together nearly every moment of our walking hours. He had taken upon himself the duties of my private secretary, but he was in reality my guide, philosopher and friend. I do not wish to speak on this occasion of the devoted love with which he surrounded me but I feel it to be my duty to pay a brief, though altogether inadequate, tribute to the great work he has done for India in South Africa.

HERO AND MARTYR

“Ladies and gentlemen, only those who have come in personal contact with Mr. Gandhi as he is now, can realize the wonderful personality of the man. He is without doubt made of the stuff of which heroes and martyrs are made. Nay, more. He has in him the marvellous spiritual power to turn ordinary men around him into heroes and martyrs. During the recent passive resistance struggle in the Transvaal—would you believe it?—twenty-seven hundred sentences of imprisonment were borne by our countrymen there under Mr. Gandhi’s guidance to uphold the honour of their country. Some of the men among them were very substantial persons, some were small traders,

but the bulk of them were poor and humble individuals, hawkers, working men, and so forth, men without education, men not accustomed in their life to think or talk of their country. And yet these men braved the horrors of gaol- life in the Transvaal and some of them braved them again and again rather than submit to degrading legislation directed against their country. Many homes were broken in the course of that struggle, many families dispersed, some men at one time wealthy, lost their all and became paupers, women and children endured untold hardships. But they were touched by Mr. Gandhi's spirit and that had wrought the transformation, thus illustrating the great power which the spirit of man can exercise over human minds and even over physical surroundings. In all my life I have known only two men who have affected me spiritually in the manner that Mr. Gandhi does—our great patriarch, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and my late master, Mr. Ranade—men before whom not only are we ashamed of doing anything unworthy, but in whose presence our very minds are afraid of thinking anything that is unworthy. The Indian cause in South Africa has really been built up by Mr. Gandhi. Without self and without stain, he has fought his great fight for this country during a period now of twenty years and India owes an immense debt of gratitude to him. He has sacrificed himself utterly in the service of the cause. He had a splendid practice at the bar, making as much as five to six thousand pounds a year, which is considered to be a very good income for a lawyer in South Africa. But he has given all that up and he lives now on £3 a month like the poorest man in the street. One most striking fact about him is that though he has waged this great struggle so ceaselessly, his mind is absolutely free from all bitterness against Europeans. And in my tour nothing warmed my heart more than to see the universal esteem in which the European community in South Africa holds Mr. Gandhi. At every gathering, leading Europeans, when they came to know that Mr. Gandhi was there, would immediately gather round him anxious to shake hands with him, making it quite clear that though they fought him hard and tried to crush him in the course of the struggle, they honoured him as a man. To my mind Mr. Gandhi's leadership of the Indian cause in South Africa is the greatest asset of that cause and it was an inestimable privilege to me that he was with me throughout my tour to pilot me safely through my difficulties."

THE POSITION ANALYSED

Proceeding to describe the position of the Indians in South Africa, Mr. Gokhale said that the Union of South Africa consisted of four provinces—Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, and Orangia and in the whole Union there was a total Indian population of about a hundred and fifty thousand persons. Of that, roughly speaking, about a hundred and twenty thousand were in Natal, about twenty thousand were in the Cape and about ten thousand were in the Transvaal. In Orangia there were hardly any Indian, the total number not exceeding a hundred, as some years ago, the Boer Government of that time forcibly expelled from the Republic all Indian except such as were domestic servants. Four fifths of the entire Indian population in South Africa represented indentured labourers, ex-indentured and their descendants. The

