

1. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]

August 5, 1909

MY LORD,

I beg to acknowledge your two letters of yesterday's date. I hope to send you copies¹ of your letters at the earliest opportunity. My letter² in reply to yours of the 3rd instant has already gone forward.

With reference to the allegation as to the question of educated Indians being a new question—I deal with it on a separate sheet of paper³ in order to enable you to use it without having to refer to this letter. The terms of the proposed amendment to be submitted are also enclosed herewith.⁴ I fully realise that the difficulty will be on the question of right. I have given many an anxious night to find out a solution without insisting on the “right”, but I have failed because anything short of it, in my humble opinion, implies a record on the Statute-book of the Colony of racial inferiority, and this reply to your question is also the reply to Your Lordship's suggestion that, in the enumeration of demands, the status of educated Indians should be replaced by “the occasional admission of the few highly educated Indians”, etc. Any such substitution is not possible because the fight is not that of getting the few educated Indians admitted, but it is essentially that of having the potential or theoretical right recognised. Physicians, lawyers, etc., have been mentioned in connection with the question in order to emphasise the tangible consequences of a denial of the “right”, and this became necessary in order to satisfy Mr. Cartwright's friends as ...⁵ [Colon]ial stand [point it] is necessary for them to know in a tangible form that our demand does not involve the admission of more than six such Indians into the Colony; as a matter

¹ Lord Amphill had asked for copies of his letters to Gandhiji, as he had not retained any with him.

² Vide “Letter to Lord Amphill”, 4-8-1909.

³ Vide enclosure 1.

⁴ The original enclosure is not available. But the text of the amendment prepared by Gandhiji, which was forwarded by Lord Amphill to General Smuts on August 10, is given here as enclosure 2. For the proviso later on added to it by Gandhiji, vide “Letter to Lord Amphill”, 9-8-1909.

⁵ Some words are missing here.

of fact, there may not be even two per year applying for such admission and, personally, I should want no assurance from the local Government that they would admit six or a smaller number. The principle being conceded, mere admission is a matter of detail and I frankly confess that, had it been purely a question of admitting a few such Indians, I should never have advised tremendous suffering on the part of my countrymen of the Transvaal.

I am much obliged to Your Lordship for your further and valuable suggestions as to improving the statement¹. In concert with Mr. Ritch, I am attending to it directly. After the suggestions are incorporated, I will have a few copies struck and will forward them to you, but final order for printing them will not be given until I have received your approval and permission to circulate it.

I am, etc.,

[ENCLOSURE 1]

AS TO THE ALLEGATION THAT THE QUESTION OF
EDUCATED INDIANS IS A NEW QUESTION

It is necessary to bear in mind that there were two conferences; the one in the January of 1908 when Mr. Gandhi was still in prison.² At that time the question of educated Indians was not mentioned because no such mention was necessary. This is so because the repeal of Act 2 of 1907, on condition of voluntary registration being gone through, would have automatically re-instated British Indians possessing educational attainments.

The second conference took place on the 20th August between the Executive Council and the leaders of the Progressive Party, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Quinn. This is the meeting concerning which it is alleged that the question of educated Indians was not among the points discussed. This allegation received direct refutation in General Botha's despatch, No. 528, dated the 5th September 1908, at page 43, cd. 4327. General Botha says there: "The ninth subject of discussion was the fresh demand made for the immigration of Asiatics not claiming previous domicile in the Transvaal, but who could pass an education test." This is an admission that this subject was discussed at the conference, but, it is claimed by

¹ *Vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", 16-7-1909.

² Gandhiji was sentenced to two months' imprisonment on January 10, 1908, but was released on January 30 following the settlement; *vide* "Trial at Johannesburg", 10-1-1908 and "Interview to 'the Transvaal Leader'", 30-1-1908.

General Botha, it was a fresh demand brought up there. But this is also wrong, as is shown from the correspondence between Mr. Smuts and Mr. Gandhi, commencing from the 22nd February 1908.¹ Indeed, as a matter of fact, the conference was brought about because the negotiations that were going on with General Smuts for repeal of the Act fell through, inasmuch as General Smuts imposed a fresh condition as to the prohibition of educated British Indians before he would repeal the Act. Moreover, in the ...² [above quotation] a claim which ministers had previously decided was inadmissible and even had it been otherwise, it is difficult to see by what means a Bill providing for the immigration of Asiatics and the clause in question could be passed through either of the Houses of Parliament in view of the almost universal feeling of the white colonists on the subject.” It may also be added that at this conference there was no agreement come to. The Asiatic leaders retired with distinct instructions from the members of the Executive Council and the Progressive Leaders that they were to put before their respective committees the points that were discussed at the conference and inform General Smuts of the decision of the committees. Accordingly and immediately, Asiatic meetings were held, and both Messrs Gandhi and Quinn reported to General Smuts. In the Blue-book above-mentioned, the whole of the letter written at the special request of the Private Secretary to Mr. Smuts is not given. The following are the opening sentences from the letter to Mr. Lane (Mr. Smuts’ Private Secretary), dated the 20th August:³

Mr. Cartwright told me that I should write to you what I told him as to the decision of the meeting today, and to give my impressions also.

I placed before the meeting, for the third time today, the terms that I told them the Government were prepared to offer, and I told them further that these would form an Acceptable compromise, if some provision was made for highly educated Indians and Mr. Sorabjee’s re-instatement; but the meeting would not listen to anything short of repeal of the Asiatic act and the recognition of highly educated Indians under the general clause of the Immigrants’ Restriction Act. All I could persuade them to accept was that, the statutory right being recognised, there would be no objection to an administrative discrimination against educated Indians, so that only the most highly educated Indians could enter.⁴

¹ *Vide* “Letter to General Smuts”, 22-2-1908.

² Some words are missing here.

³ *Vide* “Letter to E.F.c.Lane”, 20-8-1908.

⁴ Lord Amptill, acknowledging this letter on August 7, wrote that this memorandum seemed to be quite convincing and would be of immediate use to him.

[ENCLOSURE 2]

AMENDMENT

Part of sub-section 1 of Section 2 of the Immigrants' Restriction Act No. 15 of 1907 reads as follows:

“Any person who when asked whether within or outside this Colony by a duly authorised officer shall be unable through deficient education to write out (from dictation or otherwise) and sign in the characters of an European language an application for permission to enter this Colony or such other document as such officer may require; provided that for the purpose of this sub-section Yiddish shall be accepted as an European language; provided further that” (what follows is immaterial)

Proposed Amendment of sub-section 1. as follows:

“Any person who when asked whether within or outside this Colony by a duly authorised officer shall be unable through deficient education to pass an examination test in an European language that may be set; provided that for the purposes of this Section Yiddish shall be accepted as an European language and provided further that the Immigration Officer shall have full discretion as to the nature of the examination which may vary in respect of persons or classes and that the decision of the Immigration Officer in respect of the examination shall not be subject to review by or appeal to the Supreme Court or any other Courts of the Colony, and provided further that any Asiatic passing the examination test put to him by the Immigration Officer and not being otherwise in terms of this Act deemed a prohibited immigrant shall not be subject to the provisions of Act 36 of 1908, provided further that”

NOTES HEREON

1. If Act 2 of 1907 had been repealed and if there were no Act 36 of 1908, there would be no occasion for reference to Act 36 in the proposed amendment. But the reference has become necessary as Act

36 contains a removal clause, and as sub-section 4 of Section 2 of Act 15 provides that any person being subject to a removal order becomes a prohibited immigrant in spite of his passing the examination tests. Said sub-section 4 reads as follows:

Any person who at the date of his entering or attempting to enter this Colony is subject or would if he entered this Colony be subject to the provisions of any law in force at such date which might render him liable either at such date or thereafter if found therein to be removed from or to be ordered to leave this Colony whether on conviction of any offence against such law or for failure to comply with its provision or otherwise in accordance with its provisions, provided that such conviction be not result of the commission by such person elsewhere than in this Colony of an offence for which he has received a free pardon.

2. The proposed amendment as to examination has been given in order to satisfy the objection raised by General Smuts that the present law may not contain sufficient discretion for the Immigration Officer, to warrant him putting one test before one immigrant and a different test before another.

Colonial Office Records : 291/142; also, from a photostat : of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 4980

2. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

[LONDON,]
August 6, 1909

SIR,

I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 4th instant, in which you say that Lord Crewe will be willing to see my colleague and me on Tuesday the 10th instant at 3.30 p.m., in reference to the position of British Indians in the Transvaal. My colleague and I will wait upon. His Lordship at the time.

I remain, etc.

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 4984

3. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]
August 6, 1909

MY LORD,

I am now sending twenty copies of the statement¹. Most of the suggestions made by you are embodied in it and I hope that the manner of carrying them out will commend itself to Your Lordship. In order not to make the statement technical, some of the explanations considered necessary by you have been given at the end of the statement in the form of notes. As already stated in a previous letter, the statement is still in proof form. If, therefore, any further amendment is required, it can be made.

Note D is the petition² referred to in paragraph 29. It has not yet been printed. But, for Your Lordship's perusal, I enclose copy herewith.

Your letters are being copied.

May I state that, if Sir George Farrar's approval of the demands can be secured, Mr. Smuts is not likely to raise any objections.

It may be that Mr. Smuts will excuse himself from doing anything, because, owing to the Union, there may be no more session

¹ Vide "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", 16-7-1909

² Vide "Petition to Secretary of State for Colonies", 9-9-1908. This, however, was not included in the statement.

of the Transvaal Parliament. If he takes up such a position, he can still promise to see to the two demands being granted at the first session of the Provincial Council under the Union, and, in the meanwhile, the Immigration Law may be administered as if the Asiatic Act did not exist. . .¹ Then passive. . .² efforts being successful, I take it that the passive resisters at present in the Transvaal gaols will be unconditionally released and that those who have been deported will be given the opportunity of applying for registration.

If, in Your Lordship's opinion, a conference between us is necessary, I am at your service.

Lord Crewe has now sent my colleague and me an appointment for Tuesday next.

I am, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 4982

4. LETTER TO H.S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]

August 6, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I am sending you a cable³ today. It has not yet been sent because I want to save a few shillings by codifying one or two words. Although Millie told me that she had promised to send you a cable, I exercised discretion by not sending a direct cable and leaving you to infer their arrival from my cable⁴ to Daphtary. As she will be writing to you fully about herself, I am not saying anything more in this letter. I enclose statement which has undergone many corrections and amendments. It is not yet in its final form nor is it intended to be for circulation. Lord Ampthill is most cautious about these things. Whilst the negotiations are going on, he does not want any public activity at this end. He will meet General Smuts next Monday ; we are to meet Lord Crewe next Tuesday. Next week, therefore, will definitely decide the course of action to be taken here. Your activity, however, need not be affected by what is going on here, unless a definite settlement is arrived at; but even if it is, I think you should take every advantage of

¹ The office copy is damaged and some words are missing here.

² *ibid*

³ These are not available.

⁴ *ibid*

your visit there to travel throughout India, see all the leaders and place the position before them. In the event of a settlement being arrived at, it would not be bad for you to publish a pamphlet giving a history of Indian grievances throughout South Africa.¹ It may be somewhat after my green pamphlet² which I dare say you have before you. No matter how things go, I gather from Millie that she would remain in London for about a year. Personally, I think it is as well that she should do so. I assume that you will be in India at least three months, and if necessary, you may stay for the session of the Congress. All this, however, may have to be altered as events ripen here. If there is no settlement, you can only concentrate your energy on the Transvaal question, and not divert the attention of the public by referring to other matters. I purposely refrained from sending you copies of letters from Lord Ampthill. I, however, send you copies of my letters to him. They will show you what is happening here and what charges are being brought against us.

Your cable has been duly received. I hope you are being well treated by those with whom you come in contact, and that they have found for you a suitable residence.

You should look up at the *Bombay Gazette* office, or at some of the libraries, the *Gazette* dated the 13th July. It has a long editorial on the struggle. The article almost seems to be inspired and is a personal appeal to me to restrict my activity, too, in certain quarters only.³ It is a very sympathetic article and you should try to read it. Miss Smith showed it to me. The cutting I am sending to Johannesburg. By the way, whenever you get the time, you should try to see the public

¹ Polak wrote in his letter of August 21: "The S[outh] A[frica] grievances pam-phlet is already in MS. I wrote it in anticipation on board. Until a settlement, I am absolutely barring out anything but the Transvaal trouble." The pamphlet was published in October 1909 by G. A. Natesan, Madras, under the title : *The Indians of South Africa: Helots within the Empire and how they are treated*. Polak wrote another on the Transvaal problem entitled: *The Tragedy of Empire: The Treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal*.

² *The Grievances of the British Indians in South Africa: An Appeal to the Indian Public*, Vide 14-8-1896

³ Commenting upon the Indian struggle in the Transvaal and adverting to Gandhiji, the journal had written that "if he gets in the hands of 'irresponsible degenerates', he had better have remained in South Africa... we trust he may be better advised than to throw in his lot with the class of agitator who now roams through Great Britain and advocates he knows not what". The article was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 11-9-1909.

libraries there, and make the acquaintance of Mr. Velinkar¹, the great educationalist, of whom I think I spoke to you. I am not sending you any note of introduction to him because I hardly think you need any now.

This is how Mr. Dallow refers to you in his letter to the *Yorkshire Daily Observer*: "Finding that all attempts to move the Imperial Government on grounds of justice to redress their grievances have failed, the Indian leaders have despatched one of their white sympathisers to India in the hope, thereby, of awakening the attention of the Indian people to their sufferings. The gentleman is an English Jew; an attorney by profession; in thought and habit a Hindu, and he is the only one appointed on the Indian deputation whom the Transvaal Government was unable to arrest." From one point of view, what a libel that you should be considered in thought and habit a Hindu! What would Kallenbach say to this? And yet, from another standpoint, it is undoubtedly a compliment. You may regard it as neither. Mr. Dallow has been writing, I know, in the same strain to one of the members of Parliament. As I am dictating this, I change my mind and will send the article to you instead of to Kallenbach. You will like to read the whole of it and it will be of no use in Johannesburg.

The Natal delegation is here, that is, Messrs Abdul Caadir, Anglia, Bhayat and Badat. I enclose herewith draft statement² prepared for the Natal delegates. I am not responsible for reversing the order in which the grievances should have appeared.

A splendid cablegram was received from Zanzibar by Sir Mancherjee supporting the Transvaal struggle.³ Sir Mancherjee has sent copies both to the Colonial and India offices.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 4981

¹ Professor of English at Wilson College, Bombay, and later, at the Nizam's College, Hyderabad. He was a friend of Gokhale.

² This draft is not available. However, for the revised text bearing the signatures of the deputationists, *vide* "Statement of Natal Indian Grievances", 10-8-1909.

³ Polak in his letter of August 21, ascribed this to his visit there.

5. LONDON

Friday, August 6, 1909

NATAL DEPUTATION

Messrs Amod Bhayat, H. M. Badat and M. C. Anglia arrived here safely on Saturday last. They were received by Mr. Ritch, Mr. Hajee Habib, Miss Polak, Mr. Azam Haffaji, Mr. Hussain Dawad, Mr. Abdul Caadir and Mr. Gandhi. They are staying in the same hotel as the Transvaal deputation. The delegates have met Sir Muncherjee, Nawab Saheb Major Syed Hussain Bilgrami and Mr. Gupta. They applied for interviews with Lord Crewe and Lord Morley; the former has already replied fixing Thursday, August 12, for the interview. They have prepared a statement¹. I am afraid the deputation's visit will prove unavailing. For one thing, it is too late, and they have come to raise an issue which is a very old one. However, the experience they will carry with them may be of some benefit to the community. They are trying to see some other men who count. At this time [of the year], most of the leading men in British public life are generally on holiday and do not return till September. Mr. Justice Ameer Ali, also, is not present here; he has left for a distant place.

MRS. RITCH

Mrs. Ritch has suffered terribly through illness. The good lady has been in pain for the past two years. Her wound has had to be cut open four times, and she has been confined to bed. Mr. Ritch is quite buried under the expenses of [her] treatment. It is impossible to say when he will be able to shake off that burden. He has started practice at the Bar, where he has even made a mark for himself and won some important cases. But a new barrister does not earn much here. I advise Indians to address a letter of sympathy to Mr. Ritch. His address is : L. W. Ritch, Esq., 5 Pump Court, Temple, E. C., London. I am hopeful that Mrs. Ritch will eventually recover.

SUFFRAGETTES

The suffragettes have been straining every nerve. The more I see of their work, their skill in organization and their power of endurance, the more I feel that, compared to their effort, ours is of little worth.

¹ This was evidently drafted by Gandhiji himself; *vide* the preceding item.

They have a large number of volunteers who force themselves into ministers' meetings and so get arrested. In gaol, they take no food and so the authorities release them. They harass the latter in a number of ways; they have taken a pledge to allow themselves no rest till they get the franchise.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

The Bill in regard to this has been passed by the House of Lords. It will be in the House of Commons in a few days. Mr. Schreiner is still exerting himself, but I do not see what good that can do. There has been plenty of discussion. Irrespective of the outcome, Mr. Schreiner's ability, his strenuous efforts and his philanthropic zeal deserve the highest commendation.

DHINGRA

Mr. Dhingra has been awarded the death penalty. He will probably be executed on the 10th. Some whites have been trying to secure remission of the death penalty. They argue that he acted out of foolishness. Moreover, they add, the act was not inspired by any personal motive and, therefore, should not be treated as ordinary murder. The white printer of *The Indian Sociologist* has been sentenced to four months' imprisonment for printing [the particular issue of] the journal. Being a very poor man, he is put to great loss. He had no knowledge whatever of the contents of the issue. But ignorance is no defence in law.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 4-9-1909

6. DEPUTATION NOTES [-VI]

[Before August 7, 1909]

I have no special information to give this week, as I had none last week, for everything is confidential. Lord Ampthill has himself been active. There is a slight hope that an amicable solution will be found. Even if that happens, I see no possibility of any other gain besides the repeal of the Act and the recognition of the rights of the educated. It should be understood that "the rights of the educated" mean those that have often been explained in *Indian Opinion*. That is, those Indians with the highest attainments will be allowed to come in and, from among such men, only six. Of course, in the law itself, there

will be no mention of “six”, and no racial discrimination. The law will be the same, but it may be implemented in a different way. Provided the law is the same, there will be no humiliation. It will be there if the law itself makes distinctions. It should be noted by every Indian that, apart from these two points, other miscellaneous matters will not be included in the settlement. I hope to be able to give a little more information next week.

Sir Muncherji has also been taking great pains on this question. He wrote [to General Smuts] seeking an interview with him. A reply has been received saying that General Smuts will fix a time for interview after he is free from the pressure of engagements in connection with the Act of Union.

The deputation will meet Lord Crewe on Tuesday, the 9th¹. That is the day on which a number of Indians are due to be released.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 4-9-1909

7. LETTER TO AMEER ALI

[LONDON,]

August 7, 1909

DEAR MR. AMEER ALI,

Mr. Abdul Caadir has shown me your letter of the 2nd instant. So far as the Transvaal question is concerned, negotiations are still going forward. We have privately seen Lord Morley and we are to see Lord Crewe, also, privately on Tuesday. It is yet too early to say what the result will be. We have a statement ready for publication and circulation, if necessary. No public activity has been undertaken on account of the negotiations. I think that a private note from you to Sir Richard reminding him about the question will keep the matter fresh in his mind and will show him that, even in your holidays, you do not forget the question. This will emphasise the belief that is gaining ground that India is not going to sit still over this question.

I hope that change and the bracing climate of the Swiss mountains have been doing you and Mrs. Ameer Ali a great deal of good.

¹ Tuesday, however, was the 10th, the date on which the interview took place. *Vide* also “Letter to Under Secretary for Colonies”, 6-8-1909.

Mr. Abdul Caadir asks me to thank you for your letter and to say that whatever he and Mr. Hajee Habib have given for the two institutions¹, has been given as a matter of duty, and may I express my concurrence in your statement that the activity of the two Associations should receive the support of all Indians.

As you may recall the fact, Mr. Abdul Caadir is one of the delegates for Natal. The Natal delegation is now complete, the other three members having arrived last Saturday. They have been specially comission [ed] to wait on you and seek your advice and be guided by it. They even telegraphed for your address and received it from Mr. Ahmed. They then went to Thos. Cook and Sons to find out how they could reach you, but, on learning that it was nearly three days' journey, they were reluctantly obliged to drop the idea of seeking an interview with you there. A statement for the Natal delegates has now been prepared, which I enclose herewith. If you have any suggestions to make, will you kindly telegraph? The Natal delegates have sought an interview with Lords Crewe and Morley; the former has appointed Thursday next for receiving the deputation. They are extremely disappointed that they will not have the benefit of your presence and guidance at the time. If, however, you could write a letter to be read before Lord Crewe, it will be valuable. They approached Sir Charles Bruce, inquiring whether he would lead the deputation. Sir Charles Bruce has sent a telegram saying he is not able to do so. Probably, now, Sir Mancherjee will lead it.

I remain,

Yours truly,

JUSTICE AMEER ALI, C. I. E.

ENGADIN

SWITZERLAND

From a Photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 4987

¹ The Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal British Indian Association

8. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]

August 9, 1909

MY LORD,

Before I write on the subject which to my colleague and myself is of the utmost importance, may I once more thank Your Lordship for the very great interest you have taken in the struggle? Whatever may be the ultimate result, my countrymen and I can never be sufficiently grateful for what you have done for us.

If I understood you correctly, in your opinion the entry as a matter of right will be recognised if the number were limited by the law itself. If that be so, it appears to me that the concession should be given coupled with repeal of the Act, without any bargaining with the passive resisters, but on thinking the matter over, if General Smuts is really desirous of meeting us, he should have no objection to accepting the amendment¹ I have submitted, together with the proviso I give hereunder. It should be read after “1908” and before “Provided further that”—

“Provided that it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council to restrict by regulation the number of persons belonging to different nationalities (notwithstanding their having passed such examination) who may be allowed to enter the Colony as immigrants.”

This amendment just—and only just—satisfies the Indian covenant. It still creates no disqualification on the Statute-book against British Indians as such. It completely, in my opinion, meets the objections raised by, or on behalf of, General Smuts.

In submitting this amendment, I recognise that I am becoming a party to a dangerous precedent in the history of Colonial legislation, but in deference to the views of Your Lordship and of other distinguished fri-ends of our cause, I am prepared to advise my countrymen to accept this further proviso, and if it is not accepted, it would be, I am sure, patent to you that there is no desire on the part of the Transvaal Government to offer an honourable settlement. With the

¹ *Vide* enclosure 2 to “Letter to Lord Ampthill”, 5-8-1909 The proviso was inserted by Lord Ampthill in the draft of the amendment which he sent to General Smuts.

knowledge—right or wrong—that I have of the methods of General Smuts, may I suggest that Your Lordship should not put this amendment as coming from me, but ask him independently—unless you have closed entirely the negotiations with him—whether he would be prepared to amend the Immigration Act in the direction above indicated? This proviso I am submitting because of my earnest desire to promote an immediate settlement and to avoid your long and arduous labours proving abortive; but if nothing comes of it, I should like Your Lordship to treat it as if it had never been suggested. The first amendment submitted by me is such, as I for one should advise my people to accept at any stage of the struggle, but the proviso I am now submitting does not fall under that category.

Kindly let me know whether you have any further suggestions with reference to the statement, of which I sent you twenty copies, and whether it may now be published and circulated.

I am, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4990

9. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]

August 9, 1909

DEAR LORD AMPHILL,

I have now received the somewhat delayed proof of the Rev. Mr. Doke's book¹, which I am very anxious to see published as early as possible. I might mention in passing that I have received a number of subscriptions from subscribers in advance.

I know you are very busy and I have hesitated to burden you further with the perusal of this proof and with the writing of the introduction, which you were good enough to promise, if the proof should meet with your approval. Nevertheless you will, I hope, find time—as I am sure you have the desire—to give this matter your very kind attention².

I am forwarding the proof under separate cover.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 4989

¹ *M. K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa*

² For Lord Amphill's introduction to the book, *vide* Appendix XVIII.

10. STATEMENT OF NATAL INDIAN GRIEVANCES¹

[LONDON,]

August 10, 1909

A SHORT STATEMENT OF THE GRIEVANCES OF THE BRITISH INDIANS IN NATAL BY THE NATAL DELEGATION

The delegation consists of Messrs Abdul Caadir, Acting Chairman of the Natal Indian Congress; Amod Bayat, of pietermaritzburg, a merchant of twenty-five years' standing; Hoosen Mahomed Badat, a merchant of Pietermaritzburg and Richmond, of twenty-two years standing; and Mahomed Cassim Anglia, of Durban, merchant and Joint Honorary Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress.

The delegates were unanimously appointed at a British Indian meeting presided over by Mr. Abdoola Hajee Adam, Acting president, Natal Indian Congress, and held at Durban on the 7th day of July last, and have received numerous telegrams supporting the mission.

A petition² has been forwarded to the Colonial Office, a copy of which has since been received by the delegates.

The British Indians of Natal have suffered for a long time from a number of serious disabilities arising out of certain laws enacted by the Colonial Legislature and by reason of certain municipal laws.

The delegation desires respectfully to place on record its gratitude to His Majesty's Government for having refused Imperial sanction to the Municipal Corporations Act of 1906 and the Natal Licensing Acts of 1908, all of which measures threatened their community with still further disabilities.

The British Indians of Natal are practically unrepresented in the

¹ The draft of this statement, evidently drawn up by Gandhiji, was ready on August 6; *vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", 6-8-1909. The statement was sent to the Colonial Office on August 11 by M. C. Anglia, who made a further statement at the interview with Lord Crewe on August 12; *vide* Appendix XIX. On the following day, the delegation issued the former representation to "responsible politicians ... in the hope that they will render to the suffering British Indians in Natal whatever assistance they can to obtain redress and justice."

² Dated July 10, 1909, this petition was made on behalf of the Natal Indian Congress and other Natal Indian organizations, and covered grievances in respect of indenture, franchise, trade and other matters; *vide* "London", After 12-8-1909.

Natal Parliament, and are therefore obliged almost entirely to rely upon the protection of the Imperial Government. For them Self-Government has no special or beneficial meaning.

The delegates propose, however, to restrict their representations to three very serious and tangible grievances :

The Dealers' Licenses Act, 18 of 1897;

The Indentured Immigration Law of 1895 ; and

The policy with reference to the Education of Indian children.

THE DEALERS' LICENSES ACT, 1897

This Act is felt by the whole British Indian community to be extremely unjust and tyrannical. It affects the whole of the Indian mercantile population. In its wording it is of general application, but in practice it has been employed more and more extensively for depriving Indian traders of their licenses. The powers conferred by the Dealers' Licenses Act of 1897 were, it would appear, abused from the beginning. Mr. Chamberlain went as far as to intimate that, if its one-sided administration against Indian traders did not cease, he should be compelled to take serious action. The immediate effect would appear to have been that circulars were sent round to the different Municipalities by the Government of Natal (at Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion) to the effect that, although they had been given arbitrary powers, they were expected, on pain of being deprived thereof, to use them in a reasonable and general manner, and that in no case, if they wished to retain those powers, were they to touch vested interests.

Two cases of recent occurrence may be cited by way of illustration. Mr. M. A. Goga, a British Indian merchant of Ladysmith, long established and widely supported by Europeans both as sellers and customers, was, in June last, refused permission by the Licensing Officer, who is invested with almost autocratic powers in this matter, to take transfer of a license from another Indian in Ladysmith of equal standing. The premises in which the business was conducted were the property of Mr. Goga's mother. Appeal was made by Mr. Goga to the Licensing Board, which, however, declined to reverse the decision of their Licensing Officer.

In the course of an appeal to the Licensing Board from a refusal to renew another license of this applicant the previous year, Mr. Wyllie, K.C., M.L.A., remarked:

“You as a Council are not going to see injustice done even to an Indian. Take the license away and the business is at an end. You and the inhabitants of Ladysmith have enabled him to build up a business, and I submit that you cannot take that license away. If he comes today and asks for a new license, then you can refuse. He tells you that 95 per cent. of the business is with Europeans; therefore, it is a convenience to the burgesses of the town. It would be utterly impossible to come before you with a stronger case. I ask you to deal with it without bias as to anything that happened previous to entering this room, and with justice to the appellant.” Commenting upon the recent decisions of the Klip River Licensing Board, *The Times of Natal* said:

“A SCANDALOUS INJUSTICE”

“A more arbitrary and unjust proceeding could not be imagined; and we have no hesitation in saying that had the Boer authorities, in the days of the South African Republic, been guilty of such conduct, they would have instantly been brought up with a round turn by the Imperial Government. Here we have a number of reputable Indian shopkeepers, who have built up business in which a large amount of capital is invested, suddenly and arbitrarily deprived of their trading licenses through alleged non-compliance with the law. They had complied with the law as far as it was in their power to do so, and those who could not write in English had their books made up in English at the end of each week by a competent book-keeper. They have done this for years past, and not a word has been said against the practice till now. We can only describe the decision of the Ladysmith Licensing Board as a scandalous injustice, and illegal as well; and if the applicants had the right of appeal—which, of course, under the law they have not—the Board’s decision would immediately be quashed by the Supreme Court. We wish to be perfectly clear in this matter. We have no sympathy with Indian traders, and we should be glad to see an end of Indian trading. We would support the most drastic restrictions at the port of entry, and would go so far as to favour no fresh licenses being granted to Indian applicants. But to decline to renew a trading license in the case of Indians who have been allowed to settle in the country, who have been conducting their business in a perfectly legitimate manner for years past, and who have invested their capital in commercial enterprises on the strength of the license to trade, is to do something which conflicts with the laws of all civilised nations and with the most elementary notions of justice. We hope that stringent

instructions will be issued to all licensing officers in order to prevent a repetition of the Ladysmith scandal; otherwise, Natal will gravely embarrass the Imperial Government in its relationships with the people of India.”

In 1908, Col. Greene, M.L.A., appeared to support the appeals of a number of Estcourt Indian traders. He remarked as follows:

“Throughout his Parliamentary career he had maintained that it was undesirable that the Indian mercantile community should be allowed to increase, and it was with great surprise that he had been approached and asked to take up these appeals; but it was pointed out to him that in the House he had said that we, as a community, had to face the position like men, and that we had not to do any injustice, but that we had to take steps that would be perfectly just to the men whom we had encouraged and allowed to come into the country and obtain vested interests there. He said that they, as a superior race, had a duty to perform to the community, and that, if there was any dirty work to be done, it was for Parliament to face it, and to take the right steps. It had never been intended by the law that any dirty work of this sort should be done by local boards of this sort, and, upon my soul, if you refuse this application, I think it will make us all feel like worms.”

The other case is that of one of the delegates, Mr. H. M. Badat of Pietermaritzburg and Richmond. Last year, a license granted to him in the latter place by the Licensing Officer for buildings owned by him was, at the instigation of a few European rivals, taken away by the Licensing Board. The Licensing Officer again granted it and again the Board overrode his decision.

In 1907, renewals of 11 Indian licenses were refused in the division of Klip River:

Ten renewals of licenses were refused in Inanda

Two	„	„	„	Alexandra
Five	„	„	„	Victoria
Three	„	„	„	Weenen

Last year there was a further crop of similar refusals.

The delegates desire to point out that this harsh and arbitrary conduct towards Indian traders is not adopted at the instance of the general European population of the Colony, but from the pressure of European trade rivals. The Licensing Boards which are the final courts of appeal in this matter consist largely of European storekeepers. The

Supreme Court has, on more than one occasion, commented upon the arbitrary powers conferred upon the Licensing Boards and has deplored its inability to interfere with their decisions. The Licensing Officers who, in the first instance, decide the fate of Indian merchants, are in most cases the appointees and servants of the Licensing Boards. They decide whether a license shall be granted, renewed or transferred. Very rarely are their decisions not upheld by the Licensing Boards. The declared policy is to reduce the movement of Indian traders, and the outcome of this policy is the almost complete failure on the part of British Indian traders to obtain common justice in the matter of new licenses, renewals or transfers. Proof of this could be adduced by citing numerous instances which have occurred during the twelve years that the Law has been in operation. Respectability and responsibility in the applicants or considerations of vested interests have hardly appeared to count if they have been Indian. For instance:

The second signatory hereto, in 1907, purchased a business in Wee-nen from a trustee. The Licensing Officer declined to transfer and license the business to him. On appeal to the Licensing Board, the latter upheld the decision of its officer. The Supreme Court, being moved, declared its powerlessness to grant relief. In 1906, the fourth signatory hereto was the transferee of a license of a business in Port Shepstone. The transfer of the license was duly allowed and renewed once. When next applied for, further renewal was refused at the instigation of trade rivals.

It is obviously merely a question of time—by no means remote—when the whole class of Indian traders in Natal will be extinguished, unless the Dealers' Licenses Act is so amended as to give the aggrieved party the right of appeal to the Supreme Court.

THE INDENTURED IMMIGRATION LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1895

During the last half century, Natal has relied for its labour and prosperity upon indentured Indian immigrants. The fact stands admitted by nearly every Natal statesman, past and present. Natal's chief industries have depended for their very existence almost entirely upon this class of labour, but the labourer, after he has given the Colony the best energies of the best years of his life, is now denied an opportunity to settle down and finish his years in the Colony as a respectable freeman. Every effort is made to compel him either to re-indenture or to leave the Colony. A prohibitive special annual tax of £ 3 per head is imposed upon him and upon his wife and his children—

a tax that presses so severely upon him that it has ruined many a freed Indian and has driven many more to questionable practices and moral degradation. The imposition of this tax has not been defended save on the grounds of political expediency. Thanks to the firm attitude of His Majesty's Government, the Government of the Colony has hitherto failed to carry into effect the desired and long-contemplated plan of repatriating the Indian indentured labourers upon completion of their indentures. The delegates respectfully submit, however, that His Majesty's Government should with equal propriety and justice have refused their sanction to the imposition of the iniquitous special annual tax, which very nearly produces the same result.

The delegates feel that, in the interests of the Colony, of the free Indian population, and even of the indentured labourers themselves, the whole system of indenture should be put an end to. They consider that the mere fact that these unhappy people are able, during the term of their indentures, to earn a little more money in Natal than in India, is a matter of relative unimportance. What material advantage thereby accrues to them is as nothing compared to the deterioration of their manhood and the vicious consequences that react upon the Colony as a whole.

If, however, the supply of indentured labour cannot suddenly be withdrawn without jeopardising the chief industries of Natal, the special tax above referred to should, in the humble opinion of the delegates, certainly be abolished.

THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN CHILDREN

The delegates feel keenly that a deliberate attempt is being made to starve the Natal British Indian community intellectually, by depriving them of even such limited facilities for educating their children as have hitherto existed. The Indian schools supported by the Government have never supplied British Indian children with any but very elementary education. The general schools of the Colony are, of course, closed altogether to Indian children. The Government higher grade school no longer permits Indian children to remain as pupils after completing the age of thirteen; consequently, such education as might be acquired in the upper standards, if the children were given the chance of reaching them, is no longer available to them. The effect of this policy has been to drive out a large number of Indian children, whose education was scarcely begun, from the Indian

schools. This lack of facilities for acquiring education operates as a very serious handicap upon, and causes the gravest anxiety to, the thoughtful members of the Indian community. They are deeply concerned for the future of their children.

The delegates respectfully submit that this important matter should be equally a matter of concern to the European Colonists themselves, inasmuch as the condemnation of a section of the population of the Colony to a condition of illiteracy is bound to affect the general intellectual and moral well-being of the State.

In view of the above facts, British Indians in Natal naturally approach the proposed Union of the South African Colonies in fear and trembling. It is generally recognised that an anti-Indian wave is passing over South Africa. Three of the four States of the proposed Union are admittedly hostile to British Indians. The Cape has already shown signs of joining the hostile movement, so that the Union will represent a combination of hostile forces which hitherto have been working independently of each other. British Indians feel, therefore, that the proposed Union in South Africa will mean further degradation of a class of loyal subjects of His Majesty domiciled in South Africa, who already labour under a double disability, viz, of being British Indians, and of classification with the so-called "coloured races".

It is submitted here that, whatever may be said in regard to the other Colonies in South Africa, the Imperial Government have, undoubtedly, facilities for securing justice to the British Indians of Natal. This Colony cannot take all and give nothing. It has, on its own admissions, to depend upon the goodwill of the Imperial Government for the development and retention of its industries. The least that Natal can be asked to do in return for the supply of indentured labour that is permitted to flow on to her lands is to grant common justice and fair treatment to those British Indians who have settled there, and who have thus acquired vested interests.

ABDUL CAADIR

AMOD BAYAT

H. M. BADAT

M. C. ANGLIA

Colonial Office Records : 179/255

11. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]

August 10, 1909

MY LORD,

Mr. Hajee Habib and I have just returned from the interview with Lord Crewe. His Lordship was very sympathetic; he gave a patient hearing. I slightly sketched before him, as I saw that the opportunity was too great to be missed, the amendment that I sent to you last evening. I took the liberty of mentioning that we had discussed the question fully with Your Lordship. Lord Crewe nodded appreciatingly and said that you had taken great pains over the question. From what Lord Crewe said, I imagine that the negotiations still continue. I think he admits that the amendment that I have suggested is very reasonable and that he would press it upon General Smuts. I do not know what should now be done in the circumstances. I await Your Lordship's advice.¹

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 4996

12. CABLE TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,

August 10, 1909]

POLAK

REUTER

BOMBAY

GOVERNMENT AGREE REPEAL. WANT INSERT LIMIT LAW. WE
PROPOSED AMENDMENT AUTHORISING GOVERNOR MAKE REGULATIONS
FIXING LIMIT NUMBERS ANY NATIONALITY JUST SATISFIES

¹ Discussions and correspondence on this subject among Lord Ampthill, General Smuts and Lord Crewe indicated a "divergence in principle" between Gandhiji and Smuts. *Vide* Appendix "Letters from Ampthill, Crewe and Smuts".

OATH. (WISH YOU COULD ADVERTISE DATE¹ MEETING).²

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 4999/2

13. CABLE TO BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

[LONDON,
August 10, 1909]³

BIAS
JOHANNESBURG

NEGOTIATIONS PROCEEDING. GOVERNMENT AGREE REPEAL. WANT
INSERT LIMIT IN LAW. WE PROPOSED GENERAL AMENDMENT
AUTHORISING GOVERNOR MAKE REGULATIONS FIXING LIMIT
ANY NATIONALITY. THIS MAKES LAW GENERALLY
APPLICABLE JUST SATISFIES OATH. HOPE RUSTOMJEE HARILAL
OTHERS REMAIN TRANSVAAL.⁴ DOWD SHOULD RETURN.⁵

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 4998

¹ This referred to the meeting called by the Sheriff of Bombay; the date announced was August 31. *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", 24-8-1909.

² In his letter of August 14, Polak acknowledged receipt of this cable and stated that he had "dealt with it in the Press". The following extended version of the cable was published in *The Times of India*, 12-8-1909 and *The Hindu*, 19-8-1909 : "The Transvaal Government agree to repeal the Asiatic Act of 1907, but they desire to insert a clause in the Immigration Law limiting the annual number of Asiatic immigrants. The Indian deputation have declined to agree to legal differentiation upon racial lines, and have proposed that a clause may be inserted in the Immigration Law empowering the Government of the Transvaal to frame regulations fixing the number of immigrants of any nationality, thereby maintaining the principle of legal equality without interfering with existing powers of administrative differentiation."

³ This cable appears to have been sent on the same day as the preceding one.

⁴ Harilal Gandhi and Parsee Rustomjee were released on August 9 and 10 respectively. Rustomjee was re-arrested the same day and sentenced on August 11.

⁵ *Vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", 13-8-1909.

14. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[LONDON,]

August 10, 1909

CHI. MANILAL,

I have received your letter. There is little hope of any settlement; I am therefore writing this on Tuesday, for there is likely to be a greater pressure of work on me than before.

The words in your letters are sometimes incomplete. You will do better if you form the habit of reading the letters after writing them.

As regards having another tank, my advice is that you should carry on for the present without buying a new one. The rains will now set in and it will be possible to carry on with one tank. Meanwhile, I hope to be able to go there. We shall see to it then.

I am glad that you have given up worrying [about your studies]. The more I observe things here, the more I feel that there is no reason to believe that this place is particularly suited for any type of better education. I also see that some of the education imparted here is faulty. However, there is a constant desire in my mind that each of you should be able to come and stay here for a while at least. If we go on doing our duty properly, we need not worry about the future. Your studying there earnestly would be your preparation for coming here. Mr. West's mother is just 150 miles away from London and yet she has never visited this city. The distance between London and Louth is only three and a half hours.

That there are more fruit trees on the land than we can look after shows our lack of competence. You should grow only so much as you can look after yourself.

Please let me know what made Anibehn ill, the nature of her illness and for how many days she has gone to Tongaat, and other news.

It is a matter of joy that Kababhai got a son. However, as you know my ideas in the matter, I feel sorry too. Thinking of the state of affairs in the country, I believe very few Indians need marry at the present time. The significance of marriage is also very deep. A person who marries in order to satisfy his carnal desire is lower than even the beast. For the married, it is considered proper to have sexual intercourse only for having progeny. The scriptures also say so. Thus considered, all the progeny that is born now is the issue of passion.

Hence it is that the children born are mean and faithless and continue to be so. I do not want to discuss these things further with you; for that one has to go deeper into them. But I want you to understand the purport of what I have said above; and, understanding it, conquer your senses. Do not be scared by this and think that I want to bind you not to marry even after the age of 25. I do not want to put undue pressure on you or on anyone whatever. I just want to give you advice. If you do not think of marriage even at the age of 25, I think it will be to your good. But in case you feel like marrying then, I would like to explain to you the meaning of marriage from Kababhai's example. I am putting this serious subject before you, though you are but a child, simply because I have a high opinion of your character. I would not place these thoughts before any other child of your age, for he would not understand them.

More you will know from my letters to Ba and others, which I shall write hereafter.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the original Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 85

Courtesy : Sushilabehn Gandhi

15. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]

August 11, 1909

SIR,

In connection with the interview that the Earl of Crewe has pleased to grant Mr. Hajee Habib and me yesterday on the British Indian struggle in the Transvaal, I beg to mention that a cablegram¹ has been received by the South Africa British Indian Committee from Lorenzo Marques, showing that probably a hundred British Indians—presumably passive resisters—are likely to be deported any day through that port to India. His Lordship is doubtless aware that this method of deportation has caused a great deal of misery and has formed a subject of repeated communications to the Colonial Office.

¹ L. W. Ritch wrote on the same day to the Foreign Office, quoting the cable which read: "Probably hundred deportees any day here. No reply intervention. Consul referred Imperial July sixteenth." The matter had been referred to the British Consul at Lorenzo Marques, but no reply was forthcoming.

In view, however, of the negotiations that are going on for a settlement of the question, may I request His Lordship's intervention with a view at least of postponing any such deportation during negotiations.

I have, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5002

16. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]

August 11, 1909

MY LORD,

I beg to thank you for your letter of the 10th instant.

I am glad that you are pleased with the proviso I have suggested.¹ May I say that the proviso does not, in my opinion, involve a sacrifice of any essential principle.²

As the negotiations are still to continue, it will be perhaps as well not to circulate the statement among the newspaper editors or amongst sympathisers. Newspaper editors as editors are hardly interested in anything that is not sent to them for publication, and I am chary of circulating the statement among sympathisers without taking them into confidence as to what is going on. Subject, therefore, to Your Lordship's confirmation, I shall hold over the circulation of the statement pending negotiations.³

Although I know that I am trespassing upon your time, as I am

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Lord Ampthill", 9-8-1909 Commenting on this Lord Ampthill had observed: "So far as I can judge, you would actually be securing a recognition of right, though of course a very limited one, if the law itself were to declare that six Indians per annum may be admitted annually as permanent residents. It would be the gain of a practical and positive, though limited, right as against the theoretical and unavailable right which you are contending. The 'proviso' which you suggest seems to me to be a clever solution of the difficulty and I shall at once try what can be done with it, but without letting it be known that it comes from you."

² This assertion has reference to Lord Ampthill's remark: "I am more glad than I can say to know that you are thus far prepared to make a sacrifice as, after our talk yesterday, I despaired of a settlement."

³ Lord Ampthill had suggested that it might be helpful to give the "Statement" to newspaper editors only for their information and to sympathisers for their confidential use.

anxious that I should keep you informed of everything that is going on.

I enclose herewith copy of a letter¹ addressed by me to Lord Crewe, which I hope will meet with your approval.²

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5000

17. LONDON

[After August 12, 1909]

NATAL DEPUTATION

The Natal deputation had a meeting with Lord Crewe on Thursday. He gave a patient hearing. Mr. Anglia made a statement³ and was followed by Mr. Abdul Caadir. Lord Crewe expressed his sympathy, but said that the existing laws would not be repealed. After unification, he said, conditions might improve under the Union Parliament. The deputation's petition referred to the issue of licences, the law relating to indentured labour, and education. Copies of the petition will now be distributed among all Members of Parliament. Preparations are going on for that. Two newspapers here have published a short summary of the petition which was forwarded from Durban. Mr. Ritch is thinking of sending copies to other places.

SUFFRAGETTES

The suffragettes are unremitting in their efforts. Meetings are being held all over. Everyone of the women posted at the Parliament gate keeps awake the whole night. Some of their ways of inviting suffering on themselves are, no doubt, highly commendable.

¹ *Vide* the preceding item. Lord Amptill, commenting on the subject in his reply of August 12, observed that Gandhiji's communication was discreet and temperate, that the incident of deportation should favour their cause and that he regarded it as a powerful lever in the negotiations.

² Lord Amptill informed Gandhiji that, as soon as he had received his letter suggesting the "proviso", he had written to both General Smuts and Lord Crewe, putting forward the suggestions as his own and urging its acceptance from a point of view which was also his own. *Vide* Appendix Letters from Amptill, crewe and smuts"

³ This was on August 12, 1909. For M. C. Anglia's statement, *vide* Appendix "Statement made on Behalf of of Natal Delegates".

DHINGRA

Mr. Dhingra, it is said, will be hanged on the 17th. But it is also likely that the death penalty will be commuted.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

There has been quite a row in the House of Commons about the budget proposals recently introduced. The sessions continue right through the night, with the result that half the number of members stretch themselves out for a nap right in the midst of all, wake up when it is time for voting and resume the nap as soon as the voting is over. Such is the condition of the greatest Parliament in the world. How, in these circumstances, they attend to the nation's business—readers may imagine for themselves. We find that most people are selfish. It will not be wrong to say that the sun of pure justice has set. Relatively, the British people behave somewhat better and that is why they outshine the other nations. However, it does not seem likely that Western civilization will survive much longer.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-9-1909

18. *LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK*

[LONDON,]

August 13, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I hope you received my cablegram¹ about the negotiations and the new amendment. The enclosed copy² will give you all the information about the events of the week.

All I need add now is regarding your cablegram suggesting that Mr. Dowd should go to India. I feel sure that such is not your own opinion, but that you have merely transmitted the opinion of the Surat friends. You will remember the public declaration that Mr. Dowd made, that until the question was finished he would not leave the

¹ *Vide* "Cable to H. S. L. Polak 10-8-1909.

² This is not available.

Transvaal, even at the risk of his life. It is therefore highly necessary for him, if for nothing else, for the sake of his honour, that he should return to the Transvaal and challenge the Government to re-imprison him, but other considerations, too, show that his presence is far more desirable in the Transvaal than in India. We want as many meetings there as possible. All these meetings are of use only if the fire of passive resistance is kept alive. You know as well as I do how effectively Mr. Dowd Mahomed can contribute to the process. Then, again, we can't wait for his arrival in Bombay before meetings are held. They should be convened now whilst the deputation is in London; they may be even after the deputation has returned to South Africa with empty hands, but we need not hurry Mr. Dowd to India in anticipation of so prolonged a struggle. Lastly, the negotiations are maturing hourly and there is every reason to hope that they will be successful. If so, Mr. Dowd Mahomed is not required in India for meetings in connection with the Transvaal. If he is required in connection with the general grievances, he can be sent after the Transvaal matter is closed. For that there is ample time. I shall therefore be cabling tomorrow¹ saying that Dowd Mahomed's place is in the Transvaal at the present time.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5007

19. DEPUTATION NOTES [-VII]

[August 13, 1909]

It always happens that, when negotiations are in progress, very little information can be divulged to the public. I had hoped last week to be able to give definite news this week. But I find that the week is over without there being any definite news. However, negotiations are proceeding. We had an interview with Lord Ampthill on Monday. Mr. Hajee Habib, Mr. Ritch and I spent nearly an hour and a half with him, and had a long discussion. On Tuesday, we met Lord Crewe. I think his reply was very satisfactory. He has agreed to have a talk with General Smuts.

¹ It appears that the cable was actually sent on August 16; *vide* "Cable to H. S. L. Polak", 16-8-1909.

While these negotiations were proceeding, there was a cable from Delagoa Bay to say that about a hundred Indians were likely to be deported. The information has been forwarded to Lord Crewe.¹ Everything possible is being done in the matter.

While I was writing this, I received a cable² from Johannesburg, reporting the release of satyagrahis and the immediate re-entry of Mr. Rustomjee. I also saw the cable reporting that he has been sentenced to six months' hard labour. Reading it, I felt happy and cried too. This is exactly what I had expected of Rustomjee. He has been beyond praise. It made me happy to think that there are such men among Indians. I cried because he had to suffer so much. It is only when leading Indians set such examples that the people will acquire a backbone. If everyone followed this example, Indians would have nothing to suffer. I see from experience that we have now plenty of brave Indians who are ready to go through extreme suffering for the sake of the motherland. If we have a settlement, so much the better; should there be none, however, my only prayer to Indians is this: "Do not betray your pledge. Suffering for a just cause brings more real happiness than what generally passes as such. At any rate, in the broken state that we are in, we have no right whatever to indulge in luxury. We shall get used to suffering after a little experience. Therefore, train yourself to endure suffering." I for one know of no other way.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-9-1909

20. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]

August 14, 1909

MY LORD,

I thank you for your letter of the 12th instant. It encourages me to send you a copy of letter³ written by Mr. Ritch to Lord Crewe and

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", 11-8-1909.

² This was dated August 12. It reached London on August 13, the day this article was written.

³ It requested for an inquiry into the allegation regarding food supply to prisoners and invited special attention to circumstances leading to Nagappen's death.

of the cablegram¹ attached to it. The cablegram, I am sure, will be painful reading to Your Lordship, as it is to me.²

I, am, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5010

21. CABLE TO H. S. L. POLAK³

[LONDON,]

August 16, 1909

DOWD'S PLACE TRANSVAAL AMENDMENT INCLUDES GENERAL
EDUCATION TEST AND POWER GOVERNOR MAKE REGU-LATION
RESTRICTING NUMBER NATIONALITY PASSING TEST.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5018

22. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]

August 16, 1909

SIR,

I beg to invite the attention of the Earl of Crewe to the enclosed extract translation of a letter received by me from a Mr. Mahomed Khan, who was for some time my clerk in Johannesburg. I have given a free rendering of the apposite portion of the letter. It is typical of many that were received by me whilst I was in Johannesburg.

It is possible that there is unconscious exaggeration in some parts of the letter, as for instance, as to the exact quantity of food

¹ The cable received from the Transvaal British Indian Association read: "Prisoners suffering severely, insufficient unsubstantial food. Ex-prisoners Johannesburg except Rustumjee, who straightway deported returned, six months' rigorous. Good mass meeting yesterday; resolutions, congratulation ex-prisoners; dissatisfaction Nagappen finding which arousing public indignation; published evidence completely substantiating Indian allegations; support deputations, respectful urgent appeal Imperial Government intervene this juncture. Arrests, deportation continuing."

² Lord Ampthill's reaction, indicated in his letter of August 16, was: "Painful and vexatious though it is that the persecution should continue and be augmented at the present moment, I cannot help thinking that the circumstances will further our cause."

³ Though the draft does not bear Polak's name, it is clear from the contents that this cable was sent to him; *vide* "Deputation Notes[—VII]", 13-8-1909 and letters to H. S. L. Polak, 20-8-1909.

stolen, or the entire absence of bathing accommodation. In the main, however, the statement appears to me to be accurate.

I am sending the translation to show what avoidable hardships most British Indian political prisoners are undergoing in the Transvaal prisons. I deliberately use the adjective “political”. I am quite aware of the fact that there is no legal division of prisoners in the Transvaal. At the same time, there is no doubt that the Government recognise the fact that there are prisoners who are hardened criminals, and there are prisoners who have committed only technical breaches of the laws of the Colony. Unfortunately, this natural division is not only not recognized in favour of Indian passive resisters, but there seems to be a desire to treat them somewhat more harshly because they are passive resisters. The insufficiency and the unsuitability of food and the fact of Indian prisoners being classed with native prisoners are two very serious difficulties, causing a great deal of misery.

My colleague and I trust that His Lordship will be pleased to inquire into the matter and, if possible, secure some relief whilst some members of the Transvaal Government are in the metropolis.¹

I have, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

[ENCLOSURE]

EXTRACT TRANSLATION FROM A LETTER RECEIVED BY MR. GANDHI FROM
MR. MAHOMED KHAN AT JOHANNESBURG, DATED 19TH JULY, 1909

I was discharged on the 12th July last. The only regret I had was that I could not meet you in the gaol. The day I was admitted I asked the chief warder to let me see you, but he did not grant the permission.

I was kept in the ‘reserve camp’ which has been established only lately. There was much suffering there. The water supply was not sufficient. There was no bathing facility. I had hardly a bath during the two months I was in the prison. I complained to the officer. He said: “Are you blind? Do you not see that there is no bathroom here?” I then said: “What are prisoners to do if there is no bathroom for a year?” He then said: “They have to do without.”

The food supply was also not enough. Moreover, on Saturdays, when the prisoners have to wash their towels, socks, etc., there was only one tank among 200. I received no ghee (clarified butter). They

¹ Acknowledging this letter on September 3, the Colonial Office informed Gandhiji that a copy of these papers had been sent to the Governor of the Transvaal for a report.

mixed fat with rice, which I did not eat. I complained about it, but my complaint went unheeded. I drew the attention of the chief warder to the fact that you had complained about absence of ghee, and the chief warder said that, as you were not able to eat enough because of the want of ghee, you were told that other Indian prisoners also would be supplied with ghee, in order to induce you to take your food. You know the disposition of the Governor of the gaol and the chief warder. When we have to complain, they do not tarry long enough to listen to it. Later, I received food according to the new scale. The latter also is not sufficient. Four ounces of bread were allowed, but I never felt that I had more than two ounces. Gruel is only gruel in name because it is all water, and, then, it is too little. From the bread, rice, vegetables etc., supplied, the Native prisoners working in the yard steal a great deal. The quantity of rice allowed was six ounces, but hardly three ounces were received by me. I believe that about fifteen dishes full of food are stolen by the Kaffirs and the warders say nothing. Moreover, the warders are abusive. I put up with all this silently.

The work was not extra heavy. I was taken with a span consisting of 32 men to Lord Selborne's bungalow. There we had to do grasscutting, roller-turning, digging, stone-breaking, cutting, trees, cleaning ground, and also watering trees. Of this work, digging alone was somewhat difficult, because it was all stony; the stone was, moreover, very hard. The garden was situated on a rise. We were locked up with the Kaffirs. There was not a single European officer who described us as Indians. We were called "sammies" or "coolies". Most of the warders were Dutch; some of them were youngsters, who had no knowledge of the work.

At length came 74 Madras Indians. They were in very great distress; they are suffering much. Among them are five very old men, over perhaps sixty. They could not walk well. These also are sent out to work early in the morning in a shivering condition, and as the tramp is long, they, poor fellows, get tired, and yet they utter not a word of complaint. Therein lies their bravery.

The whole of the Pretoria Location is empty.¹

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4949 and 5015

¹ In their reply of September 30, the Transvaal Ministers pointed out to the Governor that "the allegation that the water supply in the Pretoria Prisoners Reserve Camp is not sufficient is absolutely untrue", that prisoners had ample bathing facilities, that the other allegations made in Khan's statement were without basis, that the Indian prisoners were invariably housed in cells by themselves and were treated humanely and that there was no desire on the part of the prison officers to treat them harshly because they were passive resisters.

23. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]

August 16, 1909

MY LORD,

I beg to enclose herewith for your perusal copy of a letter¹ I have addressed to the Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, which I hope will meet with Your Lordship's approval.

I commend to Your Lordship's attention this week's *Indian Opinion*.² The inquiry about the death of the Indian Nagappen shows that the allegations made as to bad treatment have been substantially proved. *The Transvaal Leader* has made very severe strictures upon the conduct of the gaol authorities. Mr. Ritch has drawn Lord Crewe's attention to the proceedings.³

I remain, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5016

24. LETTER TO W. P. SCHREINER

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL,

4 VICTORIA STREET, S. W.,

August 17, 1909

DEAR MR. SCHREINER,

You have permitted me to write to you on that part of the Asiatic question which we discussed the other day. I have now time to avail myself of your permission.

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

² This was the issue of 17-7-1909, which reproduced from *The Transvaal Leader* of 8-7-1909 a dispatch from its Pretoria correspondent reporting the official enquiry into Sammy Nagappen's death. It was conducted by Mr. Bateman, Governor of the Johannesburg Fort. *Indian Opinion* published the *Leader's* critical editorial of July 10 on the prevailing prison system and the character of the enquiry, demanding a fresh judicial investigation of the case. The issue also contained similar comments by the *Pretoria News* and the *Jewish Chronicle* and letters addressed by a number of influential European ministers of religion to the Transvaal Press. The Government had to yield to public opinion, and commissioned Major F. J. Dixon, Assistant Resident Magistrate, Pretoria, to hold a public enquiry. *Vide* "Letter to *South Africa*", Before 16-10-1909.

³ Ritch forwarded a copy of the report of the official inquiry to the Colonial Office on August 16.

You will recall the question. The present legislation of the Transvaal creates a racial distinction as to immigration—i.e., no new Asiatic, however cultured he may be, may enter the Transvaal because he is an Asiatic. Indians contend that this is a departure from the traditional colonial policy and that it is unnecessary. The Cape, Natal and Australia make good their policy of restricting Asiatic immigration by having an education test applicable to all, but varying in its severity. This policy cannot be described as dishonest because the scope of the Act is known to all. But to prohibit even a very limited immigration of Asiatics as such, is to put a deliberate affront on a whole race. Moreover the recognition of such a racial distinction cannot fail to reflect upon the resident Asiatic population and be used as a precedent for further disabling legislation. From the Colonial standpoint too there would seem to be no justification for the drastic policy underlying the Transvaal Act. British Indians accept the policy of virtual exclusion. The question is as to the manner of procuring it. The Transvaal manner importing the colour bar offends the self-respect of Asiatics. Hence the terrible suffering undergone by over 2,500 Indian passive resisters.

If you will give my colleague and me an appointment, we would wait upon you¹. I am personally more concerned with our aspirations than with agitating for relief from the Imperial Government.

I am,

Yours truly,

M. K. GANDHI

THE HONOURABLE W. P. SCHREINER
MORLEY'S HOTEL
TRAFALGAR SQUARE, W. C.

From a photostat: BC. 112 file 12 (3.1). Courtesy: University Library, Cape Town, South Africa

¹ The meeting took place on August 21.

25. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]

August 20, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I was very pleased to receive your note written just before your landing. I fully expected that you would work away on board and prepare the two statements, but I had hoped that you would give yourself sufficient rest and not overdo it. I am looking forward to both the pamphlets¹, which Ritch re-christened “books”.

After my last cablegram, I hope you have no difficulty in under-standing the scope of the new amendment. Anyhow my letters, giving you the first amendment as also the second, will be presently in your hands and you will be able to know exactly the position here. I am sorry to say, at the time of writing, we stand where we were last week. I had thought that we should know the result about the beginning of this week for certain. Such, however, was not to be the case. Lord Ampthill in his last letter², however, says that he hourly expects a reply from Lord Crewe or General Smuts. We are seeing Mr. Schreiner tomorrow, to further discuss what you will find dealt with in the copy³ which will be kept with this letter.

The Natal friends⁴ have seen Mr. Bottomley, through the Acting Manager of the African Banking Corporation. Mr. Bottomley is certainly working very well. Through him they saw Colonel Seely also yesterday, and are likely to see him again. The matter will also be taken up by him in *John Bull*; thus there will be some fuss made, but I

¹ These were on the Transvaal problem and on Indian grievances in South Africa in general. Polak wrote to Gandhiji on August 21: “I have written a pamphlet on the Transvaal trouble and had hoped to send you advance copies by this mail. But that has not been possible. Mr. Gokhale has read it, thinks it good and, whilst, he considers it much too strong in parts (I have since toned it down somewhat), has passed it. Mr. Jehangir Petit has personally undertaken to charge himself with the cost of printing and publishing 20,000 copies. I have illustrated it from my own photos. There will be a block of Volksrust Gaol and another of Pretoria Gaol, with suitable letter press . . .” The pamphlet was entitled *A Tragedy of Empire: The treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal*. For the other pamphlet, vide “Letter to H. S. L. Polak”, 6-8-1909

² This was dated August 16.

³ This is not available.

⁴ Members of the Natal delegation

very much fear that nothing is going to come out of these interviews. If, however, our friends return convinced that they will get justice, not by praying for it, but by demanding it at the point of the passive resistance bayonet, their visit will have been of some use.

I was dictating this letter when I was interrupted by Millie and Waldo. Both of them are looking very well. Millie seems to be quite happy in her new and temporary home.

Dr. Mehta is staying at the hotel. Both he and I went to Louth last Sunday to put his son at Mr. Worral's Grammar School. He understands the struggle much better, and I think he has begun to see that passive resistance is a sovereign remedy for most of the ills of life. He bought for you and Millie yesterday a magnificent edition of *Omar Khayyam*. It is more an album than a book. The whole of it is lithographed; the pictures are splendid and so is the colouring. You know how well Arabic letters lend themselves to ornamenting. There is a great deal of Arabic or Persian writing in the book. I have never seen anything like it. The book, together with others, has been just delivered and Millie has seen it. Maud is so charmed with it that she is going to save her pennies to enable her to buy a copy. Dr. Mehta has given £10 to the poor passive Resisters' Fund opened in our columns; he offered £25, [but] I advised him to give £10 and the balance to the Phoenix School. Cordes wrote for some books and other things, the result of which is that Dr. Mehta and I went over to a bookseller's yesterday, and the books as per list¹ herewith have been already bought. They will form part of the Phoenix library at the same time as they are used for the school.

You know that I have a Life Policy for about £660. It is with Mr. Rewashanker Mehta². I would like you to get hold of the policy and see the Agent of the Company. It has been long preying upon my mind. I have no longer, I conceive, any use for it. If they would refund the premiums paid to them less whatever they may wish to charge, so long as the deduction is not unreasonable, I would like to give up the policy and receive back a large portion of the premiums paid.³

¹ This is not available.

² Revashanker J. Jhaveri, brother of Dr. P. J. Mehta

³ For Gandhiji's views on insurance, *vide* "Letter to Lakshnidas Gandhi", About 20-4-1907.

I am looking forward to hearing from you everything about Kaliandas¹.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5019

26. LONDON

[About August 20, 1909]

UNION BILL

The Union Bill has been passed. Mr. Schreiner, Dr. Abdurrahman and others strove very hard [to get it amended], but to no purpose. Their efforts may have made a good impression. Many members made long speeches. They were not happy with the taint [of racial discrimination], in the Act. They expressed their regret. To what purpose? Why do they not give up their office? They express regret, but their actions are just the same ! What should the Coloured people do now? The question should not arise. If they have courage² in them, let them, with Rama's name on their lips, sound a call for satyagraha; otherwise, they are surely as good as dead. To have come over here and made big speeches would avail them but little. The days are past, so it seems, when something could be gained by making speeches.

NATAL DEPUTATION

The Natal delegates are engaged in sending copies of the draft statement³ on Natal all over the world. They have sent it everywhere. They have, moreover, met a Member of Parliament named Mr. Bottomley. He treats them very cordially. He offers them tea, and has also played host to them on other occasions. The meeting with Lord Crewe took place through his good offices. They will meet again. Mr. Bottomley has been of great help. But let everyone understand that it is through satyagraha alone that the Natal Indians will be free. Let us wait and see.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 18-9-1909

¹ Kaliandas Jagmohandas Mehta; *vide* "Kalyandas Jagmohandas [Mehta], 11-5-1907. In his letter of September 4, Polak reported: "Kaliandas is working best of all. ... [He] is doing fairly well. He is a little more sober than before, but the same good-hearted shrewd youngster. I love him ..."

² The original has "Rama" which, in Gujarati, figuratively means courage.

³ *Vide* "Statement of Natal Indian Grievances", 10-8-1909

27. DEPUTATION NOTES [-VIII]

[After August 21, 1909]

This week I have very little news to give. Negotiations for a settlement are continuing. But so far there has been no result. From an article in *The Times* it appears that, perhaps, the result will be satisfactory. It gives the impression of having been written by someone in the know. He says that there are hopes of Mr. Smuts making a pronouncement that will take account of Indian susceptibilities.

We met Mr. Schreiner,¹ and had a long talk. The gentleman also feels that there should be no objection to the entry of six Indians as a matter of favour, but that they cannot enter as a matter of right. He is honest in his opinions. But, having been convinced over a long time that we are an inferior people, he cannot see that it is insulting to propose that Indians may enter as a matter of favour.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 18-9-1909

28. LETTER TO DR. ABDURRAHMAN

[LONDON,]

August 23, 1909

DEAR DR. ABDURRAHMAN,

Please accept my sympathy as also congratulations in connection with your mission ; my sympathy because you have got nothing substantially ; my congratulations because no deputation deserves success as yours did, on account alike of the inherent justice of your cause and the solid work that you put forth. Mr. Schreiner has undoubtedly worked sincerely and like a giant.

That no amendment would be made in the Draft Bill was a foregone conclusion. One may derive whatever satisfaction is to be had from the fact of almost every member having regretted the insertion of a racial bar in an Imperial Statute-book ; neither you nor I can live upon regrets. You are busy, so am I. Were I not busy, I should certainly have come down to you to offer what consolation I

¹ This meeting was to take place on August 21; vide "Letter to H. S. L. Polak" 20-8-1909.

could, and yet I know that real consolation has to come from within. I can but recall to you the conversation we had on board. You are disappointed (if you are) ; you expected something from the Parliament or the British public, but why should you expect anything from them, if you expect nothing from yourself.

I promised to send you Thoreau's *Duty of Civil Disobedience*. I have not been able to procure it ; I am writing for it to-day and hope to send it before you are off.

All I can add is a prayer that you may have the strength for it and ability to continue the work in South Africa along internal reform, and, therefore, passive resistance, even though, in the beginning, you may be only a handful.

If you can possibly look in, please do so. Come down tomorrow if you are free and we shall go then to the Vegetarian Restaurant together and talk away. You will also be introduced to Dr. Mehta of Rangoon, who is staying at this hotel. We shall wait for you until 5 minutes to one at the hotel.

Yours sincerely,

DR. ABDURRAHMAN
38, LONGRIDGE ROAD
EARLS COURT, S. W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5024

29. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]

August 24, 1909

SIR,

I beg to invite Lord Crewe's attention to the fact that a cablegram has just been received from Mr. Polak, who is at present representing the Transvaal British Indians in India, to the effect that a public meeting is to be held at Bombay in connection with the Indian struggle on the 31st instant. The cablegram adds that two Indians have arrived in Bombay, having been deported by the Transvaal Government. One of them is a pre-war resident, and served the military authorities during the late war ; the other was born in Natal and subsequently domiciled in the Orange River Colony. The last case shows that even Indians who were domiciled in other parts of South Africa are, contrary to the assurance given by His Lordship in the

House of Lords, being deported to India.¹

I have, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records : 291/142

30. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]
August 24, 1909

MY LORD,

I beg to enclose copy of letter² I have sent to Lord Crewe regarding a cablegram just received from Bombay.

The letter will speak for itself, but I should like to add that these deportations are becoming more and more serious and unreasonable. Mr. Polak, who is the sender of the cablegram, reports in his letter received to-day that he is being guided by the acting editor of *The Times of India*, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, and other leading men.³

I remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy signed by Gandhiji: S. N.
5025

¹ The colonial Office, acknowledging the letter on September 2, informed Gandhiji that a copy of it was being forwarded to the Governor of the Transvaal for the attention of the Ministers. In a reply dated September 29, Smuts denied the deportation to India, and pointed out that "Mr. Gandhi does not state whether the person claims (1) to have been resident here for three years prior to the 11th October 1899, (2) to have been in lawful possession of a permit to enter the Colony or (3) that he was resident and actually in the Transvaal on the 31st May, 1902." He added that, if Gandhiji would furnish the names of the Indians regarding whom his complaints were made, full particulars of the facts about their deportation could be supplied.

² *Vide* the preceding item.

³ Lord Amphill, acknowledging this letter on August 25, observed that he had written to Lord Crewe that, as soon as he had received a reply, he would be "in a better position to say whether the moment has arrived for abandoning our present attitude of reticence and expectation".

31. CABLE TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]

August 25, 1909

PROGRESS CONTINUES VERY¹ UNCERTAIN. PRODUCE DEPORTEDS MEETING. RESOLUTION ADOPTING PICE SUBSCRIPTION AID STRUGGLE AS TANGIBLE EXPRESSION INDIA'S SYMPATHY SUGGESTED. BOMANJEE KNOWS.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 5029

32. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]

August 26, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your long and interesting letter as also the cuttings. I am delighted that you are pleased with the reception you are meeting with. I wonder whether there was anybody to receive you when you landed?

Have you seen Dr. Mehta's brother? I hope you will on no account miss doing so. He is of a very retiring nature and he may have felt diffident in calling on you, on finding you surrounded by all the big bugs of Bombay.

The cuttings you have sent make interesting reading and show the possibility of your being able to do very good and substantial work. I have your cablegram. I have sent a reply as follows:

“Progress continues very uncertain. Produce deporteds meet-ing. Resolution adopting pice subscription aid struggle as tangible expression India's sympathy suggested. Bomanjee knows.”

Sir Muncherji is very keen on the subscription idea. Ritch seems to have suggested it before at his instigation. Sir Muncherji thinks that it will carry very great weight, being a tangible expression of public feeling. The idea is not that we should get pecuniary assistance. We ought to be able to say that we should do without [it], but the idea is,

¹ The draft shows that the words “continues very” were added later; *vide* also the following item.

in their wishes to take part in the struggle by collecting this subscription, the value will consist in thousands having given their mite. I will not labour the point much, because by the time this reaches you, you will have either acted upon the suggestion or rejected it.¹

Smuts is leaving this week for South Africa and yet there is no settlement and to reply from the Colonial Office. I am therefore prepared any day to receive an unfavourable reply. Lord Ampthill has written to Lord Crewe.

I have had further important chats with Dr. Mehta. I think he is convinced now that ours is the right plan.

I assume that you have placed yourself in correspondence with the leading men in the other parts of India also. Mr. Hajee Habib is most anxious that you should invite his brother, Mr. Hajee Mohamed, to take part in the struggle and assist you. He is at Porbunder. His full name is Hajee Mohamed Hajee Dada.

The Natal friends have sent their statement to all the Members of Parliament here, to the Press and the Indian papers and public men. You may do whatever you consider to be necessary on the Natal question.

It was very good of Mr. Jamsetji² to have offered to print 20,000 copies of the pamphlet. That would be a magnificent stroke.

Maud, Dr. Mehta, Hajee Habib and I went last Sunday to White-way. We left by the early morning train at one o'clock, reaching Stroud at 3.40. George Allen was at the station to receive us and we walked to Whiteway. It was a delightful walk, which you would have enjoyed. The country was charming. George Allen is all energy. He is a very fine specimen. I suppose ordinarily he would be considered to be uncultured. He is perfectly natural in everything he does and is brutally frank. His devotion to his wife, who does not share his ideas, seemed to me to be very great and the finest part of his character. His wife is suffering from a cancer of the breast and is only lingering on.

¹ In his letter of September 4, Polak informed Gandhiji that a resolution would be adopted at the public meeting on September 14 to set up a committee, presided over by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, to collect subscription for the deportees. Writing on September 10, he reported, however, that Gokhale considered the suggestion impracticable, though a resolution could nominally be passed.

² This evidently is a slip for Jehangir Bomanjee Petit; *vide 1st* footnote of "Letter to H.S.L. Polak", 20-8-1909.

She has an utterly charming and open countenance. I had a fairly long chat with her. Allen has four children. The eldest is a daughter, a very strong and healthy girl, a splendid housekeeper. She looks after her younger brothers and practically the whole household. Allen does not believe in putting any restraint on his children ; I almost feel that he carries it to excess. The children squatted on the floor anyhow and ate in any way they liked. That, however, is a matter of detail. All his children were perfectly healthy. Whiteway was at one time a Tolstoyian Colony. The settlers have not been able to live up to the ideal. Some have gone, others are living there, but not carrying out the ideal. Allen seems to be the nearest approach. His ground is kept in a very good condition and he has brought it to its present condition singly and without having used any machinery whatsoever ; simple tools are all he uses. By profession, he was a shoe-maker. Dr. Mehta enjoyed his visit very well. He came with the greatest reluctance, because he does not believe in putting himself to any unnecessary trouble. Maud liked it very much. I was cruel enough to think that she could walk back. Mr. Hajee Habib saved me from that situation.

Some more books by Tolstoy and others belonging to the School. Life series have been bought for Phoenix out of the £15 given by Dr. Mehta.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5031

33. *DEPUTATION · NOTES [-IX]*

[August 27, 1909]

This week has been like the last: a settlement is nowhere in sight. It has also been reported that General Smuts may leave for the Transvaal in the course of the week. One does not know therefore what to say. It does not seem that there has been duplicity [on anyone's part]. Sir Muncherji has received a reply today, August 27, to the letter which he wrote to General Smuts seeking an interview. The reply says that, since private negotiations for a settlement are in progress, the [proposed] meeting has been postponed for the time being. This has led people to believe that, perhaps, a settlement will come about. On the other hand, it is also thought that the continued delay indicates some difficulty in getting our demands accepted. It is difficult to know what the true position is. Speaking for myself, I can

only say that we are little concerned with the outcome of the negotiations for a settlement; be that as it may. If one is prepared to suffer, what is there for one to fear or be anxious about ? I have no doubt whatever, nor should any satyagrahi have any, that our demands are bound to be accepted sooner or later. Lord Ampthill also has information that the negotiations are still proceeding.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 25-9-1909

34. LONDON

[After August 27, 1909]

NATAL DEPUTATION

The members are still busy dispatching copies of their statement to several people, and meeting public men. They have sent a large number of copies to India with a forwarding letter. The following is a summary of the letter¹ :

APPEAL TO INDIA

We are sending herewith a copy of the statement made before the Colonial Secretary regarding the condition of Indians in Natal.

We who have been specially deputed to see the authorities in London and to inform public opinion have already waited on the Secretary of State for the Colonies and other officials and have circulated very widely copies of the statement. We feel that, unless India helps us seriously, it is not likely that Lord Crewe and Lord Morley will be able to secure much relief.

British Indians in Natal form a very considerable portion of the inhabitants of Natal, have very large interests in that Colony and are drawn from all parts of India. They number over 100,000, of whom about 10,000 belong to the trading class, the rest are either indentured Indians or those who have once been under indenture and are now free. It is an acknowledged fact that the prosperity of Natal depends largely, if not entirely, on

¹ This was dated August 27, 1909. The English text of the letter is reproduced here from *Indian Opinion*, 25-9-1909, with some changes needed to bring it into conformity with the Gujarati version.

the help she receives from India in the shape of indentured labour. We have also spared no pains to help India. At the time of the last two famines, subscriptions were collected from rich and poor to the best of their means and forwarded to the famine funds. We ask for no pecuniary assistance, but we do feel that India can successfully alleviate by kindly assistance the very great distress we are suffering in Natal.

As will appear from the statement, we are being crushed out of existence in Natal in a threefold manner. Our trade is slowly being reduced by means of an unjust and tyrannical administration of a licensing law that leaves in the hands of the Licensing Officer and the Licensing Board—who are themselves our trade rivals—unlimited powers, without any check from the judicial tribunals of the Colony. Indian labourers are worked almost as slaves for the benefit of Natal, but, as soon as they have finished their service under the Natal planters of mine-owners, they, their wives and children are taxed exorbitantly, and thus prevented from settling in the Colony and earning an honest livelihood as free men, and our future progress is almost entirely prevented by depriving us of even ordinary facilities for giving a suitable education to our youth.

Unless, therefore, by means of meetings, memorials and such other ways continuously adopted, India insists on our grievances being redressed, it is only a question of time when we shall be slowly starved out of the Colony. There is a tangible remedy at the disposal of the Indian Government, and that is, to stop the supply of indentured labour that annually flows into it unless the Colony deals justly by the Indian traders and labourers. This course was adopted by Lord Curzon and he even sent a dispatch to the Natal Ministers almost threatening to take action unless redress was granted, especially to British Indian traders. We do not know what the result of those negotiations was, but, instead of any redress being vouchsafed to us, our condition ever since that time has become much worse owing to the stringency of the measures stated above and their almost remorseless enforcement. Our means of subsistence are curtailed every day, and our very existence in the Colony in the enjoyment even of the elementary rights of British citizenship is imperilled.

LETTER TO “ THE TIMES”

A statement appeared in *The Times* to the effect that the deputation had given up the demand for the franchise. There were other incorrect statements also. A letter was, therefore, addressed over Mr. Anglia's signature, which I summarize below:¹

You say in your yesterday's issue that the British Indians have no grievance as regards the Parliamentary franchise. Although we do not lay great stress in the political franchise, we have never admitted it not to be a grievance. Our grievances are many, but the most pressing have been placed before Lord Crewe, so that his attention and our energy may be concentrated only upon them. Franchise and other rights will, be of no use to us if, by a simple “stroke of the pen” by the Licensing Officer, we are deprived of the facility for honestly earning our livelihood, no matter how large and long-acquired our vested right may be, and of the future generations' ability to utilize the right of vote, by being intellectually starved in the way of education, and if the best Indian labourers in the Colony may be condemned to servitude by a ruinous special tax.

We have presented the British public with this trinity of grievances (and our requests have been universally admitted to be very moderate). They affect our physical and intellectual wants. The withholding of the franchise under democratic institutions will ever remain to the British Indians in Natal a serious grievance. In not pressing this point home at the present moment, we have bowed before the storm. We have shown our hereditary self-restraint and, in the very act, we are proving our fitness for political rights.

You say that “the British Indians claim on racial and intellectual grounds a position of superiority to the Native races of South Africa”. I submit with due respect that we do not want to lay any such claim, nor, in my opinion, is it necessary to make these fine distinctions with reference to the enjoyment of elementary rights that every civilized man should possess in civilized countries.

¹ This letter appeared in *The Times*, 27-8-1909. The text is reproduced here from *Indian Opinion*, 25-9-1909, with some changes needed to bring it into conformity with the Gujarati version.

LETTER TO VICEROY¹

They have also addressed a special communication to the Viceroy, in which they have called for an embargo on the recruitment of Indians as indentured labourers if our trading rights are not respected.

INTERVIEWS

The gentlemen also met Sir Frederick Lely² who was at Surat. He gave them a patient hearing. At the same time, they have been in contact with Mr. Bottomley and Mr. Clerk of the Corporation Bank. They saw Colonel Seely once and will meet him again. Lord Morley has fixed September 1 for an interview. They had another meeting with Mr. Gupta, Nawab Saheb Bilgrami and others. Besides, they are in correspondence with the Aga Khan. They continue to meet Sir Muncherji from time to time. His helpfulness knows no limits.

POLAK'S WORK

Mr. Polak appears to be going ahead with his mission in India with great energy. He has sent some press cuttings which go to show that he has achieved a great deal in one week. We find reports in almost all the newspapers, both Gujarati and English. He has written to a number of men in Bombay. There is also a cable about a public meeting on the 31st. It remains to be seen what will happen now. He sends private cables regularly, so that we get all the information.

Sir Muncherji believes that India should help the Transvaal by raising a fund. A cable³ has been sent to Mr. Polak in this connection. Let us see what happens at the meeting. The raising of such a fund is calculated to produce a strong effect and will also test India's sympathy.

"THE INDIAN SOCIOLOGIST"

This journal continues to be published though its original printer is in gaol. The new printer has also been arrested. He has taken this bold risk in order to assert the freedom of the Press. He says that there is no common ground between his views and those of Mr.

¹ *Vide* Appendix XXI.

² Formerly British Agent in the Porbunder State; *vide* "London Diary", 12-11-1888 and "Indian Vegetarians—II", 14-2-1891.

³ *Vide* "Cable to H. S. L. Polak", 25-8-1909

Shyamji. He has undertaken the work only out of regard for the freedom of the Press. We should note one thing at least about this, namely, that it is a white who has thus offered to take [the burden] upon himself; he has of his own accord undertaken the risk, so that Indians will be doing nothing specially admirable if they fight for the honour of their country.

JOSEPH ROYEPPEN

Mr. Joseph, Royeppen, who was called to the Bar a long time ago, was not able to return so far as he was short of money. Even a fund was raised in the Transvaal for him. Her is now sailing by the *Tintagel Castle*. He intends to live in poverty and offer his services to the motherland. I wish he remains firm in his idea. If necessary, he assures me categorically, he will even go to gaol in the Transvaal.

DETERMINED WOMEN

As in London, so in Liverpool, some seven women were arrested in connection with [the campaign for] the franchise. They went to gaol and embarked on a fast there. they ate nothing for six days, the result being that they were released before their time. It should not be imagined that I give publicity to these facts in order to suggest that we should imitate these women in everything they do. I only want people to note that there is no suffering which they will spare themselves.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 25-9-1909

35. LETTER TO KASHI GANDHI

LONDON,

August 28, 1909

At 1.00 a. m.

CHI. KASHI¹,

Though it is very late now, I needs must write to you today. Every week I remember you and Santok² and put off writing. Though there is not particularly much work to do, I am always busy with

¹ Chhaganlal Gandhi's wife

² Maganlal Gandhi's wife

something or other.

What shall I write to you about your having given birth to a daughter? If I say that it is good, it would be a lie. If I express sorrow, it would be violence. According to my present ideas, I should remain indifferent. For that one must have the mental equipoise described in the *Gita*. That, no doubt, is very difficult to attain. However, my effort is in that direction. Meanwhile, I would only say and wish that you learn to control your senses in the right manner. I am having plenty of experience. As I go on observing, my ideas become firm. I do not see any reason to change them. I shall not write a separate letter to Santok. This is for you both.

I admit that I did not write any letters to you; but ask yourself why you did not write, and if you do not find any justification for not doing so, repent for it, for I am hungry for letters from you all.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

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

36. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]
August 30, 1909

MY LORD,

In order not to unnecessarily worry you, I have refrained from acknowledging your last two letters.¹

May I invite your attention to the statement² made yesterday to Reuter's Agent on the Indian question by General Smuts ? What can be the meaning of the statement ? Does it mean that the General will decide after he has reached Pretoria, and if so, what is our duty ?

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5034

37. LETTER TO AMEER ALI

[LONDON,]
August 30, 1909

DEAR MR. AMEER ALI,

I have your postcard. I have purposely refrained from writing to you, in order that I may not interfere with your rest. Had there been anything striking, I should certainly have written. Moreover, I waited for the letter that you promised in your postcard. Not having had the letter, I concluded that you were too busy to write it.

The Transvaal matter is still the subject of negotiations. General Smuts left on Saturday and gave the following message to Reuter:

¹ In his letter of August 24, Lord Ampthill had expressed himself as disconcerted at the unexpected departure of General Smuts for South Africa without replying to his suggestions. He had also referred to a leading article in *The Times*, which gave a "distinct hint that there would be some settlement of the British Indian question". In his letter of August 26, he referred to Lord Crewe's reply that "the negotiations are still going on, so that there is yet hope of something being settled". Lord Ampthill decided not to raise the question in the House of Lords, as he had intended to. "I cannot think of anything," he added, "which we are leaving undone or which we could do with advantage at the present moment; we must still wait patiently."

² *Vide* the following item.

I hope it¹ is in a fair way to disappear from the horizon of Transvaal politics. The vast majority of Transvaal Indians are sick to death of the agitation carried on by some of their extreme representatives, and have quietly submitted to the law. I have had repeated conversations with Lord Crewe and other important leaders interested in this matter, and I think it will be possible now to find a solution of this vexed question which all reasonable men will consider right and fair.

And there the matter rests at present. There is some ground, therefore, for hoping that a settlement will be arrived at. Lord Ampthill has worked wonderfully in the matter, but if the negotiations are protracted, it is now a question, in view of General Smuts' return to South Africa, whether Mr. Hajee Habib and I should stay here or whether our place is now in South Africa and, if necessary, in the Transvaal gaol.

As to the Natal deputation, Mr. Abdul Caadir and friends are moving heaven and earth. They are circulating the statement broadcast. They have seen Lord Crewe and they are seeing, this week, Lord Morley and Colonel Seely. They have also been in correspondence with the Aga Khan, who is in Paris undergoing medical treatment. Sir Muncherji is also in constant touch. A copy of their letter to the Indian public shows the remedy they are now concentrating their energy upon. They have sent you the statement. A letter has also been officially addressed to the Viceroy, asking him to adopt the remedy of suspending Indian immigration to Natal unless relief is granted. They are most anxious to pay their respects personally to you, especially as they have been specially instructed to meet you and be guided by your advice. I would, therefore, thank you to let me have an idea as to when you are likely to return.

I hope there has been no further hindrance to the cure you have been undergoing and that you will return thoroughly invigorated. I may mention that a public meeting will be held tomorrow in Bombay to protest against the Transvaal legislation.

*I remain,
Yours sincerely,*

JUSTICE AMEER ALI, C. I. E.
HOTEL SCHWEIZERHOF
VULPERA TARASP
[SWITZERLAND]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5035

¹ The Indian question

38. LETTER TO SWAMI SHANKERANAND

[LONDON,]

August 30, 1909

DEAR SWAMIJI,

Received your letter. I had read your speech earlier about Curzon Wyllie delivered at the Depot Road. I also read your letter on education. I am grieved at reading all the three. Your letter to me shows your views on Islam and the other two items show your behaviour towards the people of that faith. I do not say anything about your views on Islam. But your sarcastic remarks about Islam are, so far as I know, against the spirit of Hinduism. But even these I do not mind. What has particularly been painful to me is your expedient and immoral behaviour while making those remarks. In saying that the British are the defenders of the Hindu religion, you have shown our utter helplessness. If I myself am not able to protect my religion, how can a person of another faith do it ? Your ideas on education I consider as only causing a split between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. If it is necessary to keep so much distance between the Hindus and the Mussalmans, then, Hindustan deserves to remain slave. How, then, can one find fault with the foreigner ? And if that distance is insisted upon, Hinduism would just perish. Fortunately, Hinduism is sound and stable. I have firm faith that a religion that has maintained itself for thousands of years will not perish even at the hands of our priests. What shall I write to you? I have respect for your knowledge; but I am pained at your behaviour.

[From Gujarati]

Gandhiji-na Patro and Gandhiji-ni Sadhna

39. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[LONDON,
End of August,] 1909

CHI. MANILAL,

Received your letter.

I shall consider myself fortunate if your mind is perfectly quiet, if you are thoroughly absorbed in your work and if you are doing your studies without any distractions. I do not think it necessary for you to come to this country in a hurry. People here appear to be very degenerate. We shall talk more about this when we meet.

That you are doing the work of teaching children is a very noble thing.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 86

Courtesy : Sushilabehn Gandhi

40. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]
September 1, 1909

MY LORD,

I am exceedingly obliged to Your Lordship for your letter of the 31st ultimo.

If General Smuts' decision¹ be final, it is unfortunate. But I fear that it will not be possible for me to recede from the position as to the question of "right". In my opinion, nothing will be gained by his making the residence of a limited number of educated Indian immigrants permanent, if the "right" be not recognized. No Indian need enter the Transvaal if only the theoretical "right" remain inviolate. The origin of number six lies in Mr. Cartwright's anxiety that I should give some tangible proof of the community's declaration that, behind the question of the status of educated Indians, there was no intention to flood the Transvaal with British Indians. You

¹Vide Appendix "Amphill's Letters to Gandhiji and Crewe"..

will, therefore, see that the proposal of General Smuts does not in any degree satisfy the Indian requirement.

On the contrary it accentuates the racial insult, and our acceptance of it would simply mean that, after all, we were not fighting so much for a principle, as for the mere satisfaction of being able to import some educated Indians into the Transvaal for our own interests.

You may have noticed the cablegram in *The Times* of to-day's date, regarding the cancellation of a public meeting in Bombay, convened by the Sheriff on an influential requisition.¹ I very much fear that the action of the Government. . .² the Transvaal, in. . .³ advocacy of the position taken up by us in the Transvaal.

I remain, etc.,

[PS.]

Mr. Hajee Habib and I are seriously considering whether it would not be advisable for us to go to India after finishing the work here and ask for a greater manifestation of public sympathy. This, however, we will discuss with Your Lordship after the expected interview with Lord Crewe has come off.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5037

41. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

LONDON,
September 1, 1909

CHI. MANILAL,

I get your letters regularly. I was again invited to dinner by Mrs. Freeth⁴ this week. She enquired about you all. She also asked for a photograph of you all and also of the Phoenix settlement. Please send her whatever you may have of these. I have written⁵ to Ba also. Mrs. Freeth is a good-natured lady and has much affection for me.

¹ The Government of Bombay considered it undesirable for the Sheriff to convene the meeting in his official capacity, after the passing of the South Africa Union Bill.

² The original is damaged and some words are missing.

³ A line is missing here.

⁴ Presumably, an acquaintance of Gandhiji from student days in England; *vide* also "Letter to Mrs. Freeth". 14-11-1906.

⁵ This letter is not available.

There is little prospect of a settlement now. In that case I shall have no alternative but to fight. I will need help from you all; that help you will give me by remaining calm and doing your duty courageously.

I hope you keep your tools in proper trim. I also hope sufficient dust is being spread over night-soil. It is necessary to cultivate the habit of keeping all the surrounding area clean. Mr. Kallenbach writes that this time he had put up with us. I hope you attended to all his needs. Let me know what arrangements you had made for his bath and toilet. You must be realizing the necessity of keeping ready the lavatory which Kitchin used always. I am writing all this to you as you are the sanitary inspector of the house.

You have not written to me as to what you have learnt.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Please show this letter to Ba.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 87

Courtesy : Sushilabehn Gandhi

42. CABLE TO H. S. L. POLAK¹

LONDON,

September 2, 1909

IT APPEARS SMUTS WILL GRANT PERMANENT PERMITS LIMITED
NUMBER BUT NOT OF RIGHT. STILL NEGOTIATING. PUBLIC
MEETING SHOULD BE HELD INDEPENDENTLY SHERIFF. MY
CABLES NOT FOR PUBLICATION.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 5039

¹ Though the draft does not bear Polak's name, it is clear from the contents that it was addressed to him.

43. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]

September 2, 1909

SIR,

I beg to draw the attention of the Earl of Crewe to the following cablegram received from the Chinese Association :

Reuters report interview Smuts indicates settlement Asiatic question. If so, why continued arrest Chinese ? Twenty-seven within week.

I have not received a copy of Reuter's report referred to in the above cable, and I do not know what truth there is in the settlement

indicated of the Transvaal Asiatic difficulty. Mr. Hajee Habib and I are awaiting a communication from His Lordship in the matter.

I may add that the arrests of Indians, too, have continued.

I remain, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records : 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5041

44. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]

September 2, 1909

MY LORD,

The following cable has been received from the Chinese Association:

Reuters report interview Smuts indicates settlement Asiatic question. If so, why continued arrest Chinese? Twenty-seven within week.

I may add that several Indians have been similarly arrested. Perso-nally, I welcome this crusade against the Indians and the Chinese in the Transvaal. It puts them upon their mettle and enables the Government, as well as the passive resisters, to gauge the strength of passive resistance. I have not yet advised the British Indian Association at Johannesburg that Reuter's report may be misleading and that there may be, after all, no settlement at all.

Lord Crewe has not yet written as Your Lordship thought he

might. I am drawing his attention to the Chinese cable.¹

I should perhaps mention that questions have been suggested to M.P.s, regarding the Bombay Government's action² about which I wrote to you yesterday. I hope this step will meet with your approval.³

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5044

45. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]

September 2, 1909

DEAR HENRY,

I shall probably write two letters to you this week. The present one is in connection with Phoenix.

I have already told you that I had long chats with Dr. Mehta, and that he had given £15 for the school. I have got some books out of the £15 for the library; you have the list; some more have been bought. There is still a balance of about £12. There may be some books there of value, which might be purchased out of the balance left. You may consult Chhaganlal and others.

Dr. Mehta, however, has promised much more. He intends to give a scholarship that would cover the expenses of educating and boarding an Indian lad at Phoenix. I have told him what the expenses might be—anything from £1 to 25/- per month. He has also placed at my disposal the expenses of educating one Phoenixite in England. The idea arose from his desire to take over the training of one of my own boys. I told him that I could not accept any such thing, but I

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

² A question on the subject was asked by James O'Grady, a member of South Africa British Indian Committee, in the House of Commons on September 7. Another question on the subject was asked by Sir Henry Cotton on September 9. On both occasions, the Under Secretary of State replied that the Imperial Government had not received any official information in the matter.

³ Acknowledging this letter the following day, Lord Amthill wrote : "Your view accords with that which I expressed to you when you first arrived in England, namely, that the continuance of resistance and repression in the Transvaal is helpful to our negotiations. I think you would do well to let the British Indian Association know that you are not yet aware of any settlement but that you are asking for another interview with Lord Crewe. I wrote to you last night advising you to do so if you had not heard from him. Please let me know what answers are given to the questions in the House of Commons. The Press, as you know, often omits to publish them."

would be pleased to accept the expenses, to be used for the best person in Phoenix, and that, if I considered that Manilal was the most suitable for the purpose, I should not hesitate to send him also. All this makes me think that you might do some such work there. Mr. Petit is a moneyed man. There are others also, if you could convince them that Phoenix is intended to be a nursery for producing the right men and right Indians. You might induce some of these men to give scholarships to be used either for use generally or restricting them to Indians only. We should accept them either way. They might also give us donations, earmarking them for buying books and other educational material. The chief thing would be for you to convince them that whatever energy is put forth in Phoenix is not so much taken away from India, but is so much given to India, and that, in some respects, Phoenix is a more suitable place for making experiments and gaining proper training. Whereas in India there may be undesirable restraints, there are no such undesirable restraints in Phoenix. For instance, Indian ladies would never have come out so boldly as they are doing in Phoenix. The rest of the social customs would have been too much for them.

I have here given you enough to enable you to enlarge upon the idea and do whatever you think is necessary. You may be able to get Adamji Peerbhai or his son to give a scholarship either for the Indian boys generally or for training Mahomedan boys. You may get them to give you prizes also. It will be well to collect prospectuses from the different educational institutions in India, for purposes of reference. Mr. Omar has the century dictionary and various other important books of which he has not the slightest use. In my letter¹ which I enclose herewith, I have asked him to let us have this dictionary and any other books he could spare. You may speak to him in the matter.

Your sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5042

¹ This is not available.

46. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]

September 3, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your letter and cuttings. The work you are doing is most admirable and I am delighted that you are receiving splendid support from all sides and that Mr. Jehangir Petit has been treating you so nicely.¹

I noticed from the papers that you published the cablegram that I sent you regarding the offer to repeal the Act.² I was surprised. I felt that you would understand that the negotiations would be quite private and that you could not publish the information. Lord Ampthill has been very strict in the matter. Happily, no ill result has followed. However, in order to guard myself, in my last cablegram³ I have asked you not to publish any of the cables that may be sent from here .

The cancellation of the Sheriff's meeting is a disgraceful affair. A cablegram appeared in *The Times* in connection with it. I take it that you keep yourself in touch with *India*. You will see the cable reproduced in it. Sir Henry Cotton, as also Mr. O'Grady, are asking questions in the matter. I wish there had been from the Presidency Association a private cable to the British Committee of the Congress. It is somewhat difficult for us to move effectively. It is primarily Bombay that should resent action of the Bombay Government, and not we. However, whatever was possible has been done. I now expect from you a cablegram any time, informing me of the date of a public meeting independently of the Sheriff.

Mr. Hajee Habib is anxious that you should ask Mr. Hajee Mahomed, his brother, who is at present in Porbunder, to co-operate with you. He says that if he were invited, he would gladly join you. Please correspond with him. Mr. Omar knows him well. I may even cable in the matter.

From copies of correspondence with Lord Ampthill you will see that, now, there is little chance of an acceptable settlement. I send you

¹ In his letter of August 14, Polak had furnished a diary-wise report of his meetings with a host of prominent people and their favourable reactions.

² Vide "Cable to H. S. L. Polak", 10-8-1909

³ Vide "Cable to H. S. L. Polak", 2-9-1909

a cutting giving General Smuts' statement to Reuter, before he sailed from Southampton. It, however, now appears that what he wants to do is to repeal the Act and to give permanent certificates of residence to a limited number of educated Indians; thus, he does not want to recognise the "right" of entry. I am rather glad if he does this and makes a public declaration. The issue again narrows down to the one and only point, namely, the status of educated Indians and the self-respect of India. We then approach England and India on a clear cut proposition, and ask the Indians in the Transvaal also to continue the battle until that point is decided. You will see from my letter to Lord Ampthill how I view it. I almost feel, before we return to South Africa, we may visit India and then pay another visit to London and retrace our steps. I know, if General Smuts makes the public declaration in accordance with Lord Ampthill's letter, the fight here will be most difficult. However, that does not dismay me, though I question very much whether any useful purpose will be served by public meetings if any could be held, and canvassing of Members of Parliament, until further suffering has been gone through. I would far rather be in gaol than carry on what may prove to be almost a useless agitation. There may be in this desire to avoid it a touch of laziness; I hope not. I do not wish to shirk having to see people and address meetings, in so far as that may be necessary, but whenever I have a quiet moment to myself, I do continually ask myself as to whether I should be doing right in remaining here for the purpose of canvassing.

Wherever your meeting is held, I hope you will have succeeded in getting Mr. Armstrong and other Anglo-Indians to attend it. I hope you have been sending the Gujarati and English cuttings to Johannesburg also. In order not to disappoint people there, I have been, by way of double precaution, sending, to them the cuttings received by you.

You do not mind my not replying to your cables immediately, when you do not get one from me as early as you may expect it. Please understand that there is good reason for my not having replied. For instance, you have asked me whether there is any hope. I am delaying the reply,

as I am waiting for a call from Lord Crewe. I should then be able, somewhat definitely, to tell you whether there is or not. Just now, I should say there is none.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5049

47. DEPUTATION NOTES [-X]

[After September 3, 1909]

I am tired of reporting every time that I have no news to give about a settlement. But that is what I must say again. I know, of course, that those who are perfect satyagrahis will not weary of reading this, for they are not concerned whether or not a settlement is reached. They stand victorious in any case.

However, I am really in a position to give a little more information this time. We have been told that General Smuts will at least repeal the Act. But as regards the issue of educated Indians, he will grant permits for permanent residence to a limited number as a matter of favour. They will have the same rights as those who have been registered. But I see no advantage in this. They may not call us “dead”, but use the expression “passed away”; yet, we shall be dead all the same. It is against the quick and living that we have to pit our strength. We must therefore continue the fight. I have no definite news, though. We shall know the truth in a few days. I do not think there will be any formal negotiations for a settlement this time. In due time, our demands will be conceded, and then alone shall we be in a position to hang up our weapons.

If, as I have suggested above, the Act is now repealed and permanent permits for six men are offered, that will give further impetus to the fight. Its real nature will come to be better understood. *Everyone will then realize that we have been fighting not for [the admission of] a particular number [of educated men], but for India's honour.* There must be legal equality with the whites; it will not matter then if, in practice, not even a single Indian is able to get in. We can bear that. But it would not serve our purpose even if permits are issued to 50 men, so long as the law itself is tainted. We are not fighting for ourselves, but for others. It is not a fight on behalf of the educated or the highly educated, but for India's honour, for our self-respect, for the fulfilment of our pledge. The more we suffer in this cause, the happier we shall be. Those who fight in this spirit are true satyagrahis—men with soulforce. I want to see every Indian join this beautiful, sublime struggle.