remainder were free persons who had gone there at their own expense in the wake of the indentured labourers. One peculiarity of the position which the meeting had to realize was that there was no educated class among the Indians in South Africa similar to the educated class of this country—the men who followed, what were called, learned or liberal professions being so few as to be counted on one's fingers. The bulk of the people were either tradesmen or working men and a few were domestic servants. The traders were most of them petty traders, though some were fairly substantial. Speaking roughly, there were about two thousand traders and five to six thousand hawkers in each one of the three provinces mentioned. Of the working men a large proportion were still serving their indenture, while the rest were ex-indentured labourers or their descendants. In the Cape Indian could acquire both the municipal and the political franchise. In the Natal they had the municipal franchise but not the political and in the two Dutch provinces they were rigorously excluded from both the municipal and the political franchise. The present immigration law was different for the different provinces. In Cape Colony and Natal Indians could enter only by passing a test in a European Language and the average number of such immigrants for the last few years was between 40 and 50 for the two provinces together—a surprisingly small number. In the Transvaal and Orangia new Indians were at present prohibited altogether from entering. The traders' and hawkers' licences in Cape Colony and Natal had to be renewed every year and the grant of new licences lay in the discretion of local authorities manned almost entirely by the European trade rivals of Indian traders. In the Transvaal, on the other hand, licences had to be granted as a matter of course for the mere tender of a licence fee. But there were two laws in force there, known as the Gold Law and the Townships Act, the combined effect of which was to make those licences practically worthless. Wherever an area was declared to be a gold area under those laws, Indians could only reside and trade in special Locations situated as a rule at some distance from the towns. In Cape Colony and Natal, Indians could own land or acquire other immovable property, which they could not do in the Transvaal and Orangia. In addition to these there were several minor disabilities, including many galling social ones of greater or less severity in the different provinces. Finally there was hardly any provision for the education of Indian children. A few primary schools were to be found here and there mostly maintained by missionary bodies or by the community itself. Throughout South Africa there was no provision of any kind for the secondary, higher or technical education of Indian children.

A HEART-RENDING SITUATION

When the speaker arrived in South Africa and took a broad survey of the Indian position as he found it, he confessed his heart for a time sank within him. The position in many ways was truly pitiable and heart-rending. It was well known that the lot of their countrymen in the Transvaal, hard as it was in the days of the Boer Republic, had grown far harder since it became a British Province. But it was not so well known that in Natal and even in the Cape the situation had been steadily getting

worse since the Union, the harsh anti-Indian Transvaal spirit gradually infecting the whole Union. Mr. Gokhale found on his arrival that almost every section of the Indian community throughout South Africa was filled with a serious dread about its future, a feeling of insecurity, harassment and oppression prevailing generally such as was bound to demoralize any community. A large proportion of European population was *evidently* determined to make things so intolerable for the Indians there that they should of their own accord get out of the country. Not only were some of the laws under which they lived harsh and unjust, but even the administration of other laws, which in themselves were neither harsh nor unjust, was so oppressive as to drive the community well nigh to despair. Thus the Immigration Law in regard to old Indian settlers in the Cape and Natal was being so worked as to fill everyone with the fear that if he left the country temporarily on a visit to India or elsewhere, he might have difficulty in getting back. About the same time that Mr. Gokhale arrived at Cape Town, a case occurred there illustrating what he was saying. At present an Indian settler in that province wishing to be temporarily absent from the country had to take out a permit with him specifying the period within which he should return. And an Indian trader who had thus left with a year's permit on a visit to India, leaving his business in charge of his wife and children, returned one day late, owing to his steamer having been held up four days on the way by a storm. If the steamer had run according to schedule time, he would have arrived at Cape Town three days before the expiry of his permit. And yet on the technical ground that he had not returned within the specified time, he was turned back, his business ruined and his wife and children put under the necessity of leaving the country. Similarly in Natal old settlers were provided with domicile certificates which were supposed to give them the right of going out of the country and coming back whenever they liked, the only provision being that Immigration Officer should satisfy himself about the genuineness of the certificates. In exercise of that power even holders of certificated 15 or 16 years old were being cross-examined, on their return to Natal after a temporary absence, as to minute details of where they lived, what they did when they first arrived and so forth. And the smallest discrepancy between the answers unwarily given by the men and the actual recorded facts was deemed sufficient to justify the rejection of the certificates, compelling the holders to return to Indian absolutely ruined men. Now the speaker would put it to his European friends on the platform how many of them, if they were suddenly asked all sorts of questions as to when they first came into this country, where they lived, what they did and so on, would be able to answer such questions without making any mistake. Again, the question of trading and hawking licences was agitating the Indian mind gravely throughout Cape Colony and Natal. Both provinces had now clearly entered on a policy of granting no new licences to Indians as far as possible and of steadily extinguishing all existing licences as opportunities offered themselves. As those licences were renewable every year, a feeling of the utmost uncertainty as to what would happen to his licence when the time for a renewal came filled the mind of every Indian trader. Businessmen in Bombay would have no difficulty in understanding how

ruinous must be the consequences of such a state of things and how much constant anxiety about the future must paralyse and finally destroy all business enterprise among the persons affected. In the Transvaal the steady extension of the gold area condemning Indian traders to trade and reside only in Locations was in itself a frightful hardship.

RELENTLESS OPPRESSION

But some local authorities were carrying the policy of relentless oppression still further by breaking up old Location if Indians were found to be doing business successfully in them and ordering them to remove to fresh Locations even more disadvantageously situated. The speaker had personally visited several Locations and he could only say that the whole policy involved in them deserved to be denounced in the strongest terms. They would thus see how gravely disturbed and anxious the mind of the Indian trading community in South Africa was. The labouring population in addition to many disabilities laboured under a special grievance of their own which caused them untold suffering, i.e., the £3 Licence Tax. The speaker had no hesitation in saying that a more cruel impost it was impossible to conceive. Under it all ex-indentured Indians in Natal who completed their indentures after 1901 and their descendants were liable to pay annually £3 each, all males above the age of 16 and females above the age of 13 being so liable. And for non-payment they were sent to gaol with hard labour. That under any law a girl of 13 should have to pay £3 a year to the State and should be liable to be sent to gaol with hard labour for non-payment, was a thing too horrible to contemplate. If they took an ordinary family of a father, a mother and two daughters of 13 and 15 with one or two younger children, they would find that the family had to pay £12 a year for the mere permission to live in the colony of Natal—and that after the man and the woman had contributed five years' labour to the prosperity of Colony under a system of indenture. Now the average monthly wage of the man might be taken at about 25 shillings and the woman with her two daughters looking after the household might earn about 16 shillings a month among them—a total income of about £2 a month.

Out of that sum £1 or full one-half had to be given as that miserable Licence Tax. After that there was rent to pay and the cost of food and clothing and all ordinary taxes common to the general community. Need anybody wonder that a prominent member of the Natal Legislature declared openly two years ago that the impost broke up families, drove men into paths of crime and women into lives of shame? One of the most harrowing sights at which Mr. Gokhale had to be present was a meeting in Durban of those who were liable to pay the £3 Tax. About 5, 000 persons were present. As man after man and woman after woman came forward and narrated his or her suffering due to the Tax, it was impossible not to feel overwhelmed by feelings of indignation, pity and sorrow. One old woman of 65 was there who had been to gaol six times for inability to pay the tax and Mr. Gokhale could not recall the case even after that interval without emotion. As things stood, unless a fairly satisfactory settlement was soon arrived at it would not take many years for the Indian community

of South Africa to be practically harassed out of the country after undergoing great suffering and losses.