Readers must have noticed that the deputation has been acting all the time behind the scenes. They should know all the same that

nothing that needs to be done will be left undone. Our object is to get things done through the good offices of the Imperial Government. So long as that is happening, nothing else needs to be done here (in England). In attempting anything more, we may only damage the cause.

When the Imperial Government washes its hands of the business, we shall have to act publicly. Eight weeks have passed in negotiations. A little more time may yet elapse. We shall then work publicly as and when necessary. This is a time-consuming process. We shall need more time than we had supposed, but there is no escape. Moreover, when the Imperial Government declares its helplessness after having tried to help us, our work here will become extremely difficult. Not before we have gone through the ordeal of a bitter, intense and strenuous fight shall we be able to slay what Mr. Dawad Mahomed has termed an elephant.

The more I observe things, the more I realize that deputations, petitions, etc., are all in vain if there are no real sanctions behind them. I see from experience that it is better to be in gaol than to have to seek interviews. Mirabai has sung:

Prepare not your draught from the twice-bitter *neem*,
Shunning the sweetness of the sugar and the sugarcane;
Give not your love to the glow-worm,
Turning away from the light of sun and moon.

This saintly lady has told us that anyone who devotes himself entirely to love of God will find everything else bitter like *neem* juice and lustreless like the glow-worm's glitter. Likewise, anyone who has had experience of satyagraha—soul-force, who has found its spell irresistible, will have no pleasure in petitions and deputations. 'Why, then,' the reader must ask me, 'did you leave the happiness of gaol-life to join the deputation?' I have said in an earlier letter¹ that the deputation is a confession of the community's weakness. It became something of a duty to come [here] on behalf of the weak. But I can say from experience that the community can put us and other Indians to the best use by allowing us to be in gaol. Those who lead a deputation cannot make a more skilfully drafted petition than the one that satyagrahis make by the fact of their being in gaol. Men have now lost faith in such activities. Personally, I make bold to say that, if

¹ Vide "Deputation's Voyage [-I]", After 23-6--1909

anyone here gives us a hearing, that is only because we are satyagrahis and we pin our faith on suffering.

In spite of these views of mine, I feel that, should there be no settlement after all, we should leave for India and, after doing everything necessary there, return to England to take any further steps that may be called for, and then go back to the Transvaal. For the moment, however, these are mere castles in the air. As yet, we cannot even say whether or not there will be a settlement. But I have set down these plans here, thinking as I do that it is better the community is told of them.

We see that Mr. Polak is making a big effort in Bombay. He has met a number of people, who have all agreed to help. He attended the meetings of the Bombay Presidency Association and the local Anjuman-e-Islam. A Bombay millionaire, Mr. Jehangir Petit, has put up Mr. Polak as his guest. He looks after him, and has offered to have copies of the pamphlet printed at his own cost. Likewise, the Anjuman-e-Islam has offered to arrange for the printing and distribution of copies of Mr. Polak's speech in English and Urdu.

We learn from a cable that the Sheriff of Bombay had called a big meeting for the 1st. The Bombay Government, acting in a high-handed manner, asked the Sheriff to cancel the meeting. There is now another cable to say that the Bombay Government has regretted its error and allowed the meeting to be held. The meeting will take place on September 11¹. By the time this letter is published, you will have received a report of the meeting as well. I, therefore, do not know what to say. The reason which the Government gave for not permitting the meeting was that, since the Union was an accomplished fact, a Government officer like the Sheriff should not hold a [protest] meeting. This is doubly wrong. In the first place, the Transvaal struggle has nothing to do with the Union; secondly, the fact that a meeting was called by the Sheriff does not imply Government participation in it. In calling as meeting, the Sheriff only gives expression to the people's will. He does not even take part in it.

Before leaving, General Smuts told Reuter that a settlement would be reached which would satisfy the Indian community. He also added that the majority of Indians were sick of agitating, and only a few irreconcilables were left. This indicates that he has had a long discussion with Lord Crewe on the Indian problem. But the gentleman

¹ The meeting was actually held on September 14.

wants a partial settlement such as I have described above.

I would personally invite the community's attention to only one remark of his: he says that most of the Indians are sick [of agitating]. This suggests everything. It tells us why there has been such a long delay. Whether a settlement will be reached or not depends on our strength.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-10-1909

48. LONDON

[Before September 4, 1909]

NATAL DEPUTATION

This deputation had interviews with Colonel Seely and Lord Morley. Both the officers expressed the utmost sympathy. But Colonel Seely said that nothing could be done, and Lord Morley pointed out that the matter was within the province of the Colonial Office and not his. However, [he said] he had been doing his best, and would continue to do so. He reminded the deputation that they could not interfere in the affairs of self-governing Colonies. Colonel Seely has agreed, at the deputation's request, to give a written reply. The posting of copies of its statement continues. The members call on Sir Muncherji from time to time and receive his guidance.

MINISTERS LEAVE

Mr. Merriman, General Smuts, Mr. Moore and other ministers of South Africa left last week.

DR. ABDURRAHMAN

Dr. Abdurrahman and his colleagues will leave by the mail-ship which will carry this letter. The gentleman will keep up the struggle. Whether it will be in the nature of satyagraha or something else is not known as yet.

MORRIS

Mr. Morris, who was employed in the Cape Town Colonial Office, has been sent here by a section of the Coloured people.

THIS CRAZY CIVILIZATION

London has gone mad over Mr. Bleriot¹ who flew in the air in an aeroplane and Dr. Cook who claims to have reached the North Pole. Newspapers report their achievements in great detail. People, it appears,

throw away thousands of pounds after such things. Personally, I am un-able to see what miracles they have achieved. No one points out what good it will do to mankind if planes fly in the air. People go crazy over every impostor making a novel claim. To me at least it appears that life would grow intolerable if there were to be too many planes in the air. We have trains running underground; there are telegraph wires already hanging over us, and outside, on the roads, there is the deafening noise of trains. If you now have planes flying in the air, take it that people will be done to death. Looking at this land, I at any rate have grown disillusioned with Western civilization. The people whom you meet on the way seem half-crazy. They spend their days in luxury or in making a bare living and retire at night thoroughly exhausted. In this state of affairs, I cannot understand when they can devote themselves to prayers. Suppose Dr. Cook has, in fact, been to the North Pole, what then? People will not, on that account, get the slightest relief from their sufferings. While Western civilization is still young, we find things have come to such a pass that, unless its whole machinery is thrown over-board, people will destroy themselves like so many moths. Even today we can see that there are more and more cases of suicide every day. There are reasons why it may be advisable for people to come to England on some business or for education, but, generally speaking, I am definitely of the view that it is altogether undesirable for anyone to come or live here. We shall consider this point at greater length some other time.

JOSEPH ROYEPPEN

I have already reported his departure on Saturday.² I see indications that he will have no option but to go to gaol. I hope he will do so.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-10-1909

¹ Louis Bleriot (1872-1936); French pilot, the first to fly across the English Channel.

² *Vide* "London", After 27-8-1909.

49. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]

September 6, 1909

SIR,

Lord Ampthill informs Mr. Hajee Habib and me that the Earl of Crewe will presently ask us either to wait on His Lordship or depute some one we could see, and with whom we could discuss the Transvaal Indian question.¹

I am aware that His Lordship is very busy with many matters of State. May I, however, remind you that Mr. Hajee Habib and I have been now in the metropolis for over eight weeks, and that great pressure is being put upon us from those who have sent us here to give the result of our mission? I need hardly mention that we have purposely avoided all public activity, in order not to prejudice the negotiations that His Lordship has been pleased to carry on with the Transvaal Ministers, with a view to bringing the struggle to an end.

My colleague and I will be obliged if you will place this letter before His Lordship, and let us know when our presence will be required.²

I remain, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5053

¹ This was conveyed in his letter to Gandhiji of September 5.

² Apropos of this letter, the Colonial Office minute of September 8 recorded that: "Colonial Secretary should see Mr. Gandhi and his colleague, and indicate the scope of the proposals of Mr. Smuts in general terms. If they are unwilling to abate their demands, the Transvaal Government may be less willing to push through the amendment of the law this year: but if the India Office accept the compromise, it would be politic to press the Transvaal Government to do so, irrespective of Mr. Gandhi." Gandhiji and Hajee Habib were given an appointment with Lord Crewe on September 16.

50. LETTER TO AMEER ALI

[LONDON,]
September 6, 1909

DEAR MR. AMEER ALI,

I am much obliged to you for your prompt reply to my letter¹.

I am glad that His Highness the Aga Khan has sent Mr. Anglia's letter to you.

We shall all be looking forward to your return, so that we may receive the benefit of your guidance and advice. I entirely agree with you that, whatever differences there may be between the Mussulmans and the Hindoos in India, in this question of the grievances in South Africa there can be none.² In fact, my life is devoted to demonstrating that co-operation between the two is an indispensable condition of the salvation of India.

The Bombay Government have now apologized for having instructed the Sheriff to recall his notice of public meeting, which has been readvertised for the 11th instant.

The negotiations regarding the Transvaal matter are still progress-ing, though slowly.

With regards from us all,

I remain etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5055

¹ This was dated August 30; *vide* "Letter to Ameer Ali", 30-8-1909.

² Ameer Ali had written: "...they can and ought to work on a common platform in endeavouring to secure justice to their countrymen who have taken up their abode in South Africa. And I do not think it can be difficult to devise some method of constitutional cooperation to attain that end."

51. LETTER TO KHUSHALCHAND GANDHI

LONDON,
September 7, 1909

RESPECTED KHUSHALBHAI,

Your letter to hand.

I am very glad to learn that you will not come in the way of Chhaganlal's public work and that you consider him to be wholly entrusted to me. I am sure that both the brothers¹ and their wives are elevating themselves by living in Phoenix. There is not much of Western influence in Phoenix. We do not hesitate in the least to take whatever Western we find worth acceptance. India is sure to profit by whatever good results accrue from this. The activities that are carried on in Phoenix are, I believe, all of them religious.

Chi. Narandas² has embarked upon a benevolent piece of work. Please give him your blessings and encouragement.

I, too, solicit blessings and encouragement in my work from the elders. It is possible that they might not appreciate some of my activities. Nonetheless, if they are convinced, which I hope they must be that in whatever I do I am impelled not by selfishness, but by a sense of duty and goodwill, I would be worthy of their blessings.

No settlement has yet been reached though negotiations for it are going on. Political matters are very intricate and difficult. I have come to realize that gaol-going is easier and more fruitful than trying to persuade people here. However, one's character is built by such things. Only under such complicated conditions does one realize how strong the passions of attachment and enmity in one's mind are.

Please give my respects to my Bhabhi³ as well as to the other elders.

Respects from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 4894 Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

¹ Chhaganlal and Maganlal Gandhi

² Gandhiji's nephew and addressee's third son.

³ Elder brother's wife; here, the addressee's

52. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

LONDON,
September 7, 1909

CHI. NARANDAS,

I was very glad to read your letter. That you thought of sharing the sufferings of Indians from there is, I believe, a meritorious act.¹ Please congratulate your co-workers also on my behalf.

You did a very good thing in getting Pandit Saheb² and Shukla Saheb³ to subscribe to the fund.

I know that many educated men in India do not realize the significance of the struggle. This shows that the knowledge of soul-force that our forefathers had is lost in darkness. It will require patience and time to bring it back into light. But as they gradually understand its significance, they will realize its strength the better. The soul-force I am speaking of does not consist in outward ritual like temple-going, etc. Sometimes such ritual is opposed to it. All this you must have realized if you have read *Indian Opinion* carefully. Chhaganbhai will be able to tell you more. You can experiment upon that force from where you are. Cultivation of truth and fearlessness is the first lesson for it.

Please send what money you collect there to *Indian Opinion* over the signatures of you three. Moreover, send an account to those who have contributed money. Send also instructions through Chhaganbhai about publishing the names of leading subscribers in *Indian Opinion*. It would perhaps be better if Pandit Saheb or Shukla Saheb sent the amount with a forwarding letter of sympathy. Do as you all deem proper.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 4895 Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

¹ The reference is to the collection of funds undertaken by the addressee for the satyagrahis in South Africa.

² Sitaram Pandit, a barrister of Rajkot.

³ D. B. Shukla, a barrister of Rajkot and Gandhiji's friend

53. *LETTER TO KASHI GANDHI*

ENGLAND,
September 7, 1909

CHI. KASHI,

I do not know definitely whether Santok also is there with you. I wrote you a letter¹ last week.

Please do not forget there whatever good things you learnt in Phoenix. Do not give them up for false shame. You will have done the right thing only when you, and other virtuous women like you, do what you consider proper—with humility, but with firmness and without fear. I wish you to do even in India whatever we have been doing in Phoenix thinking it to be good, with patience, with Chi. Chhaganlal's approval and with God's name on your lips. I have written this letter to tell you this.

I shall have to stay here for some time yet; if, therefore, you write a letter to me, it will reach me here.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 4896

Courtesy : Chhaganlal Gandhi

54. *LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK*

[LONDON,]
September 8, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your letter and cuttings. Whatever possessed you to publish my cablegrams? If you could only read the Gujarati cuttings you have been sending me, you would laugh over the whole thing. The Gujarati writers have been proclaiming a great victory, and, naturally, our friends here have a laugh at your and my expense. I notice also, in the English columns, your effort to extract yourself from the difficulty, by claiming a partial victory and by going for the Boers. Happily, nobody takes any notice of the Indian Press here,

¹ Vide "Letter to Kashi Gandhi", 28-8-1909

because our struggle is practically taboo. If these cuttings reach Neame¹, I can well imagine his doing us very great damage. I hope you do not think there is any agreement arrived at with reference to repeal of the Act. I did not intend to convey any such impression through my cable. The odds are that nothing will be granted without a bargain that passive resistance should cease, and yet, your writings in the Bombay Press seem to show that you have taken the repeal of the Act for granted. I am interested to know how you are going to deal with the whole question at the forthcoming meeting. My letters, I hope, will have made everything clear to you. If they have not, I should never be able to forgive myself. Three years ago if any such premature publication had taken place and if a victory had been imputed to us when there was none, I should have probably torn my hair, as there would have been, then, no passive resistance to fall back upon. As it is, I assure you, I have not even given serious thought to this publication, nor have I worried over it, knowing that whenever we gain what we are fight [ing for, we shall have]² gained because of passive resistance, . . .³ I mention the publication of this cable, I do so in order to warn you for the future, and in order to let you know what our friends (you know whom I mean) are saying.

What a silly mistake on the part of the Bombay Government to have stopped the public meeting. I am looking forward to your graphic description of how and why the thing came about. It is a matter for great regret that Sir Pherozeshah still continues to hamper your progress.⁴ However, I am fully expecting you to disarm him by the time you have finished with Bombay.

I quite agree with you that the statement⁵ I sent to you would not do for Bombay at all; I never thought it could. A much more elaborate and detailed statement is required for India.

If you can induce Mr. Petit and others to defray the cost of the two deputations, it will be a great stroke and it will automatically solve

¹ L. E. Neame, author of *The Asiatic Danger in the Colonies*, a reply to which was published by the editor of *Indian Opinion* in the form of a pamphlet.

² The original being damaged, words in square brackets have been conjectured.

³ A few words are missing here.

⁴ Polak had written in his letter of August 21 : "I am tugging away at the mass meeting. Sir P[herozeshah] M[ehta] is the stumbling block. He will not do anything except delay matters."

⁵ Vide "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", 16-7-1909

the difficulty we have been trying to grapple with for the past twelve months.

At the time of dictating, Lord Crewe has not sent an appointment. I do not know what this delay means.

I am very sorry to hear about Mr. Gokhale's health. What is the matter with him? Does his medical adviser give up hope, or does he mean that he should have a change?¹

I would like to have your impression about Mr. Padshah, and whether it is the elder Padshah or the younger. Both are brilliant men, but I have always heard it said that the elder Padshah has a saintly character. The younger Padshah I know well; he was a co-student. He does not, or rather he did not, when I was in Bombay, ap [prove] of the idea of Indians emigrating at all, and he . . . ² induced to take any interest in our. . . ³

What are the medical students for the Vegetarian Examination? I am rather interested in this, because I have been told here that medical study is practically impossible without having to destroy life. Mr. Gool tells me that, in the course of his studies, he⁴ must have killed about fifty frogs. An examination in physiology without this, he tells me, is not possible. If this is so, I have absolutely no desire to go in for medical studies. I would neither kill a frog, nor use one for dissecting, if it has been specially killed for the purpose of dissection.

I hope that you have made it clear to the friends there that our restricting the propaganda to the two demands regarding the Transvaal does not mean that we do not intend to fight for the other things, as occasion arises. That the two things only are being mentioned prominently at present is because passive resistance has been applied to them only, and that on that account they claim, as they ought to, the greatest attention. I mention this as the question was discussed with Lord Morley, as also Lord Crewe. The latter inquired what we proposed to do in reference to the other things, and I told him that we were going to work in the Transvaal to bring about the desired reforms, and I even hinted that passive resistance might have to be taken up in connection with them. Sir Muncherjee is very keen

¹ Polak had reported : "Mr. Gokhale is killing himself with overwork. His medical adviser has given him a most depressing report."

² Some words are missing in the original.

³ *ibid*

⁴ The original has "you".

on this statement being made because he thinks that otherwise the people over there may not work in future, thinking that they had done their duty in helping us to solve the present problem.

I notice that you remark in your letter that the [passage of] the Union Bill makes our position somewhat more. . .¹ however, think so, as we never raised any discussion on the Union itself. As a matter of fact, work done after the Union, so far as the negotiations are concerned, was more substantial than before.

I do not think I need, and yet perhaps I may, tone down your raptures over what you have seen in the India of Bombay. I know you know that you are seeing Westernized India and not real India, which I hope you may be able to do whilst you are there, though I question whether you will. I was reading last night a very illuminating work by Edward Carpenter—*Civilisation, Its Cause and Cure*. I finished the first part and, whilst I was reading it, I thought that I would issue the warning, which I have done. His analysis of the civilisation, as we know it, is very good. His condemnation though very severe is, in my opinion, entirely deserved. The cure suggested by him is good, but I note that he is afraid of his own logic, naturally because he is not certain of his ground. No man, in my opinion, will be able to give an accurate forecast of the future and describe a proper cure, unless he has seen the heart of India. Now you know in what direction my thoughts are driving me. If you have not read the book, and if it is not on your shelf, you will find it at Phoenix.

I have the following cablegram from Johannesburg:

Magistrate rebuked Vernon for stating in court duty white men hunt Asiatics from country. *Leader, Star* strongly comment.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5056

¹ Some words are missing here. Polak had observed: “. . . the passage of the Act of Union handicaps you immensely now. It is one weapon the less in your armoury.”

55. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]

September 9, 1909

MY LORD,

As suggested by Your Lordship,¹ I wrote to the Secretary to Lord Morley.² Enclosed is a copy of his reply.

I wrote to Lord Crewe on Saturday;³ no reply has arrived as yet. I beg to enclose herewith copy of my letter to Lord Crewe.

I remain, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5058

56. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[LONDON,]

September 9, 1909

CHI. MANILAL,

Received your letter. I am sorry that Mr. Kallenbach incurred the expenditure. But I know that he cannot be prevented from doing so. It would be better not to let him know our requirements when he inquires about them.

I am sorry that Chi. Harilal⁴ is not with you; but I believe that his duty for the present is to stay in the Transvaal.

I have no information about your studies. As Mr. Cordes is having boils, I hope you are visiting him at his place and attending upon him.

¹ In his letter of September 3, Lord Ampthill had written to Gandhiji : "You should ask to see Lord Morley or his representative at the India Office. Lord Morley does not understand the question yet, but if there is anyone to whom this question ought to appeal, it is he. . . You might let fall a hint that you are thinking of going to India to explain it [the question of 'theoretical right'] there."

² This letter is not available.

³ This letter was actually sent on Monday, September 6; *vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", 6-9-1909.

⁴ Harilal Gandhi, who was released on August 9 after serving six months' imprisonment, did go to Durban to see Manilal who was ill, but returned to the Transvaal soon after in connection with the struggle. *Vide* also "Cable to British Indian Association", 10-8-1909.

It was a mistake on the part of Purushottamdas not to have sent the letter.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

[PS.]

I hope you have frequently visited Devibehn¹ and Mrs. Pywell² at their place.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 88

Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

57. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]

September 10, 1909

SIR,

The following cablegram has been received from Johannesburg:

Magistrate rebuked Vernon for stating in court duty white men hunt Asiatics from country. *Leader, Star* strongly comment.

Mr. Vernon, who is referred to in the cablegram, is Superintendent Vernon, whom I know well and who, in my opinion, has given no end of trouble to passive resisters in Johannesburg. The manner of making his remark must have been offensive enough to have drawn from the bench a rebuke, and from *The Transvaal Leader* and the Johannesburg *Star* strong comments.

The cablegram is but an indication of what my countrymen have to undergo in the Transvaal in their self-imposed suffering. But my colleague and I can have no reason for complaining. At the same time, we feel that we ought to bring the cablegram to the notice of the Earl of Crewe. I do not know whether the Earl of Crewe saw the statement that was made by General Smuts to Reuter, before he embarked for South Africa. In it he made the following remark:

The vast majority of Transvaal Indians are sick to death of the agitation carried on by some of their extreme representatives, and have quietly submitted to the law.

We have treated it as a rhetorical expression, and have allowed it

¹ Indian name given to Miss Ada West, sister of A. H. West

² Mother-in-law of A. H. West

to remain unchallenged in the public Press, in order to enable General Smuts to grant the British Indian prayer without any difficulty arising with his party, but if he has really meant what he said to Reuter's agent, may I state that information received from the Transvaal goes to prove the contrary, and that the strength of British Indian opposition still remains unabated ?

I remain, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142 ; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5060

58. *LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
LORD MORLEY*

[LONDON,]

September 10, 1909

SIR,

I have your note of the 8th instant. I beg to enclose herewith, for Lord Morley's information, copy of letter addressed by me to the Private Secretary to the Earl of Crewe.¹

Yours faithfully,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5059

59. *LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL*

[LONDON,]

September 10, 1909

MY LORD,

The following cablegram was received last night from Johannesburg:

Magistrate rebuked Vernon for stating in court duty white men hunt Asiatics from country. *Leader, Star* strongly comment.

The Mr. Vernon referred to in the cablegram, is Superintendent Vernon whom I know very well. He has given British Indians no end of trouble in the course of passive resistance. Even the magistrate, who as I know, often allowed much greater latitude to Mr. Vernon than he as a judicial officer, might have, was unable evidently to allow Mr.

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

Vernon to proceed unchecked in his incitement of the white men against Asiatics. And the matter must have caused a sensation, to have called forth from *The Transvaal leader* and the Johannesburg *Star* strong comments. I am forwarding copy of the cablegram to the Colonial Office.¹

I have not yet heard from Lord Crewe. I often ask myself whether my duty is not to be in the Transvaal and share the sufferings of my countrymen, rather than vegetate here in the hope of inducing the Imperial Government to do its duty. My faith in the efficacy of quiet but continued suffering is much greater than in negotiations and public agitation, though I am aware that both are part of the struggle, in so far as the struggle represents strong and weak parties alike. I need hardly assure Your Lordship that I am not impatient, and I am prepared cheerfully to wait so long as, in your opinion, it is necessary to do so.²

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5062

60. LONDON

[September 10, 1909]

NATAL DEPUTATION

The Natal deputation still continues sending copies of its statement to various persons. They have addressed a letter to the Press as under. It has appeared in *The Times* of today (September 10). The members of the deputation have requested a written reply from Colonel Seely. It is expected any day now.

LETTER TO "THE TIMES"³

We beg to invite your attention to a statement prepared by us

¹ Vide "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", 20-7-1909

² Lord Amphill wrote back on September 11 : "I cannot think that you will have to wait much longer for your answer from Lord Crewe and I should be very much surprised as well as pained if he declined to give you another hearing. If you have not received an answer by the time this reaches you, you could with perfect propriety send a reminder pointing out that your time is valuable and that you are anxious to arrange for your return to South Africa."

³ The English text of the letter is reproduced here from *Indian Opinion*, 9-10-1909, with some changes needed to bring it into conformity with the Gujarati translation.

and circulated in connection with the grievances of British Indians in the Colony of Natal.

In order to concentrate public attention on only the most pressing of them, we have excluded mention of many that do not call for immediate redress. The position of Natal among the other South African Colonies is somewhat peculiar. Natal introduced indentured Indian labour when its prosperity hung in the balance. Now she wants to avoid some of its natural consequences. In other words, she wants all the advantages that this form of labour gives her without having in its midst a non-indentured and free Indian population.

Hence, first, its desire to starve out Indian merchants and traders by depriving them of their licences to trade. The officers appointed to grant these licences or their renewals or transfers from place to place, or from person to person, have absolute discretion to grant or refuse. This discretion has been used detrimentally to Indians. Hence, the right of appeal to the Supreme Court should be granted. Secondly, its desire to drive out of Natal those Indians who have finished their indentures by imposing a prohibitive annual tax upon them, their wives and their children. Thirdly, its desire to keep them in a state of perpetual ignorance by depriving Indians of what little facility they had for education.

In the course of a Press letter, it is not possible to give an adequate idea of our grievances. Domiciled Indians cannot even bring with them their children over a certain age or their female relatives who are dependent upon them. You will thus see that the Indian community in Natal is attacked from three dangerous positions. We have, therefore, come to the centre of the Empire in order to obtain justice, and although Natal is a self-governing Colony, and will now form part of the Union of South Africa, it is the duty of the Imperial Government to protect acquired rights. It ought not to fail in that duty. We have no voice in the making of Natal laws. Our remedy therefore is, and must continue to be, by means of Imperial protection. Indeed, so far as that Colony is concerned, the Imperial Government have a very tangible remedy, and that is to withdraw from Natal the assistance she receives from India in the shape of indentured labour, until she has granted justice to those Indians who are suffering from the above-mentioned threefold disabilities.

We trust that the Press of the United Kingdom will come to the rescue and insist upon the Imperial Government doing its duty.

ABDUL CAADIR

AMOD BHAYAT

H. M. BADAT

M. C. ANGLIA

DID THEY REACH NORTH POLE?

A childish argument has been going on between two American whites whether the North Pole has, in fact, been discovered or not, and if it has, then, by whom. One of them is Dr. Peary and the other, Dr. Cook. Both of them claim to have stood on the North Pole. Dr. Peary challenges Dr. Cook's claim, and the latter that of the former. Men have almost lost their heads over this argument. Newspapers are full of the controversy. Reports about it and reports of football and cricket fill all the space in them. It is beyond my understanding what good the discovery of the North Pole has done the world; but such things are regarded as important sign-posts of contemporary civilization. What exactly is their importance they alone can say who claim to understand these matters. I for one regard all these things as symptoms of mental derangement. That one should just fritter away one's time for want of a proper occupation, or, out of greed, cast about for ways of getting rich at any cost—I would not want even an enemy to be reduced to such a plight.

SUFFRAGETTES

Some of these ladies have grown impatient. It is, of course, an admirable thing that they should go to gaol. No one can have anything to say against their inviting suffering on themselves. But they go to the extent of breaking Mr. Asquith's windows because the franchise is not being conceded to them right now. They invade his leisure and his residence. There were three women who did this. They were caught hold of, but what could be done to them? They have not even been prose-cuted. All this is absurd. Being women, they escape punishment for their misconduct. The British people respect women, so that no one lays hands on them. Being aware of this, the women take undue advantage of it. That will not, of course, secure them the franchise. If the British women mean to fight in the spirit of satyagraha, they cannot adopt tactics like those mentioned above. There is no room for impatience in satya-graha. Those who

want the franchise are in a minority, whereas the majority of women oppose the demand; so the minority has no option but to suffer for a long time. If demoralized by suffering, they take to extreme measures and resort to violence, they will lose whatever sympathy they have won and set the people against themselves. We must draw a lesson from this case. We ought never to forsake the sword of satyagraha and grow impatient. If we do so, we shall lose all the gains we have made so far. We have, therefore, great need to learn patience from the example of others. Those who are not satyagrahis have nothing to be impatient about. Those who are have no reason to give up patience, if they rely entirely on the strength that comes from truth. When we have enough of such strength, falsehood will disappear.

GUY ALFRED

This is the name of the man who printed the last issue of *The Indian Sociologist*. He is twenty-two. He is being prosecuted. There was, of course, no defence. The issue contained open praise for the murder. He has received 12 months' imprisonment.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-10-1909

61. DEPUTATION NOTES [–XI]

[Before September 11, 1909]

We are just where we were. This week also I have to say this. There has been no invitation from Lord Crewe so far. One cannot say when or whether it will ever come. Some papers have been sent to him. There was a cable from Johannesburg to say that, while giving evidence in court, Superintendent Vernon said that it was the duty of every white to hunt the Asiatics out of the country. The Magistrate, it is reported, took strong exception to this remark and *The Star* and *The [Transvaal] Leader* wrote strongly about it. A letter was immediately addressed to Lord Crewe about this matter. Every such instance of high-handed behaviour works in our favour. The Transvaal question has grown to be a grave problem for the [Imperial] Government. It is considering what it should do now. In these circumstances, the more we are made to suffer, the heavier grows the Government's responsibility. A cable was received from Mr. Quinn, saying that, though General Smuts had said that a settlement was about to be reached, arrests of Chinese were continuing. How to explain

this, he asks. I wrote last week about the kind of settlement General Smuts has in mind. Obviously, that does not satisfy us. Therefore, arrests are bound to continue. It is necessary that all—both Indians and Chinese—should remain strong. General Smuts has said that the spirit of the Indians is broken, and that a great many of them have accepted the Act. It is up to us to prove that this is a false charge.

The public meeting in Bombay will be held on the day on which this letter is posted.¹ It was good that the Bombay Government apologized in the end and allowed a meeting to be convened again. You will, of course, get a report of it.

I learn from a letter of Mr. Polak that there is a move to raise funds in Bombay for meeting the expenditure on both the deputations. We may not need money. But we certainly need the support which such a move extends to us by its expression of brotherly sympathy.

About our struggle, we have had discussions with Mrs. Saul Solomon, wife of a former Minister in the Cape, and with the daughter of the late Sir John Molteno. Though both these ladies are South Africans, they have much sympathy [for our cause] and are both enough to offer their help. I am not in a position to write more about this. Perhaps, Miss Molteno will shortly be in South Africa.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-10-1909

62. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]

September 13, 1909

MY LORD,

I am exceedingly obliged to you for your letter of the 11th instant.² The letter³ that I sent to Lord Morley was exactly as you suggested, and I now see that I might have written a better letter. My difficulty has always been as to what portion of the information you have given me should be used by me. I send you the office copy I have of my first letter to Lord Morley, and I send you draft copy of

¹ Gandhiji had expected the meeting to be held on September 11; *vide* "Deputation Notes [-X]", After 3-9-1909.

² *Vide* Appendix Lord Amphill's Letter to Gandhiji".

³ This is not available. It was dated September 6.

the letter I should now write.

I have now received an appointment from Lord Crewe fixed for the 16th instant. The appointment coincides with General Smuts' arrival in Pretoria. I do not know whether it is due to coincidence or deliberation.

I remain, etc.,

[ENCLOSURE]

DRAFT LETTER TO LORD MORLEY¹

SIR,

On re-reading my letter of the 6th instant offering to wait on His Lordship, I see that I did not clearly put the position, so as to warrant the offer to wait on His Lordship.

Lord Ampthill, who has taken a deep interest in the sufferings of British Indians in the Transvaal, and has assisted us so very greatly, informs my colleague and me that, whilst General Smuts is prepared now to grant permanent certificates of residence to a limited number of educated and cultured British Indians, he will not recognize the right of such Indians to emigrate to the Transvaal, be it on ever so limited a scale. The Indian struggle has been undertaken on the question of 'right'. Whilst it is necessary for the domiciled Indians of the Transvaal to receive fresh immigrants from India possessing educational attainments, in the opinion of the British Indian community, such a facility is not of so great an importance as the theoretical right of a British Indian, under a general immigration test, to emigrate to the Transvaal. But for the passing of another separate Asiatic Act, namely, Act 36 of 1908, mere repeal of Act 2 of 1907 would have been sufficient to guard the theoretical right above referred to, and thus to save the honour of India, but today the existence of that Act 36 of 1908 renders it necessary to mention the question of educated Indians separately, and slightly to amend the existing law of the Transvaal. It is in order to show the fundamental distinction between what General Smuts is now prepared to offer, and what has been and is still demanded by British Indians in the Transvaal, that I have offered, as I do again on behalf of my colleague and myself, to wait on His Lordship if he can spare the time.

As I doubt not Lord Morley is aware, the presence of Mr. Polak,

¹ The letter was sent on September 16 after making a few changes in the draft; *vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Morley", 16-9-1909.

the delegate from the Transvaal, has stimulated very great interest in the struggle on the part of the Bombay public. Cuttings received by me weekly show that the papers representing all shades of opinion have been giving a large amount of space to the question. Mr. Polak has interviewed prominent Indians and Anglo-Indians, and has received very great encouragement from them. This activity in Bombay shows that, as it is quite proper, India is deeply hurt by the insult that is put upon her by the racial disqualification imported, for the first time, into colonial legislation, and is much moved for the sufferings that have been gone through by hundreds of British Indians in the Transvaal, for the sake of realizing an Imperial ideal.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5066-7

63. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]

September 14, 1909

SIR,

With reference to your letter of the 11th instant, Mr. Hajee Habib and I will wait on His Lordship on the 16th instant at 3.15 p.m.

I have, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5072

64. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD MORLEY

[LONDON,]

September 16, 1909

SIR,

On re-reading my letter¹ of the 6th instant offering to wait on His Lordship, I see that I did not clearly put the position, so as to warrant the offer to wait on His Lordship.

Although my colleague and I have not yet received any official intimation of the results of the negotiations which took place between Lord Crewe and the Transvaal Ministers, rumours have reached us that concessions are to be made, but that those concessions will fall short of the one object for which we have struggled and suffered. That object is the restoration of the 'right' of immigration. We are willing

¹ This is not available.

that the right should be limited in practice to any extent which the Colonial Government may think necessary or desirable, but we cannot submit to the deprivation of the right in theory without being false to our oaths and accessories to the dishonour of India. Indians have enjoyed, and still enjoy, the theoretical right of entry to every part of the British Empire although that right is limited in practice in some of the Dominions. It is only in the Transvaal that they have been deprived of the right, and that—only within the past two years. We cannot believe that Lord Morley, who is regarded all over the world as the type of British Liberalism, would regard with indifference so reactionary and illiberal a policy as that which has been adopted by the Transvaal Government, if he had evidence of the startling fact. It is this evidence which we respectfully beg permission to give in person, for we venture to doubt whether His Majesty's Government have actually realised the situation. If they had, they would surely have taken steps to avert this, the first deliberate establishment of a 'colour-bar' within the Empire.¹

As I doubt not Lord Morley is aware, the presence of Mr. Polak, the delegate from the Transvaal, has stimulated very great interest on the part of the Bombay public. Cuttings received by me weekly, show that the papers, representing all shades of opinion, have been giving a large amount of space to the question. Mr. Polak has interviewed prominent Indians and Anglo-Indians, and has received very great encouragement from them. This activity in Bombay shows that, as it is quite proper, India is deeply hurt by the insult that is put upon her by the racial dis-qualification imported for the first time into colonial legislation, and is much moved by the sufferings that have been gone through by hundreds of British Indians in the Transvaal,

¹ This paragraph was substituted by Lord Ampthill for the second paragraph in the draft Gandhiji had sent him on September 13. In his letter of September 15, Lord Ampthill observed : "The above is rather strong, but I want you to emphasize the startling nature of the illiberal and reactionary policy of the Transvaal Government. Your draft does not quite do this and your reference to the unprecedented nature of the deprivation of right is buried in the last paragraph where it might well escape notice. Keep all the details for an interview or for a further possible letter. The thing you want to do at present is to make Lord Morley aware that his Government are responsible for the most illiberal step that has ever disfigured Imperial policy. If you get scolded for the letter, it will be open to you to publish it eventually and to let the world judge of it and of the further proofs of your contention." *Vide* also the following item.

for the sake of realizing an Imperial ideal.¹

I have, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5077

65. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]

September 16, 1909

MY LORD,

I have to thank you for your kind letter of the 15th instant. I have now written to Lord Morley as per copy.² I have made only a slight verbal alteration in the opening words of the substituted paragraph. Instead of "we" I have inserted "my colleague and I". The rest is exactly as drafted by Your Lordship.

Lord Crewe we see today. I shall bear in mind the valuable advice³ given by you and will give you the result of the interview.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5079

¹ Acknowledging this letter on September 18, Lord Morley's Private Secretary wrote : "... the point which you wish to press upon Lord Morley is not new to him, and that while, on abstract and general grounds, his sympathies are with you in regard to it, he does not feel that any practical purpose would be served by a further elaboration of it to him, and he therefore regrets that he is unable to accord you another interview. But he presumes that you have laid your views fully before the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

² *Vide* the preceding item.

³ Lord Ampthill had written : "I hope that, when you see Lord Crewe, you will lay stress on the real point in the manner which I have here suggested. Be ready to prove that the theoretical right does in fact exist everywhere else, for that is the point on which he will question you. Do not mention me more than you can help."

66. SUBSTANCE OF INTERVIEW WITH LORD CREWE¹

[LONDON,
September 16, 1909]

PRESENT : LORD CREWE, HAJEE HABIB AND GANDHI

LORD CREWE COMMENCED BY SAYING: I suppose Lord Amphill has been in touch with you, and has told you everything. I asked you to see me in order to tell you that there has been delay in the negotiations, because the Colonial Ministers had many other things to do. Both Colonel Seely and I had several interviews with General Smuts. He was reasonable and anxious to see a settlement. He proposes to repeal the Act but he was disinclined to accept Lord Amphill's amendment. He, however, recognised that a limited number of British Indians should have permanent residential certificates, and, to that end, he said that he was willing to amend the existing legislation. He said that he did not like the fictitious equality. Can you not accept the substantial thing that General Smuts is willing to give?

GANDHI : I am afraid that it is impossible for the British Indian community to be satisfied with what General Smuts is willing to give; it still leaves the racial taint on the Statute-book.

LORD CREWE INTERVENED : But do you not think that the Australian policy of excluding by imposing ridiculous tests is not a satisfactory mode of dealing with the question?

GANDHI : I admit that it is unsatisfactory, but the fictitious equality is the lesser of the two evils. And after all, is not the British Constitution itself founded on many fictions? I have myself been nurtured in those traditions. As a student I learnt the value of this kind of fiction. Indeed, after mature consideration, I have come to the conclusion that there is a very reasonable basis for these so-called fictions and if General Smuts is really anxious to see a settlement, and wishes to live under the British flag, why will he deliberately interfere with the British Constitution, especially when what he wants can be had without departing from it? I should like to draw Your Lordship's

¹ After the interview, Gandhiji himself wrote down its substance; *vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", 16-9-1909. For Lord Crewe's minute on the interview, *vide* Appendix Lord Crewe's Minute".

attention to the fact that the Immigration Act of the Colony was not a Crown Colony measure, that it is General Smuts' own production and he has undoubtedly relied on fiction there. The Act bristles with adventitious clauses.

LORD CREWE (intervening) : I share your views very largely. I think that what you say is quite just and proper, but General Smuts is not an Englishman and, therefore, does not like the idea even of theoretical equality.

GANDHI: If that is the case, it is all the greater reason for us to press for the removal of the racial taint from the Statute-book, and in offering this opposition, we think that we are rendering an Imperial service. As Your Lordship must have noticed, the struggle has been in its later stages entirely idealistic. We have no personal interests to serve, and I for one should feel very reluctant to impose so much suffering on my countrymen and advise them to continue the struggle, if it were only for the admission of a few cultured Indians, however desirable such admission may be for the well-being of the community. If I am not taking up your time unduly, I should like to give you the origin of the limitation in number. Mr. Cartwright, the editor of *The Transvaal Leader*, a friend of the Boers, as also a friend always of unrepresented classes and a special friend of mine, told me that the club talk was that, behind the theoretical equality, I had some ulterior motives, and that I had not really accepted the policy of virtual exclusion of Asiatics, and it was in order to enable Mr. Cartwright to satisfy those friends of his who talked to him at the clubs, I told him that, if that were so, he could announce to his friends that I would be prepared to advise the Indian community to accept a very rigid educational test, so rigid as to admit of only, say, six highly educated Indians into the country per year. You will, therefore, see that from the commencement of the struggle, we have never placed any importance on the admission of Indians, but that we have all along fought for legal equality.

LORD CREWE: But do not you think that General Smuts would find it difficult perhaps with his own people to get Lord Amphill's amendment accepted?

GANDHI: I venture to think not. I do not think that he could have any difficulty with the Progressive Party. I can picture before my mind's eye Sir George Farrar, as we were discussing at the meeting of the Executive Council, after the burning of the certificates,

this very ques-tion, pleading with General Smuts to point a way out of the difficulty, and it was because General Smuts said he could not amend the Immigra-tion Act that the question of the status of educated Indians remained unsolved. The people in the Colonies undoubtedly want to see the exclusion of Asiatics generally, in order to avoid competition. This policy having been accepted, I cannot conceive their offering objection to theoretical equality.

MR. HAJEE HABIB: As a matter of fact, we have received cables from Bombay from the party controlled by Professor Gokhale and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta to the effect that we had gone further than we ought to have in offering to accept the second amendment, and that the matter was exciting a very great deal of commotion in India.

GANDHI: We had to naturally cable what has been going on here, and from the letter received from Mr. Polak, I gather that the racial insult is being very keenly resented in India, so that it could not be said that only the Transvaal Indians were offering opposition.

LORD CREWE: I quite agree, and I see the force of what you are saying, and let me assure you that, keenly as I feel the justification of the demands of the local Indians in the Transvaal, I placed the matter before General Smuts as an Imperial question. I am myself most anxious to see a settlement, but it occurs to me that General Smuts may also feel—though I do not wish to say that he has said to me any such thing—that if theoretical equality were kept up, it might be used for fresh agitation in order to increase the demands.

GANDHI: I can only say in reply to any such fear that it will be open, whenever the Ministers in the Transvaal thought that we were departing from our understanding, to pass more restrictive legislation. At the same time, I do not for one moment wish to suggest that, if our demands were granted, that will be the end of all agitation in the Transvaal. There are peculiar difficulties under which we are labouring and they may call forth fresh efforts.

LORD CREWE: I quite recognise that. There can be no finality in such matters. All I say is, that for a certain number of years at least, there should be some rest if the question is settled to your satisfaction.

GANDHI: I am prepared to go a step further. When I talked of fresh agitation, I referred to other difficulties than those of the question of the status of educated Indians. As to the question of immigration, we are prepared to give a written undertaking that, our demands being satisfied, we should not raise any further agitation. I

go so far as to say that, if there were any such unreasonable agitation, I should be prepared to become a passive resister against my own countrymen, even as I was just after the compromise.

LORD CREWE: Yes, I think that is quite reasonable and I shall now tell General Smuts what has happened at this meeting, and hope that there will be a settlement, but I do not hold out much hope. General Smuts may find it difficult to accept your proposition. If he does, will it perhaps not be as well to wait for the Union Parliament?

GANDHI: May I make the position a little clearer? Passive resistance in the meanwhile will have to continue, and that prolongs the agony for another six months, and if my reading of the amendment introduced at Your Lordship's instance in the South Africa Act is correct, I feel that the Union Parliament will have no jurisdiction to amend the Immigration Act, because by itself it imposes no racial disqualification. The amendment is aimed at the legislation which itself contains racial disabilities.

LORD CREWE: That is true, only I feel that the Union Parliament will not like to see such suffering prolonged, and I can assure you that even General Smuts does not like the prolongation of the struggle, and it is for that reason that I think that the Union Parliament may intervene and bring about a proper solution, but it is difficult to know what view the Union Parliament will take.

GANDHI: If we cannot get relief now, I know that we will have to wait, but we are prepared to wait indefinitely. If the negotiations are not successful, I shall go back feeling that we have not suffered enough and that therefore we ought to continue our sufferings.

LORD CREWE: Very well, I will then discuss the question with General Smuts.

GANDHI: As Your Lordship is aware, we have been here quite two months. Will it not be better to cable to General Smuts, so that we may know the result in good time?

LORD CREWE: I thought a dispatch would be better, but perhaps it will be as well to cable, I know you have had to remain here for a long time.

From a photostat of the typewritten copy: S. N. 4995

67. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]

September 16, 1909

MY LORD,

Mr. Hajee Habib and I have just waited on Lord Crewe. His Lordship was very sympathetic. I think that he understands the question thoroughly, and I noticed too that every point I thought I had made, Lord Crewe interposed by saying he had heard it from you. I believe he feels too that there is a great deal to be said on behalf of our standpoint as to theoretical equality.

He has promised to cable to General Smuts the result of our interview, and press upon him acceptance of the amendment submitted by me through you.

We brought to his notice the intensity of feeling that has been roused in India, and he in reply admitted that it was an Imperial question and that it should be treated as such.¹

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5078

68. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]

September 16, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I do not think you have yet received advice from Phoenix that West was suffering from a violent attack of pneumonia, so much so that he was at one time given up, and that Miss West was suffering from enteric fever.² Both were looked after by Dr. Nanji. The news was very disturbing. Manilal, however, told me that, if both of them were not well by the time their letter reached me, I would receive a cable, and as there was no cable, I take it that they are now both all right. However, these illnesses show that there is something irregular in the state of things at Phoenix. I am writing a long letter³ asking

¹ For Lord Ampthill's reply, *vide* Appendix "Lord Ampthill's letter to Gandhijj."

² Acknowledging this letter from Madras, Polak wrote: "I have heard all about the Phoenix disasters. Cordes sent me a living picture."

³ This is not available.

West and Cordes to go into the matter thoroughly. According to letter received from Kallenbach, he was still in Durban. I notice that Chhaganlal and Manilal nursed West lovingly, and that they alternately kept watch during the night. Kallenbach speaks very enthusiastically about Manilal's nursing. All this shows that life at Phoenix has undoubtedly brought the best out of the settlers. Chhaganlal, naturally under the circumstances, postponed his departure, and he tells me that he will not leave now for some time, and asks me until further notice to correspond with Bhim at Phoenix, rather than write to him in India. I am sorry for you, because you will now be without a reliable and steady secretary. Still, Chhaganlal has undoubtedly done the right thing.

I have your cablegram; there was a very good cable in *The Times* also. I send you a copy. Your meeting¹ was evidently a very great success, and that you surpassed yourself. I had expected nothing else. The meeting came off just before the appointment given by Lord Crewe. I am dictating this before seeing him. Today is Thursday and we are seeing him at 3.15. I shall, therefore, be able to give you a full description of the interview. I am glad that some subscription at least will be raised. It will nerve the people for the struggle in the Transvaal, and I am sure you have arranged for every steamer to be met and Indians deported to be received. I hope too that you have found Manji's² son, and others who reached India before your landing. If they have not all been traced, you should place yourself in correspondence with someone in Kathiawar and Surat, and get them to give you the names as also the condition of those who were deported.

Mr. Ali Imam of the All-India Moslem League is here. I have not yet met him; the Natal friends have. They speak enthusiastically of him³. He will probably have returned whilst you are there. He is a practising barrister in Patna. I trust you will get hold of him; even go to Patna if necessary, also Aligarh.

Whilst there may be joint action, you should get the Anjumans to move independently also, and lay stress upon the fact that Mahomedan interests are very much involved in South Africa.⁴

¹ The reference is to the public meeting at Bombay.

² Manji Nathubhai Ghelani, a passive resister

³ Original has "them".

⁴ Polak in his reply informed Gandhiji : "The Anjumans are certainly working independently and I have been laying special stress on Mahomedan grievances and interests. They have protested to the Viceroy re[garding] the Transvaal Prison authorities and *Ramzan*."

Your interpretation of the latest amendment suggested by me is very accurate and I could not have explained it myself more clearly. Your description of the prize distribution ceremony is amusing. It is good that you survived the ordeal. The Gujarati papers, rather one of them, makes you describe me as Kavi. Do please insist on Kaliandas writing to me.

Millie has gone with Mater to Westcliff; she returns next Monday. I do not think you need have the slightest worry about Waldo. I have not considered the case to be serious enough to require medical advice. I hate stuffing children with medicines. Dr. Mehta, however, will be here shortly and if he has not the instruments, I shall procure them and have Waldo examined by him. I think I have told you my opinion of Dr. Mehta's ability, [which] is very great. Anyhow, he will tell me exactly what the matter is, and give a prescription also, if he thinks it advisable, which may be used in case of need. I am thinking of sending Celia and Amy to Westcliff for Sunday; they will return the same day. Millie and I went over to see Mrs. Ritch last Sunday. Sallie gave me a walk from the Hotel to Cricklewood—one hour and forty minutes taking it easy. I came a little nearer to Sallie; more of that when we meet. Mrs. Ritch is making only slow progress. You will see from copy of my letter¹ to Kallenbach sent last week what, in my opinion, should be done regarding Ritch. I do not think that we want a Committee costing £500 per year. If the weaker members want it, they can have it. I am revolving in my mind a scheme whereby we may have some work done in London much more cheaply, though it can never be so efficient as Ritch's. When I have sufficiently elaborated it and discussed it with you, I feel sure that you will like it very well.

Copies of correspondence with Lord Amphill will tell you how thoroughly he is still working.

Dictated later—Friday [September 17, 1909]

We have now seen Lord Crewe. The result of the interview is embodied in a letter to Lord Amphill,² copy of which you will find herewith. The agony, therefore, is now again prolonged.

I thought it would be better for me to reduce the purport of the interview with Lord Crewe to writing, and am therefore sending you a

¹ This is not available.

² *Vide* the preceding item.

copy of it, or rather, I will, if I am in time for the mail.

I do not know whether they sent you also duplicates of cables that are being sent to me. Anyhow, I give you copies of the cables received during the week. The first cable you will find in copy of letter addressed to Lord Crewe.¹ The second cable is from the Chinese Association, as follows :

Eighty Chinese arrested, including Chairman. Increasingly determined passively resist utmost.