POSITION OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

That was the position of the Indian community as he found it. He wanted next to describe to them briefly the position of the European community. It was necessary to understand that position clearly, to understand their interests, their difficulties, their view and their sentiments and even their prejudices. They were a handful of people—only about a million and a quarter in all—in the midst of a vast indigenous population at a totally different grade of civilization. And the contact between the two races had already created grave problems—social, political, economic and moral—which were already filling the European mind in that subcontinent with uneasiness, misgiving and even dread. And they found in the midst of their difficult and complicated situation a third element introduced belonging to another civilization and representing other modes of life and thought. It was true that the present number of Indians in South Africa was only a lakh and a half against 12_ lakhs of Europeans. But the Europeans felt that there were 300 millions of people in India and if Indians continued to come freely into South Africa, there was nothing to prevent several millions from going there and swamping the European community and practically making the country another India. The fear was based on an absolute misapprehension, but it was there, deep and strong and general, and no useful purpose would be served by shutting one's eyes to it. In addition to this, there was first the tremendous colour prejudice which existed in that land—a prejudice felt even more by the Dutch than by the English—and secondly the dread of Indian competition on the part of small European traders, who felt that they could not hold their own against their Indian rivals in a fair field, owing to the Indians' less expensive scale of living. The combined result of all these causes was the present harsh and oppressive policy towards Indians—a policy plainly directed to making the lot of the Indians in that country so hard as practically to compel them to leave the country, or if remain they must, to remain there as a servile, degraded and depressed community.

A GRAVE SITUATION

Such was the position—grave, anxious and extremely difficult. What was to be the way out of it? So long as the European mind in South Africa was dominated by the fear of serious influx of Indians swamping the Europeans, so long there was no chance of securing—leave alone absolute equality—even reasonably just and humane treatment for our countrymen such as would enable them to live in peace and security and steadily advance to the position of a worthy element in a self-governing community. Even the best friends of Indians among the Europeans in South Africa—and there was a small section that could be thus described—were convinced that unless the fear of being swamped was removed from the European mind, they were powerless to urge with any effect the plea of more just and more humane treatment for the Indian community. Another section, a much larger section, that had the sense of fairness to

feel heartily ashamed of the present policy pursued towards the Indians, would also then, but not till then, sympathize with the struggle of the Indians against their present treatment. The Indian community of South Africa itself also clearly felt the necessity of removing that fear, groundless more or less though it was, in view of the fact that the average number of free immigrants during the last few years had been only between 40 and 50—a number, however, which the ordinary European there did not accept and could not be persuaded to accept as correct. For some time past, therefore, the policy of our countrymen in South Africa under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi was, while insisting on maintaining intact their theoretical rights as equal subjects of the Empire in the legislation of the country, to strive for such modification in practice of the present policy of injustice and oppression as would enable the community to live and prosper in peace and security and steadily advance in status and importance in that land. And even the briefest visit that one could pay to South Africa would satisfy one that that was the only wise, sound, practical, and statesmanlike course for the Indians to adopt in existing circumstances. It was in accordance with that course that in the compromise which was arrived at between Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts last year, under which the passive resistance movement was suspended, the Union Government agreed not to make any legislative differentiation against Indians in the proposed new immigration law. Mr. Gandhi on his side agreed that in practice the discretion vested in the executive administering the law might be exercised by the administration as it thought reasonable, subject to a minimum number of Indians being admitted every year to supply the higher needs of the community and replace its wear and tear in certain directions. That minimum was six Indians for the Transvaal where under the existing law no Indian whatever was admitted. For the whole Union a minimum now asked was forty, which was the present number of free immigrants annually on an average of seven years. The essence of the compromise was that by removing legislative inequality the theoretical rights of the Indians as subjects of the Empire should be maintained, while by agreeing to limitation of new immigrants to the present average number, the fear of an indiscriminate influx which haunted the European mind should be removed. Once that was done, the Indians there could struggle far more effectively than at present for a juster, more equal and more humane treatment in other respects. Mr. Gokhale's own work in South Africa had been done on those lines. He did not ask for an inch either more or less than what the Indian community there had been asking. His one advantage was that he was enabled to have access to the European community as no other Indian had it before him and he was thus enabled to address his appeal for justice and humanity to the very heart and conscience of the European community, speaking to its members face to face.