The second cablegram, dated 16th instant, reads :

Meeting held yesterday enthusiastic, determined continue, resolutions congratulating released, reaffirming complete confidence delegates, efforts greatly appreciated, afresh pledging their support, protesting Vernon's statement, which until Government repudiates Asiatics interpret disclosure Government policy. Request imprisoned Mohammedans special meal *Ramzan* refused.

I am basing a letter on both these cablegrams to Lord Crewe.² I do not know that I could give you a copy of that letter also, it may be too late.

A paragraph from the letter received last week from Johannesburg runs as follows. I am passing it on to Lord Crewe, but only cautiously. If you make use of it, please be very careful; do not publish it, but the chief workers may know what is passing in the Transvaal gaols. The thing, in my opinion, is somewhat exaggerated, but that the Tamil in question must have been brutally handled I believe implicitly, from what I have seen myself. A native prisoner was almost done to death for a similar reason. He bled so copiously that I saw the blood marks in the whole of the passage. How the boy lived passes my comprehension.

One day when it was bitterly cold, the men were ordered to bathe. One of them was disinclined to do so, and four native warders were then directed to scrub him. They accordingly got hold of him, plunged him into the bath and started rubbing him with a brush so vigorously that blood was drawn. A hospital orderly chancing to pass at the time, ordered the natives to cease and the man was taken to hospital and placed under medical treatment. This was received by K. K. Samy, but as the information was not officially authorized, we naturally cannot deal with it. I understand that the man lodged

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", 10-9-1909

² *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", 18-9-1909

complaint with the Governor of the gaol.

I have gone through your pamphlets fairly carefully. I want to write to you about them, but I do not think I shall be able to do so this week.

I am seriously thinking of advertising for the best essay on the "Ethics of Passive Resistance", just as we did in Johannesburg,¹ but I have to consult Dr. Mehta on the point. If he gives the prize, we shall have it. This will be done in the event of Lord Crewe's negotiations failing.

Mr. Doke's book is still unpublished; it is likely to be in the first week of October. For reasons I need not go into this week, I am thinking of buying out the whole of the edition, more for the sake of Mr. Doke than anything else. He will be very much cut up if there is a fiasco, and there might be. The publisher has not put his heart into it, and as many copies will have to be distributed free of charge, I thought I should pocket my own personal feelings and deal with the thing myself. I fancy that Dr. Mehta will guarantee any deficit. I have already corresponded with him in the matter. You may, therefore, be on the lookout for any bookseller who would care to take up the book. The best thing will be, perhaps, for Kaliandas or Chhaganlal's cousin, or both of them, to take the book personally to many people. In any case, there should be no credit given to any booksellers on whom you cannot rely implicitly.²

I have cabled to you today.³ I feel that, if persistent pressure is put from that side, it is possible to pull the negotiations through. There is no longer any ignorance of the question on the part of Lord Crewe, and if the Liberal Ministry does not go under within a short time, something may be done.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S.N. 5104.

¹ Vide "A prize of £ 1". 1-6-1907.

² Polak replied : "Natesan will take 250 copies for distribution here among booksellers for sale. When Chhaganlal comes here, he will make enquiries in Bombay. You may be sure that no credit will be given to unreliable booksellers."

³ This cable is not available.

69. DEPUTATION NOTES [-XII]

[After September 16, 1909]

This time I cannot merely say that we are where we were. We had an interview with Lord Crewe on the 16th. He said that General Smuts was agreeable to the repeal of the Act and to the provision for permanent residence permits to the educated, but that he cannot reconcile himself to the idea that educated men should be able to enter as a matter of right after passing the test. We have, therefore, replied that, so long as the right is not conceded, the struggle will certainly continue. India's honour cannot be upheld if that right is not secured. The struggle was not intended to defend merely the rights of the Transvaal Indians as individuals but also India's honour. Once equal rights were conceded under the law, it would not matter if they were not allowed to be availed of. It would be possible to deal with such a situation. But denying the right under the law itself amounted to an attack on India's honour. After a long discussion, Lord Crewe admitted that we had no ulterior motive in our fight and wanted to maintain a theoretical right. He has agreed to send a cablegram to General Smuts. Let us wait for the reply. What more can we hope for than this? We have told Lord Crewe frankly that, should General Smuts refuse to accede to our demand ultimately, we would conclude that we have not as yet had our full measure of suffering. We were always prepared [we told him] for suffering.

In the course of this discussion, we also referred to the agitation in India. It appears that Mr. Polak's vigorous efforts in India are a source of great strength [to our cause]. A very fine cable-report of the Bombay mass meeting appeared in the local newspapers. It said that the meeting demanded that the recruitment of indentured labour for Natal should be stopped. People's feelings were roused to a high pitch by Mr. Polak's speech. They were also very much put out by the news of Nagappen's death. Moreover, a fund has been started in aid of those who have been deported. To be sure, it was a very successful meeting.

The cables about the arrests of the Chinese in Johannesburg, the refusal [by the authorities] to provide special facilities regarding food during *Ramzan* and the criticism of Mr. Vernon, also, make welcome reading. There is no doubt that the more we suffer, the tougher we

grow and the stronger becomes our cause. If Lord Crewe has been striving so hard, it is only because of our voluntary submission to suffering.

Lord Crewe also said that, if General Smuts did not concede [our demands], we should wait for the Union Parliament. This means that we should continue with our struggle even while we are waiting for that Parliament to meet. If the fight is abandoned, the fate of Indians all over South Africa will be sealed, and we shall have, in the words of Mr. Rustomjee, cut off India's nose with our own hands and proved ourselves cowards.

But I have not the slightest hesitation in believing that the Indians who are courageously holding out at present are men who will fight on till death. I earnestly hope that our friends who have been released will be only too ready to welcome imprisonment whenever the Government chooses to arrest them. It is my hope that, by the time this letter reaches there, Mr. Dawad Mahomed will have been installed in gaol again. It is better, in my view, to die in prison than to enjoy good health outside. Death in prison will uphold our honour and will serve the cause of India. This is the time not to grieve over anyone's suffering, but rather to offer congratulations on it. In a land where innocent men are reduced to slavery and sentenced to imprisonment, all good men should take pleasure in serving such sentences. Let every brave Indian allow this idea to take hold of his mind. I have stated before now that, if General Smuts' reply proves disappointing, we should, after spending some time here in holding public meetings, etc., hasten to South Africa and get lodged in gaol. The only thing that remains yet to be considered is whether or not to go to India. For myself, I am unable to reach any definite decision on this point.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 16-10-1909

70. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[LONDON,]

September 17, 1909

CHI. MANILAL,

I was extremely glad to read your letter of the 21st [ultimo] about Mr. West. I read the letter twice. I felt proud of you and thanked God that I had such a son. I wish you to remain such for ever. To do good to others and serve them without any sense of egoism—this is real education. You will realize this more and more as you grow up. What better way of life can there be than serving the sick? Most of religion is covered by it.

We have to keep a detached mind about the chicken soup, etc., given to Mr. West. You know my ideas in the matter. I would have preferred Ba's passing away without the soup;¹ but would not have allowed it to be given to her without her consent. The body should not be dearer than the soul. He who knows the soul, and also knows that it is different from the body, will not try to protect his body by committing violence. All this is very difficult indeed; but he who has imbibed very noble ideas easily understands it and acts accordingly. The belief that the soul can do good or evil only when it is encased in a body is quite mistaken and terrible sins have been and are being committed owing to it. I want you to be free from it. There is no such law that the soul can be known only at an advanced age. Many old men pass away without knowing the soul, while persons like the late Raichandbhai have been able to realize the self even at the age of 8. Mistakes are made and sins committed despite such knowledge; but these can be eliminated after very careful thought. The body has been given to us for curbing it.

About the settlement nothing definite can be said. You will know more about it from my letter² to Chhaganbhai.

The above is written as the occasion offered itself. Please share it with the others.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 89 Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

¹ The reference is to Kasturba's serious-illness when Dr. Nanji gave her beef tea; *vide An Autobiography*, Part IV, Ch. XXVIII.

² This is not available.

71. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

LONDON,
September 17, 1909

CHI. NARANDAS,

I see from Chi. Chhaganlal's letter that he will not be able to go there at present as Mr. West has suddenly been taken very ill. We have to live as the Lord ordains. Why then should we be sorry or elated? Do keep writing to me. Negotiations for a settlement are still going on. What the outcome will be cannot be said.

My respects to Khushalbai and Devbhabhi.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 4897

Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

72. DRAFT LETTER TO LONDON BRANCH OF INDIAN MOSLEM LEAGUE

[LONDON,
After September 17, 1909]

THE SECRETARY
ALL-INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE
LONDON BRANCH

DEAR SIR,

The Transvaal deputation have received the following cablegram from Johannesburg :

Meeting held yesterday enthusiastic, determined continue, resolutions congratulating released, reaffirming complete confidence delegates, efforts greatly appreciated, afresh pledging their support, protesting Vernon's statement which until Government repudiates Asiatics interpret disclosure Government policy. Request imprisoned Mohammedans special meal *Ramzan* refused.

I draw your particular attention to the last paragraph of the cablegram, which shows that the Transvaal Government have deeply hurt the religious susceptibilities of British Indian Mohammedans who have settled in the Transvaal, who have felt called upon, on religious

and conscientious grounds, to disregard what is known as the Asiatic Act and to suffer imprisonment for their so doing.

That under the British flag, which is supposed to respect all religions, Mohammedan passive resisters should be prevented from performing a religious observance of the highest importance is a very serious matter. I hope that the League will take prompt action.

I may point out that last year, at Volksrust, facilities were given to passive resisters during the month of *Ramzan*.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten draft : S. N. 5179

73. LONDON

[Before *September 18, 1909*]

NATAL DEPUTATION

The Natal gentlemen met Mr. Ali Imam, Bar-at-Law, of the All-India Muslim League. He has promised to help. Next week Mr. Amir Imam will also be apprised of the situation in the Transvaal. Mr. Justice Ameer Ali, who had gone for a change of climate, has now returned. He too has promised every help. The deputation has received from Lord Crewe the written reply which it had requested. He says :

The Imperial Government can only make a recommendation to the Natal Government but cannot effectively intervene in regard to the disabilities which flow from the existing legislation and which can be removed only by an amendment of such legislation. In case further disabilities are sought to be imposed through fresh legislation, the Imperial Government can disallow such legislation. Its sympathies are with the Indian community in the hardships which it experiences in Natal and, in the past, it has also made representations to the Natal Government about major grievances such as the denial of the right of appeal under the Dealers' Licenses Act. Moreover, Royal assent was withheld from the Bills which had been passed for curtailing [Indian] trade. As to the future, the Imperial Government hopes that the Union Parliament, which has been vested with powers of legislation regarding Indians and Coloured people, will follow a more liberal policy and give

relief of the Indian community.

This is a very disappointing reply. It contains no promise to write again to the Natal Government. The powers of the Union Parliament relate to legislation exclusively affecting the Coloured people, but the Dealers' Licenses Act applies nominally to everyone, so that most probably the Natal Government alone can amend it. The hope of action by the Union Parliament is, therefore, a mere bait. Besides, the reply says nothing about the demand for stopping the import of indentured Indian labour. The members of the deputation have, therefore, decided to write again to Lord Crewe, and have drafted a letter¹ along the above lines. They will send it after consulting Sir Muncherji, Mr. Justice Ameer Ali and others.

As the *Ramzan* has commenced, Mr. Hajee Habib and other gentlemen observe the *roza*. All of them have gone to stay with Dr. Abdurrahman's sister, and thus get every facility to observe the *Ramzan*.

PATETI AND PARSI SATYAGRAHIS

The Parsis' *Pateti*² fell on Monday, when leading Parsi ladies and gentlemen here arranged a party in a hotel on the bank of the Thames. Sir Muncherji Bhownagree was asked to invite the Transvaal and Natal delegates to attend it. About 50 gentlemen were present. Sir Muncherji was in the chair. The gathering also included two grand-daughters of the Grand Old Man of India. When toasts were being proposed, Mr. Gandhi suggested that, in proposing one to the Parsi community, they should name, besides Sir Muncherji, Mr. Rustomjee, Mr. Sorabji Shapurji, Mr. Randeria and Mr. Nadirsha Cama. The suggestion was received by the meeting with great enthusiasm. Of the other delegates, Mr. Anglia alone was present. He also, speaking as befitted the occasion, thanked Sir Muncherji for the great pains he had taken. The tale of India's woes commanded everyone's interest and provoked resentment among all.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 16-10-1909

¹ Vide Appendix "M.C.Anglia's Letter to under Secretary for Colonies".

² New Year

74. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]

September 18, 1909

SIR,

The following cablegrams have been received from Johannesburg; the first from the Chinese Association and the second from the British Indian Association :

1ST CABLEGRAM

JOHANNESBURG,

September 16, 1909

Eighty Chinese arrested, including Chairman. Increasingly determined passively resist utmost.

CHINESE ASSOCIATION

2ND CABLEGRAM

JOHANNESBURG,

September 16, 1909

Meeting held yesterday enthusiastic, determined continue, resolutions congratulating released, reaffirming complete confidence delegates, efforts greatly appreciated, afresh pledging their support, protesting Vernon's statement which untill Government repudiate Asiatics interpret disclosure Government policy. Request imprisoned Mohammedans special meal *Ramzan* refused.

In the humble opinion of my colleague and myself, these cablegrams show that the British Indian community, as also evidently the Chinese community, in the Transvaal are determined in their opposition. I may state that, if the number of arrests sent by the Chinese Association be not a cable mistake, it is for the first time that the Government have seen fit to arrest such a large number of the Chinese. In the course of the campaign, I cannot recall even in the Indian community, so many as eighty Indians arrested in a single place at the same time. The cablegrams, however, make it clear that the measures adopted by the Government, instead of weakening Asiatics, have nerved them.

Non-repudiation by the Government of the statement made by

Mr. Vernon, and referred to in my letter¹ of the 10th September, to the effect that it was the duty of white men to hound Asiatics out of the country, is, I am sure the Earl of Crewe will agree, somewhat unfortunate, as is also the refusal of the request of Muslim prisoners for special facilities as to their meals, for religious observance of the fasting month. I venture to draw Lord Crewe's attention to the fact that when last year I was serving imprisonment at Volksrust, I noticed that, during the fasting month, special facilities were given to my fellow prisoners who were Muslims.

Will you kindly place this letter before His Lordship?

I remain, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records : 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5082

*75. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
LORD MORLEY*

[LONDON,]

September 18, 1909

SIR,

I beg to enclose herewith copy of letter² addressed to the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and ask you to place it before Lord Morley.

I would venture particularly to draw His Lordship's attention to the refusal of the Transvaal authorities to afford facilities to Muslim prisoners as to religious observance of the fasting month. In my humble opinion, the method adopted by the Transvaal authorities to compel submission to their will is decidedly novel in that it means an attack on the prisoners through their religion.

I remain, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

India Office Records : 3602/09; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5083

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", 10-9-1909 a Colonial Office minute of September 23 recorded that copies of this correspondence needed to be sent to the Transvaal Governor to invite his opinion on the provisions regarding treatment of Muslim prisoners.

² *Vide* the preceding item.

76. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]

September 18, 1909

MY LORD,

Mr. Hajee Habib and I cannot sufficiently thank Your Lordship for all you have done and are doing for British Indians in the Transvaal.

Reluctant as I am to trouble Your Lordship at the time of your well-earned holiday, I feel that I am in duty bound to pass on to you a copy of the letter sent to Lord Crewe¹ as also the substance of the interview with Lord Crewe.² I thought it better to reduce it to writing.

If Sir George Farrar's active sympathy can be enlisted, I have no doubt that, even though General Smuts may send an unfavourable reply to Lord Crewe, he will have to listen to Sir George.

If the reply from General Smuts is unfavourable, I hardly think it will be possible for Mr. Hajee Habib and me to leave for South Africa. I feel that it will be necessary to take up some public activity here before our departure.

We hope that you will have an enjoyable holiday and that you will have the rest which I am sure you well deserve.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5084

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", 18-9-1909

² *Vide* "Substance of Interview with Lord Crewe", 16-9-1909

77. LONDON¹

[After September 18, 1909]

CIVILIZATION OR BARBARISM?

For some days now newspapers here have been writing about food. They point out that almost all processed foods are adulterated, some of them to the extent of 33 per cent. Sometimes the adulterant is of a harmful nature. Big factories preparing items like jelly engage expert chemists who are expected to give to inferior products the appearance of quality goods. This is done through suitable methods of chemical mixing which save costs. The conclusion to be drawn is that the producers have their eyes only on profit and never care what harm they do to people. These very men then donate a part of their ill-gotten wealth to public causes and so win respect for themselves. They earn reputation as good and virtuous men. In this civilization, therefore, immorality presents itself as morality. There is no doubt that most of the processed foods rely on the use of animal fat. For instance, it is used in cleansing or polishing rice in England. This is a frightful thing, but true all the same. It offends the religious susceptibilities of both Hindus and Muslims. Therefore, the only way out is not to use anything manufactured in the West. In any case, processed foods must never be used.

BRAVE JAPANESE SOLDIER

The newspapers here have reported the death of a brave Japanese, Marquess Ito², as the result of a revolver-shot by a Korean. Korea is situated near Japan. The Japanese hold power in Korea as the British do in Egypt and India, enjoying the same rights and privileges. Of course, Japan is not in Korea to oblige her. But the Koreans are known to be a weak people. Were the country to pass under the rule of the Russians or the Chinese, that would pose a threat to Japan, and so Japan herself grabbed it. The Korean people were in

¹ This was published in *Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910, with the prefatory remarks that these paragraphs had been omitted for want of space from an earlier dispatch from London.

² Prince Hirobumi Ito (1841-1909); Japanese statesman and reformer; was four times Prime Minister between 1886 and 1901. He was appointed Resident General in Korea in 1905 and in 1909 became President of the Privy Council of Japan. He was assassinated during a visit to Harbin.

no way pleased with this. They have always regarded Japan with hatred. Ito had been attacked twice before this. But Japan, having once tasted Russian blood, was certainly not likely to pull out of Korea so easily. Such is always the intoxication of power. Those who wield the sword generally perish by the sword, just as expert swimmers meet their death by water. The man who fired the revolver-shot bluntly admitted that he had killed Ito because he could not bear to see Japan ruling Korea. It is said that Japan has killed nearly 12,000 Koreans to teach a lesson to the people. This episode shows that power is an ugly thing and that, having once possessed oneself of a country, it is not possible to rest in peace. Some of our young men believe that the British can be driven out of India by killing [some of them]. Even if this is possible, it is not worth doing. Some things in Japan are commendable, but her imitation of Western ways does not deserve to be admired.

Why, then, have we described Ito as a brave man? This is a different matter. He had the spirit of patriotism in him from childhood. He was born in 1841. From the earliest time that he began to understand things, he had thoughts of working for Japan's uplift. He braved many hardships in pursuit of his idea. In the war against Russia, he displayed great courage. He was thus an expert in war; also in mathematics, education, administration, in short, in everything. He must, therefore, be admitted to be a brave man. In subjugating Korea, he used his courage to a wrong end. But those who fall under the spell of the Western civilization cannot help doing so. If Japan is to rule, defend and expand herself through force, she has no option but to conquer the neighbouring lands. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that those who have the real welfare of the people at heart must lead them only along the path of satyagraha.

WHITE'S VIEWS ON INDIAN AWAKENING

Mr. G. K. Chesterton is one of the great writers here. He is an Englishman of a liberal temper. Such is the perfection of his style that his writings are read by millions with great avidity. To *The Illustrated London News* of September 18 he has contributed an article on Indian awakening, which is worth studying. I too believe that what he has said is reasonable. I give below the substance of that part of it which is of special interest :¹

¹ The translation has been collated with the original article.

When young Indians talk of independence for India, I get a feeling that they do not understand what they are talking about. I admit that they who demand *swarajya* are fine fellows; most young idealists are fine fellows. I do not doubt that many of our officials are stupid and oppressive. Most of such officials are stupid and oppressive. But when I see the actual papers and know the views of Indian nationalists, I get bored and feel dubious about them. What they want is not very Indian and not very national. They talk about Herbert Spencer's¹ philosophy and other similar matters. What is the good of the Indian national spirit if they cannot protect themselves from Herbert Spencer? I am not fond of the philosophy of Buddhism, but it is not so shallow as Spencer's philosophy. It has some noble ideals, unlike the latter. One of their papers is called *The Indian Sociologist*. Do the Indian youths want to pollute their ancient villages and poison their kindly homes by introducing Spencer's philosophy into them?

There is a great difference between a people asking for its own ancient life and a people asking for things that have been wholly invented by somebody else. There is a difference between a conquered people demanding its own institutions and the same people demanding the institutions of the conqueror. Suppose an Indian said: "I wish India had always been free from white men and all their works. Everything has its own faults and we prefer our own. Had we our own institutions, there would have been dynastic wars; but I prefer dying in battle to dying in hospital. There would have been despotism; but I prefer one king whom I hardly even see to a hundred kings regulating my diet and my children. There would have been pestilence; but I would sooner die of the plague than live like a dead man, in constant fear of the plague. There would have been religious differences dangerous to public peace; but I think religion more important than peace. Life is very short; a man must live somehow and die somewhere; the amount of bodily comfort a peasant gets under your way of living is not so much more than mine. If you do not like our way of living, we never asked you to do. Go, and leave us with it."

¹ (1820-1903); English philosopher; author of *Principles of Psychology*, *Synthetic Philosophy* and *Principles of Sociology*

Suppose an Indian said that, I should call him an Indian nationalist. He would be an authentic Indian, and I think it would be very hard to answer him. But the Indian nationalists whose works I have read go on saying: "Give me a ballot box. Give us power, give me the judge's wig. I have a natural right to be Prime Minister. I have a right to introduce a Budget. My soul is starved if I am excluded from the editorship of the *Daily Mail*," or words to that effect. Now this is not so difficult to answer. Even the most sympathetic person may say in reply: "What you say is very fine, my good Indian, but it is we who invented all these things. If they are so good as you make out, you owe it to us that you have ever heard of them. If they are indeed natural rights, you would never even have thought of your natural rights but for us." If voting is such a very important thing (which I am inclined rather to doubt myself) then, certainly we have some of the authority that belongs to founders. When Indians take a haughty tone in demanding a vote, I imagine to myself the situation reversed. It seems to me very much as if I were to go into Tibet and demand of the Lama that I should be treated as a Mahatma. The Lama would in that case reply : "Our religion is either true or false; it is either worth having or not worth having. If you know better than we do, you do not want our religion. But if you think that our way of life is good, please remember that it is we who discovered and studied it, and we know whether a man is a Mahatma or not. If you want one of our peculiar privileges, you must accept our peculiar discipline and pass our peculiar standards, to get it."

Perhaps you think that in writing this I am opposing Indian nationalism. But that will be a mistake; I am only letting my mind play round the subject. This is desirable when there is a conflict between two complete civilizations. I also admit the existence of natural rights. The right of a people to express itself, to be itself in action, is a genuine right. Indians have a right to be and to live as Indians. But Herbert Spencer is not Indian; his philosophy is not Indian philosophy; all this clatter about the science of education and other things is not Indian. I often wish it were not English either. But this is our first difficulty, that the Indian nationalist is not national.

Indians must reflect over these views of Mr. Chesterton and

consider what they should rightly demand. What is the way to make the Indian people happy? May it not be that we seek to advance our own interests in the name of the Indian people? Or, that we have been endeavouring to destroy what the Indian people have carefully nurtured through thousands of years? I, for one, was led by Mr. Chesterton's article to all these reflections and I place them before readers of *Indian Opinion*.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-1-1910

78. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES¹

[LONDON,]

September 20, 1909

SIR,

A letter was received addressed to my colleague, Mr. Amod Bayat, in his absence, from the Natal Immigration Restriction Department in connection with his application for a temporary visiting pass for a priest to take charge of the Mosque in Pietermaritzburg and of a Madressa. This application was made on behalf of and in the name of the whole of the Mohammedan congregation in Pietermaritzburg I beg to enclose herewith copy of the letter above referred to.

I venture to think that the Earl of Crewe will be able to enter into the feelings of British Indian Mohammedans who, for the purpose of earning an honest livelihood, have settled in that Colony. My colleagues and I consider the letter of the Immigration Restriction Department to be highly offensive to our feelings as men, as British subjects and last but not least, as Mohammedans. A special assurance was given to the Immigration Officer that this priest was required solely for religious purposes and that he would not in any way compete in trade or any other business.

¹ Though the letter bears the signature of M. C. Anglia, there is evidence that the draft was Gandhiji's. In his letter of October 14, 1909, Polak wrote : "Your letter (through one of the Natal delegates) re: the PM Burg Moulvi is strong and excellent—but pardon me if I say the construction is wretched. They say lawyers write bad grammar. I hope I don't catch the complaint from you! I am appending the letter to my forthcoming book. It seems to be intended for publication, and no secrets are divulged . . ." Polak reproduced the letter as Appendix D to his pamphlet : *A Tregedy of Empire*. Vide also "Letter to Ameer Ali", 27-9-1909.

That the community should have to make Herculean efforts to have a simple application like the above granted, and that it should be granted in a manner so offensive to it, and that in a matter in no way touching the economic policy of the Colony, only shows under what trying, humiliating and difficult circumstances British Indians have to exist in Natal. Why a visiting pass should be granted for only a quarter, renewable quarterly and should carry with it a penalty of twenty shillings each time that it is renewed, passes comprehension. A policy such as this, in the humble opinion of the deputation, can only be considered as wantonly cruel. It puts an undue strain upon the patience of the Indian community and, whilst the deputation is still here, I venture to request very serious and earnest consideration by the Earl of Crewe of the anomalous position British Indians occupy in Natal. We consider that a position such as this, intolerable as it is, cannot and ought not to be prolonged with safety to the Empire to which it has hitherto been the pride of British Indians to belong. We would be unjust to ourselves, to the trust that is reposed in us by the community and to the Empire, if we did not assure His Lordship that the humiliating treatment in Natal is corroding the hearts of British Indians, and it is difficult for us to imagine all the consequences that may follow, when it has reached, as it may any day reach, the breaking point. I have written with the approval of my co-delegates somewhat strongly, but on more strongly than the occasion requires.

I have, etc.,

M. C. ANGLIA

Colonial Office Records : 179/255

79. *LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE*

[LONDON,]

September 23, 1909

SIR,

May I know whether any reply has been received from General Smuts to the cablegram¹ that Mr. Hajee Habib and I understood the Earl of Crewe was to have sent him in connection with the negotiations that are going on for a settlement of the British Indian difficulty in the Transvaal?²

I have, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records : 291/142

80. *LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK*

[LONDON,]

September 23, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your comparatively short letter. I sent the copy of the cablegram received from Johannesburg last week, regarding the refusal of the authorities to give facilities for the *Ramzan* month.

The enclosed is a copy of the cable sent by the London branch of the All-India Moslem League to the Central League there.³ I hope that you are carrying on a correspondence with the Central League from Bombay. I quite agree with you that the cancellation of the

¹ Lord Crewe had promised to cable to General Smuts the result of his interview with Gandhiji and Hajee Habib and press upon him acceptance of the amendment submitted by Gandhiji through Lord Amphil; *vide* "Substance of Interview with Lord Crewe", 16-9-1909; and Appendix "Lord Crewe's Minute".

² To this Gandhiji received a reply from the Colonial Office on October 4, that, "... there is no prospect of his being able to give you any further information for the present with regard to the negotiations respecting the British Indian question in the Transvaal. The Colonial Government must first decide, with the information before them, as to your attitude after your interview with His Lordship on the 16th ultimo, whether they are prepared to introduce legislation on the lines proposed by Mr. Smuts."

³ This read: "Indian deputation received cablegram Transvaal Mahomedan passive resistance prisoners not allowed facilities *Ramzan*. Advise instant action."

meeting was a splendid advertisement for the movement, and an equally good advertisement of the folly of the authorities.¹

The attack by *The Advocate of India* is simply stupid.² It can hurt nobody but the paper and the writer. If Mr. Wadia has dealt with it, well and good. If he has not, I do not think that it matters. In the two packets of cuttings, you will be surprised to learn that the cutting containing this attack was not to be found. I suppose Kaliandas, or whoever made the cuttings, must have considered that the paragraph was too contemptible even to be seen by us here.

I have not yet heard from Lord Crewe. I am sending a reminder.³

I can understand my letters to you being opened, but that Millie's letters to you are deliberately opened, passes my comprehension. Let us hope they are all the wiser for having read the letters, and also that they have learnt the meaning of wifely devotion. Her letters must have been quite an education for them.³

I am not likely to leave here—unless Smuts' reply is favourable—for yet a month. Mr. Meyer is now here. I have asked him for an appointment. Unless a dissolution comes soon, the season now is favourable for public activity.

I do not think I have told you that I am coming in touch with all the Indian ladies I can, and get from them letters in Gujarati addressed

¹ In his letter of September 4, Polak wrote: "The cancelled meeting has done much good to the cause. It has focussed attention on the Transvaal, brought round a number of half-hearted people, cleared the ground generally and brought over Sir P. M. He is now working enthusiastically. The meeting, which promises to be a greater success than ever, will be held after all, at the Town Hall, on the 14th. The Government have blundered through ignorance, but the Sheriff through stupidity. The whole story is one of blundering misunderstanding. The Government now realise their folly and the Sheriff's, and have tendered an apology (imagine it!) and let us have the Town Hall."

² In regard to this, Polak had written to Gandhiji on September 4, "Mr. Gokhale has cleared up a misunderstanding in the Governor's mind about myself. You will see it voiced in the personal attack on me by Gordon in *The Advocate of India*. It is particularly unfair as I had a personal letter to him from the G(eneral) M(anager) of Reuters. I hear that he is a most objectionable cad (Gordon, I mean) and I think H. A. Wadia will reply. I can't." Gandhiji addressed a rejoinder to the paper; vide "Letter to *The Advocate of India*", 28-9-1909

³ Vide the preceding item.

⁴ Polak's comment on this, in his letter of October 14, was: "You take the opening of Millie's letters more philosophically than she and I do. I see that your days of writing love-letters are over! I am sorry for you! I haven't yet authorised Millie to start classes in marital devotion!"

to the Editor of *Indian Opinion*, encouraging the movement and applauding the devotion of the Indian women. You told me you were going to address a meeting of Indian women. You should get as many letters as you can from them. There is no reason why you should not get letters in English also. I have been getting them in Gujarati from Gujarati women, as I am anxious they should not disregard their mother tongue. One is from Mrs. Dube,¹ a most charming Hindustani lady, who has lived² in Bombay and can therefore read and write Gujarati. The other is from Mrs. K. C. Dinshaw,³ who was for some time in Durban, and who is now travelling in Europe with her husband. You should get a letter from Mrs. Petit, Mrs. Ranade and others. Miss Winterbottom has returned from her holiday. I have suggested a letter of sympathy from English women,⁴ and that they should also put down some small sub-scription for the relief of the suffering wives and daughters of passive resisters. I would suggest the same kind of thing over there. It is not the amount on which I should lay stress, but the fact of every cultured Indian woman having given even a pice for their sisters in the Transvaal, and I should obtain for it the widest publicity in India. There is no reason, too, why there should not be a women's meeting, only passing resolutions.⁵

I have been thinking of having a prize essay here on passive resistance, and a similar essay from India, along the lines of what we had in Johannesburg. I proposed to Dr. Mehta that he should give the prizes. He has considered it and he is willing to give them. I shall draw up the syllabus and send you a copy, but that will be next week. In the meanwhile, you may consider the following questions:

¹ A letter from Ram Kumari Dube appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 11-9-1909.

² The original has "oved", an obvious typing error.

³ A letter from Khurshedbai Kekobad Cawasji Dinshaw appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 23-10-1909.

⁴ A letter from Miss Florence Winterbottom was published in *Indian Opinion*, 25-12-1909, under the heading: "Message to the Wives of Passive Resisters". Another letter from Hilda Margaret Howsin was published in the issue of 11-12-1909, under the heading: "An English Women's Letter to the Wives of Passive Resisters".

⁵ Polak wrote back: "I am glad you are in touch with the Indian ladies in London. I am trying to get a poem from Mrs. Sarojini Naidoo, through Natesan. Mrs. Ranade's ladies have passed a resolution of sympathy with the Transvaal women and it will be forwarded shortly. One or two of them will write at stated intervals for *I[ndian] O[pinion]*. Mrs. Petit will send a letter with pleasure and I shall ask her to get others to write. The Seva Sadan, a ladies' organisation, have sent Rs. 50 to the Transvaal for the support of the women and they will send a further donation. It was not advisable to pass a resolution at the Bombay women's meeting as the wives of several officers were taking part."

1. Who should be the Judge or Judges for India.?
2. In whose name should the prize be offered?

The subject will have to be a little delicately handled, as it is evident that the people there, strange as it would appear, do not understand passive resistance at all, and any essay that we may have there to be worth anything must contain an examination of the bearing of passive resistance on public movements in India. You may discuss it with Professor Gokhale and others. The amount to be offered may be £50 on this side and £50 on yours, so that we should be able to attract good writers on either side. I am going to consult Mr. Meyer, Dr. Clifford and others. This prize essay, if any public activity has to be taken up here, will widely advertize the Transvaal cause.¹

Of the Natal friends, Mr. H. M. Badat has left for Paris. His ultimate goal is Mecca.

I take it that Messrs Omar and Issa Hajee Soomar are still with you.

I have your cablegram with reference to the Surat meeting. I take it that the others have also come off well, and I assume, too, that all your resolutions are being forwarded to the Viceroy of India.

Dr. Mehta is here and will be for a few days. He leaves for Paris on Sunday and he sails from Marseilles for Rangoon on the 1st, reaching Rangoon on the 23rd October. Wherever you are, I think it will be better to go to Rangoon, after corresponding with Dr. Mehta. He will not be able to write to you before hearing from you, as he will not know your address. He thinks that it will be a good idea for you to go to Rangoon. A meeting can be held there, but in any case I am anxious that you should meet him and—he you. If Mr. Omar goes with you, it will be ever so much better. There are many public-spirited Memons and Suraties, and, of course, you will see our friend Mr. Madanjit², and you will see there the freest women on earth.³ From Calcutta it is three days, from Madras four days, so that you

¹ About this Polak wanted to consult Gokhale. He wondered if Prof. Bhandarkar would act as judge.

² Madanjit Vyavaharik, a co-worker of Gandhiji. He set up the International Printing Press in Durban, in 1898, at Gandhiji's suggestion and with his help started *Indian Opinion* in 1903, which Gandhiji took over in 1904. *Vide* "Letter to Madanjit", 3-6-1902.

³ Polak's rejoinder to this was: "I am looking forward to 'seeing the freest women on earth'. I shall discuss them afterwards with Millie, as I did briefly yesterday at Adyar with Leadbeater. I shall try to go over to Malabar before I leave here, in order to see the Nair women, who, I am told, take one husband after another. That beats you all who take one wife after another ! I am inclined to think the women are right!"

may go to Rangoon from wherever you are. I do not think you could give more than a week to Rangoon, but if you are pressed for time, you may give less. Dr. Mehta's address is 14, Mogul Street, Rangoon.

Mr. Thaker suggests that we are so poor that we should save the guinea for the London letter,¹ and stop it at least for the time being. I feel like him and with him, and seeing that today the paper is being used for passive resistance principally, will it not be wise to stop it? Please let me have your opinion per return.²

The news from Phoenix with reference to West and Miss West was much more reassuring last week. Both are entirely out of danger.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5091

81. LONDON

[Before *September 25, 1909*]

NATAL DEPUTATION

There is nothing more to report about the activities of this deputation. Correspondence is going on. There was an interview with Mr. Justice Ameer Ali. He attaches great importance to the question of stopping the import of indentured labour. He has promised every help. A clergyman, Dr. Garnett by name, has also been coming to see [the delegates].

Mr. Badat has left for Paris this week. From there, it has been decided, he will proceed to Istanbul and further on to Jedda, and then to holy Mecca.

INDIAN'S BRAINS

There is a report in the *Daily News* here that a Parsi gentleman has made a discovery which will act as a severe check on forgery. According to the report, its efficacy will be publicly demonstrated in a few days.

ZANZIBAR INDIANS

A public meeting was held in Zanzibar in connection with the difficulties experienced by the Indians there. Cables were then

¹ *Indian Opinion* published a weekly dispatch from London by *Observer*.

² Polak replied : "I don't like the idea of stopping the London letter. It is the only non-p[assive] r[esistance] thing in the paper, keeping us in touch with the outside world. But do as you like. You are on the spot, and can discuss with Miss Smith."

received here. A cable was received by Sir Henry Cotton, which has been published in *India*. A question was also asked in the House of Commons regarding this. In reply, it was stated that Lord Crewe would make an inquiry after the petition mentioned in the cable was received. I hope the Zanzibar Indian Association has sent the petition. If not, it should do so immediately.

LORD KITCHENER'S OPPOSITION TO LORD CURZON

“Who indeed can put out a fire raging in the sea?” Such is the state of affairs between Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchener. Someone has discovered a speech by Lord Kitchener in the same strain, and nearly in the same words, as Lord Curzon’s when he left India. Everyone concludes from this that Lord Kitchener has plagiarized Lord Curzon’s ideas. The matter has given rise to much discussion in newspapers. If the so-called great men appropriate what does not belong to them, what else can we expect from smaller folk?

SUFFRAGETTES

The suffragettes are giving way to impatience. Some of them made an unjustifiable attack on the Prime Minister, and were arrested. They were prosecuted and sentenced. In gaol they went on hunger strike. They had hoped thereby that they would be released. But the authorities have outwitted them and resorted to forcible feeding. Indian satyagrahis must realize from this that the women are not satyagrahis, but are resorting to physical force. For a certainty, they will suffer a set-back now.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-10-1909

82. DEPUTATION NOTES [–XIII]

[Before *September 25, 1909*]

There has been no further reply from Lord Crewe so far. The probability is that his reply will be unsatisfactory. There is no reason to believe that General Smuts will hurry to reply that he accepts Lord Crewe’s advice. But of this I am sure, that, if General Smuts does not accept the suggestion, the fault will be entirely ours. I am not in a position to write anything more this week.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-10-1909

83. CABLE TO BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

[LONDON,]

September 27, 1909

TO

BIAS

JOHANNESBURG

Haji Habib received cable return immediately. Inquire fully his people reply.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 5098 (2)

84. LETTER TO AMEER ALI

[LONDON,]

DEAR MR. AMEER ALI,

I thank you for your letter¹. I have now made a fair copy of the draft letter sent by you, and it will be signed in the course of the day. Mr. Anglia will bring it to you tomorrow at the time appointed by you.

The facts of the case referred to in the letter² addressed to the Under-Secretary, are briefly as follows :

¹ Dated September 26, it read : "Thanks for the drafts. Will you kindly send me by return post full particulars of the case you refer to in your letter to the Colonial Under Secretary? . . . It will give me much pleasure if Mr. Anglia will come round to the Reform Club on Tuesday at 3.30 P.M. I am returning one of the drafts. Will you kindly get it typed and afterwards signed by the delegates and then send it to me?" The letter, however, is not available.

² Vide "Letter to Under Secretary for Colonies", 20-9-1909.

A Moulvi was required for the Mosque in Pietermaritzburg, the capital of Natal. The Maulvi was to combine also the work of a Madressa teacher. This Moulvi was to replace the retiring one. According to the law of Natal, an intending immigrant must have a knowledge of one of the European languages. This Moulvi did not possess such a knowledge. The congregation of the Mosques, therefore, applied to the Government to grant to the Moulvi not the right of immigration, that is, permanent residence, but a certificate enabling him to reside in the Colony for three years. The applicants undertook to give security that the Moulvi, during his residence in Natal, would not carry on any commercial business and that he would leave Natal at the end of the period. After a great deal of waiting, the Government replied that they would grant permission on condition that the certificate was renewed every three months, and that each renewal bore a stamp fee of £1.

Mr. Anglia will show you the letter in question, and you will see from its tenor how insulting it is. In my opinion, we as self-respecting men cannot accept the offensive terms. The stipulation as to quarterly renewals bearing a fee of £1 is, in my opinion, an impudent exaction.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S.N. 5096

85. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[LONDON,]

September 27, 1909

CHI. MANILAL,

I have received your letter.

You got nervous at the question, "What are you going to do?" If I were to answer on your behalf, I would say that you are going to do your duty. Your present duty is to serve your parents, to study as much as you can get the opportunity to do and to work in the fields. You need not worry about the future; your parents are doing that for you. You will take it upon yourself when they will be no more. You must be definite on this point at least—that you are not going to practise law or medicine. We are poor and want to remain so. Money is required only for maintenance. He who works with his hands and feet gets his livelihood. Our mission is to elevate Phoenix; for through it we can find our soul and serve our country. Be sure that I

am always thinking of you. The true occupation of man is to build his character. It is not quite necessary to learn something special for earning [one's livelihood]. He who does not leave the path of morality never starves, and is not afraid if such a contingency arises. Give up all worry; do whatever study you can there. While writing this I feel like meeting and embracing you; and tears come to my eyes as I am unable to do that. Be sure that Bapu will not be cruel to you. Whatever I do, I do it because I think it to be in your interest. You will never come to grief, for you are doing service to others.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 90

Courtesy : Sushilabehn Gandhi

86. *LETTER TO "THE ADVOCATE OF INDIA"*¹

[LONDON,]

September 28, 1909

TO

THE EDITOR

THE ADVOCATE OF INDIA

[BOMBAY]

SIR,

Your footnote in the issue of the 9th instant to the letter of Mr. Jehangir Bomanjee Petit, regretting among other things your description of Mr. Henry S. L. Polak as a paid agent, encourages me to address this letter to you.

You say, "We have alluded to Mr. Polak as a paid agent and we

¹ The letter was apparently not published in *The Advocats of India*. J. B. Petit, however, had it published in the columns of *Gujarati*, 7-11-1909, under the caption "*The Advocate of India* and Mr. Polak", along with the following covering letter : "You will remember that some weeks ago *The Advocate of India* sought to discredit Mr. Polak's activity in this country on behalf of our suffering brethren in the Transvaal by representing him as a near 'paid agent'. On Mr. Polak protesting, the Editor made a half-hearted retraction, but he had neither the grace nor the candour to withdraw the imputation unreservedly. The unworthy attack having attracted Mr. Gandhi's attention, Mr. Gandhi addressed to the Editor the following letter on the 28th September. It is now nearly a fortnight since that letter must have been received in Bombay, but it is not yet published. . . Will you kindly publish this letter in your columns? Your contemporary's conduct in withholding the letter is in keeping with the rest of his behaviour in this not very creditable affair."

have said we think none the worse of him for that. If, however, that gentleman looks upon this as affecting his status and he can assure we are wrong, we are prepared to apologize to him". I hope that what follows will assure you that you are wrong and that you will apologize to the British Indians of the Transvaal, whom Mr. Polak represents, for the latter requires no apology. The wrong if any has been done, has been done to those whom he represents.

You say that you think none the worse of Mr. Polak even though he may be a paid agent, and yet the tone of your leading article, which I have read and re-read is undoubtedly calculated materially to discount Mr. Polak's efforts. I know him personally as a dear friend and brother. He came to the cause, embraced poverty and left the Assistant Editorship of a Johannesburg weekly, which might ultimately have proved much to him, if he had desired the goods of this world. For over four years he received not a farthing from the funds of the British Indian community because he needed nothing. During all that time he was working for the community.

The struggle in the Transvaal has meant for Mr. Polak, as it has meant for many Indians, the deprivation of even the means or rather the opportunity of earning a livelihood. Since then, Mr. Polak, who gives every minute of his time to the struggle, has received enough for his bread and butter from the common funds, and if I know him at all, if the community have not sufficient funds to feed its workers, Mr. Polak would remain at his post, and, if need be, perish in the attempt to obtain justice for those whose cause, in common with many others, he espouses.

You do not know, nor do the Bombay public, that ever since his marriage, Mr. Polak has given very little of his time to his wife who, in order the better to enable her husband to perform his self-imposed duty, has reconciled herself to a life of almost indefinitely prolonged separation.

I imagine that the term "paid agent" means an agent who names a price adequate to the work he does, and does the work well enough no doubt, in many cases, but does it nevertheless for the money he receives and not for the love of it. If a son in a joint family dying in the performance of his sonship may be described as a paid agent, because he is clothed and fed out of the family funds, then Mr. Polak is undoubtedly a paid agent, but not until then.

If, after a knowledge of the facts I have ventured to place before

you, you will still consider Mr. Polak as a paid agent, I am afraid that his co-delegates, who might have been with him if they had not been imprisoned before their departure by General Smuts, must be described as “paid agents” because their passage and hotel expenses would have been found by the Indian community.

I trust that, in fairness, you will be good enough to find room for this letter.

I am, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S.N. 5099

87. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]

September 29, 1909

SIR,

Mr. Polak cables from Kathore¹ to the effect that the following cablegram has been addressed by the President of a mass meeting held at Kathore on the 23rd instant to the authorities :

Kathore,² Kholwad³ Ghela district inhabitants mass meeting strongly protests persecution brethren Transvaal Government. Strongly urges Imperial authority seek immediate solution, prevent cotinuanace misery, remove racial insult.

He also cables that excellent meetings were held at Ahmedabad and Surat, where two resolutions urging the Imperial Government to secure relief were passed.

I should be obliged if you would kindly bring this letter to the notice of the Earl of Crewe.

I remain, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records : 291/142

¹ Villages in the former Baroda State, now in the Surat District of Gujarat. The last name should be Ghalan.

² *ibid*

³ *ibid*

88. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]

September 29, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

At last I have decided about Dr. Mehta's offer of a scholarship for Manilal, of which I wrote to you, I think, some time ago. I told you, then, that I asked Dr. Mehta to let me use this scholarship for any other person belonging to Phoenix whom I chose. He accepted my proposal, but when he made the offer, I know he made it simply because he felt that he would like to undertake the education of at least one of my sons. Today, however, he is almost as good a passive resister as you and I, and he agrees with me entirely that he should defray the cost of educating some other Phoenixite.

I decided upon Chhaganlal, and I have already written¹ to him by the outgoing mail this week. I wrote to him last week a letter² embodying my suggestions, but that letter was sent to Phoenix. I subsequently learned that he was to have left for India on the 15th. By the time this reaches you, he will probably, therefore, be with you. I will not go into all the reasoning that has led me to the following conclusions. After having remained with you there for some time, he should come to London, say to reach here at the latest about the end of March. He should join one of the Inns of Court. The question whether he should actually be called to the Bar or not to be decided later (the odds are that, by that time, we would not want him to be called to the Bar at all). Simultaneously with his legal studies, he should join an English class in one of the institutions here. He should, before embarking, take a definite and formal vow of poverty. He should also take the vow that he will not use the learning acquired here as a means of livelihood, the latter being always found from Phoenix and that he should dedicate his life to a realization of the Phoenix, ideals. He should stay in some vegetarian family (I am finding out information about all available vegetarian families in and about London). He should live, if necessary, in a house in one of the suburbs and there do his own cooking and everything. If he feels confidence in himself at the end of the year, we should send one or more from phoenix at a time for training in London. These will be able to live with him in house, and he having formed a desirable circle

¹ These letters are not available.

² *ibid*

of friends and acquaintances, those who live with him will be able to get all the advantages of English associations, without having to live in English families, where the cost will be necessarily somewhat greater than if they were living with Chhaganlal. At the same time, if it were considered desirable, they could live in one of the families for just a short time. Chhaganlal should, during his stay, seek contact with every Indian student, in fact, force himself on their attention and, after insinuating himself in their favour, should present both in his life and by conversations, the Phoenix ideals to them. His being here would enable us to pass on, from week to week, correct information as to the progress of the struggle, and he would, in some very slight degree, fill in the gap that would be left by Ritch's withdrawal. I see nobody here who is capable of replacing Ritch, but there are some who, whilst they may do nothing without a spur, would be glad enough to assist a man like Chhaganlal. If we are not committed to Chhaganlal being called to the Bar, he need not even stay in London for a full three years, he might—if the exigencies of the situation require it—leave London temporarily.

There is no fixed scholarship to be taken from Dr. Mehta; he will simply defray the whole of the expense of Chhaganlal's stay. Chhaganlal, on his part, will naturally consider himself to be a trustee for the funds he will receive, and will be living a life of almost perfect simplicity. The cost therefore will be minimised.

I have placed all this before Chhaganlal. Please let him see this letter also. If he agrees to all the suggestions I have made, it rests largely with him and somewhat with you, whether he should come here in March or earlier. It is much better that he remains with you for some time, comes in touch with the people, knows them and studies the question a little more fully. He must bring with him a fair stock of Gujarati books, some Sanskrit books, a Urdu Primer and some English books, which may not be obtainable here or which may cost a great deal. He need not stint himself as to books, because the books will be of use to the other students here. In the choice of books you should consult Dr. Mehta also. I would like Chhaganlal to give Gujarati tuition to Dr. Mehta's son, as also Hoosen¹ and any other Gujaratis who may be in London.

Of course, the above will have to be sanctioned by the people in Phoenix.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5100

¹ Son of Dawad Mahomed

89. *LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
LORD MORLEY*

[LONDON,]

September 30, 1909

SIR,

I beg to enclose herewith for Lord Morley's information, copy of letter addressed by me to the Private Secretary to the Earl of Crewe.¹

I remain, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

India Office Records : 3815/09; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5103

90. *LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK*²

[LONDON,]

September 30, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have written to you separately about Chhaganlal. I do not know whether you admire the man who can show patience or whether you admire the man who cannot. The sentence in the letter reads both ways.³ Maud and Ritch read it one way, [I] the other.

I have your cablegram about the meetings in Ahmedabad, Kathore and Surat. They will all carry.

I consider the writings of *The Advocate of India* very valuable. Even cads render us a signal service . . .⁴ take what Gordon has

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", 29-9-1909

² This letter is damaged and indistinct at some places. Where possible, words in square brackets have been supplied by conjecture on the basis of the context provided by Polak's letters to Gandhiji.

³ This was with reference to Polak's letter of September 10, in which he wrote : "Yours is splendid patience. I envy you. I see more and more the beauty of the *Gita* teaching—act, and don't worry about results. But I see more and more how difficult it is to do this, and admire the man who can !" The letter is in Polak's hand-writing and the exclamation mark is so joined with "can" that if casually seen, it can also be read as "can't".

⁴ Here a word is cut off.

written, namely, that you have [ves]ted interest in the question. The remark is by no means unjustified. He has demonstrated the absolute necessity for having there a permanent Committee, with some one like Ritch working away day and night and keeping the pot boiling. I hope you will succeed in finding such a man. Have you seen N. V. Gokhale¹ of the *Gujarati* ? I do not wish to imply that he is the likely man. I can think of no one. He will have to be a lover of his work, without many irons in the fire, and with sufficient leisure to devote his attention almost solely to the South African question.

I do not at all share your view that you are receiving an honorarium, rather than a salary. If that were the only distinction, I would agree with Gordon that it is a fine distinction. You will see how I have dealt with it in my letter to the *Advocate*, copy of which I enclose.² The distinction, in my opinion, is fundamental. It is the manner of giving which makes that essential distinction. To the outside world, whether it can be called an honorarium or a salary, it is matter of little concern. They will look upon every payment with suspicion, they will look upon all work with suspicion and refuse to admit that people work without selfish motives or without great consideration. Everybody in Bombay has treated [the edit]or's [views] with the contempt they deserve, and you may have done likewise.³ Dr. Mehta who has seen your [let]ter writes to me in Gujarati, of which I gave you a translation :

He (that is you), has been affected by the writing in *The Advocate of India*, but it is too contemptible to be noticed.

¹ He was in charge of the English section of *Gujarati*.

² Vide "Letter to *The Advocate of India*", 28-9-1909

³ In point of fact, Polak had not; this is what he reported to Gandhiji : "Nobody takes the attack seriously, except to arouse indignation against Gordon. I sent a short reply to the latest attack. It seemed called for. It will not appear until after the mail has left. He sent me a note today asking me to call upon him. I told him what I thought about the matter—that the expression gave people to understand that I was a paid agitator. I explained to him that I was a solicitor, etc., etc., and that I received a retainer for my legal work and that my expenses as a member of the deputation were paid. I told him that what I received from public funds did not pay my expenses—Millie will bear only too willing testimony to this! I did not conceal anything from him, and he wound up by telling me that he thought that it was 'a fine distinction'. Then I let fly. Afterwards I sent him my (your) biography from *[Indian] Opinion*]. But this only shows that it will be better to call my remuneration a retainer rather than a salary. It preserves the honorary nature of the work and after all, as a salary it is utterly inadequate, whereas as a retainer, it is fair. You and I understand all about it, but people like this think it is 'a fine distinction', and can't understand disinterested work. You might pass this on to South Africa."

Where there are no selfish motives, there is no occasion for being affected by an imputation of them. Why should one be touched by unjust criticism, when one is doing one's duty? On the contrary, one ought to know that such unjust criticism is due to ignorance on the part of the critic. When a public worker has no money of his own, it is the duty of those who have it to see to it that such a worker is properly maintained. Certainly, the arrangements made in South Africa about him (you) ought to have been made.

I am giving you a translation of Dr. Mehta's remarks, because he is such a sober man with an exceedingly balanced mind, and also because of the reasons you know, I want you to come in as close touch as possible with him.

I am writing to Mr. Petit also this week. Copy of the letter¹ to him herewith.

Among the cuttings received, I miss the verses com[posed about] you.² I have seen the translation you sent to me, [I want] to see the original. Nor have I received the [Pateti Number] of *Sanj Vartman*³.

[I am] delighted that you were able to see the G.O.M. Your [lines] are most pathetic.⁴ I see too that you are now beginning to look beneath the bright surface that presented itself to you on your reaching Bombay.

¹ This letter is not available.

² On September 9, Polak had attended a meeting of the Indian Music Society where he was presented with a composition about himself.

³ A Gujarati evening daily of Bombay. The issue carried Polak's photo and a special article by him.

⁴ Polak had written : "On Saturday afternoon, his birthday, I saw the G.O.M.

It was a touching spectacle to see the little old warrior taking his rest, prior to the final plunge. He was sitting in an armchair, when we arrived, looking out to sea. He welcomed us simply, thanking me earnestly for my work. I blushed to think of his thanking me when *he* had done so much for which he had received no thanks. He asked me to thank you for sending him *Indian opinion*, which he read regularly. He also desired me to tell you how much he admired your persistence and perseverance, and how right he thought you were. We did not remain long. He complained of mental and physical fatigue. He was 'simply living on'—it was all that there was left for him to do. He has, however, sent a letter to the Mass Meeting. When we left, the last we saw of him was sitting once more in his armchair, peacefully looking into the West again, gazing out to sea, as who should look for the soothing hand of Death. It was beautiful—but I felt humbled and subdued. As Mr. Gokhale says, when one goes to see Dadabhai, one performs a pilgrimage -85 ! He may not last out another year. He is very frail."

I hope when Chhaganlal is with you, for his own sake you will use him mercilessly, and let him see and learn all there is to be seen and learnt. If the people do not realise thoroughly the spirit of passive resistance, I know that you will make at least the leaders see it. Dr. Mehta is most anxious that Mr. Gokhale should see the heart of it. I hope that Mr. Omar will travel with you wherever you go, but if Mr. Hajee Mohamed and others would travel also with you at their own expense, you should invite them to do so. Your mission will carry greater weight. Has anyone from there been sending detailed accounts in Gujarati for *Indian Opinion* ? If this has not been done, please attend to it. We have to prepare for a prolonged struggle, and it is for that reason that I am going into these details. If you find a thoroughly earnest man or men who want to give themselves entirely to public work, but on the principle mentioned by Dr. Mehta, if they need to be supported, you will recollect we have already discussed that we could consider the proposition.

There is no news yet from Lord Crewe. I am doing my best to speed him on, but the work is necessarily slow. I have seen Mr. Meyer and Dr. Clifford. Mr. Meyer was very good and he says that, if the reply from Lord Crewe is not satisfactory, he would call together influential men and take the necessary steps.¹ I send you a draft syllabus² for the competitors for the prize. Dr. Mehta's name is not to be mentioned as the prize giver. Dr. Clifford will be one of [the] judges. I am to see the edi-tor of *The British Weekly* and be guided by him in finally shaping the syllabus and discuss with him as to the best method of inviting competitors.

I am due to speak to the members of the Emerson Club on "Passive Resistance" on the 8th proximo and may speak at Hampstead Peace and Arbitration Society on the 13th or 14th proximo.³ Both these meetings will deal with the struggle indirectly. It will be on the same lines as the Ger[miston] meeting.⁴

Please correspond with Dr. Mehta most regularly.

I think I told you last week that Dr. Mehta examined Millie.

¹ Rev. F. B. Meyer later arranged a meeting on November 12.

² This paper, setting down conditions for the essay on "Ethics of Passive Resistance", is not available.

³ Vide "Speech at Emerson Club", 8-10-1909 and "Speech at Hampstead", 13-10-1909

⁴ Vide "Speech at Germiston", 7-6-1909

Dr. Mehta thinks that there is nothing wrong so far as the chest is concerned. From his diagnosis after talking with Millie, he did not consider it necessary even to use the stethoscope. He said that the stethoscope could tell him no more. He thought that it was a . . .¹ ing and probably some irritation in the throat. . .² belief I have held now for a long time, and I suggested earth bandages for the throat some time ago. I have made my suggestion and I think he will now have these applied to the throat. Anyhow there is not the slightest danger. Can you secure a special portrait of the G.O.M. for the *Indian Opinion*? If one is available, well and good, or I hope he will exert himself to give a special sitting for the portrait. You may also collect portraits with photographs of those leaders whom you may consider to be good and really patriotic. You do not mention having seen Professor Velinkar.

Mr. Ali Imam of the All-India Moslem League is at present here. I have had a brief conversation with him. He appealed to me as a very nice man; he is quite informal. He is the leader of the Bar in Patna and a broad-minded man. A dinner is being given today to him; I send you a copy of the notices that were issued. He will be leaving in a fortnight's time for India. He has come here to put his sons at Oxford and, being here, he has been naturally seeing Lord Morley and others specially in connection with the Mahomedan representation. Will you please watch the papers and, as soon as he comes, then place yourself in communication with him. He will be of very great assistance.

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5102

91. LETTER TO LEO TOLSTOY

LONDON,
October 1, 1909

SIR,

I take the liberty of inviting your attention to what has been going on in the Transvaal (South Africa) for nearly three years.

There is in that Colony a British Indian population of nearly 13,000. These Indians have, for several years, laboured under various legal disabilities. The prejudice against colour and in some respects

¹ Some words are missing here.

² *ibid*

against Asiatics is intense in that Colony. It is largely due, so far as Asiatics are concerned, to trade jealousy. The climax was reached three years ago, with a law¹ which I and many others considered to be degrading and calculated to unman those to whom it was applicable. I felt that submission to a law of this nature was inconsistent with the spirit of true religion. I and some of my friends were and still are firm believers in the doctrine of non-resistance to evil. I had the privilege of studying your writings also, which left a deep impression on my mind. British Indians, before whom the position was fully explained, accepted the advice that we should not submit to the legislation, but that we should suffer imprisonment, or whatever other penalties the law may impose for its breach. The result has been that nearly one-half of the Indian population, that was unable to stand the heat of the struggle, to suffer the hardships of imprisonment, have withdrawn from the Transvaal rather than submit to [the] law which they have considered degrading. Of the other half, nearly 2,500 have for conscience's sake allowed themselves to be imprisoned, some as many as five times. The imprisonments have varied from four days to six months, in the majority of cases with hard labour. Many have been financially ruined. At present there are over a hundred passive resisters in the Transvaal gaols. Some of these have been very poor men, earning their livelihood from day to day. The result has been that their wives and children have had to be supported out of public contributions, also largely raised from passive resisters. This has put a severe strain upon British Indians, but, in my opinion, they have risen to the occasion. The struggle still continues and one does not know when the end will come. This, however, some of us at least have seen most clearly, that passive resistance will and can succeed where brute force must fail. We also notice that, in so far as the struggle has been prolonged, it has been due largely to our weakness and, hence, to a belief having been engendered in the mind of the Government that we would not be able to stand continued suffering.

Together with a friend, I have come here to see the Imperial authorities and to place before them the position, with a view to seeking redress. Passive resisters have recognized that they should have nothing to do with pleading with the Government, but the deputation has come at the instance of the weaker members of the community, and it therefore represents their weakness rather than

¹ The Transvaal Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance.

their strength.

But, in the course of my observation here, I have felt that if a general competition for an essay on the Ethics and Efficacy of Passive Resistance were invited, it would popularise the movement and make people think. A friend has raised the question of morality in connexion with the proposed competition. He thinks that such an invitation would be inconsistent with the true spirit of passive resistance and that it would amount to buying opinion. May I ask you to favour me with your opinion on the subject of morality? And if you consider that there is nothing wrong in inviting contributions, I would ask you also to give me the names of those whom I should specially approach to write upon the subject.

There is one thing more with reference to which I would trespass upon your time. A copy of your letter addressed to a Hindu¹ on the present unrest in India has been placed in my hands by a friend. On the face of it, it appears to represent your views. It is the intention of my friend, at his own expense, to have 20,000 copies printed and distributed and to have it translated also. We have, however, not been able to secure the original, and we do not feel justified in printing it, unless we are sure of the accuracy of the copy and of the fact that it is your letter. I venture to enclose herewith a copy of the copy, and should esteem it a favour if you kindly let me know whether it is your letter, whether it is an accurate copy and whether you approve of its publication in the above manner. If you will add anything further to the letter, please do so. I would also venture to make a suggestion. In the concluding paragraph you seem to dissuade the reader from a belief in re-incarnation. I do not know whether (if it is not impertinent on my part to mention this) you have specially studied the question. Re-incarnation or transmigration is a cherished belief with millions in India, indeed, in China also. With many, one might almost say, it is a matter of experience, no longer a matter of academic acceptance. It explains reasonably the many mysteries of life. With some of the passive resisters who have gone through the gaols of the Transvaal, it has been their solace. My object in writing this is not to convince you of the truth of the

¹ This was in reply to a letter addressed to Tolstoy by the editors of an underground journal named *Free Hindustan*, issued from Vancouver. Its chief editor was Tarak Nath Das. Tolstoy's letter was published in *Indian Opinion*, 25-12-1909 and 1-1-1910, with a preface by Gandhiji. A Gujarati translation by him was also published, first, in *Indian Opinion* and, later, in the form of a book.

doctrine, but to ask you if you will please remove the word “re-incarnation” from the other things you have dissuad-ed your reader from.¹ In the letter in question, you have quoted largely from *Krishna*² and given reference to passages. I should thank you to give me the title of the book from which the quotations have been made.

I have wearied you with this letter. I am aware that those who honour you and endeavour to follow you have no right to trespass upon your time, but it is rather their duty to refrain from giving you trouble, so far as possible. I have, however, who am an utter stranger to you, taken the liberty of addressing this communication in the interests of truth, and in order to have your advice on problems the solution of which you have made your life-work.³

With respects,

I remain, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

[COUNT LEO TOLSTOY
YASNAYA POLYANA
RUSSIA]

Tolstoy and Gandhi

92. LONDON

[After *October 1, 1909*]

NATAL DEPUTATION

There is no further information to give, for the present at least, about the activities of this deputation. There has been no reply so far to the latest letter to Lord Crewe. It is quite possible that there will be none. Mr. Ali Imam has promised to help. The deputation had asked for a permit for the entry of a Moulvi to serve in the mosque at Maritzburg. The Natal Government has sent a reply to the request, against which a strong protest has been addressed to Lord Crewe. The Natal Government has replied to Mr. Amod Bhayat that they will issue a permit for the Moulvi which will be renewable every three months, a fee of £1 being payable at every renewal. This means paying an

¹ Tolstoy agreed to this.

² A booklet written in 1904 by a Bengali saint, Baba Premananda Bharati, then resident in California

³ Tolstoy replied to this letter on October 7; *vide* Appendix “Tolstoy’s Letter to Gandhiji”.

annual tax of £4. The deputation, writing about this letter to Lord Crewe, has pointed out to him that the reply is an open insult and an offence to the community. How can the community possibly invite a Moulvi on such conditions? The matter has also been taken up by the Muslim League. Personally, I hope that the community will resort to satyagraha rather than submit to such wanton tyranny. First, a Moulvi must enter the Colony after giving due notice. If imprisonment follows, he must accept it. If deported, that, too, he must accept and then raise the banner in India. A satyagrahi must be afraid neither of imprisonment nor of deportation. He must neither mind even being reduced to poverty, nor be frightened, if it comes to that, of being mashed into pulp with a mortar and pestle. A satyagrahi will shine the brighter and grow the more courageous the more he is crushed. Then alone he deserves to be called a satyagrahi. The reply about the Moulvi is an attack on religion; so it appears to me at least. It only means that we are to be denied even religious facilities, so that we may ultimately leave the country in sheer desperation. If the Indians have any spirit in them, they will not leave the country and will follow their respective religious practices in every detail. We will not submit to any injustice that the Government may choose to inflict on us in its intoxication of power. Satyagraha is the only straightforward and simple method of fighting patent injustice, the one that will ensure the quickest redress.

SUFFRAGETTES

The suffragette movement has again come into prominence. I wrote earlier that some of the women had crossed the limit of propriety. They not only stoned the Prime Minister's car, but also attacked the guards. They had armed themselves [for the purpose]. There is no doubt of the women's courage, but they have used their courage to a wrong end. They are, it seems, serving notice that, should they be denied the franchise, they will resort to stone-throwing, or will go even further and commit arson or murder. If everyone does the same, that will simply mean that, whenever any claim to a right, legitimate or otherwise, is denied, even a murder can be justified. This will be the undoing of nations. These ladies are no longer prepared to submit to any suffering. They went on a hunger-strike with the intention of securing their immediate release. The Government has now resorted to forcible feeding. Food is passed through a tube inserted into the stomach. If the women resort to physical force, they will necessarily invite similar force against them. That will mean, in the end, that England will no longer be a land

worth living in. If these same ladies were to adhere to pure satyagraha, there would be no trouble of any kind. Maybe there will be some delay in their winning the franchise, but the whole social fabric will not be endangered through their activities. If they have been in the wrong, they are bound to suffer. As they have resorted to unruly methods, quite a few women have also turned against them. One of the letter has even gone to the length of saying that, if the franchise is to be won through murders and violence, she does not want it. The suffragettes argue that the present law-makers have grown to be an unscrupulous lot. If the women win power through violent means, that will give us no reason to believe that administration under them will register any very great improvement. I have already pointed out that their example should teach us to eschew violent methods. Another thing that we may learn from them is courage. The methods they have been resorting to these days are, of course, bad, but their determined spirit of resistance, the hardships they suffer, the funds they raise—all these things deserve to be emulated. Nothing ever disheartens them. They have pledged themselves not to rest till they have won the franchise. Faithful to that pledge, they sacrifice their property and their lives to gain their end. When the suffragettes have to put up such a fight against men of their own race in order to secure voting rights for themselves, why should it be surprising that Indian satyagrahis have to carry on a prolonged fight, suffering imprisonment, assaults and hunger?

TOLSTOY'S SATYAGRAHA

Count Tolstoy is a Russian nobleman. He was once a very wealthy man. He is a man of about eighty now, with wide experience of the world. He is considered to be the best among the writers of the West. He may be looked upon as the greatest of satyagrahis.

Acting upon his views, thousands of men have gone to gaol and are still doing so. The Russian Government stands in fear of him. His writings are very trenchant. He is fearless in advising the people not to obey the laws of the Russian Government, not to serve in the army, and so on. Though his writings are proscribed, a great many of them are, in fact, published. The Russian Government has therefore arrested his *shiras-tedar*¹ and sentenced him to imprisonment. Count Tolstoy's

¹ Literally, an official of the rank of a head clerk

comments¹ on this action being noteworthy, I give their substance below:

The Russian Government has arrested many persons before my *shirastedar*, but the drama had a greater effect on me for being enacted in front of my very eyes. Really speaking, it is I that should have been arrested for they were but my writings which he circulated.

When they carried off Gooseff I burst into tears,² but this was not out of pity for him and for his fate; there was no reason for me to feel sorry for him, for I knew that Gooseff trusted in his soul-force. No one who does that is ever affected by external circumstances; such a man knows wherein lies his true welfare. They were tears of joy which I shed, for I saw that Gooseff appeared to be pleased that he was arrested and went away with a smile on his face. The man whom they have carried off is a kind and upright person who would harm no one. This man was seized in the night, locked up in a typhus-infected prison, and would be banished to a spot where one can hardly live.

The authorities are afraid of arresting me. They do not like my telling the people that it is not good to kill anyone. If I were to be locked up for five or seven years, that would stop me from writing or speaking. But others in Europe do not think, as they do, that I am an empty-headed man. Hence, instead of arresting me they arrest my men.

But this high-handed action will have no effect. I consider that my views are true, and that it is my duty to propagate them. I am living on only for that purpose, and therefore, I shall continue to express them as long as I live. I shall now send out my writings through others as I used to do through Gooseff. There are many who are ready to take Gooseff's place. If they arrest everyone who comes to work with me, I shall myself send or give my writings to anyone who asks for them.

I am not, however, writing this letter merely to speak for myself or for Gooseff. What about those who oppress, imprison or hang thousands of men? They will suffer under the curses which the victims of oppression in their suffering call down upon them. Perhaps, some of those who perpetrate this

¹ This letter, published in the *Daily News*, was addressed to L. W. Ritch.

² This happened on August 18, 1909.

oppression believe that by their actions they are serving the common good. I pity such men. They ought to wake up. They are squandering their God-given wealth of spiritual powers. They never get to taste real happiness. To be sure, what happens to Gooseff and me is of little consequence in itself. But I take this opportunity to tell the tyrannical officers : “Bethink you of yourselves and of your life. Look into your souls and have pity on yourselves.”

A man who can write this, who has such thoughts and can act up to them has mastered the world, has conquered suffering and achieved his life’s end. True freedom is to be found—only in such a life. That is the kind of freedom we want to achieve in the Transvaal. If India were to achieve such freedom, that indeed would be *swarajya*.

POLAK’S WORK

The work Mr. Polak has been doing in India will surely bear fruit one day. I can see from the letters which I receive from others that in Bombay they talk of nothing but our struggle. Mr. Polak has certainly captivated the hearts of the people of Bombay.

PETIT’S MUNIFICENCE

Mr. Polak has received very good help in his effort from Mr. Jehangir Bomanjee Petit. Now only is he staying with Mr. Petit, but 20,000 copies of a pamphlet by him were printed by the latter at his own cost. Mr. Petit spent Rs. 1,000/- on this.

These efforts should inspire the satyagrahis to exert themselves with redoubled determination.

MADNESS

A journal named *Bande Mataram* has recently started coming out in Switzerland, publication in India or England being impossible. It contains open incitement to violence, as if that would make India free this very moment! Even if India could be free that way, what would it do with that freedom? But this time I do not wish to emphasize the question of violence. Some young Indians, carried away by “progressive idea”, pour inconsiderate abuse on those who have spent their lives in the service of India to this day, looking down upon them with contempt. Of course, they cannot by these means bring freedom to India. This *Bande Mataram* has attacked Mr. Gokhale and his fellow-workers. The author of the article refers

to them as mean and cowardly. He thinks he is serving the motherland by making such attacks. Personally, I think that the author of such an article must be puerile. Let us consider a little. It is possibly true that Mr. Gokhale, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and others are not prepared to go as far as the young men would like to do. Does that mean that what they have done so far is of no value? Mr. Gokhale lived in poverty and for 18 years taught at the Fergusson College for no more than a subsistence wage. He is a man of such ability that he could have earned much more if he had wanted to. A large portion of what he gets at present as a member of the [Legislative] Council he spends on philanthropic activities. When Mr. Gokhale lived thus [in poverty], there were very few men with any spirit [of self-sacrifice] in them. Everyone will admit that Mr. Gokhale's self-sacrifice was great. Sir Pherozeshah has worked for 30 years in the Bombay Corporation. At that time, there were few men who would work as he did. Shall we denounce these men because, in their views, they would not go as far as we do? It is their work which enables us to go further today. I do not want to enquire whether they are following a wrong course now. I only point out that, even if they are, it does us no credit to denounce them but rather betrays our unworthiness and proves that we have yet to learn the first lessons of freedom. Freedom does not mean licence. I may be free to enjoy what is my own. But it appears that we want to rob others of what is theirs. I have thought it necessary to set down these thoughts because I know that issues of this journal must be finding their way into the hands of readers of *Indian Opinion*. In the present context, it makes little difference to me whether any reader is an extremist or a moderate. It is the duty of both the extremists and moderates to see that they do not pull down the work of those who have been called the pillars of India; they are welcome to build further on it. Otherwise, they will be cutting off the very branch on which they are sitting. Humility, earnestness, thoughtfulness in conduct—these are the foundations of *swarajya*. To speak out what comes into one's head or to do whatever one likes is mere delirium.

DR. MEHTA

Only recently he contributed to the satyagraha fund. He has now gone to Rangoon.

AZAM HAFJEI

I see it reported in *Indian Opinion* that Mr. Azam Haffeji has passed his examination. This is an error. Being short of money, Mr. Azam has not yet been able to secure admission to any school. How, then, could he have passed an examination?

SYED ALI IMAM

A dinner was given on October 1 in honour of Mr. Syed Ali Imam, president of the Bihar [branch of the] All-India Muslim League. It must have been attended by about a hundred men. Dr. Abdool Majid was in the chair. The Reception Committee comprised both Hindus and Muslims. Mr. Verma and Mr. Jaffer were the secretaries. Among the gentlemen present were Sir Henry Cotton, Dr. Rutherford, Mr. Upton, Sir Muncherji Bhownaggee, Mr. Nawab Saheb Syed Hussain Bilgrami, Major Syed Hussain, Mr. Ritch, Mr. [J. H.] Polak, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, Mr. Khaparde, Mr. Parikh, Mr. Chhotalal Parekh and others.

Mr. Ali Imam said in his speech that India could remain with England, not under it. Indians must have the same rights [as the British]. They must make a success of what Lord Morley had granted and then demand more. Hindus, Muslims and Parsis must learn to live as one nation. In Turkey, Muslims, Jews and Christians lived in amity, and that was why they commanded respect. In every part [of India] where Hindus were in a majority and the Muslims in a minority, the former should help the latter to gain special rights, and vice versa. If this were done, there would be no Hindu-Muslim problem. There were many reforms to be carried out in India. We must ensure the spread of education and respect for women's rights. We must not be backward where we have to act on our own. His prayer for good health was received by the gathering with applause.

He was followed by Sir Henry Cotton who said in a short speech that it was for the Indians to win their own rights.

Then Sir Muncherji Bhownaggee spoke. He appealed for good wishes for [the success of] the Transvaal and Natal deputations. Sir Muncherji pointed out in his speech that the problem in South Africa was a very serious one. It had brought two deputations which they ought to help. Our fellow-countrymen were passing through hard times in South Africa. This appeal was also received with great enthusiasm.

Mr. Gandhi then replied. He said that it was in South Africa

that the Indian nation was being formed. A nation, he said, could come into being only when people made sacrifices for the sake of freedom. Moreover, the Hindu-Muslim problem just did not arise in South Africa. There it was almost as good as solved. Mr. Imam was quite right when he said that the minorities should have special rights. That was the only way to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Transvaal Indians, [he said], were fighting—not for self-interest—but for India's honour. It was for that that Parsee Rustomjee was undergoing imprisonment. Some Sikhs had also gone to gaol. People would thus continue to go to gaol so long as men like Mr. Ali Imam were not free to enter to Transvaal as of right, and they would win that right.

In Natal they want to ruin the traders, exact an annual tax of £3 from poor Indians and prevent the boys from being educated. It was the duty of every Indian to fight such tyranny. The Nawab Saheb was a member of the India Council. It was his duty to press for justice and, if he failed, to resign [his membership].

Indians of the younger generation should examine the meaning of this problem. If they did, there would be a solution in no time.

Speaking next, Major Syed Hussain said that Hindus and Muslims should sit for dinner at the same table in India, just as they did in an English hotel.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal said in his speech that Hindus and Muslims could be and must be united. It was an excellent thing, [he said,] that Mr. Ali Imam was honoured by both Hindus and Muslims. Hindus would, of course, remain Hindus and Muslims Muslims, but they should be more proud of being Indians.

Speaking again, Mr. Ali Imam said that it was exactly because the South African problem was a very serious one that he had not referred to it in his speech. It was very much present in his mind and he would not forget it. He would, of course, do everything he could for the removal of Indians' disabilities.

Dr. Rutherford said that Mr. Gandhi's speech had inspired him with a new spirit. Indians were putting up a good fight in the Transvaal. Their example should be followed by everyone. He would, on his part, render every possible assistance.

Mr. Upton, a Member of Parliament, also spoke in a similar strain. He was followed by Mr. Parikh, and the gathering then dispersed. I need not say that the dinner was attended by members of

both the deputations.

Another function in honour of Mr. Ali Imam is to be held at 4 [p.m.] on Tuesday. It will be on behalf of the All-India Muslim League. The gentleman is proceeding to Istanbul, and will return thence to India.

GUJARATI MEETING

A conference is to be held in Kathiawar for the development of the Gujarati language. A meeting of Gujaratis is to be held on Tuesday,¹ under the chairmanship of Sir Muncherji Bhownaggee, to extend support to it. The meeting is being convened by Mr. Rustom Desai, Mr. Hussain Dawad Mahomed and Mr. Jethalal Parikh.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 30-10-1909

93. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

LONDON,

October 3, 1909

CHI. NARANDAS,

Again there is no letter from you. I hope your collection is going on. I wish you to go to South Africa if Chi. Chhaganlal decides to go to England. I would want you to go only if you also think likewise. Your going will automatically do good to your soul. In that case the first thing necessary is your father's permission. I am writing to respected Khushalbhai.² He will give this letter to you only if he thinks of sending you; or he will tell you what he thinks while giving you the letter. Let your reply come here on the assumption that I am here. If your going is decided upon, permission will have to be obtained from Phoenix. If you go there to court imprisonment, no permission would be required; for, in that case, you will have to go to Johannesburg. There is no misery in gaol; rather, there is happiness if one thinks that way. More you may discuss with Chi. Chhaganlal. The Gandhi family has done good deeds as well as bad ones. However, we are known for our good conduct. If we can add to it, that will be our real service to the family. That is why I am always

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Gujarati Meeting", 5-10-1909

² *Vide* the following item.

desirous of stealing away all the young men of character from our family.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 4898 Courtesy :
Narandas Gandhi

94. *LETTER TO KHUSHALCHAND GANDHI*

LONDON,
October 3, 1909

RESPECTED KHUSHALBHAI,

Once Chi. Chhaganlal had asked for your permission to let Narandas also be sacrificed for Phoenix. It was, however, not granted at that time. I remember that I, too, had written in that regard. The thing is again being considered here.

There would be nothing wrong, if you spare Narandas; it will be to his good.

It is quite natural to want to have all your sons near you in your old age; nevertheless, it is also infatuation. If, by staying away from you, they can do spiritual good to themselves and if one of them stays with you, why can the others not stay away? It is pure selfishness to keep one's sons always by one's side. Our religion preaches selflessness at all times. Therefore, when an occasion arises for them to follow the path of selflessness, it is but proper, as I see it, to let them go. If you can persuade yourself to accept this view, I would request you to permit Chi. Narandas [to join Phoenix].

Of course, the first thing to be considered in this connection is whether or not Narandas himself is inclined to do so. My request holds good only if he is. I do not recall if Narandas is married or not. If he is not married and not even betrothed, he will be, in my opinion, able to do much better work. I have given deep thought to this matter; and I have lived and am living accordingly. I shall not go deeper into it here. I am only putting my ideas before you; for I think and take for granted that among all the brothers you are the one who understands me to some extent.

Chi. Chhaganlal will tell you more. Please do what you think proper after hearing him.

Respects from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 4899 Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

95. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
October 5, 1909

MY LORD,

I beg to thank you for your letter of the 4th instant.¹ I hope that you enjoyed the short holiday you were able to give yourself. I purposely refrained from wearying you with any further information on the subject. I may now, however, state that Mr. Polak has been very active in India. The public meeting in Bombay was a very great success. Since then, meetings have been held at Surat, Ahmedabad and Kathore. The Indian Press has been discussing the question at much greater length than heretofore and certainly much more intelligently. It now recognises, as it did not do before, that the Transvaal Indians are suffering not for achieving a selfish purpose, but for removing national dishonour.

I gratefully note your advice as to Lord Morley's letter, and the information you gave me as to the question² you have on the Notice Paper of the House of Lords.

I have just received a reply³ from Lord Crewe, copy of which and draft reply thereto I enclose herewith—the latter for your approval or amendment. The reply comes close on what appeared in *The Times* yesterday from its Johannesburg correspondent. Mr. Smuts spoke to the Rand Pioncers, and the correspondent giving the purport of his speech says :

Mr. Smuts did not touch on current politics, although various efforts were made to draw him on such questions as, the views of the Government on the subject of coalition, and the rumoured change in the position taken up towards the Asiatic passive resisters. The latter still remains a rumour.

Lord Crewe's letter, in my opinion, is both satisfactory and highly unsatisfactory—unsatisfactory, because Lord Crewe evidently

¹ Gandhiji had written to Lord Ampthill on September 21 and 22, but the letters are not available. The latter's reply, however, throws some light on their contents; *vide* Appendix "Lord Ampthills' Letter to Gandhiji".

² This was answered by Lord Crewe on November 16, when the House of Lords assembled for the winter session.

³ This was dated October 4; *vide* the enclosure, 5-10-1909

fears Mr. Smuts unduly : satisfactory, because negot[iation]. . .¹

I feel that Mr. Hajee Habib and I should not go away without undertaking some public activity. At first thought, this is what appears to be necessary. We should address, if it is possible, a meeting of the members of the House of Commons who would care to listen to us; we should invite assistance and co-operation from all part[ies;] we should place the position before representatives of various religious denomina-tions; we should circulate the short statement which has been approved by you, with a covering letter bringing the situation up to date; interview those editors who would permit us to see them and address a general letter to the Press.² This would probably mean our staying at least to the end of the month. I am also again considering whether it may not be wise for us to pay, subject to consent from the European and the Indian committees in Johannesburg, a brief visit to India and then return *via* London to South Africa. The first step, however, I take it, would be to send a letter to Lord Crewe, which I would do as soon as I have the draft returned by Your Lordship. With reference to the rest—at your discretion we might have a discussion³ if you could spare the time and are coming to the city, or, in the absence thereof, I would value Your Lordship's advice.

I remain, etc.,

[ENCLOSURE]

DRAFT LETTER

[LONDON,]

October 5, 1909

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
COLONIAL OFFICE, S. W.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, in connection with the British Indian question in the Transvaal. Mr. Hajee Habib and I are grateful to the Earl of Crewe for the efforts His Lordship has made and will still make in order to bring about a satisfactory settlement, but my colleague and I feel that it is time for us to inform public opinion before our departure, which we are desirous not to indefinitely prolong. I assume that the Earl of

¹ A line is missing here.

² This was released on November 5, 1909.

³ Gandhiji and Lord Amphilil met the next afternoon.

Crewe has no objection to our making public the net result of the negotiations, so far as they have progressed.¹

I have, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S.N. 5111-2

96. SPEECH AT GUJARATI MEETING

[LONDON,
October 5, 1909]

These days a new idea is in the air in India. Hindus, Muslims, Parsis—all are filled with the spirit of “my country” and “our country”. We shall not on this occasion go into the political aspects of the matter. Thinking of it from the point of view of language, it requires little effort to see that we must cultivate pride in our language before we can speak of “our country” with genuine feeling. Turning to recent examples, we find that one strong reason why the Boers enjoy *swarajya* today is that they and their children mostly use their own language. General Botha uses the Boer language even when talking to Lord Crewe. His knowledge of English can be considered to be much superior to ours, but he uses the language of his motherland as a point of honour and also with the object of setting an example. We come across many other instances of the kind, but there is no need to cite them here.

Personally, therefore, I think it a welcome development that everyone in India, young or old, is beginning to turn his attention to his own language. We find a desire being expressed that the people of India should have one single language. That may, perhaps, happen in future. Everyone will admit that such a language must be an Indian language. But that stage is yet to come. As the basis of my pride as an Indian, I must have pride in myself as a Gujarati. Otherwise we shall be left without any moorings. The leaders in every province

¹ Gandhiji substituted a second draft for this, *vide* enclosure to “Letter to Lord Amptill”, 6-10-1909. The communication finally sent, however, was different; *vide* “Letter to Under Secretary for Colonies”, 8-10-1909.

² Speaking at a meeting of Gujaratis held in London on October 5, to extend support to the third Gujarati Literary Conference which was to be held at Rajkot, Gandhiji moved the following resolution : “This meeting sends its congratulations to the third session of the Gujarati Literary Conference which is being held at Rajkot during the current month, and wishes it success.” In *Indian Opinion* the report of the speech appeared under the heading “Some thoughts on Gujarati”. For a report of the meeting, *vide* Appendix “Gujarati Meeting in London”.

have no option but to learn the language of some other province. A Gujarati can learn Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Hindi, etc., with great ease; there is nothing difficult in that. If only we make on Indian languages half the effort that we waste on English, thanks to certain notions of ours, the situation will change altogether. India's uplift is, to a very considerable extent, bound up with this. I had been under the sway of Macaulay's ideas on Indian education. Others, too, are. I have now been disillusioned. I wish that others should be. This is not the occasion, [however,] to dilate on this point. If this argument is correct, we may proceed to consider the case of Gujarati. One cannot help saying that the fact of Gujaratis using English among themselves is an indication of their degraded state. This practice has impoverished the mother tongue. We ourselves despise it and, as a result, lose our self-respect. When I think that I cannot express myself well in Gujarati but can do so in English, I tremble. What good can we expect a man to do to his country when he has grown indifferent to his own language? We cannot even dream of the possibility of the great people of Gujarat ever forgetting their own language and adopting another. If that is so, it will not be an exaggeration to say that those who give up that language are traitors to the country, that is, to their own people. It will not be incorrect to say that a language reflects the image of the people. It is, therefore, a very good sign that Gujarati, Bengali, Urdu and Marathi conferences are beginning to be held.

This fact should give much food for thought to Indians abroad. They carry a heavy responsibility. They will be the leaders of the people. It will be a sin on their part if they themselves grow indifferent to their respective languages.

I have come across men highly educated in English, writing or saying that they know English better than Gujarati. This is a matter of shame for us. What they say is in fact not true. I have no hesitation in saying that those who make such a claim cannot really write or speak correct English. That is but natural. I admit that some thoughts can be expressed with [greater] ease in English, but that, too, is a matter of shame for us. Generally speaking, however, it cannot be claimed that we are quite familiar with the idiom and grammar of the English language. On the other hand, the grammar and the idiom of Gujarati are generally familiar to every Indian as a matter of course. We shall never use in Gujarati the present tense in place of the past. But we shall come across errors in the use of tenses in English even in

the writings of Indians who have been very well educated. Errors in the use of idioms are endless. It does happen that we [sometimes] do not pronounce Gujarati correctly, that we do not distinctly enunciate syllables with more than one sound. This is a fault easy to point out, but it cannot be said for that reason that we know less Gujarati.

I also hear it said that students who come [here] to learn English must have practice in English and, if so, they cannot bother themselves with Gujarati. This is a fallacious notion. If Gujaratis talk Gujarati among themselves, their proficiency in English will not suffer. It may possibly improve, for in that case they will hear only Englishmen's English and the ear will be so trained as to be able to detect unidiomatic English immediately. Moreover, Indian students in England are not so engrossed in their studies that they cannot spare time for reading Gujarati books. If any student aspires, at the end of his studies, to serve the motherland, to take part in public life, he must find some time for the mother tongue. If English is learnt at the cost of the mother tongue, the purpose of learning English, service of the motherland, will be lost. Such a result will only go to prove that there is no use in learning English. If an operation is likely to lead to the patient's death, everyone will admit that it had better not be undertaken.

Furthermore, Gujarati is not a language of little worth. No limits can be placed to the growth of a language that has been served by poets like Narasinh Mehta¹, Akha Bhagat² and Dayaram³ and which they have found it possible to develop, a language spoken by followers of three great religions of the world—Hinduism, Islam and Zoroastrianism. The same thought can sometime be expressed in Gujarati in three different ways. He whom the Parsis call *Khuda*, Muslims *Allah-Tala*, Hindus *Ishvar*, is referred to in English by a single word, God. The Gujarati which a Muslim writes, will reflect traces of Arabic and the Persian of Sheikh Saadi⁴; the Parsi's Gujarati will reveal the influence of Zoroaster's Zend and the Gujarati of a Hindu that of Sanskrit. Hindus and Muslims serve all the languages of India, but the Parsis, so to say, were sent by *Khuda* from

¹ (1414-79); saint-poet of Gujarat; author of Gandhiji's favourite hymn; *Vaishnav jan to tene kahiye*

² Metaphysical poet of the 17th century, famed for his satire; vedantist and rationalist

³ (1777-1853); Vaishnav poet; author of numerous lyrical compositions popular all over Gujarat

⁴ (c. 1184-1292); Persian poet

Iran exclusively for the service of Gujarati. Their spirit of adventure can be of great benefit to the Gujarati language. Several Gujarati newspapers are owned by them. They should, therefore, exercise great care to ensure the progress of Gujarati. There is only one request to be made to them, “Please do not murder what has now become your mother tongue and which you can never give up.” Parsi writers express excellent ideas in simple language, but they behave as though they were determined to spite the language in respect of pronunciation and spelling. This is a matter for regret. All the Gujaratis should think about this. On deep reflection, one will be forced to admit that all the three—Hindus, Muslims and Parsis, go their different ways. They seem to be concerned only with their own interests. Muslims have not shown much interest in education so far, and have not, therefore, left their impress on Gujarati; but now they are taking to education. Hindus and Parsis must make a big effort to see that they do. If they become educated, Gujarati may receive a powerful impetus from them.

To the Conference at Rajkot I make this humble request, that its leaders should appoint a standing committee of Hindus, Muslims and Parsis proficient in the language and charge the committee with the duty of watching the trends in the Gujarati writings of all the three communities and of offering advice to the writers. It should also be possible for writers with ideas to have their writings corrected through this committee free of cost.

To the Indians in England I say that—while here, we must not show indifference to this language which is our heritage, but cultivate greater love for it, taking a lesson from the British. If they make it a point to use their own ancestral language in writing or speaking to one another, that will ensure its quicker development. India will make progress, in consequence, and they will be deemed to have discharged their duty. With a little exercise of thought they will find this effort very easy.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 20-11-1909

97. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]

October 6, 1909

MY LORD,

I enclose herewith the draft letter to Sir Francis Hopwood. As nothing can be lost by sending a letter as per draft, it is not of much moment whether that letter or the letter as per draft¹ sent yesterday, is forwarded. But the more I think [of] the matter, the more I feel that we will not get any further satisfaction at the present moment, and that the ambiguity is deliberate and diplomatic, and, therefore, it does not admit of being cleared up. To me, who am so inexperienced in high politics and diplomacy, the draft enclosed in yesterday's letter to Your Lordship, appeals as the more correct letter to be sent, after an addition to it sketching roughly the plan of campaign to be followed here and the intended visit to India. However, I am entirely in Your Lordship's hands, and would be guided by the advice you will kindly give.²

I remain, etc.,

[ENCLOSURE]

DRAFT LETTER

[LONDON,]

October 6, 1909

SIR FRANCIS J. G. HOPWOOD
COLONIAL OFFICE, S. W.

SIR,

With reference to the letter addressed to me over your signature, dated the 4th October, No. 31649—I venture to address you

¹ Vide "Letter to Lord Ampthill", 5-10-1909

² Acknowledging Gandhiji's letters of October 5 and 6, Lord Ampthill wrote on October 7 : ". . . I note that on further reflection you are not inclined to adopt the more elaborate procedure which I then suggested. I dare say that your instinct is quite right and there is, of course, ample reason for thinking that in present circumstances Lord Crewe will not be able, even if he were inclined, to pay much attention to your business. In these circumstances I should be very sorry to interfere with your discretion and I agree with you that you cannot go wrong if you write as you first intended, with the addition of a brief explanation of the methods by which you propose to inform the public."

informally, [in ord]er to save time and in order to ascertain, if I may, the [exac]t meaning of the communication. As you are fully aware of the negotiations that have proceeded in connection with the British Indian question in the Transvaal, I take the liberty of asking for my colleague, Mr. Hajee Habib, and myself an informal interview.

The difficulty that faces us is this. The letter referred to by me says :

The Colonial Government must first decide. . . Whether they are prepared to introduce legislation on the lines proposed by Mr. Smuts.

As reference is made to my attitude at the interview with the Earl of Crewe, I do not know whether the legislation proposed by Mr. Smuts is on the basis suggested by me at the interview, or whether it is on the basis proposed by Mr. Smuts before he embarked for South Africa. As you are aware, there is a fundamental difference between the Indian proposal submitted by me, and what Mr. Smuts was prepared to give. It will be admitted it is of the greatest importance to my colleague and myself to know the exact position taken up by Mr. Smuts after His Lordship's cable, which evidently was sent after the interview in question.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5114-5

98. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]

October 6, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your letter from Kathore. Can you not dismiss me from your conversations, at least with me? I think, for the sake of the cause, too, you should leave me out of consideration except where you may find it necessary to bring me in. I know you will retort that you never unnecessarily discuss me, but that is really not so. Your enthusiasm at times, as you will admit, does carry you away. You will find that, if you persist there will be a reaction, not against me, which would be quite bearable, but against the cause, which you at any rate will not like. I had to speak somewhat like this to Mr. Gokhale also, when I was with him in Calcutta¹ and when he heaped upon me praise that I

¹ Gandhiji had stayed with Gokhale for about a month, after the Indian National Congress session, in 1901. *Vide An Autobiography*, Part III, Chs. XVII to XIX.

thought was excessive. Indeed, I spoke to him somewhat bitterly.

I am glad that the life over there does not appear to you to be strange. I never expected it would. You had already sufficiently pictured it in your imagination.

The cuttings received this week are very meagre. Whoever is responsible has not done his duty. I have not even the *Times of India* report nor the *Bombay Gazette*. I never received a report of the ladies' meeting you addressed,¹ nor the verses composed in your honour. I want badly to see the original.

I am dictating this letter after the receipt of Lord Crewe's reply, of which by and by. And yet I wish to say that our friends over there, who are so despondent in spite of enthusiastic meetings, have evidently either little faith in the righteousness of our cause, or in the right prevailing in the end, and by the end I do not mean the dim and distant future, but within a measurable time, the measure being the measure of effort put forth. Can you not make them see that the real success lies in the effort itself, which in our case is passive resistance, that we are giving ourselves the finest type of education, better than any university education, that the more prolonged the struggle is, the better will the people be when the end comes, and the better prepared for deserving and procuring further reforms? If the meetings are held there by the leaders without faith in the cause, or in their efficacy, they will inevitably fall flat. They may appear to be enthusiastic, but the undercurrent, which the leaders themselves will have seen, will not be missed by the Government either. Can you not make them see that, although we have no real freedom in India, that is no reason why the Transvaal Indians—if they are worthy of their salt—should not be able to make good their position and why they should not receive from Indians in India that support to which they are entitled? Will they not see that the effort in the Transvaal and the corresponding activity in India must in their very nature bring India nearer her goal, and that, by means of the purest type? Without being impertinent, can we not show to them that no part of the struggle has been idealised in India as the Transvaal one has? Every reform that the Congress has been asking for is intended to bring forth some tangible and worldly good, but not purely and simply that form of good which simply adds to the national manhood, without any visible

¹ On September 15, Polak spoke at a meeting of women in Bombay on "Condition and Status of Indian Women in South Africa".

signs. If a handful of the Transvaal Indians are determined to sacrifice themselves for the honour of India, why will not India rise to the occasion and place this thing in the forefront of its programme? Leaders of India can and ought to place the question boldly either in India or the Colonies. The latter cannot with impunity hurl insult at India and yet pretend to own the Union Jack. We know that the theoreticalequality of a very limited type that we are fighting for is of no immediate good. That, to you and to me, is all the greater reason for putting forth the best that is in us. Will the leaders over there not see it? Will they not see that, in fighting the battle, we are presenting the Indian Motherland with a disciplined army of the future; an army that will be able to give a good account of itself against any amount of brute force that may be matched against it? Let the leaders there write to us through the Chairman of the British Indian Association, asking us to go on with the fight and giving us their blessing.

I am speaking on Friday to the Emerson Club on the "Ethics of Passive Resistance",¹ and on Wednesday the 13th to the Peace and Arbitration Society, Hampstead, on "East and West".²

You will have received Nagappen's photograph. I wish you could get the papers there to reproduce it. Will you please write to the *Indian Review* and other papers in Madras, to take it up. I think I told you that I suggested to our people in Johannesburg to found a Nagappen Scholarship. If there is anybody in Bombay or in Madras who would do so, it would be very striking. Let them realise that a youth of 20, of unblemished character, has died for the sake of his country.

Mr. Doke's book will probably be in my hands next week. Mr. Cooper³ promised a few copies even on Saturday.

On Friday came off the function in honour of Mr. Ali Imam. Quite unexpectedly, a toast was drunk for the South African deputations. Sir Mancherjee had charge of it and he spoke grandly. There is no denying the fact that he realises the full significance of the struggle. In replying⁴, I gently took Mr. Ali Imam to task for not having referred to the South African question in his speech, and

¹ Vide "Speech at Emerson Club", 8-10-1909

² Vide "Speech at Hampstead", 13-10-1909

³ Nasarwanji M. Cooper, editor of the *Indian Chronicle*, London, published Doke's biography of Gandhiji.

⁴ Vide "London", After 1-10-1909

appealed to the Indian members of the Council that they should demand redress, and if the Indian Council refused to move, they should give up their posts. The Mohammedan member of the Council was present at the function. Mr. Ali Imam thereupon got up and explained why he had not referred to the South African question, saying that it was too vast to be dealt with among many other subjects, but that he had the question at heart and that he would do all he could in India. There was an at-home to him yesterday. I was unable to go as I had to be at a Gujarati Literature Encouragement meeting, but he told Maud that, if you were anywhere near Calcutta, he would ask you to be his guest. Mr. Ali Imam, let me tell you, is a very genial man, and whenever you are on that side, if he makes the offer to you, you should stay with him. You will be on the look-out for him; he will be leaving for India this month.

Mr. Kaikobad Cowasjee Dinshaw and Mrs. Dinshaw left last Saturday. They will be in Bombay by the same mail that will take this letters. Mr. Petit knows him. You may meet his people at Zanzibar. Mrs. Dinshaw has given me a letter¹ addressed to the Editor of *Indian Opinion* in Gujarati, sympathising with us and encouraging the women who are suffering. Did I also tell you that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald² should be there by this time? Miss Winterbottom speaks highly of him as a very earnest man. He was a member of one of the Ethical Societies. I dare say you will make it a point to see him.

If you have not written short notes to Parsee Rustomjee, Randeri, Sorabjee, Vyas, Nanalal, Cama, Daud Mohamed, Ravikrishna, Medh., . . .³, Harilal, Chettiar and others, please do.

Continued 7-10-1909

From the copies of various letters and draft letters you will see how the position stands. By the time this is in your hands, you will have received a cablegram⁴ also from me. Lord Crewe's reply is as I have described it in my letter to Lord Ampthill.⁵ One thing is now certain and that is that the struggle is prolonged. I am looking forward to it. My only regret is that, instead of being in the Transvaal,

¹ This was published in the issue dated 23-10-1909.

² (1866-1937); a leading member of the Labour Party; Prime Minister of England, 1924, 1929-35

³ Here the original is damaged and the name indecipherable.

⁴ This is not available.