THE OPEN-DOOR POLICY

On his return to India the previous day Mr. Gokhale said he was astonished to learn that the view was expressed in some quarters that the line taken by him in South Africa was wrong, that he should have stood out there for the open door in practice

and nothing less and that the surrender of India's rights in the matter already made by Mr. Gandhi had been confirmed by him. All he would say in regard to that criticism was that those who passed it did not show any real grasp of the problem in South Africa. The supreme question of the Indian community there was not to urge a policy of the open door for more Indians to come there, but to secure such an amelioration of the conditions under which they live that their lot might become more bearable and they might have opportunities of growing into an important part of a self-governing community. And the only chance of their securing that was if they approached the whole question in a practical spirit. Mr. Gokhale could easily have stood out for the open door in practice in South Africa. He could have made brave speeches on that subject and could have returned to his country feeling that he had made brave speeches. But the cause of the Indian community in South Africa could not been served that way. The European community would have been made, if anything, more implacable in their determination to get rid of the Indians at all costs and the eventual expulsion of Indians from that subcontinent would only have been hastened by such a course. As regards the charge brought against Mr. Gandhi, it amounted to an utter travesty of the actual facts. After all, their right to equal treatment in the Empire today were largely theoretical. But even to maintain them theoretically intact Mr. Gandhi had been four times to gaol and had inspired hundreds of his countrymen to do the same. Those theoretical rights would no doubt steadily grow more and more into rights enjoyed actually in practice, but that was a matter of slow growth and it depended in a large measure upon the improvement of their position in India itself.

PRESENT OUTLOOK

Concluding, Mr. Gokhale said: "Ladies and gentlemen, before I sit down you may well ask me what is now the outlook in South Africa. Well, the catalogue of our grievances there is so long that as General Botha said to me, in the course of our interview, even the strongest Ministry that could be conceived in South Africa today could not be strong enough to remedy those grievances all at once and if it attempted any such thing it would straightway be hurled from power. The situation is such that though we must keep up the struggle ceaselessly, we must not expect anything else than a slow, though steady, amelioration of our lot. But I think in certain matters relief will be forthcoming almost immediately. In the first place, I fully expect that the provisional settlement, arrived at between Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts as regards the passive resistance movement which the Government found itself powerless to carry through Parliament last session, will be successfully carried through this year. The actual working of the Immigration law also will, I expect, soon become milder and more considerate. Then that outrageous impost, the three-pound license tax, will, I fully expect, go in the course of this year. In fact, I may mention that Ministers have authorized me to say that they will do thier best to remove the grievance as early as possible. In the matter of education also, the position will materially improve and the actual administration of laws such as the Gold Law and Townships Act will tend to become less and less burdensome. In one

respect, however, I fear the position will not soon change for the better, and it is even possible that it may even grow worse before it become better. And that is in regard to trading licences. Here, however, our community is fighting for bare justice. And it has behind it in the matter the sympathy not only of the Government of India and of the Imperial Government but also of the better mind of the European community in South Africa. And in the struggle, if only we in this country do our duty properly, our countrymen there will win. And this brings me to my concluding observations. Ladies and gentlemen, I strongly feel—many friends of our cause in England and South Africa also feel—that so far India has nor done her duty by her children across the seas, struggling to uphold her honour amidst unparalleled difficulties. One man amongst us, it is true has set a great and glorious example—my friend Mr. Ratan Tata—whose name I assure you is held in the deepest affection and gratitude by the Indian community in South Africa. A committee in Madras has also done some work and the committee here has collected some funds, but all these taken together amount to but little, considering the issues involved. I hope, however, that whatever may have been our remissness in the past, we shall do better in this respect in the future. I hope we shall all take in the future more interest in what will go on in South Africa, follow the developments more carefully and enable our countrymen there to feel that we stood solid and united behind them. I hope too that we shall collect and send much larger funds in aid of the cause there than we have hitherto done. Remember, the community there is already exhausted financially and otherwise by its long struggle. Remember also, that it requires assistance not only in waging this most unequal struggle, but for providing educational and other facilities for the moral and material well-being of its children. Remember finally that it is no merely the interests of the Indian community in South Africa alone that are involved in the struggle, but our whole future as a nation in this Empire is involved in it. In proportion therefore as we do our duty in this matter, shall we have advanced more and more towards a position in this Empire more worthy of the self-respect of civilized being. In proportion as we do this duty, shall we have deserved well of our country, of our children and our children's children.