⁵ Vide "Letter to Lord Ampthill", 6-10-1909

I am here. There was a meeting of the Committee yesterday, principally to meet the Natal delegates, but the Transvaal question must crop up wherever there is a discussion on South Africa. Lord Ampthill happened to be there; he had not seen my letter. I sketched the programme to him and he approved of it entirely so that there will be a distribution of the statement, probably a meeting of the members of the House of Commons, and such other things. This will take fully three weeks. Before the work is taken up, I have to wait for Lord Ampthill's approval of one draft letter or the other, then to forward it and then wait for a reply. This may mean a loss of one precious week. The greatest question is, however, the proposed Indian visit. In reality I should not go to India at all. My place is in the Transvaal, but the reasoning that enabled me to come here is the reasoning that is applicable to the visit to India. I feel sure, however, that I must not come to India, if at all, without Mr. Hajee Habib. He realises the importance of the Indian visit, but he has some important business of his own in the Transvaal. He assures me that he sees the inwardness of the struggle, and he wants to take part in it fully in the Transvaal also. If, then, he must return to South Africa, I too must do likewise. The odds, therefore, are that there will be no visit to India. Lord Ampthill himself (this is quite confidential) seems to lay great stress upon the proposed visit to India. Sir Muncherjee, who was present at the Committee meeting yesterday, saw the report of the Bombay meeting as published in *Sanj Vartman*. He was grieved that there was no "anna" subscription. He thinks that there should be some workers who will make it their business to collect an anna subscription or a pice subscription,¹ and that the papers there should give the widest publicity to these collections. It is undoubtedly a fine method of education, but for that we want an army of workers. If you can get them, it is worth doing. The workers may be those who have South African experience. They need not be very many. If you can get about five in each centre, it is quite enough. Sir Muncherjee also thinks that the stopping of recruiting² should take place unofficially also; that we should have speakers going to the places where recruiting agents are sent, and these men should tell the would be

¹ Gandhiji had suggested a pice fund; *vide* "Cable to H.S.L. Polak" 25-8-1909. The pice subscription, known as "paisa-fund", originally sponsored by Lokamanya Tilak, had by this time become almost an institution in the Bombay province. The fund was used for the promotion of *swadeshi*.

² Of indentured labourers for Natal

emigrants that they should not indenture for Natal. This work you can only discuss in Calcutta and Madras. At both these places, I trust, you will make it a point to see the Immigration Depots, meet even the officials, and study the system and come in touch, if possible, with the recruiting agents. So you see that your work there is becoming more and more important, and that the centre of gravitation is shifting to India. No effective work can be or is to be done here without the fire of passive resistance being kept alive in the Transvaal, and there being a tangible response to it in India. If Chhaganlal is prepared to come, it may be advisable—after he has travelled with you a bit—for him to come over here even before March and brave the cold weather. As a matter of fact, Indians do not feel the severity of their first winter in England, and so it may be with Chhaganlal. With Ritch withdrawn—as I hope he will be—from here, Chhaganlal will be able to do some useful work. Lord Ampthill will need somebody who can give him information on points, as they may arise from time to time.

Will you please send important cuttings, both Gujarati and English, to Dr. Mehta also?

I have told you that Mr. Badat, of the Natal deputation, left some time ago. Mr. Bayat, seeing that really there is nothing to be done here is leaving next Saturday, that is the same day as this letter. Mr. Anglia, I understand, is staying as long as we do.

I send you copy of letter I have received this morning from Lord Ampthill. The first draft letter¹ will therefore be sent to the Earl of Crewe.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5113 and 5152a

¹ *Vide* enclosure to “Letter to Lord Ampthill”, 5-10-1909

99. DEPUTATION NOTES [-XIV]

[Before *October 8, 1909*]

I hope my giving indefinite news every week will not dishearten any Indian.

“There’s no help like self-help.” One must learn this saying by heart. I am sure of one thing at least, that the continued delay must be blamed entirely on us. No one must believe that the Government will not notice our weakness. We, of course, know our strong points. But one feels as though we were trying to conceal our weakness. We should give no cause for such a feeling. We have now grown used to imprisonment.

I was, personally, very happy to read that Mr. Nanalal Shah was deported once again and, immediately thereafter, re-arrested. I congratulate him. We must understand once for all that it is far better to die in prison than to be happy outside.

I have an invitation from the Union of Ethical Societies to speak at the Emerson Club.¹ It will not be a political speech. The subject is limited to “The Meaning of Satyagraha”. But it will make a reference to our struggle. There is also a proposal for another speech of the same kind.²

I went to see Mr. Meyer, taking advantage of my meeting with him in Johannesburg. He has also agreed to help, should there be an unfavourable reply from Lord Crewe. A similar assurance has been given by Dr. Clifford, a prominent clergyman here, who is an acquaintance of Mr. Doke’s.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 30-10-1909

¹ This was on October 8; *vide* “Speech at Emerson Club”, 8-10-1909

² *Vide* “Speech at Hampstead”, 13-10-1909

100. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

[LONDON,]
October 8, 1909

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, in connection with the British Indian question in the Transvaal. The last portion of the letter is not quite clear to my colleague and myself. The difficulty that faces us is this. The letter under reply says :

The Colonial Government must first decide . . . whether they are prepared to introduce legislation on the lines proposed by Mr. Smuts.

I do not know whether the legislation proposed by Mr. Smuts is on the basis suggested by me at the interview of the 16th ultimo, or whether it is on the basis proposed by Mr. Smuts before he embarked for South Africa. There is a fundamental difference between the proposal submitted by me and what Mr. Smuts prepared to give. It will be admitted it is of the greatest importance to my colleague and me to know the exact position taken up by Mr. Smuts after His Lordship's cable, which evidently was sent after the interview in question.

We recognise that the negotiations will now take some time before the final result is known. We are, however, desirous not to indefinitely prolong our stay in this country. My colleague and I, therefore, feel that it is time for us to inform public opinion before our departure. In wanting to do so, we have no desire to embarrass the Earl of Crewe. Indeed, we are grateful to His Lordship for the efforts he has made, and will still make, in order to bring about a satisfactory settlement. In tak-ing up public activity we only wish to strengthen His Lordship's hands, and to be able to render a satisfactory account of our mission to our countrymen in South Africa. We propose to interview those leaders of public opinion who are likely to be interested in our troubles; if possible to address meetings of representative men; to circulate a short statement in the Press, etc., and, if we receive advice from the European and the Indian Committees at Johannesburg, and if time permits, to pay a visit to India, and to give to the Indian public an account of our mission here.

I assume that the Earl of Crewe has no objection to our making

public the net result of the negotiations, so far as they have progressed.

May I request an early reply?

I remain, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records : 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S.N. 5119

*101. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
LORD MORLEY*

[LONDON,

October 8, 1909]

SIR,

I beg to enclose herewith a copy of the last letter from the Earl of Crewe and the reply¹ thereto, in connection with the Transvaal British Indian question, for Lord Morley's information.

I remain, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5118

102. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]

October 8, 1909

MY LORD,

I am obliged to Your Lordship for your letter² As you have thrown the sole responsibility on my shoulders, I have adopted the middle course and combined the two letters into one. I enclose herewith copy of the letter as it has gone forward.³ I trust it will meet with Your Lordship's approval.⁴ In the meantime, the order is being

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

² This was dated October 7.

³ *Vide*, "Letter to Under Secretary for Colonies", 8-10-1909

⁴ Lord Amphill, in his reply of October 9, denied that he had thrown "the whole responsibility" on Gandhiji's shoulders for his course of action. He considered that the letter sent to the Colonial Office could not be easily improved upon. "It seems to me to be admirably expressed and it includes everything so that I shall be greatly disappointed if you do not receive a satisfactory reply."

sent to the printers to strike off 2,000 copies of the statement.¹

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5120

103. LETTER TO "GUJARATI PUNCH"

[LONDON,]

October 8, 1909

TO
THE EDITOR
GUJARATI PUNCH
[BOMBAY]

SIR,

You have requested me to write something for the Special Diwali Number.

My life is taken up at present by one single thing—the life-and-death struggle for the fulfilment of the pledge taken by the Indians living in the Transvaal in South Africa. The pledge was taken by thousands of poor Indians—Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Pubjabis, Bengalis, Madrasis, Gujaratis and others—to uphold India's honour. A tiny country like the Transvaal refuses entry even to a person like the Dada² of India, a country as vast as the ocean. The few Indians here, illiterate traders, hawkers and labourers, cannot, will not, bear this insult. To obliterate it, to uphold their religion, be it Hinduism or Islam or Zoroastrianism (for every religion teaches us that failure to honour a pledge taken is a violation of one's religion), 2,580 persons out of a total Indian population of 13,000 in the Transvaal have already suffered imprisonment. Even now many of them are in gaol, and many will go to gaol in future. I must say that the gaol here is a terrible place. We do not get there the food that we are used to, and are classified with the Kaffirs. Many strong-minded Indian women, the so-called weaker sex, bear separation from their husbands in order that the latter may carry on the fight. Some of them, along with their children, go starving. Many of those who suffer thus are Gujaratis, for Hindus and Muslims from Gujarat are in a majority [among the Indians] in this land.

¹ *Vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", 16-7-1909.

² Dadabhai Naoroji

If this letter is published, the readers of the *Gujarati Punch* must ask themselves on this festival of Diwali what they propose to do for the Transvaal Indians. There will be a Diwali, or *Id*, or Pateti for them only when they return from the battle-field¹ victorious.

Yours etc.,

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Egypt-no Uddharak athawa Mustafa Kamel Pasha-nu Jivan Charitra tatha Bija Lekho

104. SPEECH AT EMERSON CLUB²

[LONDON,
October 8, 1909]

War with all its glorification of brute force is essentially a degrading thing. It demoralizes those who are trained for it. It brutalizes men of naturally gentle character. It outrages every beautiful canon of morality. Its path of glory is foul with the passions of lust, and red with the blood of murder. This is not the pathway to our goal. The grandest aid to development of strong, pure, beautiful character which is our aim, is the endurance of suffering. Self-restraint, unselfishness, patience, gentleness, these are the flowers which spring beneath the feet of those who accept, but refuse to impose, suffering, and the grim prisons of Johannesburg, Pretoria, Heidelberg and Volksrust are like the four gateways to this garden of God.

Indian Opinion, 12-2-1910

¹ The original has a word meaning “army” which appears to be a misprint for another meaning “battle-field”

² This is an extract from a report of Gandhiji’s speech on the “Ethics of Passive Resistance” delivered at the Club. It was reproduced in *Indian Opinion* from the *Indian Review*, November 1909. In a dispatch from its London correspondent, the *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, reported that the meeting was held on the premises of the Reform Club to accommodate the large audience.

105. DEPUTATION NOTES [–XV]

[After *October 8, 1909*]

This time I am in a position to give some more news, but I am afraid it is not very cheering. Lord Crewe has written to say that he has no further information to give “for the present”, and that something will be known after General Smuts has had a discussion with the other members of his Cabinet. There is no information as to what General Smuts will propose to the Cabinet. If the proposal follows Lord Crewe’s cable, that will mean our demand. If he proposes what is in his mind, that will mean the repeal of the Act and admission of a limited number of educated men as a matter of favour but on a permanent basis. If it is this latter proposal which he is thinking of presenting for consideration, we can be sure it will lead to nothing. It will be all right if he presents our demand. But this letter has a deeper significance which must be grasped by every Indian. It is this, that General Smuts wants to gain time by putting forward this excuse, so that in the interval he can break the spirit of the satyagrahis. He would like to concede our demand only if his efforts failed. The satyagrahis should understand this underlying motive of his and keep up the highest spirit. They cannot afford to keep silent or to show any weakness.

This reply of Lord Crewe’s proves that it is not in England that we shall find the means for the solution [of our problems]; we have it in our own hands. If we have failed to gain our demands so far, it is because we have not employed that means, our soul-force, in full measure.

It is not enough that people have gone to gaol. I have often said that we should have no mental reservations. We should place no limit on our self-sacrifice. Rather, we must be prepared to bear every hardship that we may encounter. If we do not, we shall lose the fight. One should not feel as though going to gaol once, or maybe ten times, was all that one could do. We ought to be ready to welcome any suffering, whether imprisonment or death. I hope, therefore, that all the saytyagrahis will remain perfectly steadfast and fill the gaols. Every Indian must remember that all over India they are singing praises of the epic struggle in the Transvaal. Polak has been rousing India with his speeches. The newspapers are full of our struggle. I

hope that Indians will bear in mind all this and not retreat even an inch—nor show weakness. In England, too, they say the same thing, that the Transvaal Indians have put up a most wonderful show, that they are men who will not accept defeat. Let it be remembered that they are fighting the battle for the whole of South Africa.

Lord Crewe's letter referred to above shows that the deputation can no longer continue to work merely in private. It is necessary now to come out in the open. We have, accordingly, requested Lord Crewe's permission to place the entire matter before the public.¹ That will be done when the permission is received. Thereafter, we shall place the facts before the members of the House of Commons, if they agree to give us a hearing. We shall have the matter discussed in newspapers and also hold such meetings as may be possible.

A very important question facing us is whether or not we should both pay a flying visit to India. On this point, our advisers are of the view that it will be the right thing to do. There are reasons to believe that it will be profitable to pay such a visit.

My own view is that it is in the Transvaal that our main work lies, and even there—in its gaols. There is but one consideration against this. Our coming here this time was an admission of weakness; [we came] in the hope that an early solution could be found. The very reasons which brought us here will justify our going to India. However, there are many other considerations. A visit to India will delay our return to South Africa. As I said above, the work in India will take up much time. We can leave for India after October 30. We shall need about a month there, and another for the journey. By that time, it will be December, and we can return from here at the end of that month. If there is no solution, even after all this, we shall be where we were. The simplest course, instead, appears to be to drop the idea of a visit to India. However, it is necessary that the suggestion which has been discussed here should be placed before everyone. Besides, this extension will involve some expenditure. Personally, I cannot express definite view. If I am asked to state my own view simply as a satyagrahi, I would say that we should immediately return to the Transvaal.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 6-11-1909

¹ Vide "Letter to Under-Secretary for Colonies", 8-10-1909

106. LONDON

[After October 8, 1909]

NATAL DEPUTATION

A special meeting of the [South Africa British Indian] Committee was called to meet the Natal deputation. It took place on Wednesday last and was attended by Lord Ampthill, Sir Raymond West, Mr. Thornton, Sir Muncherji Bhownaggee, Mr. Polak and Mr. Ritch. Mr. Anglia acquainted Sir Raymond with the whole position. Lord Ampthill asked for all the documents. He will go through them himself. After reading Lord Crewe's reply, he felt that there was nothing more to be done.

Mr. Anglia has placed all the facts before the editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, London¹. Lord Crewe has replied that the matter is receiving the attention of both Lord Morley and himself. Even the fact that he has replied to say that he is thinking about the Natal problem shows that he has been influenced by [events in] the Transvaal. He is afraid lest Natal, too, should resort to satyagraha.

Mr. Amod Bhayat is returning by the same ship which will carry this letter. He thinks no more remains to be done here. Mr. Anglia, it appears, will be here as long as the Transvaal deputation remains. Probably Mr. Abdul Caadir will do the same.

"ETHICS OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE"

Mr. Gandhi gave a lecture under this title on Friday evening to members of the Union of Ethical Societies at Emerson Club.² Miss Winterbottom took the chair on the occasion. Many Indians were present. They included Sir Muncherji, Mr. Pal, Mr. Parikh and others. Miss Joshi and Mrs. Dube had also turned up. The burden of Mr. Gandhi's speech was that soul force is far superior to brute force, and that it is invincible. Afterwards, a number of questions were answered. The Transvaal problem was raised and everyone was moved by the tale of our sufferings. There was a speech by Mr. Pal, in which he argued that soul force should be backed by physical force. Mr. Gandhi replied that, in that case it would not deserve the name of soul

¹ The original has "Lucknow", an obvious misprint.

² Vide "Speech at Emerson Club", 8-10-1909

force. There were speeches by Mrs. Tedman and Mrs. Polak. Mr. Ritch also spoke.

SUFFRAGETTE FUNCTION

On the 7th there was a very big gathering of suffragettes in a large hall called Albert Hall. It was attended by hundreds of women. There were speeches by Mrs. Pankhurst and others. Enthusiasm ran so high that a sum of about £3,000 in cash was received on the spot in aid of the struggle. About four of them paid £250 each. In all, the women have collected £51,000 by now. Their journal has a weekly circulation of about 50,000. They appeared determined to fight till death. Leaving aside their use of physical force, they deserve to be emulated for their spirit, their enthusiasm and their intelligence. Their organisation is unrivalled by men. They have, it may be said, a huge army of volunteers. There is no limit to their resourcefulness. They go through extreme suffering. Many a woman has allowed herself to be reduced to poverty for the sake of franchise. Many have given up their jobs. This is no ordinary fight. It will be enough if the Indians follow their example. Only, we should avoid imitating them in their use of physical force. We may be sure that no good will come out of it.

MY HOPE

Mr. Amod Bhayat is returning with a full knowledge of all this. He has been convinced that the Transvaal campaign has been of benefit to Natal as well. He has also been able to see that even the people here get no justice by making petitions. Everyone knows that a petition carries no weight. I hope, therefore, that after returning there, Mr. Amod Bhayat will take to satyagraha. In any case, he has promised to help the satyagraha campaign in the Transvaal.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 6-11-1909

107. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI¹

[LONDON,]²

October 12, 1909

CHI. MANILAL,

The service you are rendering to Mr. West and others is the best study for you. He who does his duty is all the while studying. You say that you had to leave your studies; but it is not so. You are certainly studying when you are serving. It would be correct to say that you had to give up reading books. There is no harm in thus leaving studies. One can get academic education later on, one cannot say that one will get an opportunity of serving others later on. . . .³ Let this be inscribed in your heart that, since your mind is pure, you will not fall ill while serving others. And even if you fall ill, I will not worry. You and I, all of us, will achieve perfection only by being moulded in this manner. Learning to live a good life is in itself education. All else is useless.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

Gandhiji-na Patro

108. SPEECH AT HAMPSTEAD⁴

[LONDON,

October 13, 1909]

Mr. Gandhi said that the question of East and West presented a vast and complex problem. He had had 18 years' experience of contact between East and West and had endeavoured to study the question, and he felt that he might give an audience such as the present one the results of his observations. As he thought of the subject,

¹ The first part of the letter seems to have been omitted in *Gandhiji-na Patro*, the Gujarati collection from which it has been taken.

² The place of writing given in the source is "Johannesburg" which is evidently wrong as Gandhiji was, at the time, in England.

³ Some words have been omitted here.

⁴ Gandhiji spoke on "East and West" at a meeting held under the auspices of the Hampstead Peace and Arbitration Society at the Friends' Meeting House. C. E. Maurice presided.

his heart sank within him. He would have to say many things which would seem repugnant to his audience, and use hard words. He would also have to speak against a system under which he had been brought up. He hoped they would bear with him if he hurt their feelings. He would have to break many idols which he and his countrymen had worshipped, and which his audience may have worshipped. He then referred to the lines in Kipling's poem, that "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet", and said he considered that doctrine to be a doctrine of despair, and inconsistent with the evolution of humanity. He felt it utterly impossible to accept a doctrine of that nature. Another English poet, Tennyson, had in his "Vision" clearly foretold the union between East and West and it was because he (the lecturer) believed in that vision that he had cast in his lot with the people of South Africa, who were living there in very great difficulties. It was because he thought it possible for the two peoples to live together in perfect equality that he found himself in South Africa. If he had believed in Kipling's doctrine, he would never have lived there. There had been individual instances of English and Indian people living together under the same rule without a jarring note, and what was true of individuals could be made true of nations. To a certain extent it was true that there was no meeting place between civilizations. The barriers between the Japanese and the Europeans were daily vanishing, because the Japanese assimilated Western civilization. It seemed to him that the chief characteristic of modern civilization [was that it] worshipped the body more than the spirit, and gave everything for the glorifying of the body. Their railways, telegraphs and telephones, did they tend to help them forward to a moral elevation? When he cast his eyes upon India, what was represented there today under British rule? Modern civilization ruled India. What had it done? He hoped he would not shock his hearers when he said that civilization had done no good to India. There was there a network of railways and telegraphs and telephones; we had given them a Calcutta, a Madras, a Bombay, a Lahore and a Benares—these were symbols of slavery rather than of freedom. He noticed that these modern travelling facilities had reduced their holy places to unholy places. He could picture to himself Benares of old, before there was a mad rush of civilization, and he had seen the Benares of today with his own eyes, an unholy city. He saw the same thing here as in India. The mad activity had unhinged us and, although he was living under the system, it seemed to him desirable that he should speak to them in that strain. He knew it was impossible for the two peoples in India to live together until the British changed their ways. We had offended the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus by sport in their sacred places. Unless this mad rush was changed, a calamity must come. One way would be for them to adopt modern civilization; but far be it from him to say that they should ever do so. India would then be the football of the world, and the two nations would be flying at each other. India was not yet lost, but had been immersed in lethargy. There were many things which could not be understood, for which we must be patient;

but one thing was certain, and that was that, so long as this mad rush lasted, with its glorification of the body, the soul within, which was imperishable, must languish.

India, 22-10-1909

109. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]

October 14, 1909

MY LORD,

A cablegram has just been received from Johannesburg, which says :

Smuts tells newspapers he awaits Secretary State's answer regarding his proposals.

My interpretation of this cable is that the proposals referred to in Lord Crewe's letter to which I have sent a reply are Mr. Smuts' original proposals, and that he is waiting to know whether, if those proposals are carried out, passive resistance will cease. There is no reply yet from Lord Crewe.¹ It is evident to me that, if Lord Crewe and Lord Morley were to do their duty, this is just the psychological moment. When Mr. Smuts made his statement to Reuter's agent at Southampton before embarking for South Africa, he spoke light-heartedly and confidently, thinking that there was no fight left in the passive resisters. It is evident that he has been disillusioned on reaching Pretoria, and he, therefore, wants to know whether we here are prepared to advise acceptance of his proposals and cessation of passive resistance. Cessation, unless the theoretical right is granted, is impossible. Mr. Doke, in a letter to me, says that passive resisters have never been so strong as they were when his letter left South Africa.

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

From a photostat of the handwritten office copy : S. N. 5125

¹ Gandhiji received a reply the next day; *vide* "Letter to Under Secretary for Colonies", 19-10-1909.

110. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
October 14, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your cable from Madras. I am sorry Mr. Doke's book is not yet ready. I have just got two advance copies, but I suppose it is not necessary for me to send one out to you. As soon as the copies are ready, I shall ask Mr. Cooper to send 250 to Mr. Natesan.

I enclose herewith cutting from *The Times* reporting the Madras meeting¹. You will see also a cablegram from Pretoria. I do not know what it means. Surely, negotiations have gone on after Smuts' departure. However, we have to work as if they have fallen through. The report of the Indian Immigration Commission is good at the present juncture. I think that when you are in Calcutta, an attempt should be made to have an All-India deputation to wait on Lord Minto². You may get Sir Charles Turner to join you, though I can well imagine your difficulty, but whether he does or not, there would be no difficulty in having the deputation, and a representative may travel from Madras, Bombay, Allahabad, Lahore, etc. I am writing with reference to your appointment as a delegate to the Congress and [the] Mahomedan Conference. They will be held, I suppose, about the same time, but [if] it is the same day, you will have to use your discretion whether you will go to the Mahomedan Conference or whether you will go to the Congress. Along passive resistance lines, it appears to me that the Mahomedan Conference will be the best. I take it, too, that you will go to Aligarh.

I am still creeping. I had thought that there would be a letter from Lord Crewe in reply to mine at once, but up to the time of dictating this (Thursday Morning) there is none, and until his authority for publishing the net result of the negotiations is received, I feel that nothing can be done. It is now problematical whether, even if a reply is received this week from him, I can finish the work of education before the 30th inst. As you will be seeing practically the whole of India—a privilege I have myself not yet been able to enjoy—I think I should jot down the definite conclusions to which I

¹ This was held on October 11.

² (1845-1914); Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1905-10

have almost arrived after more matured observations made here.¹

The thing was brewing in my mind, but there was no certain clear light. The heart and brain became more active after I accepted the invitation of the Peace and Arbitration Society to speak to them on "East and West."² It came off last night. I think this meeting was a splendid success; they were earnest folk, but some insolent questions were put on the South African situation. You will be surprised to learn that even in Hampstead there were men enough to stand up for the tragedy in South Africa, and to talk all the claptrap about the Indian trader being a canker, and what not. A dear old lady got up and said that I had uttered disloyal sentiments and, just as we have to deal with idolaters in South Africa who would think of and cling to form and superficiality as in the case of finger-impressions, so had I last night in the Friends' Meeting House. My main purpose was, in all the questions that were addressed to me, forgotten, and details were warmly taken up and discussed. The following are the conclusions :

- (1) There is no impassable barrier between East and West.
- (2) There is no such thing as Western or European civilization, but there is a modern civilization, which is purely material.
- (3) The people of Europe, before they were touched by modern civilization, had much in common with the people of the East; anyhow, the people of India and, even today, Europeans who are not touched by modern civilization are far better able to mix with the Indians than the offspring of that civilization.
- (4) It is not the British people who are ruling India, but it is modern civilization, through its railways, telegraphs, telephones, and almost every invention which has been claimed to be a triumph of civilization.
- (5) Bombay, Calcutta and the other chief cities of India are the real plague spots.
- (6) If British rule was replaced tomorrow by Indian rule based on modern methods, India would be no better, except that she would be able then to retain some of the money that is drained away to England, but, then, Indians would only become a second or fifth

¹ In the office copy from the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, two pages are missing here. These have been supplied from a handwritten copy in the Gokhale papers with the Servants of India Society, Poona and collated with the part of the letter given in *M. K. Gandhi and the South African Indian Problem* by Dr. P. J. Mehta.

² Vide "Speech at Hampstead", 13-10-1909.

edition of Europe or America.

(7) East and West can only and really meet when the West has thrown overboard modern civilization, almost in its entirety. They can also seemingly meet when East has also adopted modern civilization. But that meeting would be an armed truce, even as it is between, say, Germany and England, both of which nations are living in the Hall of Death in order to avoid being devoured, the one by the other.

(8) It is simply impertinence for any man or any body of men to begin or contemplate reform of the whole world. To attempt to do so by means of highly artificial and speedy locomotion is to attempt the impossible.

(9) Increase of material comforts, it may be generally laid down, does not in any way whatsoever conduce to moral growth.

(10) Medical science is the concentrated essence of Black Magic. Quackery is infinitely preferable to what passes for high medical skill.

(11) Hospitals are the instruments that the Devil has been using for his own purpose, in order to keep his hold on his kingdom. They perpetuate vice, misery and degradation, and real slavery.

(12) I was entirely off the track when I considered that I should receive a medical training. It would be sinful for me in any way whatsoever to take part in the abominations that go on in the hospitals.

If there were no hospitals for venereal diseases, or even for consumptives, we should have less consumption, and less sexual vice amongst us.

(13) India's salvation consists in unlearning what she has learnt during the past fifty years.

The railways, telegraphs, hospitals, lawyers, doctors, and such like have all to go, and the so-called upper classes have to learn to live conscientiously and religiously and deliberately the simple peasant life, knowing it to be a life giving true happiness.

(14) Indians should wear no machine-made clothing, whether it comes out of European mills or Indian mills.

(15) England can help India to do this, and then she will have justified her hold of India. There seem to be many in England today who think likewise.

(16) There was true wisdom in the sages of old having so regulated society as to limit the material condition of the people: the

rude plough of perhaps five thousand years ago is the plough of the husbandman today. Therein lies salvation. People live long, under such conditions, in comparative peace much greater than Europe has enjoyed after having taken up modern activity, and I feel that every enlightened man, certainly every Englishman, may, if he chooses, learn this truth and act according to it.

There is much more than I can write upon today, but the above is enough food for reflection. You will be able to check me when you find me to be wrong.

You will notice, too, that it is the true spirit of passive resistance that has brought me to the above almost definite conclusions. As a passive resister, I am unconcerned whether such a gigantic reformation, shall I call it, can be brought about among people who derive their satisfaction from the present mad rush. If I realize the truth of it, I should rejoice in following it, and, therefore, I could not wait until the whole body of people had commenced. All of us who think likewise have to take the necessary step; and the rest, if we are in the right, must follow. The theory is there : our practice will have to approach it as much as possible. Living in the midst of the rush, we may not be able to shake ourselves free from all taint. Every time I get into a railway car, use a motor-bus, I know that I am doing violence to my sense of what is right. I do not fear the logical result on that basis. The visiting of England is bad, and any communication between South Africa and India by means of Ocean's grey-hounds is also bad, and so on. You and I can, and may, outgrow those things in our present bodies, but the chief thing is to put our theory right. You will be seeing there all sorts and conditions of men. I, therefore, feel that I should no longer withhold from you what I call the progressive step I have taken mentally. If you agree with me, it will be your duty to tell the revolutionaries and everybody else that the freedom they want, or they think they want, is not to be obtained by killing people or doing violence, but by setting themselves right, and by becoming and remaining truly Indian. Then the British rulers will be servants and not masters. They will be trustees and not tyrants, and they will live in perfect peace with the whole of the inhabitants of India. The future, therefore, lies not with the British race, but with the Indians themselves, and if they have sufficient self-abnegation and abstemiousness, they can make themselves free this very moment, and when we have arrived in India at the simplicity which is still ours largely and which was ours entirely until a few years ago, it will still be

possible for the best Indians and the best Europeans to see one another throughout the length and breadth of India and act as the leaven. When there was no rapid locomotion, traders and preachers went on foot, from one end of the country to the other, braving all the dangers, not for pleasure, not for recreating their health, (though all that followed from their tramps,) but for the sake of humanity. Then were Benares and other places of pilgrimage holy cities, whereas today they are an abomination.

You will recollect you used to rate me for talking to my children in Gujarati. I now feel more and more convinced that I was absolutely right in refusing to talk to them in English. Fancy a Gujarati writing to another Gujarati in English, which as you would properly say, he mispronounces and writes ungrammatically. I should certainly never commit the ludicrous blunders in writing in Gujarati that I do in writing or speaking in English. I think that, when I speak in English to an Indian or a foreigner, I in a measure unlearn the language. If I want to learn it well and if I want to attune my ear to it, I can only do so by talking to an Englishman, and by listening to an Englishman speaking.

Now I think I have given you a terrible dose, I hope you will be able to digest it. It is very likely that you with your great imagination and sound common sense have perhaps, in your varied experience there, probably come to the conclusions independently of me. After all, they are not new but they have only now assumed such a concrete form and taken a violent possession of me.

I have just received the following cablegram from Johannesburg :

Smuts tells newspapers he awaits Secretary State's answer regarding his proposals. London Committee continues for present.

This cablegram means that the question is being somewhat agitated in Johannesburg and that Smuts is no longer sanguine about smashing passive resistance. It shows, too, if Lord Crewe made a supreme effort, he could bring about a settlement. However, we can but fight on. So the London Committee continues. This does not alter the situation, and it eases Ritch's position.

Poor Mrs. Ritch will have to undergo another and further operation. She may not even survive it. It will be a great relief to her if the living death turns into real death.

Later—Millie was here after the foregoing portion of this letter

was finished. As I considered it to be so important, I read it to her. This was followed by a fruitful discussion, which you can picture to yourself.

Mr. Ali Imam is still here. He leaves, I believe, on Monday.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5127, a photostat of the handwritten copy and *M. K. Gandhi and the South African Indian Problem*

111. DEPUTATION NOTES [-XVI]

[October 15, 1909]

The last week was rather bad. First, we saw a cable report in *The Times* that the talk about a settlement had no truth in it. Mr. Smuts [it said] had a talk with Lord Crewe, but the Government had no intention of conceding the Indian demand.

There was another private cable which reported that Mr. Smuts was awaiting Lord Crewe's reply.

There was a reply from Lord Crewe today (Friday)¹ in which he says that what General Smuts offered was what he had earlier suggested, namely, repeal of the Act and amendment [of the Immigrants' Restriction Act] so as to permit the admission of selected educated Indians on a permanent basis. Lord Crewe states, moreover, that it was for us to decide whether we should carry on any public agitation here. He asks us to consider what effect such agitation would have on General Smuts.

That is the situation here. It needs rather careful consideration now as to what is best for us to do. If Mr. Smuts is really thinking of con-ceding our demands, a public agitation here will prove embarrassing to him. If not, such agitation would be the right course.

It is not easy to express any definite view immediately. Indifference to consequences is justified in pure satyagraha, but one must pause to think when dealing with a mixed lot of men, some strong and some weak. We have now to await the reactions of Lord Amphill and other gentlemen. Before this letter is published, some decisive step will have been taken here. The biggest issue involved in this is that concerning India. But, personally, I feel that as the struggle

¹ October 15; *vide* "Letter to Under Secretary for Colonies", 19-10-1909.

develops, the correct step will suggest itself at each stage. Meanwhile, everyone will need patience and courage and will have to go through extreme suffering¹.

The one great man in Russia is Count Tolstoy. I had addressed a letter² to him in connection with the struggle and other related matters. I quote below a paragraph from his reply :³

I have just received your most interesting letter, which has given me great pleasure. God help our dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal! That same struggle of the tender against the harsh, of meekness and love against pride and violence, is every year making itself more and more felt here among us also, especially in one of the very sharpest of the conflicts of the religious law with the worldly laws—in refusals of military service. Such refusals are becoming ever more and more frequent.

I greet you fraternally, and am glad to have intercourse with you.

This great man has now attained the age of 80. In Europe, at least, one will not find his equal in purity of character and godliness. He has been a soldier, has enjoyed authority over hundreds of thousands of men, has spent millions in enjoyment, and has known a life of luxury. He has no equal among European writers. In spite of all this, he has chosen to live like a fakir at present. He offers uncompromising opposition to oppressive laws in Russia and exhorts others to do the same. But he never employs physical force and forbids others to employ it. He relies entirely on spiritual force. Moreover, his books are read all over the world. We come across a number of men in this land who base their conduct on his principles. He places his trust in God alone. And so, on me at least, his words have had a highly cheering effect, and I hope that every Indian will welcome them and allow them to guide his conduct. It is a matter of deep satisfaction that we have the support of such a great and holy man. His letter shows us convincingly that soul-force—satya-graha—is our only resort. Deputations and the like are all vain efforts.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-11-1909

¹ The Gujarati has “Mahabharat”, obviously a reference to the tribulations of the Pandavas.

² *Vide* “Letter to Leo Tolstoy”, 1-10-1909.

³ This is quoted here from the English original signed by Tolstoy. *Vide* also Appendix “Tolstoy’s Letter to Gandhiji”.

112. LETTER TO "SOUTH AFRICA"¹

[LONDON,
Before October 16, 1909]

SIR,

Your Johannesburg correspondent, in his weekly letter published by you in the current issue of your journal, has done a serious injustice to the British Indian community in the Transvaal, by mis-stating facts in connection with the Nagappen case. Moreover, your correspondent has omitted to state in his letter, that many men besides British Indians who have read the evidence laid before the Commissioner², have refused to accept the Commissioner's finding, and that Mr. Benson³, who represented the British Indian Association at the inquiry, has exposed the weakness of the finding in a three-column letter published in the Transvaal Press. That letter still remains unanswered. And after all, what is Major Dixon's finding? He does leave it an open question as to whether the deceased had two blankets or not. He admits that the deceased did not have rice supplied to him. It is very charitable on the part of your correspondent to suggest that, if no rice were supplied, water certainly was, and that amply. My countrymen, however, consider that even an ample supply of water is not a substitute for rice, nor has the Commissioner, as your correspondent suggested, found that poor Nagappen was healthier when in custody. Any layman, and I should imagine even a medical man, would consider, as certainly did Dr. Godfrey⁴, that partial starvation and insufficiency of clothing, in the very rigorous winter on the high veldt of the Transvaal, apart from anything else, would be quite sufficient to induce pneumonia from which this poor passive resister died within six days after his

¹ This appeared under the caption : "*South Africa Again Corrected*" along with the dispatch to which Gandhiji replied. *Vide* Appendix Dispatch in "south Africa"..

² Major F. J. Dixon who had held the public inquiry into the case at Yokeskei River Prison Camp on July 19. A report of the evidence tendered was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 24-7-1909, and the Commissioner's findings, in the issue of 14-8-1909.

³ Alex S. Benson had watched the proceedings and reported his observations in *Indian Opinion*, 24-7-1909. On August 14, he addressed to *The Transvaal Leader* a letter criticizing the facile acceptance of the Commissioner's findings by a section of the Johannesburg Press, which was also published in *Indian Opinion*, 21-8-1909.

⁴ Dr. W. Godfrey had attended on Nagappen during his last illness and later certified that the primary cause of his death was acute double pneumonia and that it had been "accelerated by the conduct of the gaol officials, if all is true".

discharge.

In spite of your correspondent, the Indian community and many other unbiassed Europeans¹ in the Transvaal, indeed, throughout South Africa, will continue to believe that Nagappen died a martyr to duty, and that his death must lie upon the conscience of those who were in immediate charge of him whilst he was serving imprisonment.

Indian Opinion, 16-10-1909

113. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[LONDON,]
October 18, 1909

DEAR MR. MAGANLAL,

I have your post card of the 15th ultimo². With regard to Mr. Budrea, I shall be obliged if you will kindly immediately forward the documents to him at his Dannhauser address. The documents should be sent by registered letter post. I am writing to Mr. Budrea also.³

Yours sincerely,

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5132

114. LETTER TO BUDREA

[LONDON,]
October 18, 1909

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter of the 8th inst., the deposit receipt was on the 12th inst. forwarded by me to Mr. Maganlal Gandhi with a request to obtain your signature thereto, as I thought that you were in Durban. I have now written to him asking him to forward it to you. Immediately upon receipt thereof duly completed by you, I shall re-deposit it as requested.

Yours faithfully,

MR. BUDREA
C/O GURDEEN AHEER
DANNHAUSER

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5133

¹ Among these were Rev. J. J. Doke and Edward Dallow, whose letters to the Transvaal papers were reproduced in *Indian opinion*, 21-8-1909.

² The original has "inst.", which appears to be a slip.

³ *Vide* the following item.

115. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

[LONDON,]

October 19, 1909

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter¹ of the 15th instant.

The letter leaves my colleague and me in a state of great uncertainty. The Earl of Crewe was pleased to tell Mr. Hajee Habib and me when we waited on His Lordship on the 16th ultimo that he agreed that the proposal submitted by me was reasonable, and that he would place it before Mr. Smuts for his acceptance. The letter under reply does not say whether the proposal was placed before Mr. Smuts and, if it was, what his decision was in respect of it. His Lordship will, I have no doubt, appreciate the fact that, in order not to prejudice the negotiations that have been carried on, we have remained, so far as the public are concerned, entirely inactive, and we should consider it our duty to do so, so long as the negotiations are carried on on the basis of the proposal submitted by me. The great and prolonged suffering British Indians in the Transvaal are undergoing can only end with the security of the theoretical right of British Indians of culture being attained in accordance with my submission. If, therefore, Mr. Smuts intends only to place his own original proposal made at the time of his departure for South Africa before the Transvaal Ministers and the Transvaal Parliament, it is respectfully submitted that, so far as British Indians are concerned, nothing is to be gained by a policy of inactivity. I feel sure that His Lordship will agree that we should know the exact position under the negotiations, in order that we may thereby guide our conduct and, so far as it lies within our power, facilitate them. May I, therefore, request fuller information on the subject of the negotiations at an early date?

¹ This was in reply to Gandhiji's letter of October 8 and ran as follows : “. . . the proposals referred to in the letter from this Department of the 4th instant as a possible basis of legislation with regard to the British Indian question in the Transvaal were those made by Mr. Smuts before his departure, not those made by you at the interview on the 16th ultimo.

“I am to add that the question of the action to be taken by you in connection with the controversy can only be one for your own decision. You will, however, no doubt bear in mind the effect which your proposed course may have on the attitude of the Transvaal Government and Parliament towards Mr. Smuts' proposals, and will consider whether it is not preferable to await a declaration of their policy in the matter before taking further action.”

I may add that a cablegram received from Johannesburg states that to a newspaper reporter Mr. Smuts said that he was waiting for a reply from the Earl of Crewe before he made any public statement regarding his proposals on the question. This cablegram adds to our difficulty as to the course we should adopt, so long as we are unformed as to the action which His Lordship proposed to take when the interview of the 16th ultimo was granted.

I have, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records : 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5136

116. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]

October 19, 1909

MY LORD,

I have to thank you very much for your letter of the 18th instant, and for your very kind and excellent advice.¹

I have now sent a letter to Lord Crewe,² copy of which I enclose herewith, and which I think embodies all the points of your letter. I hope it will meet with your Lordship's approval.

I remain, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5137

¹ Lord Amphill had written : "It was, of course, to be expected that the Colonial Office should wish you to remain quiet and it is difficult to judge how far their advice is disinterested or otherwise. They tell you that it is General Smuts' own proposals which are under consideration but they do not tell you whether Lord Crewe has taken any steps to show the Transvaal Government that, from your point of view, these proposals are altogether inadequate. If I were in your position, I should point this out to the Colonial Office either by letter or by personal interview before I did anything else and say that, while you are naturally unwilling to embarrass any negotiations which are being made on your behalf, you require some assurance that your latest representations are not being ignored. I would tell them quite plainly, but, of course, in appropriately guarded language, that you cannot allow an unsatisfactory 'compromise' to be negotiated while you are kept out of the discussion and then to be told, when it is all over and you are obliged to protest, that you are 'raising new questions'. I think that they have given you an opening for a representation of this sort which you will well know how to express in a tactful and diplomatic manner. It must be exasperating for you to be put off and kept waiting in this way, and I only hope that the Colonial Office is going straight and not trading on the patience and self-restraint of which you have given such conspicuous proof."

² *Vide* the preceding item.

117. LONDON

[Before *October 20, 1909*]

NATAL DEPUTATION

So far as I can see, there is nothing for this deputation to do now. Mr. Anglia and Hajee Habib are on a brief visit to Paris. They are likely to return in a day or so.

ALI IMAM

Mr. Ali Imam has been mixing a great deal among all the Indians here. He had asked several Indians to tea today, on the eve of his departure. A good many of them attended. Mr. Ali Imam will leave for India on the 20th. He has promised to give every help to our cause from there. He has been appointed public prosecutor in Patna.

SUFFRAGETTES' COURAGE

I have written and spoken strongly in the past against the use of physical force by the suffragettes—women who are demanding votes. But we must show all honour to them, at any rate, for the courage they display and the suffering they go through. Some of them, very delicate women, were recently arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. They refused to take any food, so that those among them who were very weak were let off after being starved for a few days. The rest are still in gaol and refuse to take food; they are, therefore, being forcibly fed with the help of a tube put through the throat.

These women have created such a terror that no member of the Cabinet can attend any function in peace. The suffragettes' spies follow every member wherever he goes and make a nuisance of themselves. They even pelt him with stones. A mere handful, the women have created a terror as though a great war was on.

Mr. Lloyd George is a member of the Cabinet. He addressed a meeting in Newcastle. But so great was the fear of the suffragettes that the strictest arrangements had to be made for maintaining order. Writing on it, *The Times* says :

In Mr. Lloyd George's meeting were to be witnessed strong iron bars, mounted police and crowds. There was a time not very long ago when no tickets were required for admission to such meet-ings and

when one or two constables sufficed to maintain order. But the suffragettes have changed all that. Wherever a member of the Cabinet addresses a meeting, the local authorities have to close the main traffic routes and requisition police and mounted guards in large numbers from neighbour-ing towns. Everyone who wants to attend the meeting has to show his ticket while he is yet one or two streets away from the venue, and he reaches it at last after passing through narrow lanes. If, on the way, anyone suspects him he may even be required to give his name. All this is a very expensive business.

Such is the women's spirit. They do not allow themselves a moment's rest. To the hundreds of thousands of women who oppose them, they merely say : "You do not know your interests. We shall fight for you. That you will not help makes no difference to us." They have also written to the Government to say that, if it agreed to grant the franchise to women who were qualified for it, those who were in gaol would serve their terms of imprisonment quietly and would not even demand voting rights for themselves. Such brave women will never be defeated. It is obvious that they have no interest of their own to serve. They fear nothing—neither rough treatment nor monetary loss nor being called immodest by the people. There is no short-cut to rights in this world. These very women, by their disorderly behaviour, bring disgrace to a struggle so fine as theirs, Their misdeeds will recoil on themselves in the end.¹ The people here yield to physical force, they worship it. Hence the women will certainly get the vote. But after that they will practise the same kind of tyranny that they are opposing now, so that the masses will remain where they are. If they had based their fight on pure satyagraha, they could have changed conditions all over England and the change would have had repercussions throughout the world. The use of physical force will ultimately lead to selfishness. Taking a warning from their example, we must learn to avoid the use of physical force, but emulate their capacity for suffering. We may also observe that the British will not concede any rights even to the women in their country without putting them to the test.

BLOW FOR A BLOW

I have come across two very beautiful poems in the *Gujarati* of Bombay. In one of them poet has, without meaning it, given a vivid

¹ The original has "The heart will pay for the misdeeds of the hands", a Gujarati saying.

description of satyagraha. The poem is as follows :

The lamp not burning,
On what will the moth throw itself and be burnt?
Seeking to burn us,
You burn yourself first.
The union of soul and body,
The same in you as in me,
Unless you wound yourself,
Us you cannot hurt.
So soon as I owned myself your lover,
You stood declared my beloved;
A name I've bestowed on you,
And will cease only when I perish.
Such airs you give yourself today,
Your eyes stern and proud;
These your arrows
Will turn back upon you, myself unharmed.
You live, if I live; if I die,
Tell yourself you die too;
Can a tree exist without seed?
The fruit, whereon will it grow?
Where is the king if there are no subjects?
Would he rule over wood and stone?
Your being is wrapped up in mine
Aiming a blow at me,
You shall only hurt yourself.

—*Diwano*¹

This is a very interesting *gazel*.² It is addressed by an Indian to an Englishman. "Your arrows will turn back upon you, myself unharmed." This contains the divine law of satyagraha. So long as the victim does not resist, the aggressor will only injure himself. If we attempt to strike merely at the air, the hand will come down with a jerk. When force is employed only by one party, it will spend itself

¹ Literally, the mad on

² A poetic composition in the style of lyrics

for want of resistance. That is the reason why every religion has held that, if all human beings were to become good, even the poisonous and predatory creatures would disappear from the world. This may be taken to be a scientific law. If so, it is all success for me so long as I refuse to meet force with force. The man who sought my life will, in the end, meet death himself. In the same way, “Where is the king if there are no subjects, would he rule over wood and stone” means that, if the subjects refuse to recognize the authority of the king, the latter will have nothing to do. The subjects may resort to satyagraha and tell him : “We shall not submit to your orders, no matter whether you imprison or kill us.” There has never been, and will never be, a king in this world who can rule by imprisoning a whole people. The king will lose the game, even if he imprisons only a few who defy him. If all defy him, he just cannot imprison there. The soul of the man who has embraced imprisonment continues its work till, in the end, others too defy [the king] in like manner. All the verses of the poem quoted above deserve careful thinking over.

“FAKIRS WE”

In the same issue, I find another poem—Fakirs We—which also, being quite interesting, I give here :

Fakirs we’ve made of ourselves
 For the motherland’s sake;
 We’ve kindled the flame of love
 To burn us for India’s sake.
 We have quit the idols we worshipped,
 Flung our books in dust;
 The precious begging bowl
 We’ve taken up for India’s sake.
 The angel’s words and the priest’s
 We’ve put away from us,
 Turned away from pleasures sweet as nectar
 For draughts of bitterest poison.
 The tomes of *Vedas* and *Puranas*
 Down the stream we’ve let them float;
 Little do we reckon of God,
 For India alone is all our care.

Through every vein of our being
 Is coursing a wild intoxication;
 Why do you seek, you men of medicine,
 To cure us of that?
 In soft living you spend your days,
 'Tis your way of life;
 Ours, the bad habit,
 The burden of loyalty to bear.
 Such is the strange gladness
 Of the madness in our drunken hearts;
 'Tis for India
 And India alone that we live.

—*Bulbul*¹

This poem is certainly not as good as the first one, but the idea is good. The words are well arranged. Its fervent sentiment should appeal to a satyagrahi. Without it—without the voluntary poverty of the fakir that it speaks of—it is difficult to be a satyagrahi. One must kindle the flame of the Invisible for the service of India. Then alone shall we be able to discharge the debt we owe to India for having been born in it. When the words, “Tis for India and for India alone that we live” proceed from the depth of our heart, God will hear us. He sees the heart. He cannot be taken in by words. This is a game to be played in right earnest. A mere actor has no place in it.

INDIAN LANGUAGES

Reading these Gujarati poems, one realizes that it will not be easy to express such thoughts in English words of equal sweetness; for the two words, “satyagraha” and “fakir”, will evoke no response in an Englishman’s heart. Why should we not cultivate a language that is so beautiful? India will be aroused when we touch all the Indian languages with the spirit of patriotism. Mr. Lloyd George, about whom I have already written, was born in Wales, a principality in Great Britain. It has a dialect of its own and Mr. Lloyd George is taking steps to ensure that Welsh children do not forget their language. How much more need is there for Indians to preserve their languages than

¹ Literally, a singing bird, songthrush

for the Welsh to preserve theirs, and how much more keen should we be?

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-11-1909

118. LETTER TO N. M. COOPER

[LONDON,]

October 21, 1909

DEAR MR. COOPER,

Will you kindly send Mr. Doke's book as follows : 24 copies to Dr. Mehta, 14 Mogul Street, Rangoon, India; 250 copies to Messrs Natesan & Co., Booksellers, Madras, India.

250 copies to the Manager, [Inter]national Printing Press, Durban, Natal, South Africa. (Postal address, Box 182, Durban, Natal)

Yours faithfully,

N. M. COOPER, ESQ.

154, HIGH ROAD

ILFORD

ESSEX

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5140

119. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]

October 22, 1909

SIR,

The following cablegram has just been received from Johannesburg :

Twenty-one arrested including Aswat; Thambi sent to prison for three months; Sorabji, Joshi, Medh ordered deported.

Mr. Aswat is a Mohammedan, and Acting President of the British Indian Association, and has now gone to gaol for the third time, and Mr. Thambi is Thambi Naidoo, one of the leaders of the Tamil community, and has now gone to gaol for the fifth or sixth time. The three others who are deported are, one a Parsee and the other two Hindoos, all cultured, educated British Indians, two of whom served as sergeants in the Stretcher Bearer Corps that was formed at

the time of the Zulu Rebellion.¹

I have, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records : 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5141

120. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]

October 22, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I am not going to write at length this week. You will see the copies of various correspondence which shows that I have still to wait.