Indian Opinion, 25-1-1913 & 1-2-1913

APPENDIX XVI

GOKHALE'S ANSWER TO SILBURN AND F. C. HOLLANDER

A

Speaking at Durban on November 11, 1912 at a banquet in Gokhale's honour, Silburn had said among other things, "He had followed Mr. Gokhale's tour through the country, and had noticed that few word of warning had been given him as to what the position really is. Many thought the British and the Boers were hostile to his countrymen, but that was not the case. He, as a politician did consider that there were grievances under which the Indians were suffering, and that they should be remedied as

speedily as possible and personally he should give his assistance in removing the £3 tax. But it had to be remembered that a very difficult native racial problem confronted us, and that the introduction of a third element tended to make it more complex rather than to ease it. Furthermore, the people on the spot here were the people to deal with it, and he asked Mr. Gokhale to go back to India, and to let the Government of India and the Government of England know that this problem was to be dealt with in South Africa, and that no interference either by Great Britain or by India would be tolerated by the British people of this country.” To this, Gokhale, in his speech had rejoined, “He knew enough of English history and the traditions of the English race to realize that if anything were to be got from Englishmen it would not be got in these ways, but by appealing to their sense of fair play of justice. . . . He would be the very last person, then, to do anything to diminish the right of self-governing dominion. But the position was peculiar. The Indian Government could not approach, the South African Government directly; they could only approach them through the Imperial Government, and the Imperial Government was therefore their sole protection in these matters....he asked Major Silburn what he would do if he were in India and in his shoes. He thought that he would do what any Britisher would do, namely, represent his cause to the Imperial Government . . .”

B

Gokhale, in his speech at Maritzburg on November 7, 1912, had said, “On the one side was a small European community in a vast country scattered among a vast number of Natives . . . the two races were on different grades of civilization, and their contact had already produced difficulties. . . . The European community naturally wished to safeguard its own civilization. . . . Then the Indian factor had been introduced. Their numbers at present were small, but there was a fear in the mind of many Europeans that unless drastic measures were taken their numbers would grow, and they would possibly one day swamp the European community. He had come to think that a large part of the conditions of which the Indians, perhaps rightly, complained, was due to that fear. Then came trade jealousies, the Europeans fearing that, with his simpler standard of living, the Indian would undersell him. That was a question, however, which had two sides. The complaint came from the small trader, who was inconvenienced, not from the community as a whole which, if it was interested in anything, was interested in buying as cheaply as possible.” (*Indian Opinion*, 16-11-1912). On November 8, Hollander¹, in his speech of welcome at the Durban Town Hall selectively recalled only two observations from the above speech and quoted them, saying, “He ventured to refer specially to two utterances in Maritzburg. Mr. Gokhale was reported to have said that he realized that where there were two grades of civilization growing up alongside each other, contact with each other must necessarily bring about serious difficulties . . . He welcomed these two utterances, because they proved at once that

¹ F. C. Hollander, mayor of Durban

their distinguished visitor was prepared to approach his task in no narrow-minded spirit, that he was prepared to realize . . . there would perhaps be more than one point of view. He was certain in his own mind, also, that Mr. Gokhale had realized since he had been in South Africa that there was another and even more outstanding question, and one which perhaps overshadowed every other question in the country: it was what we called the Native question, and all the questions affecting race and colour were so intermingled the one with the other anyone who attempted to approach the solution of one of them must find himself confronted with the greatest difficulty, because of the presence of the other.”

From Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Visit to South Africa, 1912