Mrs. Ritch has to undergo another serious operation next week. Ritch is now practically fixed up here, possibly for good.

Mr. Doke's book cannot still be delivered. Poor Cooper is at his wit's end. His printer being in gaol,² the printer's wife has not been able to keep her promise. Next week, I think, delivery will take place without fail.

I am sending you one of the booklets of Tolstoy, which you should read. I think it is very good.

Mr. Abdul Caadir leaves for South Africa tomorrow, so that now there will be only Mr. Anglia and Mr. Hajee Habib here.

I enclose herewith Mr. Phelp's letter and a pamphlet addressed to Mr. Roosevelt.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5144

121. DEPUTATION NOTES [-XVII]

[October 22, 1909]

I have now got fed up. I think the reader, too, must have grown tired of reading uncertain news. There is no certain information yet from Lord Crewe and correspondence is going on. So long as he has not washed his hands of the matter entirely, it appears advisable not to give out anything to the public. That is also Lord Ampthill's advice.

¹ In 1906; *vide* "Indian Stretcher-Bearer corps", Before 19-7-1906.

² *Vide* "London", 23-7-1909

Just now a cable¹ has been received from Johannesburg, saying that 21 persons were tried and sentenced to three months. They include Mr. Aswat and Mr. Thambi Naidoo. Moreover, Mr. Sorabji, Mr. Joshi and Mr. Medh have been deported. I congratulate all these friends and pray to God to bestow on them the utmost strength of spirit. According to me, such strength is the only real deputation. It is strength which holds the real key. When I think of Mr. Aswat's and Mr. Sorabji's health, I even tremble a little, but take heart again because I know that gaol-going is the best course, whatever the state of one's health.

At this juncture, I wish to see Mr. Dawad Mahomed in the Transvaal. Soldiers cannot afford to wait on their health. I am convinced that, even when in poor health, we are in duty bound to suffer imprisonment for the sake of the motherland. I think many Indians press Mr. Dawad Mahomed, out of their regard for him, that he should plunge himself into the fight only after he is restored to health. I would request him not to heed any such advice, and I would urge those who give such advice that they should not, in the interest of the community, hold back Mr. Dawad Mahomed even for an hour longer. The women who are fighting here go to gaol and give no thought to their health. Moreover, they take no food after going to gaol. Going to the front necessarily means risking one's head. It is, therefore, my earnest request to everyone not to stop Mr. Dawad Mahomed; rather, people should turn out in their thousands, as on former occasions, to see him off to the Transvaal.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 20-11-1909

122. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[LONDON,
October 22, 1909]

CHI. MANILAL,

Received your letter. I see that you have again begun to be worried about your education. Can you not give an answer to the question, "What class are you in?" Henceforward you may say that you are in Bapu's class. Why does the idea of study haunt you again

¹ Vide "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", 22-10-1909.

and again? If you think of study for earning your livelihood, it is not proper; for God gives food to all. You can get enough to eat even by doing manual labour. Moreover, when we want to die in Phoenix or in some similar mission, why should there be any thought of earning at all? If you want to study for the sake of service to the country, why, you are already doing so. If you want to study in order to have self-knowledge, you have only to learn to be good. Everyone says you are a good person. Only one thing remains. You may want to study in order to be able to do more work. There is no need to hurry about it. Do whatever you can in Phoenix. We shall see to it later on. Please give up all worry if you are sure that I am taking all the necessary care of you.

You gave a good reply to Dr. Nanji.

What more shall I write?

I want you to shed all fear. Do have faith in me.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 91 Courtesy: Sushila-behn Gandhi

123. LONDON

[Before *October 23, 1909*]

NATAL DEPUTATION

Mr. Abdul Caadir is to leave¹ by the ship which will carry this letter. Mr. Anglia will then be the only one left. He and Mr. Hajee Habib have returned from Paris.

ALI IMAM

Speaking on Sunday at a meeting of the Indian Social Union, Mr. Ali Imam referred to the need for Hindu-Muslim unity. There was no reason [he said] why the two [communities] should have any differences. Muslims and Hindus will both mix with the dust of India. There should be a mutual give-and-take and readiness on the part of both to give in on minor points. India must get *swarajya* and can get it through [the goodwill of] the British. This is the substance of what he said. He left for India on Wednesday. About 15 Indians,

¹ He was to sail on October 23; *vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", 22-10-1909

including Mr. Parikh, Mr. Banerjea, Dr. Abdool Majid and Mr. Bose, were present to give him a send-off. Mr. Ali Imam repeated at the moment of departure that he would exert himself to the utmost about South Africa. Mr. Polak's sister was also present at the station. Mr. Ali Imam promised to help Polak in every way. Mr. Abdool Aziz Peshawari also left with him.

CHHOTALAL PAREKH

Mr. Chhotalal Ishvarlal Parekh is the first manager of the first Indian bank here. The bank was established in the wake of the *swadeshi* movement. Its capital is mostly Indian. A farewell party was held in his honour in recognition of his services in placing the bank on a sound footing, and with the object of giving encouragement to the *swadeshi* movement. After two years of service, Mr. Parekh is leaving for Bombay. The function was attended by about 50 people. Sir Muncherji was in the chair. Tea was followed by a speech from him, in which he spoke of the bank and of Mr. Parekh's ability. Mr. Parekh was then presented with a silver tea-set. Offering his thanks in reply, he said that India was not new to the profession of banking. Judging from his experience [he said], the bank was sure to make progress. He had encountered no difficulties in England.

Dr. Abdool Majid and Mr. Gandhi also spoke a few words.

MRS. RITCH

I feel sorry to write that Mrs. Ritch's complaint has not yet been cured and that she will have to undergo another operation. It will be a serious one this time, but Mrs. Ritch has ample courage. As for Mr. Ritch, he is buried under the heavy expenditure on account of her treatment.

SUFFRAGETTES

The women continue to cause great excitement. The newspapers here discuss the question every day. The women were advised by Mr. Churchill to desist from physical attacks, and that has provoked them all the more. Mr. Churchill was to address a meeting, which the suffragettes sought to break up. They openly say that they can secure no justice except by defiance of authority. They have resolved, therefore, to continue to make physical attacks, break up ministers' meetings and harass them in other ways. Their leaders brave extreme suffering, undaunted by any fear of physical harm. Mrs. Pankhurst,

their chief, has gone to America to rouse the women there.

FUTILITY OF BRUTE FORCE

There was a famous man in Spain, Ferrer by name, who worked to spread education among the people. He was, besides, a strong opponent of the Roman Catholics. An atheist, he was an enemy of the State. It appears that he was behind the riot which broke out some time ago in one of the districts of Spain. He was accordingly court-martialled and ordered to be shot. The order was immediately carried out. This has created a stir among a large number of whites in Europe. They assert that Ferrer was not properly tried, that injustice was done to him. It had not been proved [they argue] that he had a hand in the riot. Meetings were held at several places to denounce the Spanish Government. Excitement ran so high among the people of Paris that it appeared as though there would be a big riot. One constable even lost his life.

Here, too, a big open-air meeting was held. People attacked the office of the Spanish Ambassador, but the building was saved because of the strict police arrangements.

Some whites argue that people elsewhere in Europe should not thus interfere in Spain's domestic affairs. They have no right to do so.

This leads me to think that Ferrer having been shot dead, his comrades want to avenge his death. That will increase mutual hatred. It is now being rumoured that the King of Spain will be killed. What will be the result? It does not seem likely to benefit anyone. It is beyond doubt that Ferrer himself approved of violence. Because he has lost his life, revolutionaries in Europe have given way to a frenzy of excitement, abandoning all reason. There is no concern for justice in all this. "Kill, kill", that is all they want. If this is the way things go on, no one's life will be safe in Europe. Emperors and big officers are not safe even today. Since they too are votaries of brute force, the fashion they have set will spread as days pass. Some Indians have been thinking of introducing these methods in India. I think Ferrer's case should serve as a warning to them.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 20-11-1909

124. LONDON

[After *October 24, 1909*]

VIJAYA DASHAMI¹

It is in a way a remarkable thing that the Indian communities in England observe their respective festivals. To be sure, it need not be so very remarkable, but we have been reduced to such a state of degradation that we forget to celebrate our festivals in a country like England. How can we claim, so long as this state of affairs continues, that we are ripe for nationhood? We shall also not be justified in condemning the rulers as being responsible for it. In this matter the fault is obviously ours. It is, therefore, a good thing that the different [Indian] communities have started celebrating their respective festivals.

It was the Parsis who made a beginning. They have been celebrating *Pateti* for many years now. The Muslims too celebrate *Id*. The Hindus started two years ago. All the communities join in these celebrations, more or less. That is as it should be. It is certainly necessary for us all to be familiar with one another's festivals.

The Hindus here arranged a subscription dinner on the *Vijaya Dashami* day². Non-Hindus were invited as guests. The rest took tickets of 4/- each. The dinner was cooked by volunteers from among Indian students of medicine and law. One of them was a very active fellow. He has struggled against odds in order to become a barrister. The same volunteers waited at the table. It cannot be claimed that the arrangements were perfect. The function started behind time. Those in charge of the service also did not know their job well. All the same, considering that this was a new experience, the function went off satisfactorily.

The gathering was entertained by Mr. Hussain Dawad with some songs about gaol life which were set to music. Mr. Gandhi was requested to preside. *Vijaya Dashami* recalls the war between Rama and Ravana. Mr. Gandhi pointed out in his speech that as a historical personage Shri Ramachandra could be honoured by every Indian.

¹ The 10th day of Ashvin, on which Lord Rama triumphed over Ravana. The king of Lanka. The day is celebrated by Hindus to mark the triumph of good over evil.

² This fell on October 24.

Everyone, whether Hindu, Muslim or Parsi, should be proud of belonging to a country which produced a man like Shri Ramachandra. To the extent that he was a great Indian, he should be honoured by every Indian. For the Hindus, he is a god. If India again produced a Ramachandra, a Sita, a Lakshmana and a Bharata, she would attain prosperity in no time. It should be remembered, of course, that before Ramachandra qualified for public service, he suffered exile in the forest for 12 years. Sita went through extreme suffering and Lakshmana lived without sleep all those years and observed celibacy. When Indians learn to live in that manner, they can from that instant count themselves as free men. India has no other way of achieving happiness for herself.

Mr. Hajeer Habib proposed a toast to India, and was supported by Mr. Chattopadhyay. Mr. Savarkar delivered a spirited speech on the great excellence of the *Ramayana* and said that every Indian should realize the significance of the fact that *Vijaya Dashami* is preceded by *Navratri*¹ (*Roza*). The function was attended by about 70 Indians.

LALAJI'S CASE

Lala Lajpatrai had sued *The Daily Express* here for defamation for making certain allegations against him. Lalaji has been awarded £50 and costs. Some of the judge's remarks in this case show that, in a political case, it is extremely difficult to get justice from the court. The judge held that, since Lalaji had been banished by a man like Lord Morley, there must be some reason. The remark was altogether uncalled for. He made it, moreover, even though he had no evidence before him on the point, his only object being to mislead the jury by casting aspersions on Lalaji.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 27-11-1909

¹ The first nine days of Ashvin usually observed with a fast to render oneself worthy of Goddess Durga's grace

125. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]
October 26, 1909

SIR,

The following cablegram has just been received from Johannesburg:

Pretoria Indians charged section 39 Town Regulations 1899 residing town. Case 1st November. Sorabji, Medh returned sent to prison for six months.

The first part of the cablegram shows that an old Act that has never been enforced against British Indians is now being revived with a view to remove British Indians from the town of Pretoria to a Location. The latter part shows that Messrs Sorabji and Medh, who according to my letter of the 22nd instant¹ were deported, have been sent to prison for six months. Mr. Sorabji has now gone to gaol, I believe, for the fifth time, and Mr. Medh for the fourth time.²

I have, etc.,

Colonial Office Records : 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5145

126. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]
October 26, 1909

SIR,

The following cablegram has been received from Madras :

Excellent meetings Madura, Tinnevely, Palamcotta, Trichinopoly, Salem, Masulipatam, Bellary, Penukonda, also Madras Moslem League. Over dozen District Congress Committees condemning action Transvaal, urging immediate intervention stoppage recruiting. Profound indignation everywhere.

The recruiting mentioned in the cablegram refers to the recruiting of Indian labour for Natal.

I have, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records : 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5147

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", 22-10-1909.

² Replying to this on November 4, the Colonial Office informed Gandhiji that it was in communication with the Transvaal Government on the subject. The latter was asked whether Gandhiji's statements were correct.

127. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]
October 28, 1909

MY LORD,

I beg to enclose herewith copy of a letter to the Private Secretary to Lord Crewe with reference to meetings held all over the Presidency of Madras.¹

I may also add that cablegrams have been received from Johannesburg saying that active operations have commenced against passive resisters again in the Transvaal. Twenty-one have been arrested and imprisoned for three months, including the Acting Chairman of the British Indian Association. Three educated Indians were deported, two of whom have returned and have been arrested and sentenced to six months' imprisonment.²

I remain etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5148

128. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]
October 29, 1909

MY LORD,

I have received a cablegram as follows :

Committee advises delegates return Africa if work finished London.

This is in reply to my letter³ which reads as follows (writing on the 8th instant to Mr. Kallenbach, a German friend, who together with Mr. Doke, looks after the matters connected with the struggle there) :

This letter will be in your hands on Thursday. My programme now is that we should leave here on the 30th of this month. There is every hope of our being able to finish off the work by that time. If we do,

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

² Acknowledging this letter on November 1, Lord Ampthill wrote : "I am very much obliged to you for the news you have sent me, as I should otherwise be in ignorance of what is happening both in India and in South Africa, seeing that the boycott of our cause by the Press is now complete. I am distressed at hearing that there is no relaxation of the active operations against 'passive resisters' in the Transvaal".

³ The original letter is not available.

then comes the question about India. This will be in your hands two days before the proposed date for departure. Unless you hear something from me to the contrary, or unless the situation has developed otherwise, will you please cable what the intention of the Committee is. Next week I may have to cable myself asking for full instructions, but if I do not, a cable from you on receipt hereof may be necessary. The Indian tour means two months, one month for the voyage there and back here, and one month in India—it may mean even more. As a passive resister I feel that the Indian tour, as indeed this tour, is useless, but thinking from the standpoint of non-passive resisters, just as a few months have been given to London, two more may be added to finish off India. There will be, then, a question of funds also, and funds will have to be cabled to me.

Whether the Committee has taken a purely passive-resistance view, or whether it is owing to the want of funds, or both, it seems that, under the circumstances, we should abandon—for the time being at least—the Indian visit. The matter is further complicated by a cable from Mr. Polak, who cables today from India as follows :

Very strongly advise you to come.

But on the whole, I feel that, no matter at what stage the struggle stands, we shall leave definitely on the 13th November for South Africa, and challenge arrest on the Transvaal border.

Lord Crewe's reply has not yet been received. I do not know what this means, but if it comes too late for public action whilst we are here, I think it should then be carried on by the Committee.¹ Mr. Ritch[']s opinion] coincides with this view.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5150

¹ Acknowledging this letter, Lord Ampthill agreed with this view.

129. LETTER TO AYLMER MAUDE

[LONDON,]
October 29, 1909

DEAR SIR,

I wrote¹ to you last week in reply to your kind note, and as I am anxiously awaiting an appointment from you, I take the liberty of reminding you again. I wonder if my letter has miscarried.

Among the things appertaining to passive resistance that I wish to discuss with you, I would appreciate your advice as to whom I should approach for the publication of Tolstoy's "Letter to a Hindoo"² which, I presume, you read at Tolstoy's when you were with him in Russia last month. I offered it to the *Daily News* for publication, but Mr. Gardiner has sent a message that it is too long for his columns.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

AYLMER MAUDE ESQ.³
GREAT BADDOW
CHELMSFORD

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 4438

130. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
October 29, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

At last Mr. Doke's books are ready. I enclose herewith a list of complimentary copies sent to the newspapers in India. If there are any newspapers left out which, in your opinion, should get complimentary copies, please take them from the parcel that will be received by Natesan, not, I fear, by the mail that takes this letter but by

¹ This letter is not available.

² *Vide* "Letter to Leo Tolstoy", 1-10-1909.

³ Biographer of Tolstoy who, in collaboration with his Russian wife, translated most of his works into English.

the following mail. I have had great difficulty in getting the copies. Ritch and I have come to the conclusion that, apart from the newspapers, no public men should receive complimentary copies. None have therefore been sent, but if you think that any should be sent on your side, you should consult Dr. Mehta and then distribute. Dr. Mehta has bought 25 copies for such distribution. You may either get some of these or, in order that the same person may not get two copies, after having learnt from him the names of those who may receive his copies, you will be able to get them from Natesan. I take it you have come to some arrangement with Natesan so that we may receive cash without delay. 85 complimentary copies have been distributed here. Of these 81 are to newspapermen. Will you please arrange for cuttings containing the reviews to be sent to Mr. Doke.

I have your two cablegrams, one informing me of the various meetings in the Madras Presidency and of your proposed departure for Rangoon. It is wonderful how Madras has come to the fore on this question. The people there seem to be so practical. They either do a thing thoroughly or do not do it at all. I am glad you will be seeing Dr. Mehta almost immediately on his arrival. I hope that each of you will be pleased with the other.

There is no reply yet from Crewe at the time of dictating this (Thursday evening)¹. Your last letter (I mean the long one, which you evidently dictated) was very interesting and the whole of your family have read it. Of Sally and Maud and other members of your family we shall talk when we meet. Although Maud had left me, we meet almost every-day, and so also with Sally. For some time, I have become emboldened, and have been taking fruit luncheon at the hotel in the sitting-room just as we used to in Johannesburg, and Sally joins us. Twice a week Millie also joins us. Simmonds, of course, is there, and Myron J. Phel very often. He insists on bringing his own contribution. Ritch also drops in. The rest you may picture to yourself. On Sunday last, I presided at the Dussera Festival Dinner.² It was given practically by the extremist Committee. Nearly seventy Indians came. I accepted the proposition unhesitatingly so that I might speak to those who might assemble there on the uselessness of violence for securing reforms. This I did. My terms were that no controversial politics were to be touched upon, and these were fully carried out. I drew the

¹ It appears this letter was dispatched the next day, i.e., Friday, October 29.

² *Vide* "London", After 24-10-1909.

moral that I wished to point out from the *Ramayana*. The Dussera Festival is a celebration of the victory of Rama over Ravana, i.e., of Truth over falsehood. I give you this information to enable you to see how I have been utilizing my time here. I have endeavoured to come in contact with as many Indians as I could. The programme still remains the same. I hope to leave on the 13th November, unless Lord Crewe unduly delays his reply, or unless something very urgent happens here necessitating our presence. The proposal about an Indian visit has been entirely abandoned. I am addressing a meeting of the Indian Social Union¹ on Saturday. There is another meeting of Indian students on Tuesday,² and a third, on Sunday week, of the Indian Majlis at Cambridge.³

Mrs. Ritch undergoes a somewhat dangerous operation on Saturday. The invitation to send a message to the Congress is rather an awkward thing. However, I shall try to write out something. Probably, you will have a copy of my letter⁴ with this.

I see that you have been collecting well in Madras. It is necessary to enquire how the moneys collected are disbursed. Who keeps charge of these moneys? As the struggle is to be a prolonged one, we are bound to support the families of those who might be in gaol. The question has arisen already, so that, if these funds or part of them can be sent for the support of the families, it will be highly satisfactory. A gentleman. . .⁵ to have subscriptions from others also of the same nature. I hope that there will be no difficulty on your side. Are any men specially appointed to look after the men who are deported? If there are, have you any names? All this information should be published and letters from those who are so helped may also be sent.

After you have finished your tours, so far as I can say at present, you will be staying there until the struggle has ended. If so, I think it will be highly desirable for you to take Hindi or Gujarati lessons. As you will be doing steady Committee work, there may be no difficulty in your having some time.

I have your cablegram saying you strongly advise me to come

¹ Indian Union Society, *vide* "Speech at New Reform Club", p. 510 and "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", 5-11-1909.

² *Vide* "Speech at Meeting of Indians", 2-11-1909.

³ No report of the speech made on this occasion is available.

⁴ *Vide* "Letter to G. A. Natesan", After 29-10-1909.

⁵ One line is cut off here.

to India. I have another cablegram from Johannesburg saying that, if the work was finished here, we should return to the Transvaal. I therefore think that it is highly necessary that I should go to the Transvaal. I feel that I have over-stayed my time here. You should therefore do the best you can under the circumstances. I know there are obvious advantages in our paying a visit to India, but perhaps it is as well that we should not do so just now.

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5151

131. DEPUTATION NOTES [-XVIII]

[October 29, 1909]

NOTE ON DEPUTATION

Still there is no final reply from Lord Crewe. Meanwhile, there has been a cable¹ from Johannesburg asking the deputation to return if its work in England is over. There was a cablegram from Madras, at the same time, saying that it was very necessary for us to go to India. Sir Muncherji is also very keen that we should proceed to India. I am convinced, however, that the right course will be not to go to India. According to the present arrangements, therefore, we plan to leave here on November 13. If no final reply is received from Lord Crewe, we are thinking of leaving without making any moves in public. There are only three things to be done by way of public agitation. They are, a public statement of the history of our [problem], calling a meeting of all clergymen through the Rev. Meyer and, if practicable, acquainting members of the House of Commons with the facts of the case. Out of these, I think we shall carry out the programme which requires the Rev. Meyer's services. The history may be given, if necessary, after our departure, and a meeting of the members of the House of Commons may also be called after we leave, if that is possible.

A meeting of Indians is to be held on Saturday, since it is felt that Indians should be fully acquainted with the facts. I am to speak there. Another meeting will be held on Tuesday, to explain what steps Indians should take. A third meeting will be held in Cambridge. These are the steps as at present planned.

But we may be sure that nothing will avail us so long as we do

¹ It was received on October 29; *vide* "Letter to Lord Amphil", 29-10-1909.

not put forth all our strength. I must point out again and again that there is no other strength. I was glad that Mr. Sorabji and Mr. Medh returned. I congratulate them. Every Indian should emulate these brave Indians. Mr. Sorabji laid the foundation of the second phase of the struggle and it appears as though it will be brought to a successful issue through him. Let the future be what it may, Indians must realize that, in a tyrannical State, honest citizens have their true home in gaol.

IN AID OF SATYAGRAHIS

An Indian who wants to be known as “A Servant of India” has decided to give Rs. 50/- every month in aid of the poor for the duration of the struggle, and has already handed over a cheque of £3 as the first instalment. It will be good if other Indians too help in this way. I think it is likely that they will.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 27-11-1909

132. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN¹

[LONDON,

After October 29, 1909]

DEAR SIR,

You have cabled me for a message to the forthcoming Congress. I do not know that I am at all competent to send any message. Simple courtesy, however, demands that I should say something in reply to your cable. At the present moment, I am unable to think of anything but the task immediately before me, namely, the struggle that is going on in the Transvaal. I hope our countrymen throughout India realise that it is national in its aim in that it has been undertaken to save India's honour. I may be wrong, but I have not hesitated publicly to remark that it is the greatest struggle of modern times, because it is the purest as well in its goal as in its methods. Our countrymen in the Transvaal are fighting for the right of cultured Indians to enter the Transvaal in common with Europeans. In this the fighters have no

¹ This was published in the December issue of *Indian Review*. Evidently, Gandhiji had simultaneously sent a copy to *Indian Opinion* which published it under the heading : “Message to Indian National Congress”. Vide also “Letter to H. S. L. Polak”, 29-10-1909.

personal interest to serve, nor is there any material gain to accrue to anybody after the above mentioned right (which has, for the first time in Colonial Legislation, been taken away) is restored. The sons of Hindustan, who are in the Transvaal, are showing that they are capable of fighting for an ideal pure and simple. The methods adopted in order to secure relief are also equally pure and equally simple. Violence in any shape or form is entirely eschewed. They believe that self-suffering is the only true and effective means to procure lasting reforms. They endeavour to meet and conquer hatred by love. They oppose the brute or physical force by soul-force. They hold that loyalty to an earthly Sovereign or an earthly constitution is subordinate to loyalty to God and His constitution. In interpreting God's constitution through their conscience, they admit that they may possibly be wrong. Hence, in resisting or disregarding those man-made laws which they consider to be inconsistent with the eternal laws of God, they accept with resignation the penalties provided by the former, and trust to the working of time and to the best in human nature to make good their position. If they are wrong, they alone suffer, and the established order of things continues. In the process, over 2,500 Indians, or nearly one-half of the resident Indian population, or one-fifth of the possible Indian population of the Transvaal, have suffered imprisonment, carrying with it terrible hardships. Some of them have gone to gaol again and again. Many families have been impoverished. Several merchants have accepted privation rather than surrender their manhood. Incidentally, the Hindu-Mahomedan problem has been solved in South Africa. We realise there that the one cannot do without the other. Mahomedans, Parsees and Hindus, or taking them provincially, Bengalees, Madrasees, Punjabis, Afghanistanees, and Bombayites, have fought shoulder to shoulder.

I venture to suggest that a struggle such as this is worthy of occupying the best, if not, indeed, the exclusive attention of the Congress. If it be not impertinent, I would like to distinguish between this and the other items on the programme of the Congress. The opposition to the laws or the policy with which the other items deal does not involve any material suffering : the Congress activity consists in a mental attitude without corresponding action. In the Transvaal case, the law and the policy it enunciates being wrong, we disregard it, and therefore consciously and deliberately suffer material and physical injury; action follows and corresponds to our mental

attitude. If the view here sub-mitted be correct, it will be allowed that, in asking for the best place in the Congress programme for the Transvaal question, I have not been un-reasonable. May I also suggest that, in pondering over and concentrating our attention upon passive resistance such as has been described above, we would perchance find out that for the many ills we suffer from in India passive resistance is an infallible panacea. It is worthy of careful study, and I am sure it will be found that it is the only weapon that is suited to the genius of our people and our land, which is the nursery of the most ancient religions and has very little to learn from modern civilization—a civilization based on violence of the blackest type, largely a negation of the Divine in man, and which is rushing headlong to its own ruin.

Indian Opinion, 27-11-1909

133. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL¹

[LONDON,

October 30, 1909]²

MY LORD,

I have for some time past been wishing to place before Your Lordship the result of my observations made here during my brief stay on the nationalist movement among my countrymen.

If you will permit me to say so, I would like to say that I have been much struck by Your Lordship's candour, sincerity and honesty of which one notices nowadays such an absence among our great public men. I have noticed too that your imperialism does not blind you to matters of obvious justice and that your love of India is genuine and great. All this coupled with my desire to withhold nothing from Your Lordship regarding my own activity about Indian matters as they may have a direct or an indirect bearing on the struggle in the Transvaal, emboldens if it does not require me to

¹ Though the draft does not carry the addressee's name, it is clear from the contents that the letter was addressed to Lord Amphill. Acknowledging it on November 1, he wrote to Gandhiji : "... although I am not yet prepared to make any comment, I hasten to thank you for the expression of your views of which I fully appreciate the spirit and the candour. I must, however, confess that I do not fully understand your arguments and that I am in doubt as to the conclusions at which you have arrived. I should like to talk the matter over with you and I will ask you to come and see me (as I am now in London) as soon as I can see my way to a free moment."

² The original bears no date. This is derived from Lord Amphill's acknowledgment.

inform you of what I have seen.

I have made it a point to see Indians here of every shade of opinion. Opposed as I am to violence in any shape or form, I have endeavoured specially to come into contact with the so-called extremists who may be better described as the party of violence. This I have done in order if possible to convince them of the error of their ways. I have noticed that some of the members of this party are earnest spirits, possessing a high degree of morality, great intellectual ability and lofty self-sacrifice. They wield an undoubted influence on the young Indians here. They are certainly unsparing in their efforts to impress upon the latter their convictions. One of them came to me with a view to convince me that I was wrong in my methods and that nothing but the use of violence, covert or open or both, was likely to bring about redress of the wrongs they consider they suffer.

An awakening of the national consciousness is unmistakable. But among the majority it is in a crude shape and there is not a corresponding spirit of self-sacrifice. Everywhere I have noticed impatience of British rule. In some cases the hatred of the whole race is virulent. In almost all cases distrust of British statesmen is writ large on their minds. They (the statesmen) are supposed to do nothing unselfishly. Those who are against violence are so only for the time being. They do not disapprove of it. But they are too cowardly or too selfish to avow their opinions publicly. Some consider that the time for violence is not yet. I have practically met no one who believes that India can ever become free without resort to violence.

I believe that repression will be unavailing. At the same time, I feel that the British rulers will not give liberally and in time. The British people appear to me to be obsessed by commercial selfishness. The fault is not of men out of the system and the system is represented by the pre-sent civilization which has produced its blasting effect as well on the people here as on India. India suffers additionally only in so far as it is exploited in the interest of foreign capitalists. The true remedy lies, in my humble opinion, in England discarding modern civilization which is en-souled by this spirit of selfishness and materialism, is vain and purpose-less and is a negation of the spirit of Christianity. But this is a large order. It may then be just possible that the British rulers in India may at least do as the Indians do and not impose upon them the modern civilization. Railways, machinery and corresponding increase of indulgent habits

are the true badges of slavery of the Indian people as they are of Europeans. I, therefore, have no quarrel with the rulers. I have every quarrel with their methods. I no longer believe as I used to in Lord Macaulay as a benefactor through his minute on education. And I do think that a great deal too much is being made of *pax Britannica*. To me the rise of the cities like Calcutta and Bombay is a matter for sorrow rather than congratulation. India has lost in having broken up a part of her village system. Holding these views, I share the national spirit but I totally dissent from the methods whether of the extremists or of the moderates. For either party relies ultimately on violence. Violent methods must mean acceptance of modern civilization and therefore of the same ruinous competition we notice here and consequent destruction of true morality. I should be uninterested in the fact as to who rules. I should expect rulers to rule according to my wish otherwise I cease to help them to rule me. I become a passive resister against them. Passive resistance is soul-force exerted against physical force. In other words love conquering hatred.

I do not know how far I have made myself understood and I do not know how far I carry you with me in my reasoning. But I have put the case in the above manner before my countrymen. My purpose in writing to Your Lordship is twofold. The first is to tell Your Lordship that, whenever I can get the time, I would like to take my humble share in national regeneration and the second is either to secure Your Lordship's cooperation in the larger work if it ever comes to me or to invite your criticism.

The information I have given Your Lordship is quite confidential and not to be made use of prejudicially to my countrymen. I feel that no useful purpose will be served unless the truth is known and proclaimed.

If you will pursue the inquiry further, I shall be pleased to answer any questions you may wish to put. Mr. Ritch has full knowledge of the contents of this letter. If a discussion is considered necessary, I am at your service.

In conclusion, I hope I have not unduly or unwarrantably trespassed upon your courtesy and attention.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the original draft in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 5152

134. *SPEECH AT NEW REFORM CLUB¹*

[LONDON,
October 30, 1909]

The fight (he said) was for freedom of conscience, for mental independence and independence of action, not for the mechanical right of voting. British Indians first emigrated to the Transvaal in 1883, and from the first, their very virtues were set down as vices by those who could not realize how difficult it was for Indians to live in such a country.

They had heard from Lord Lansdowne that the war was undertaken as much for the British Indians as for other Outlanders, but after the war was over, the former were in a much worse position. They could only trade or hold land in Locations reserved for them, they had no burgher rights and no right to walk on the footpath, and it could be imagined how they were therefore treated by the people of the Transvaal when they were so degraded in the eyes of the law. Many statesmen allowed themselves to be betrayed into the hands of a few agitators, rivals in trade of the British Indians, and the new Registration Law of 1906 was used for oppressing British Indians. It was impossible for those who had the slightest sense of self-respect to accept that legislation. Deputations were repulsed, as was the request for a judicial enquiry. British Indians had been thrown into gaol and classed in treatment with the black men being forced to live upon the same dietery, with the consequence that they were practically starved. For the sake of the national honour they became passive resisters. It might be years before they could make themselves heard, but that would only be because they had not suffered enough. They had justice on their side, and Hindus, Mahomedans and Tamils, by working together in the cause, had solved a great racial problem.

India, 5-11-1909

¹ Gandhiji addressed the members of the Indian Union Society at the New Reform Club on "The Struggle for Fellow-citizenship in South Africa : Its Lessons"

135. SPEECH AT MEETING OF INDIANS¹

[LONDON,
November 2, 1909]

Mr. Gandhi, in the course of his remarks, stated that in the Transvaal would be solved the question, so far as the whole of South Africa was concerned, of the status of British Indians, and that it had a far-reaching effect in India also, and as the struggle in the Transvaal was for preserving the national honour, every Indian was bound to do his utmost to help the cause. He felt that if Indian volunteers came forward to do propaganda work in London and surrounding districts a great deal could be done to inform public opinion, which was ultimately bound to react on the Transvaal. The volunteers should set apart consistently with their ordinary occupations a certain amount of time for paying house-to-house visits and getting subscriptions from one farthing upward to relieve the distress amongst passive resisters and their families, and signatures to a document² expressing sympathy with the struggles of the passive resisters, encouraging them and trusting that the authorities will grant relief.³

Indian Opinion, 4-12-1909

136. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

[LONDON,]
November 3, 1909

SIR,

I shall be obliged if His Lordship the Earl of Crewe could now favour me with a reply to my letter of 19th October.

I have, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5158

¹ Convened by Messrs Delgado and Azad, the latter being one of the secretaries of the Muslim League in London, the meeting was held at 3 p. m. in the Essex Hall, Strand. Parekh presided. Hajee Habib and M. C. Anglia also addressed the gathering consisting of some 40 Indians. *Vide* also "Deputation's Last Letter", pp. 522-3 for a fuller report.

² *Vide* "Letter to Transvaal British Indians", 6-11-1909

³ The report stated that some 20 Indians and an equal number of Europeans volunteered to do propaganda work in London, under the guidance of L. W. Ritch, and it was decided to publish later on a weekly bulletin about the progress of the struggle, to be financed by English sympathisers in London. *Vide* also "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", 5-11-1909.

137. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]

November 4, 1909

MY LORD,

I have now received a letter from Lord Crewe, of which I enclose a copy¹, which shows clearly where we stand. The last paragraph I do not understand at all. I beg to enclose herewith draft² of the proposed reply to Lord Crewe. I await Your Lordship's advice before sending it.³

I remain, etc.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5159

138. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]

November 5, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I can send you only a brief letter today, although I have a lot to say. You will find a copy of the letter from Lord Crewe, and copy of my reply. It has not yet been delivered to Lord Crewe because it has been sent to Lord Ampthill for approval.⁴

The statement⁵ is now being distributed. I send you one copy along with the *Times Literary Supplement* by parcel post, and I hope to send you also copy of the letter which will accompany the statement, bringing the matters to date. The letter from Lord Crewe has been received in time for the Congress to do its duty. Let us hope that it will.

We leave on 13th November. On Saturday last I addressed a meeting of the Indian Union Society.⁶ All these things are now⁷

¹ *Vide* Appendix "Letters from Colonial Office and Ampthill".

² This was the same as the letter sent on November 6; *vide* "Letter to Under Secretary for Colonies", 6-11-1909.

³ For Lord Ampthill's reply, *vide* Appendix "Letters from Colonial Office and Ampthill".

⁴ *Vide* the preceding item.

⁵ This was the printed statement of July 16, which had been withheld from circulation till then. It was released with a covering letter; *vide* the following item.

⁶ *Vide* "Speech at New Reform Club", 30-10-1909

necessary in order to let every Indian know the position. There might be a report of the meeting in columns of *India*. On Tuesday, as per card herewith, there was a meeting of young Indians to consider what they could do. Mr. Anglia, Mr. Hajee Habib, and I spoke to them.¹ The proposition I made before them was that students and other resident Indians should give what time they could regularly to propaganda work, should get a memo-randum signed by thousands of people here, with whatever subscription they may choose to give towards the maintenance of the struggle. I send you draft memorandum.² A meeting is to be held tomorrow to consider the programme of work and the draft memorandum. The idea is also to publish a weekly bulletin, if possible, that would give a resume of the position in India and South Africa, but there are obvious difficulties about the paper. The paper, in my opinion, cannot be financed from India. It must be self-supporting and any deficiency found by the English people, because I hold that it is their duty from many points of view to take up the work. But you require a man who is able enough, and who can give his exclusive attention to this. Ritch cannot do it at present. It therefore remains to be seen whether this can come out. If Chhaganlal is here in time, there is a likelihood of it. The work of the Committee will continue. I take it that you will correspond with Ritch regularly.

I send you herewith copy of my letter to Lord Amphill,³ which is quite confidential, but of course you should know the whole position. After reading the letter I would like you to destroy it. I am sending a copy to Dr. Mehta with a similar request, and I am sending also a copy of this letter to him in order to avoid my having to write about the same thing. If the volunteers do their duty here, and if India makes a sufficient effort, there is no reason why the thing cannot go through, provided, of course, that we in the Transvaal are firm. It is a curious coincidence that along with the letter from Lord Crewe comes the news from the Transvaal that Harilal too is lodged in gaol. I am itching to join him.

I have your cablegram asking me to repeat the last word of my last cable, which I shall do tomorrow in the hope of being able to add something more to the cable. The last word was "NEARCTIC" meaning

⁷ The original has "not", an obvious typing error.

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Meeting of Indians", 2-11-1909

² *Vide* "Letter to Transvaal British Indians", 6-11-1909

³ *Vide* "Letter to Lord Amphill", 30-10-1909

thirteenth November. It occurs in the 5th edition of the A.B.C. code.

I am addressing a meeting of the Indian Majlis at Cambridge on Sunday.¹

You will notice from the list of volunteers that both Sally and Maud are offering their help.² The Pater and Mater also are coming tomorrow. I do not know what they will do. Of course if they will they also can do the missionary work, but I can hardly conceive it as possible. Miss Winterbottom has thrown herself into it.

Mr. Doke's book has been reviewed in the *Edinburgh Evening News* in about 20 lines. *The Times* has just acknowledged it, giving a 4-line notice. I do not think it has been reviewed anywhere else yet. Mr. Meyer calls a meeting to bid us farewell and to hear me on the position on Friday the 12th inst. and about sixty people are being invited to tea.³

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5162

139. LETTER TO THE PRESS

LONDON,
November 5, 1909

SIR,

The Transvaal British Indian deputation arrived in London on the 10th day of July last. The enclosed statement⁴ of the British Indian case in that Colony was prepared immediately after the arrival in London of that deputation, but it was not issued as delicate negotiations with a view to arriving at a quiet settlement were in progress. We have now learnt that these have proved abortive and that the position remains unchanged. It has therefore become necessary for us to inform the public as to how the matter stands and what the struggle of the British Indians in the Transvaal means.

The ex-Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal during its administration as a Crown Colony, writing in a magazine in South Africa in the month of February last, thus correctly summed up the question :

The position of the Indian leaders is that they will tolerate no law which does

¹ No report of this speech is available.

² Vide "Deputation's Last Letter", After 6-11-1909.

³ Vide "Speech at Farewell Meeting", 12-11-1909.

⁴ Vide "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", 16-7-1909.

not put them on an equality with Europeans in regard to restriction on immigration. They are willing to see the number of Asiatics limited by administrative action. . . They insist on equality in the terms of the law itself. That is still the position.

Mr. Smuts, the present Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal, offers to repeal the Registration Law around which the struggle has been raging for the last three years, and to concede to a limited number of British Indians, other than former residents of the Transvaal, certificates of per-manent residence. Were the object aimed at by the British Indians the admission into the Colony of a few more of their brethren, this concession would be material, but the object they have had in view in agitating for the repeal of the Law being to secure legal or theoretical equality in respect of immigration, their purpose is by the proposed maintenance of the legal disability not advanced a step. We are not aware whether the above modification of the present law proposed by Mr. Smuts will take place irrespective of the continuance of the passive resistance at present being offered by the British Indians of the Transvaal, but we are in a position to state that the proposed concession will not satisfy passive resisters. The struggle of the Indian community of that Colony was undertaken in order to obtain the removal of the stigma cast upon the whole of India by this legislation, which imports a racial and colour bar into the Immigration Laws of a British Colony for the first time in the history of Colonial legislation. The principle so laid down, that British Indians may not enter the Transvaal because they are British Indians, is a radical departure from traditional policy, is un-British and intolerable, and if that principle is accepted even tacitly by British Indians, we consider that they will be untrue to themselves, to the land of their birth, and to the Empire to which they belong. Nor is it the passive resisters in the Transvaal who in a matter of this kind have alone to be considered. The whole of India is now awakened to a sense of the insult that the Transvaal legislation offers to her, and we feel that the people here at the heart of the Empire cannot remain unmoved by this departure, so unprecedented and so vital, from Imperial traditions. Mr. Smuts' proposal brings out the issue in the clearest manner possible. If we were fighting not for a principle but for loaves and fishes, he would be prepared to throw them at us in the shape of residential permits for the small number of cultured British Indians that may be required for our wants, but because we insist upon the removal of the implied racial taint from the legislation of the

Colony, he is not prepared to yield an inch. He would give us the husk without the kernel. He declines to remove the badge of inferiority, but is ready to change the present rough-looking symbol for a nicely polished one. British Indians, however, decline to be deluded. They may yield everything, occupy any position, but the badge must be removed first. We, therefore, trust that the public will not be misled by the specious concessions that are being offered into the belief that British Indians, because they do not accept them, are unreasonable in their demands, that they are uncompromising, and that, therefore, they do not deserve the sympathy and support of a common-sense and practical public. In the final reply received by us from Lord Crewe the following is the position that is taken up :

His Lordship explained to you that Mr. Smuts was unable to accept the claim that Asiatics should be placed in a position of equality with Europeans in respect of right of entry or otherwise.

Herein lies the crux. Legal equality in respect of the right of entry, even though never a man does enter, is what British Indians have been fighting for and, according to the reports we have received from the Transvaal, is what some of them, at least, will die for. The only possible justification for holding together the different communities of the Empire under the same Sovereignty is the fact of elementary equality, and it is because the Transvaal legislation cuts at the very root of this principle that British Indians have offered a stubborn resistance.

It would be contrary to fact to argue that no relief can be had in this matter because the Transvaal is a self-governing Colony, and because now South Africa has got its Union. The difficulty of the situation is due to a mistake committed at the centre of the Empire. The Imperial Government are party to the crime against the Imperial Constitution. They sanctioned when they need not have, and when it was their duty not to have sanctioned, the legislation in question. They are now undoubtedly most anxious to settle this troublesome matter. Lord Crewe has endeavoured to bring about a satisfactory result, but he is too late. Mr. Smuts, perhaps very properly, has reminded His Lordship of the fact that the legislation in question had received Imperial sanction, and that he should or could not now be called upon to retrace his steps, because the British Indians in the Transvaal had undertaken to disregard the legislation, and to suffer the penalties of such disregard. His position as a politician and as an

aspirant to high office in “a white South Africa” is unquestionable, but neither the British public nor the Indian public are interested in his position, nor are they party to this crime of the Imperial Government.

We may add that, during the last four months, arrests and imprisonments have gone on unabated. The leaders of the community continue to go to prison. The severity of the prison regulations is maintained. The prison diet has been altered for the worse. Prominent medical men of Johannesburg have certified that the present dietary scale for Indian prisoners is deficient. The authorities, unlike their action during last year, have ignored the religious scruples of Mahomedan prisoners, and have refused to give facilities for observing the sacred annual fast which millions of Mahomedans scrupulously undergo from year to year. Sixty passive resisters recently came out of the Pretoria Gaol emaciated and weak. Their message to us is that, starved as they were, they are ready to be re-arrested as soon as the Government wish to lay their hands on them. The Acting Chairman of the British Indian Association has only just been arrested and sentenced to be imprisoned for three months with hard labour. This is his third term. He is a Mahomedan. A brave Parsee, a well-educated man, was deported to Natal. He re-entered, and is now undergoing six months’ imprisonment with hard labour. He is in gaol for the fifth time. A young Indian, an ex-Volunteer sergeant, has also gone to gaol for the third time on the same terms as the Parsee. Wives of imprisoned British Indians and their children either take up baskets of fruit, hawk about and earn their living in order to support themselves, or are being supported from contributions. Mr. Smuts, when he re-embarked for South Africa, said that he had arrived at an understanding with Lord Crewe that would satisfy the large body of British Indians who were heartily sick of the agitation. His prophecy has been totally disproved by what has happened since.

We remain, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

HAJEE HABIB

[ENCLOSURE]

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT

The British Indians in the Transvaal have been suffering for the past two years and six months untold suffering in order to secure :

Repeal of a Transvaal law called the Asiatic Registration Act (2 of 1907) which its authors claim to be a measure merely for effecting the identification of the British Indians entitled to remain in the Colony, but which is regarded by the British Indians themselves as most objectionable, because, in reality—

(1) The Act wounds their religious susceptibilities and degrades them in many ways; and

(2) Read together with another law of a later date (called the Immigration Act), it constitutes an impassable barrier to the immigration of Indians, however highly cultured, on the score of their race and colour.

The desired relief can easily be granted by repealing the Registration Act and slightly amending the Immigration Act, without in any way endangering the colonial policy of preventing an influx of British Indians. The practical effect of such repeal and amendment would be the removal of the racial insult, and would at the most involve the entry of the few Indian new-comers necessary for the spiritual and intellectual needs of the resident community.

The Indians at present actually residing in the Transvaal number about 5,000.

The population of Indians domiciled in the Transvaal is about 13,000.

The difference means that nearly 8,000 Indians have been driven away, for the time being, from the Transvaal, being too weak to undergo the physical suffering of gaol life.

Over 2,500 British Indians have passed through the Transvaal gaols, all but 150 having been imprisoned with hard labour. Sentences have ranged from four days' to six months' hard labour. Hundreds of British Indians have been ruined in the struggle. Several families have been supported from public subscriptions, the wage-earners being in the Transvaal gaols. Indians both young and old have suffered and are still suffering imprisonment. Many leaders are at present in the gaols, including the Mahomedan Chairman of the British Indian Association and a Parsee gentleman who is renowned

for his philanthropy throughout South Africa. Fathers and sons have been in gaol at the same time. About sixty Indians have been deported to India, where they were landed penniless and friendless.

A band of noble Europeans in the Transvaal, headed by Mr. Wm. Hosken, M. L. A. of the Transvaal, have formed themselves into a committee for securing justice.

Hindoos and Mahomedans, Parsees and Sikhs are fighting shoulder to shoulder. The struggle to-day is being continued to maintain the honour of the three hundred millions of their fellow-countrymen, and is absolutely selfless. The sufferers have no personal interest to serve.

The Indians contend that General Smuts, the Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal, is under promise to repeal the Asiatic Registration Act of 1907. If that Act had been repealed, the question of educated Indians would have been automatically adjusted, because, without it, the Immi-gration Law above referred to would not have prevented the entry of highly educated Indians. General Smuts contends that, whilst he discussed the question of repeal of the Act with Mr. Gandhi, he does not remember having made a definite promise. Mr. Gandhi has made an affidavit swear-ing that such a promise was made and has produced documentary evidence in support of his contention. General Smuts holds that the Indian deman-ds are in effect satisfied in that he wishes to treat the Registration Act as a dead letter and is prepared to admit educated Indians on sufferance and on temporary permits, which may be extended from time to time. Indians hold that they are under a solemn obligation to secure repeal of the Act above-mentioned, and that, if it is a dead letter, it can be of no use to the Government. They further contend that the admission of educated Indians on sufferance is useless because the struggle is not so much to secure the admission of a few individuals as to conserve national honour. *It is the unnecessary legal racial disability which makes the situation so degrading, and affords an obiding source of irritation to the whole Indian nation.* This legislation is the first of its kind in the history of the Colonies. No other self-governing Colony possesses legislation containing the racial taint, described by Lord Morley as the “bar sinister”.

British Indians do not desire an indiscriminate influx of their countrymen into the Transvaal. They submit that, by a judicious administration of the Immigration Act, all but a few—say six highly

educated Indians per year—may be prevented from entering the Colony. The Cape, Australia and other Colonies have solved the question of Asiatic immigration without resort to racial legislation.

From a photostat of the printed copy : S. N. 5180

140. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

[LONDON,]

November 6, 1909

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant, numbered 34519/1909.¹ It is a matter for very deep regret that the Earl of Crewe is unable to hold out any hopes of obtaining recognition of theoretical equality as to immigration such as is claimed by British Indians in the Transvaal, and as has hitherto been accepted throughout the Colonies, and which alone, it is respectfully submitted, can justify the holding together of different peoples of the world under the same sovereignty. There remains nothing for my colleague and me to do but to place the position before the public and to return to the Transvaal. In view, however, of the Imperial importance of the question, my colleague and I respectfully trust that His Lordship will still use his influence in order to secure the removal of the offensive colour bar in the immigration laws of the Transvaal.²

I have, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records : 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5164

¹ *Vide* Appendix “Letters from Colonial Office and Ampthill”.

² The Colonial Office reaction to this letter is available in a minute of November 9. On receipt of Gandhiji’s communication, the Colonial Office sent a cable to the Transvaal Government. *Vide* Appendix “Colonial Office Minute”.

141. LETTER TO TRANSVAAL BRITISH INDIANSⁱ

[LONDON,

November 6, 1909]

We of the United Kingdom have learnt, through those who are working here on your behalf, about your sorrows and trials under the British flag. That you are fighting for the honour of your race and your motherland commands our admiration. In our opinion, the Transvaal Government has no right to debar British subjects who may be of a different race or a different colour to themselves from entering that Colony because of colour or race. We hold it to be contrary to the traditions of the Empire to which you and we belong. We appreciate the moderation of your position in that, whilst you naturally insist upon your national honour being preserved untarnished, you do not oppose the desire of the Colonists in the Transvaal to regulate and restrict immigration from India under general and non-racial legislation, and on economic grounds which to the Colonists appear to be just.

The Method you have adopted for seeking redress appeals to us who believe in religion as the guiding force of life. In making your position good, and in convincing the authorities of the justice of your cause and of the earnestness of your demand, you have not resorted to methods of violence and physical force, but you have heroically suffered in your own persons by refusing to accept a law which you rightly consider to be repugnant to your conscience and by submitting to the penalties provided by it for non-submission. 2,500 of you have already been imprisoned—mostly with hard labour, and for long terms up to six months. Some of you have become impoverished. Wives have patiently borne separation from their husbands, and have also been reduced almost to starvation. Your merchants have allowed their goods to be sold, and have allowed their creditors to take away their stock. In undergoing such suffering you are showing the true spirit of the great teachers of the different

religions of the world. We sympathise with you. We mean that our whole life shall testify how earnestly we desire for you strength and courage to continue your struggle, and, as a tangible expression of our sympathy for you, we subscribe our names herein below, and pay whatever we feel impelled to give towards the relief of your distress. We hope that the authorities, as well in the Transvaal as in London, will open their eyes and give immediate relief.

Indian Opinion, 11-12-1909

142. DEPUTATION'S LAST LETTER'

[After November 6, 1909]

LORD CREWE'S REPLY

Everything now is as clear as daylight. Lord Crewe has given a plain reply. Says he.²

I am to inform you that the proposals in question were those put before you by His Lordship on the 16th of September as having been made by Mr. Smuts, viz., the repeal of Act 2 of 1907 and the admission of six educated Asiatics each year on certificates of permanent right of residence, which would involve, in your own view, a real step in advance and would, so far as their practical effect is concerned, provide a solution of the present difficulty. They were not, nor were they connected with, those made by yourself, and involving a theoretical claim for which His Lordship is not able to hold out any hope of obtaining recognition. Indeed, at the interview on the 16th of September, His Lordship explained to you that Mr. Smuts was unable to accept the claim that Asiatics should be placed in a position of equality with Europeans in respect of right of entry or otherwise.

DEPUTATION'S REPLY

The deputation has replied to this letter as under :³

¹ This was published in *Indian Opinion* with the following sub-headings : "Steps Taken in England : Detailed Statement in Press : Volunteers to Canvaas Support for Struggle."

² What follows is an extract from the letter dated November 3 from the Under Secretary for Colonies; vide Appendix "Letters from Colonial Office and Ampthill".

³ For the text of the letter, vide "Letter to Under Secretary for Colonies", 6-11-1909.

COMMENTS

It is now necessary for every Indian to understand what the struggle is about and how important are the issues involved. We are carrying a burden on behalf of the whole of India. It is but our duty to do so. Mr. Smuts is prepared to offer us whatever we want if only we concede that we are not the equals of whites. He clings to the position that we shall not have equality under the law. He has struck at the root of British principles and the principles of humanity. We have taken the blow on ourselves in order to defend those principles. Were the blow to strike at the root, the British Empire will cease to have any meaning, and it will be slavery for Indians to stay on in the Transvaal or South Africa. No one can enslave us against our will. If we do not recognize the principles of the man [who may attempt to enslave us] and refuse to carry out his orders, we cease to be slaves. In former times, they used force to impose slavery; now they use blandishments. In olden days, one might say, things were better, since all the evil was there on the surface for everyone to see, with the result that people were repelled by it. When the slaves could no longer bear their sufferings, they ran away or killed themselves. Now that they seek to confer slavery upon us through baits, we readily accept it, not even knowing that it is slavery. We are fighting the battle of satyagraha in South Africa in order to save ourselves from such a plight. The Government know, and we ought to—if we do not know already—that, if we once compel it to give up its effort [to enslave us], the rest will be easy enough for us. We are carrying on a fight for the franchise that really matters. We are demonstrating that we have the potentialities of nationhood in us, the spirit that people aspiring to be a nation must possess.

Moreover, we are not fighting against the Transvaal [Government] only, but also against the Imperial Government, for the latter has assented to the law¹ in question. “You will get all that you want if you give up the claim to legal equality;” in other words, “Sign a bond of slavery and you will be treated well.” Or, we may explain this by imagining Germany saying to the British : “Come under our rule and we shall treat you well.” In reply, the British will say : “We do not care to be treated well by you. We are happy defending our freedom, whatever the suffering we may have to go

¹ The Asiatic Registration Act No. 2 of 1907

through.” That is exactly the kind of reply that we have been giving for the last three years, and which, I hope, we shall for ever continue to give. Many embraced poverty in the course of the fight for legal equality in respect of right of entry, and we are prepared to lay down our lives in it. I take it that the brave ones who have taken up arms will never retreat. Let every Indian tell himself over and over again that the remedy for this situation is in our own hands, not in those of the Imperial Government or of the Transvaal Government. It is our duty to make formal representations to them and reason with them. But it should not be forgotten that no pressure other than that of our own strength will avail us.

FEELINGS

The cable-report in the newspapers about the imprisonment of my son, Harilal, coming as it did at the same time as Lord Crewe’s letter, certainly made me very happy. When so many Indians were re-arrested, I was not in the least happy that my son and I should be free. And just then appeared the cable-report. Miss Polak, who understands my feelings on this matter, congratulated me as she gave me the news. Though I know that the boy, poor child, will suffer, I welcome the news all the same. It will do him good to suffer, and me too; he will be doing a service to the community. It is the command of God [that one should suffer]. Nagappen, you too were a mere child, and sacrificed your life for the sake of the motherland. I regard your sacrifice as a blessing on your family. I believe that, though dead, you are immortal. Why, then, should I be upset by my son’s imprisonment? His associates have returned to gaol. None of them stands to gain anything by doing so, and yet they have submitted to the hardships of gaol. I refuse to believe that this suffering will not be rewarded with happiness and that the law will not be repealed on our terms. I hope that no Indian will be timid enough to entertain such a belief.

TO SOUTH AFRICAN INDIANS

I say to all the Indians in South Africa that this struggle is not confined to the Transvaal, that it is on behalf of them all and that they should extend every encouragement to those who are fighting. To Mr. Abdul Caadir and Mr. Amod Bhayat, who have seen for themselves how matters stand here, I say that their duty requires them to instil the highest spirit in the people. Everyone can, and will, I

hope, help to the best of his means, some by expressing their views, some with money and others by going to gaol.

We have only one week before leaving¹, and plenty to do in the meantime. A printed statement is ready, which is now to be sent round. It is accompanied by a forwarding letter, which reads as follows :²

It is hoped that newspapers will publish the letter.

INDIAN UNION SOCIETY

A meeting of the Indian Union Society was held on Saturday, when all the facts about the struggle were placed before the Indians and the whites. A brief report of the meeting appeared in one of the newspapers here.

MEETING OF LONDON INDIANS

A meeting of the local Indians was held on Tuesday last. Between 40 and 50 Indians were present. Mr. Hajee Habib, Mr. Anglia and I spoke. I asked for some Indians to come forward as volunteers. They would have to go from house to house and collect signatures on a letter³ of sympathy. Besides signing the letter, one may also offer, if so inclined, anything from a farthing upwards. There can be thousands of such signatures. They cannot but produce an effect on the Imperial Government as also on others. In response to the call, about 20 Indians gave their names on the spot. This is a very promising idea. It is likely to take root and, if all the volunteers put their heart into the work, they may achieve a big result. In that case, while pressure is being exerted in India on the one hand, there will be similar pressure in England on the other and, if we meanwhile maintain our spirit in the Transvaal, the fight can well be brought to an early conclusion. Afterwards, some whites, too, gave their names. In all, the following names have been received :

Messrs G. C. Verma, S. P. Verma, F. Lalan, J. P. patel, K. Amid, N. Dwarkadas, D. C. Ghose, H. M. Bose, G. H. Khan, Abdool Haq, S. Manga, A. Haffeeji, B. Sahai, H. R. Bilimoria, D. Singh, B. Prasad, Hussain Dawad, A. H. Gool, R. G. Munsif, M. K. Azad, P. Banerjee, A. Mann, H. E. Cheeseman, and among the ladies, Miss F. Winterbottom, Mrs. G. Nag, Mrs. Polak, Mrs. Dube, Miss Hussain and the

¹ The deputation left England on November 13.

² For the text of the letter, *vide* "Letter to the Press", 5-11-1909.

³ *Vide* the preceding item.

Misses Polak.

SUGGESTION TO START NEWSPAPER

There is also an idea that we may start a small journal here in England itself for the duration of the struggle. It should give a digest of all the news received from South Africa and India and should be put on sale at a number of places. The intention is to start the journal only if some whites here offer to finance it. It is their duty to do so, and they must, of course, carry it out. The difficulty is that Mr. Ritch does not have enough time for the purpose and no one equally capable is available at present. There are many who can work under him, but it is necessary to have a man who will offer his whole-time services to the work. The journal can start only when such a man is available.

MEYER'S HELP

To end, Mr. Meyer, the well-known clergyman who had been in Johannesburg for some time, has arranged a tea-party at his own cost to enable people to meet us both. He has invited some 60 persons. We are to explain the whole position there. The function will take place on Friday, the 12th.¹ Things are thus on the move on every side. But the effectiveness of every step will depend on our courage. The following were the final words of Mr. Meyer,² "We (the British) shall not be of much help to you. You will have to suffer and go to gaol. It is only when you have done so and when India is aroused that you will see the end of your trials. Otherwise, be sure that nothing will happen. I will, of course, do my best." This was well-said. It is only deluding ourselves to believe that others will do anything for us.

Dr. Miss Joshi and Mr. Mhaskar have contributed £3 [each] to the struggle. Likewise, Mr. Gokulbhai Dalal has sent 10s. Dr. Joshi has also addressed a letter to the editor [of *Indian Opinion*].

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 4-12-1909

¹ Vide "Speech at Farewell Meeting", 12-11-1909.

² Gandhiji met Rev. F. B. Meyer at lunch on September 24.

143. LONDON

[Before November 8, 1909]

SUFFRAGETTES

The campaign that women have been carrying on for the franchise can prove most useful to us, or so I think at least. It has importance both for South Africa and India. They do much that deserves to be copied, and much that should be avoided. Like us, they believe that they are being denied their rights, and that they are treated as inferior [to men]. Their struggle has been going on for quite some time. They, too, have two parties, one moderate and the other extremist. The difference between them and us is that they are not satyagrahis, but believe in brute force.

Their courage, their unity, their readiness to bear pecuniary losses, their intelligence—all these deserve to be admired and emulated. They throw stones and injure others, forgetting all sense of propriety, and these ways of theirs deserve to be shunned. Three such incidents occurred only recently. A suffragette in Manchester Gaol was being forcibly fed. She, therefore, resorted to a stratagem which made it impossible to open the door [of her cell]. Thereupon, the authorities sprayed her with a water-hose. Still, she did not open the door. This lady had real courage, indeed, but used it to a wrong end. Those who come forward to suffer are not justified in behaving as she did. Her object was to secure her release from gaol, and she achieved it. But the women won no rights [thereby]. When it came to be known that she was sprayed with a water-hose, she was ordered to be released.

In a certain locality here, election of a member to the House of Commons was going on. Two women went there with the intention of spoiling election papers.¹ They had with them some liquid with which they could burn paper. Having managed somehow to enter the election booth, they squirted the liquid all round. Not many papers were spoiled, but one of the women caused a serious injury to an officer's eye. This was a very base thing to do. It is being condemned by everyone. And yet, her Association has accepted

¹ Reports of these two incidents appeared in the Gujarati columns of *Indian Opinion*, 6-11-1909.

responsibility for what she did. The women are now being prosecuted.

At a third place, she broke the door-panes of the physician who used to carry out forcible feeding. This was done merely with the object of damaging the physician's property. In what way was the physician to blame? He was only an officer of the Government and undertook the task [of forcible feeding]. All these are courageous acts, but courage by itself cannot win any rights. Courage should be put to a worthy use.

I came to know only recently that the suffragettes publish four journals— three weeklies and one monthly. A single branch of their Association raised the entire sum of £50,000 much before the target date, and so, they are now planning to raise the figure to £1,00,000. They have a band of their own, and also a special photographer for their journal. There are meetings of the Association branches at one place or another all through the week. The franchise is nowhere in sight yet, but they refuse to accept defeat and go on fighting. This is surely no ordinary spirit.

BUDGET

The storm over the budget raged for six months in the House of Commons. It has now passed the Budget Bill, which will go to the House of Lords on Monday. The Bill is expected to meet with fierce opposition there. Many believe that the House of Lords will refuse to pass the Budget. In that case, there will be new elections in January. Many people hold that even if that happens, the Liberal Party will win. For the present, the British people are intensely preoccupied with this question. They can think of nothing else, for it is a fierce strife that is going on between the commoners and the nobility. Each side reviles the other and doubts its *bona fides*. The only thing they have desisted from, so far, is actual physical fighting and that, too, not because they think it bad but because neither side expects to profit by it. They are not likely [however] to invite help from a third party to settle their quarrel. That much is certain.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 4-12-1909

144. INTERVIEW TO REUTER¹

[LONDON,
November 9, 1909]

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed by a representative of Reuter's Agency, expressed disappointment at the failure of negotiations with Mr. Smuts. He paid a tribute to the efforts of Lord Crewe to effect a settlement of the Asiatic question with the Transvaal Government, but he said that the concessions which had been made did not touch the vital principle of legal equality.

Mr. Gandhi said he expected Hajee Habib and himself to be arrested on the Transvaal border. The campaign with which he was associated would, however, be continued most strenuously in India, the United Kingdom and South Africa, where Indian and English volunteers had organized a house-to-house visitation with the object of securing support and funds.

Indian Opinion, 13-11-1909

145. LETTER TO AYLMER MAUDE

LONDON,
November 10, 1909

DEAR MR. MAUDE,

I have not succeeded in getting the *Manchester Guardian* to take up Tolstoy's "Letter to a Hindoo". I have not been able to go to the British Museum myself, but I asked a friend to look up Ballou's² books. His books are there.

Could you please now tell me whether you would act as co-judge with Dr. Clifford with reference to the Passive Resistance Essay.

I remain, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten original signed by Gandhiji : C. W. 4439

¹ This was published under the caption "News from London".

² The reference evidently is to Adin Ballou (1803-1890). American Clergyman, founder of Hopedale Community and author of *Practical Christian Socialism*. *I Primitive Christianity and its Corruption* and other works. Tolstoy, who mentions him admiringly in *The Kingdom of God is within You*, was greatly impressed by Ballou's writings.

146. LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

[LONDON,]
November 10, 1909

MY LORD,

I am much obliged to Your Lordship for your letter of today. As you propose to make use of the information about the interview¹ at the forthcoming discussion in the House of Lords, I quite agree that the minutes should be sent to Lord Crewe for confirmation or . . .²

I am delighted to learn that your son is making good progress.³

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5172

147. LETTER TO LEO TOLSTOY

LONDON,
November 10, 1909

DEAR SIR,

I beg to tender my thanks for your registered letter in connection with the letter addressed to a Hindu, and with the matters that I dealt with in my letter⁴ to you.

Having heard about your failing health I refrained, in order to save you the trouble, from sending an acknowledgment, knowing that a written expression of my thanks was a superfluous formality; but Mr. Aylmer Maude, whom I have now been able to meet reassured me that you were keeping very good health indeed and that unfailingly and regularly you attended to your correspondence every morning. It was a very gladsome news to me, and it encourages me to write to you further about matters which are, I know, of the greatest importance according to your teaching.

I beg to send you herewith a copy of a book⁵ written by a

¹ Vide "Substance of interview with Lord Crewe", 16-11-1909 and Appendix "Colonial Office Minute".

² Some words have not registered on the office copy.

³ On November 7, Lord Ampthill had informed Gandhiji that one of his children was ill, and put off an appointment with him fixed for the next day.

⁴ Vide "Letter to Leo Tolstoy", 1-10-1909.

⁵ *M. K. Gandhi : An Indian patriot in South Africa* by Rev. J. J. Doke.

friend—an Englishman, who is at present in South Africa, in connection with my life, in so far as it has a bearing on the struggle with which I am so connected, and to which my life is dedicated. As I am very anxious to engage your active interest and sympathy, I thought that it would not be considered by you as out of the way for me to send you the book.

In my opinion, this struggle of the Indians in the Transvaal is the greatest of modern times, inasmuch as it has been idealised both as to the goal as also the methods adopted to reach the goal. I am not aware of a struggle in which the participators are not to derive any personal advantage at the end of it, and in which 50 per cent. of the persons affected have undergone great suffering and trial for the sake of a principle. It has not been possible for me to advertise the struggle as much as I should like. You command, possibly, the widest public today. If you are satisfied as to the facts you will find set forth in Mr. Doke's book, and if you consider that the conclusions I have arrived at are justified by the facts, may I ask you to use your influence in any manner you think fit to popularise the movement? If it succeeds, it will be not only a triumph of religion, love and truth over irreligion, hatred and falsehood, but it is highly likely to serve as an example to the millions in India and to people in other parts of the world, who may be down-trodden and will certainly go a great way towards breaking up the party of violence, at least in India. If we hold out to the end, as I think we would, I entertain not the slightest doubt as to its ultimate success; and your encouragement in the way suggested by you can only strengthen us in our resolve.

The negotiations that are going on for a settlement of the question have practically fallen through, and together with my colleague I return to South Africa this week, and invite imprisonment. I may add that my son has happily joined me in the struggle and is now undergoing imprisonment with hard labour for six months. This is his fourth imprisonment in the course of the struggle.

If you would be so good as to reply to this letter, may I ask you to address your reply to me at Johannesburg, S.A., Box 6522.

Hoping that this will find you in good health.

I remain, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

From an illustration of the original in *Mahatma*,. Vol. I; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5173

148. LETTER TO H. JUST

LONDON,
November 10, 1909

DEAR MR. JUST¹,

With reference to the official letter No. 34924/1909, may I trouble you to send me a copy of my letter² of 24th August last referred to in the above mentioned letter. My clerk seems to have mislaid the carbon copy.

I remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

H. JUST, ESQ.
COLONIAL OFFICE
DOWNING STREET
[LONDON]

Colonial Office Records : 291/142

149. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

[LONDON,]
November 10, 1909

SIR,

I have the honour to draw the attention of the Earl of Crewe to the following cablegram received from Rangoon :

Crowded public meeting held yesterday, attended by all sections community, Indians, Chinese, Burmese, emphatically condemned Transvaal Asiatic legislation, urging immediate Imperial intervention remove racial indignity, prevent further ill-treatment resident Asiatics; urging also stoppage recruitment Indian labour for South Africa until existing grievances have been remedied. Other resolutions passed expressing admiration attitude adopted by Asiatics resident Transvaal. Committee being formed raise fund to alleviate their needs. Great indignation, enthusiasm displayed.

I have, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records : 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5174

¹ Hartmann Just (1854-1929); Assistant Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1907-16

² *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", 24-8-1909.

150. INTERVIEW TO "THE DAILY EXPRESS"¹

[LONDON,
November 10, 1909]

General Smuts took a step forward when he said he would repeal the obnoxious Asiatic Act and, so far as the status of educated Indians arising from the Act is concerned said he was prepared to grant certificates of permanent residence to a limited number of Indians. This is satisfactory as far as it goes, but it leaves untouched the principle for which and for which alone we have been fighting. That principle is for legal equality so far as immigration is concerned. General Smuts' offer is not enough to stop passive resistance on our part. Mr. Hajee Habib and myself are returning at once to Johannesburg. The next step probably is that both of us will be arrested at the Transvaal frontier, but the campaign will continue with unabated vigour. Hitherto we have refrained from asking for funds in India or elsewhere outside South Africa, but the severe strain upon our resources and the number of ruined families whom we have to support now make this essential. We have organised a band of Indian and English volunteers who, immediately on our departure from this country, will commence house-to-house visits both in London and in the provinces, asking for signatures for a memorandum to the authorities of the Transvaal and in London.

India, 12-11-1909

151. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

LONDON,
November 11, 1909

DEAR PROFESSOR GOKHALE,

Although I have your kind message through Mr. Polak that I should not address you as Professor², my reverence for you will not enable me to adopt a more familiar style.

¹ This report of the interview was reproduced in *India* from *The Daily Express*, 10-11-1909.

² In his letter of September 10, Polak had informed Gandhiji that Gokhale thought it "too formal and he and you know each other too well for these formalities."

In his last letter, Mr. Polak tells me that overwork and anxiety have ruined your health and that your plain-spokenness has endangered your life¹. I venture to suggest that you should come to the Transvaal and join us. I claim that the Transvaal struggle is national in every sense of the term. It deserves the highest encouragement. I have considered it to be the greatest struggle of modern time. That it will succeed in the end I have not the slightest doubt. But an early success will break up the violence movement in India.

I have moved very freely among our countrymen here and I notice extreme bitterness against you. Most consider that violence is the only method for securing any reform. In the Transvaal, we are trying to show that violence is futile and that the proper method is self-suffering. i.e., passive resistance. If, therefore, you came to the Transvaal, publicly declaring that it was your intention to share our sorrows and, therefore, to cross the Transvaal border as a citizen of the Empire, you would give it a world-wide significance, the struggle will soon end and your countrymen will know you better. The last consideration may not weigh with you. But it does with me for the sake of themselves. If you would come, and If you are left untouched and I am free, I should deem it a great privilege to nurse you. If you are arrested and imprisoned, I should be delighted. I may be wrong, but I do feel that it is a step worth taking for the sake of India. Feeling so strongly, I would be pardoned for suggesting that the Transvaal question should have a prominent place on the Congress platform and nothing can be so effective as for you to say that you would join the struggle.

I have written this letter in the midst of interruptions. I have not therefore been able to explain all I should like to. I would only [add] that my reverence for you has prompted this suggestion. I would see you reach perfection among your countrymen in S. A., where you would not be misunderstood and where you would be mentioned as nowhere else.

Will you kindly send your reply to me at Johannesburg, Box 6522?

I remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 924 Courtesy : Servants of India Society, Poona

¹ Polak had written on October 14: "You will see what poor Gokhale has to suffer. He tells me (privately) that the Governor sent for him and warned him that his person was in danger. The S [ervants] of I[ndia] watch him day and night and never let him go out unguarded."

152. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]

November 11, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I should like to write a very long letter to you, but I do not know how to. I am full of information of the greatest importance but I cannot give it to you in a presentable form during the time at my disposal. The first thing, however, I want to deal with is Maud's condition. I had only once joked with her, asking whether she wanted to go to South Africa, and the joke proceeded from a remark made by Hajee Habib, but it is evident that she has been very seriously thinking about it. Last evening she could not restrain herself, and told me she wanted to go to South Africa very badly and work for the cause. I was not surprised, and yet this is not quite accurate, because I was taken aback a little, as I have felt she was permanently fixed up at the place where she is, not that I am at all in love with it, but it appeared to me to be the best in the circumstances. She is very sweet-natured. I think she is capable of great self-sacrifice, and she is willing to work, but I do not know how far the Phoenix life would suit her. Personally, I feel that, if she wants to go to South Africa merely to earn her living, it is hardly worthwhile; but if she wants to work for an ideal, she must have the strength and courage to do it. I have told her all I could about things. I have told her as well as I could about the jarring notes there, and I have told her, too, that there is no money in it. I have further told her how Millie herself finds it difficult to reconcile herself to life at Phoenix. She is in possession of all the information that I can give her. I have further told her that I am not in a position to give a definite opinion, that first of all she must secure Pater's and Mater's consent, and then Sally's. After she has the approval of the three, she should place her position before you, and finally depend upon Millie's advice. I have told her, too, that however much she may regard my view, and like it, I consider myself incompetent to enter into all a woman's feelings, and when she has accessible to her Millie's loving assistance and advice, she cannot do better than rely upon her judgment. She tells me that she wants to be able to send home £4 per month. I have told her that this is not impossible, but that the chief thing to consider is whether she will be able to appreciate and

love the Phoenix life. I have told her, too, that there is no definite work that can be assigned to her—that it may be anything, from what is considered the meanest household duties, to teaching, and moulding the characters of the children at Phoenix. Now, I think, I have told you everything. She will be writing you fully. You know her much better than I do, and you will be able to guide her in the path you think best for her moral well-being. The other household matters that I would like to discuss with you must wait, unless I get the time between now and reaching Madeira, but my programme for the voyage is so full that domestic matters which are not urgent are likely to be crowded out. Maud is writing to you very fully, and she has promised to show me her letter, and if I have any further suggestions, after I have read the letter, I will write again. Millie is coming here from Westcliffe on Friday, and I shall fully discuss it with her, as also with Pater and Mater, if I get an opportunity of seeing them. Millie will sleep at the Hotel, so I am looking forward to a long and quiet chat with her. Naturally we are much nearer each other now than we were ever before, having seen more of each other than in Johannesburg, where I rarely met her apart. Waldo and Brownie are looking superb. I still retain the opinion that it is difficult, if not impossible, to match Waldo in beauty, and he is daily becoming more and more wilful ! He is certainly very original, and you will appreciate the fact when I tell you that Simmonds completes his happiness. Sally, who is sitting by me, just reminds me that I should not finish this letter without telling you something about Brownie; that he is outgrowing his superficial ugliness, and that he has begun to speak is stale news, but probably you do not know that the first name he learnt to pronounce was Sally's. Sally may be a good worker in her office; she claims to be an estimable suffragette, not to be beaten by mere man; I can certainly certify to her being at her best when she is with Waldo and Brownie. When one meets a woman who is at her best with children, you know what an opinion I have of her.

Since dictating this letter, I have seen Sally. Just fancy Sally saying she is also anxious to go to Phoenix and that she would simply love the life. I wonder if the taint (?) of simplicity runs through the family and if it only requires a little nursing to bring it all out. She says that it was she who suggested to Maud that Maud should go out, but she also adds that they do not want to desert the parents, and so she recognises that one or the other should stay. I do not know how to take all this. I am afraid that I am very largely, responsible for

their enthusiasm. I have spoken in such glowing terms about the charm of simplicity and all that, that they have pictured Phoenix as a Paradise. Simmonds cautions me against any hasty advice or hasty step. His caution I appreciate very greatly, and I therefore pass it on to you. I have no intention of advising the girls to take the plunge.

As I mentioned in another letter, I should like to write at very great length, and yet this is being dictated after one o'clock a.m. and there is a vast amount of humdrum work to go through before Saturday.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5175

153. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

[LONDON,]

November 11, 1909

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, enclosing a copy of a despatch from the Governor of the Transvaal, together with a minute from the Transvaal Ministers regarding the treatment of British Indian prisoners.

I note in the minute from the Prime Minister's Office, Pretoria, to the Deputy Governor, that there is a categorical denial of every complaint made. I venture, however, to submit for His Lordship's consideration the fact that, from my own personal observations made at the different prisons of the Transvaal, the complaints received by me and passed on to the Colonial Office appear to me, in the main, to be substantial.

As to the death of the late Nagappen, the magistrate's finding has been challenged by the Indian community,¹ as also by the European Committee presided over by Mr. Hosken, and that a

¹ E. I. Aswat, Acting Chairman of the British Indian Association, in a letter to *the Rand Daily Mail*, had expressed surprise at the judgment of the Commission and felt that "sufficient weight has not been attached to some portions of the evidence". The Secretary of State for the Colonies received on September 30 a communication from the British Indian Committee at Pretoria, saying that Government had been requested to reopen the enquiry. An official of the Colonial Office recorded in a minute dated October 1: "I am afraid this is a bad business. The Government enquiry into Nagappen's death is a complete white-washing and is accordingly heartily endorsed by the Ministers . . . but the evidence, it is pretty clear, hardly supports the conclusions . . ."

reopening of the enquiry was asked for and refused.¹ Moreover, I invite His Lordship's attention to the fact that the allegation that the deceased was not supplied with rice was sustained. That the magistrate left it an open question as to whether he had two blankets or not, that the deceased was taken from Johannesburg to a camp in a rigorous winter, and was called upon to do rough work, are undisputed facts.

As to the diet scale, His Lordship is already in possession of the exhaustive report of the independent medical men of Johannesburg bearing out the Indian allegation that this scale is deficient.

With regard to the prisoner Mahomed Khan, I have already stated in my letter² of the 16th August that there might be some exaggeration, but I venture to trust that I shall be pardoned for saying that the denials of the officials concerned of the truth of the complaints are hardly sufficient answer. It was open, as it is now, to the Government, if they wish, to invite Mr. Mahomed Khan to corroborate or withdraw his complaints.

The later developments, in the shape of a refusal to allow Indian prisoners to receive religious consolation, and to permit Mahomedans during the sacred months of *Ramzan* to receive facilities for observing their fast, hardly bear out the statement that Indian prisoners are treated humanely, and that there is no desire on the part of the prison officials to treat them harshly because they are passive resisters.

It is likely that Indian prisoners are now invariably housed in cells by themselves, but it is within my own knowledge that, up to the month of May, Indian prisoners have been housed in the self-same cells as the Natives.

I have, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5177

¹ The European Committee had appealed to General Lord Methuen, Acting Governor of the Transvaal but the latter, on the advice of his Ministers, had refused to sanction a fresh inquiry.

² *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", 16-8-1909

154. LETTER TO "DAILY TELEGRAPH"

[LONDON,]

November 11, 1909

THE EDITOR

DAILY TELEGRAPH

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry that you could not spare a few minutes to grant me an interview. I received the message that I was to write to you. The position to date in connection with the Transvaal British Indian question is given in the statement issued to the Press,¹ a copy of which I trust you have seen. The reason why I wished to have a personal interview with you was to place before you the gravity of the Transvaal Indian question. As you will notice from the supplementary statement, the question is not now that of saving the Transvaal from an Asiatic influx; it purely and simply resolves itself into the question whether, so far as immigration is concerned, highly cultured Indians may be placed on an equality with the European immigrants, as they were before the legislation against which passive resistance has been offered and as they are now throughout the British Colonies. Thus, for the first time in the history of Colonial legislation, in the words of Mr. Chamberlain, "an affront" has been put upon the millions in India. In our struggle, therefore, I venture to think that we have a right to expect the Press of the United Kingdom to support us, and I hope that you will see your way to give due publicity to the movement, and favour it with your advocacy, regard being had to the fact that nearly fifty per cent, of the present Indian population of the Transvaal have passed through its goals, and that one young Indian² has succumbed to pneumonia, caught by him, according to the testimony of witnesses, whilst he was in goal.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5176

¹ Vide "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", 16-7-1909 and also "Letter to the Press", 5-11-1909.

² This was Sammy Nagappen; vide "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", 16-7-1909.

155. *LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES*

[LONDON,]
November 12, 1909

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 9th instant. I am not aware of the circumstances beyond what was contained in Mr. Polak's cablegram, but I am aware of the deportation of Mr. Chunilal Panachand who, although he knew English and, therefore, had a right to enter Natal or the Cape Colony, and although he was domiciled in Delagoa Bay, was deported to India. His is a well-known case.

I myself appeared in another case; that was of Mr. Shelat.¹ He would have been deported to India had he not sent a message to me and had I not appeared before the Magistrate to have the matter rectified. Cases like this can certainly be multiplied, and from the experience I have of the working of the section of the Act bearing on deportation, the hardship caused could be satisfactorily demonstrated.

I have, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5178

156. *LETTER TO THE INDIAN PRESS*¹

[LONDON,
November 12, 1909]

SIR,

I venture to trust that you will give as wide publicity as possible to the statement² that my colleague, Mr. Hajee Habib, and I have issued in connection with the British Indian struggle in the Transvaal. Although it is raging in the Transvaal, the fact that it is a matter of vital importance to the whole of India is so clear that he who runs may

¹ *Vide* "Trial of Naidoo and Others", 16-6-1909 and also "Johannesburg Letter", Before 21-6-1909.

² This was published under the title: "The Indian Struggle in the Transvaal". *Vide* also "Letter to the Press", 5-11-1909.

read, and the Transvaal Government have made that issue clear by emphatically declaring that, although they would give us the incidence that would flow from the granting of the principle we are fighting for, they are not prepared to meet us on the question of the principle itself, and so the struggle must go on. The principle we are fighting for cannot be better described than in the words of the Transvaal Government itself. Lord Crewe says in his reply to the Transvaal British Indian deputation:

His Lordship explained to you that Mr. Smuts was unable to accept the claim that Asiatics should be placed in a position of equality with Europeans in respect of right of entry or otherwise.

The phrase “or otherwise” may, for the time being, be dismissed from consideration. All that we have asked for is equality in the eye of the law with Europeans in respect of the right of entry. It should be remembered that we are fighting for the restoration of this equality, which we enjoyed before the legislation in question was passed, as well during the Boer regime as after the British occupation, that is, up to the close of the, year 1906. The doctrine laid down by the Transvaal Government, and assented to by the Imperial Government cuts at the foundation of the Empire. In the words of Lord Ampthill,¹ who has made the cause his own:

It is a matter which touches the honour of our race and affects the unity of the Empire as a whole; it, therefore, concerns every part of the Empire. Moreover, it is certain that any departure from principle, which may be sanctioned or ignored at the heart of the Empire, will operate as a mischievous example to other places inside and out, and then only by some rude shock to the whole system will the arrest of moral decay be possible.

Further on His Lordship states:

Theory can be modified in practice to suit the exigencies of time and place, but if theory is cast to the winds, there is no means of steering practice.

I cannot place our position in clearer terms. If the doctrine of the Transvaal Government be true, the people of India cease to be partners in the Empire, and it is in order to resist this dangerous, immoral and pestilent doctrine that we in the Transvaal are fighting. How is India, including Anglo-India, to help in this national struggle? It should be remembered that we have taken practical steps for seeking redress, that is, we are suffering in our own persons by

¹ These are from his introduction to Doke’s biography of Gandhiji; *vide* Appendix “Lord Ampthills’ Letter to Gandhiji”.

disregarding a law which we hold to be repugnant to our conscience and to religion in the highest sense of the term. Hundreds of Indians, otherwise illiterate, drawn from all classes, have gone to gaol to vindicate their ideal. Will not India come to the rescue? Will she not make this the all-important issue? Will the Congress give it the most prominent place in its programme? Will the reformed Legislative Council assert its right dignity by undertaking to solve the problem? Whether all this is done or not, may I conclude by assuring the public in India that the fight in the Transvaal will go on so long as a single passive resister is left alive, and I very much question whether the death of every resister can end a struggle such as the Transvaal Indians are engaged in.

I am, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Gujarati, 5-12-1909

157. SPEECH AT FAREWELL MEETING

[LONDON,
November 12, 1909]

Mr. Gandhi said he was thankful to Mr. Meyer for having called the meeting and given his colleague and him an opportunity of making a statement with reference to the very difficult position of the British Indians in the Transvaal. He thought the caution Mr. Meyer had uttered with reference to what they had been doing in the Transvaal was a very proper caution;² they did not come before the public of England for an endorsement of every step they had taken in the struggle, but to receive their generous support, their sympathy and their encouragement, in the arduous struggle in

¹ A meeting to bid farewell to Gandhiji and Hajee Habib on the eve of their departure for South Africa was held at Westminster Palace Hotel. Among the guests were Dr. Rutherford, M. P., Sir Raymond West, Sir Frederick Lely, Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggee, J. M. Parikh, the Hon'ble Mr. Khare, Motilal Nehru and L. W. Ritch. Rev. F. B. Meyer, the host, introduced Gandhiji and Hajee Habib. Speeches were made by Sir Raymond West and Sir Frederick Lely besides Gandhiji. This is an extract from a report in *Indian Opinion*.

² Rev. Meyer had observed : "He thought their presence there did not endorse in every particular all Mr. Gandhi's works and acts in the long and arduous agitation he had been conducting. If a man made no mistakes, he made nothing. No man had not had to regret some word or act which might have been said or performed better, but, on the whole, their presence at that meeting was their endorsement of a struggle of a singularly pure character and unselfish methods, and he felt they represented a very large number of men who were watching this conflict with interest and who felt that they could not but contribute their influence to it."

which they were engaged. The question upon which he would venture to occupy their attention for a few minutes was, in his humble opinion, a question of the most solemn importance, not only to the British Indians of the Transvaal, who were engaged in that struggle, but to the whole of the British Empire. It was perfectly true that a certain offer had been made in connection with the struggle, and Mr. Meyer had placed the position quite correctly before them in stating that they declined to accept the offer that had been made because it did not touch the principle for which they were fighting. There were in South Africa nearly 150,000 British Indians who had been settled there for close upon forty years, if not longer. The immigration of British Indians commenced with the system of Indentured Labour in Natal. This was followed by the advent of free British Indians who paid their own passage and these free British Indians it was who had excited the trade jealousy of their rivals in commerce; hence the present British Indian problem in South Africa. The position they occupied in that country was a very difficult and a very delicate position. It was also exceedingly precarious. In Natal, at the Cape, in the Orange Free State, and in the Transvaal, there existed legislation which hurt their feelings, which hurt their self-respect, and which deprived them of many avenues of earning an honest livelihood. In the Transvaal particularly, the position had become exceedingly acute. Before the War, they could not hold landed property. They had, of course, no Burgher rights. They could live only in Locations, They might not walk on the footpaths nor ride on tram cars. With regard to the living in Locations, that difficulty had now been removed, although this was not because of the good-will of the Government, but because a flaw was discovered in the laws of the country. All the other restrictions, it would be seen, vitally affected the position of British Indians in the Transvaal, as also throughout South Africa. Hitherto, that is up to the year 1906, they had been able to put up with these restrictions. They had had to suffer all these disabilities. They had memorialised the Government, they had gone to the British Agent. His friend and co-delegate, Mr. Hajee Habib, could tell them that, during his stay in Pretoria as a merchant of some standing, he had been times without number to the British Agent before the last War, for relief, but very little had been granted. Still there had been the British Agent to fall back upon, who had given them some sympathy and had sometimes obtained a measure of redress, but they had not felt called upon to go beyond taking these steps. When, however, in 1906, the law about which he had to address them was passed, he felt that that was the coping stone of an edifice that was erected in order to degrade them and to drive them out of South Africa. That legislation, as he had elsewhere said, was conceived in distrust, it was born in an atmosphere of criminality, and it was nurtured in arrogant high-handedness. When that legislation was brought in, all kinds of charges were brought against his community, and had since been disproved, and it constituted an attack on their conscience and, he would say, upon their religion also in the truest and highest

sense of the word, for it took away from them their manhood. They felt it was utterly impossible to accept legislation of that character. They again approached the Government. He would here add also that the object of that legislation was not only to degrade them, but was, together with the legislation that had been foreshadowed by the gentleman who had introduced that legislation, to put a barrier upon British Indian immigration into the Transvaal. This legislation was to be undertaken for the first time in the history of Colonial legislation. His community realised what all this meant. It was an attempt of the Transvaal Government to introduce into the Statute-book of the Colony the principle that British Indians might not enter the Transvaal *because they were British Indians*. They felt that very keenly. They felt that it was degrading to the national spirit and their manhood to accept such legislation and to remain in the Colony, and be satisfied simply with having petitioned and memorialised the Government in a matter of such very serious import, and it was for that reason that, when all attempts to secure justice and the removal of this bar sinister had failed, his friend and colleague, Mr. Hajee Habib, had administered an oath in a Johannesburg theatre to all assembled at a mass meeting¹ of British Indians—a meeting of nearly two thousand—not to submit to any legislation of such sinister import, and that meeting had risen as one man and had declared solemnly that, if that legislation were sanctioned by the Imperial Government, they would not accept it but would suffer the penalties for breaking it. Here, they would see, was no personal interest to serve. So long as it was a personal matter, so long as it touched their pockets only, they had put up with the disabilities under which they worked, but when it constituted a reflection on their national honour, when it meant they were not to be considered equal to Europeans even with respect to immigration, and saw that the very foundations upon which the British Constitution is built were being endangered by the Transvaal Colony, they felt that it was time for them to act more vigorously and they had before them two alternatives. One was to meet violence with violence. They rejected that doctrine. What was the other alternative? It was decided by the leaders of the community that they would not adopt any violent method, but that they would not accept this legislation and, instead, would suffer in their own persons the penalties provided. This method had been called, for want of a better phrase, Passive Resistance. He did not know how he could define the meaning he would like to attach to this term. He had been wondering how he could make their attitude clear to his audience, but an incident from the Bible occurred to him—a chapter in the life of Daniel, and he would say that the British Indians in the Transvaal had been doing what Daniel did when he was called upon to accept the laws of the Medes and the Persians, He regretted to have to say that the Imperial

¹ Vide “The Mass Meeting”, 11-9-1906 and “Johannesburg Letter”, 22-9-1906.

Government were party to this crime. They need not have accepted this legislation. They might have known that this legislation would deeply wound the susceptibilities of British Indians, and render it impossible for them to accept it while retaining their self-respect, and they might have stayed the hand of the Transvaal administration. They might have at least hesitated before they set their hand to such a document, but under the exigencies of party politics they had yielded. He could not suggest under what other motives they had lent their countenance to such a law. They (Indians) felt that acceptance was impossible, and so they became passive resisters. In effect they said to the Transvaal Government : “We will fill your gaols and suffer all the penalties you will put us to, but it is impossible for us to accept this law.” He must pause and ask himself what was the meaning of the British Constitution. Did it not confer equality upon the different members of the Empire comprised in the British Constitution? He could understand that. He could consent to remain a subject of an Empire based upon this principle, but, in the light of his experience, he must declare it was utterly impossible for him to give his allegiance to an Empire in which he was not to be treated, even in theory, as an equal of any other member of that Empire. If he was to be treated as an inferior, then he would never aspire to a position of equality. He might be content to be a member of an Empire in which he participated to the extent even of a one per cent. share, but if he was to be merely a slave, then the Empire had absolutely no meaning for him. The term “British subject” then became meaningless to him, and it was this effect of that legislation that he would like to impress upon the meeting, and which they had been feeling for the last three years. This legislation of the Colony of the Transvaal was cutting at the root of the British Empire, and in resisting the doctrine implied by such legislation, they had been rendering a service not only to British India but to the British Empire. They were undoubtedly offering passive resistance not only to the Transvaal Government but to the Imperial Government, and he hoped that meeting would tell him in no uncertain voice that they were doing rightly in doing so (“hear, hear,” and applause). They felt they could not do less and deserve to be members of the British Empire—they would not deserve to be partners in the Empire and, unless there was partnership there could not be Empire. He had therefore not hesitated to say that this struggle was one of the greatest of modern times, and this was so because of the great principle at stake, because of the pure ideal for which they were fighting and, lastly, because of the pure methods they had adopted in endeavouring to attain that ideal. What was the offer that had now been made? It was that this legislation should be repealed, but the condition it was sought to impose was that British Indians shall not in future enter the Transvaal on terms of equality in the eye of the law with Europeans. The Transvaal Government were quite willing to stant British Indians the incidence that would flow from this change of legislation, nacrely, that a few British Indians would be able on sufferance to enter the Transvaal. They (British Indians)

were not satisfied with that. As an illustration, let them suppose a master telling his slave : “You may sit at the table with me, and live with me : you may enjoy all these privileges, but on this condition, that this bond of slavery shall always exist between us.” Could they suppose the slave would be satisfied? Could the slave be satisfied even with the highest place at that table, whilst the taint of slavery existed? Was it not clear that acquiescence was impossible so long as that bar remained—so long as the taint of slavery was unremoved? They could not accept as sufficient what was now offered by the Colonial Government; hence, they had come to appeal to the British public for their sympathy and support in this struggle. He realised that it was impossible for the Imperial Government to force by arms the hands of the Transvaal Government, and they as passive resisters could not even ask them to appeal to force. They themselves used no force. they asked nobody to use physical violence in their behalf, but they did think that the British public should know what that struggle meant, should learn that 50 per cent of the resident community had already been in the gaols, should know also that one young man had already died of pneumonia contracted in the gaols, that fathers and sons had together gone to gaol, that mothers had taken up baskets and sold fruit in the streets in order to support themselves and their children whilst their husbands were in gaol, that many families had been pauperised and had had to be supported out of contributions. If they, at that meeting, thought that the ideals that had led the passive resisters cheerfully to experience these sufferings appealed to them, they should send that little community of passive resisters their encouragement and sympathy and a word of cheer. They might at least show the Imperial Government that they would be no party to this crime against Imperial conscience. They in the Transvaal knew that they must not rely upon sympathy in England but upon their own strength, and he (Mr. Gandhi) felt that they had that strength. He felt that, so long as a single passive resister was left alive, he would continue the struggle. He had just received a cable from Johannesburg which told him that they were determined to continue to the end. This was a message sent not only from the British Indian Association, but included the small band of European workers who had formed a Committee under Mr. William Hosken, a Member of the Legislative Assembly, and he would ask his hearers to imitate that European Committee and to give them all the encouragement they could, and so hasten the end of their sufferings.¹

Indian Opinion, 11-12-1909

¹ Sir Raymond West and Sir Frederick Lely spoke next. At the conclusion of the meeting, the following resolution was unanimously passed : “That this meeting desires to express its earnest sympathy with the Transvaal British Indians in their peaceful and selfless struggle for civic rights and to offer its warmest encouragement to them in this struggle.”

*158. PREFACE TO LEO TOLSTOY'S "LETTER TO A
HINDOO"*¹

S. S. KILDONAN CASTLE,
November 18, 1909

The letter² translated below calls for an explanation.

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

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

The letter translated below was originally written in Russian. It was rendered into English by Tolstoy himself³ and sent to the editor of *Free Hindustan*⁴ in reply to a letter of his. This editor holds different views from Tolstoy's and hence he did not publish the letter.

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

² Not reproduced here

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

⁴ A journal published from Vancouver with Tarak Nath Das as Chief Editor. *Vide*. "Letter to Leo Tolstoy", 1-10-1909.

It reached my hands and a friend asked me whether or not it should be published. I liked the letter. What I saw was a copy of the original letter I sent it to Tolstoy and sought his permission to publish it, asking him at the same time whether the letter was in fact written by him.¹ His permission having been received,² both the English version of the letter and a Gujarati translation are being published in *Indian Opinion*³.

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

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

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

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

Tolstoy has addressed this letter to a Hindu and that is why it cites thoughts from Hindu scriptures. Such thoughts, however, are to be found in the scriptures of every religion. They are such as will be acceptable to all, Hindus, Muslims and Parsis. Religious practices and

¹ Vide "Letter to Leo Tolstoy", 1-10-1909.

² Vide "Appendix, Tolstoy's Letter to Gandhiji", 7-10-1909.

³ Of 25-12-1909, 1-1-1910 & 8-1-1910

⁴ God

dogmas may differ, but the principles of ethics must be the same in all religions. I therefore advise all readers to think [only] of ethics.

No one should assume that I accept all the ideas of Tolstoy.¹ I look upon him as one of my teachers. But I certainly do not agree with all his ideas. The central principle of his teaching is entirely acceptable to me, and it is set out in the letter given below.

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

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

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 25-12-1909

159. PREFACE TO LEO TOLSTOY'S "LETTER TO A HINDOO"

S. S. KILDONAN CASTLE

November 19, 1909

The letter that is printed below² is a translation prepared by one of Tolstoy's translators of his letter written in Russian in reply to a letter from the Editor of the *Free Hindustan*. The letter, after having passed from hand to hand, at last came into my possession through a

¹ Gandhiji did not agree with Tolstoy's ideas on reincarnation; *vide* "Letter to Leo Tolstoy", 1-10-1909.

² "Letter to a Hindoo", not reproduced here, published in *Indian Opinion*, 25-12-1909, 1-1-1910 & 8-1-1910

friend who asked me, as one much interested in Tolstoy's writings, whether I thought it to be worth publishing. I at once replied in the affirmative and told him I should translate it myself into Gujarati and induce others to translate and publish it into various Indian vernaculars.

The letter as received by me was a typewritten copy. It was, therefore, referred¹ to the author who confirmed it as his and kindly granted me permission to print it.²

To me, as a humble follower of that great teacher whom I have long looked upon as one of my guides, it is a matter of honour to be connected with the publication of his letter, such, especially, as the one which is now being given to the world.

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

One of the accepted and "time-honoured" methods to attain the end is that of violence. The assassination of Sir Curzon Wylie³ was an illustration in its worst and [most] detestable form of that method. Tolstoy's life has been devoted to replacing the method of violence for removing tyranny or securing reform by the method of non-resistance to evil. He would meet hatred expressed in violence by love expressed in self-suffering. He admits of no exception to whittle down this great and divine law of Love. He applies it to all the problems that worry mankind.

When a man like Tolstoy, one of the clearest thinkers in the western world, one of the greatest writers, one who, as a soldier, has known what violence is and what it can do, condemns Japan for having blindly followed the law of modern science, falsely so-called, and fears for that country "the greatest calamities", it is for us to pause and consider whether, in our impatience of English rule, we do not want to replace one evil by another and a worse. India, which is

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Leo Tolstoy", 1-10-1909.

² *Vide* "Appendix, Tolstoy's Letter to Gandhiji", 7-10-1909.

³ Political Aide-de-Camp to the Secretary of State for India was shot dead by a Punjabi student, Madan Lal Dhingra, on July 1, 1909 at a reception by the National Indian Association at the Imperial Institute in South Kensington, London; *vide* "London", After 16-7-109.

the nursery of the great faiths of the world, will cease to be nationalist India, whatever else it¹ may become, when it goes through the process of civilisation in the shape of reproduction on that sacred soil of gun factories and hateful industrialism, which has reduced the people of Europe to a state of slavery and all but stifled among them the best instincts, which are the heritage of the human family.

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

Do not resist evil, but also yourselves participate not in evil, in the violent deeds of the administration of the law courts, the collection of taxes and, what is more important, of the soldiers, and no one in the world will enslave you, passionately declares the sage of Yasnaya Polyana. Who can question the truth of what he says in the following:

A commercial company enslaved a nation comprising 200 millions. Tell this to a man free from superstition and he will fail to grasp what these words mean. What does it mean that thirty thousand people, not athletes but rather weak and ill-looking, have enslaved 200 millions of vigorous, clever, strong, freedom-loving people? Do not the figures make it clear that not the English but the Indians have enslaved themselves ?

One need not accept all² that Tolstoy says—some of his facts are not accurately stated—to realise the central truth of his indictment of the present system which is to understand and act upon the irresistible power of the soul over the body, of love, which is an attribute of the soul, over the brute or body force generated by the stirring up in us of evil passions.

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

M. K. GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 25-12-1909

¹ The original has “she”.

² *Vide* 5th footnote of “Preface to Leo tolstoy’s Letter to a Hindoo”, 18-11-1909.

160. “HIND SWARAJ”¹

PREFACE

I have written some² chapters on the subject of Indian Home Rule which I venture to place before the readers of *Indian Opinion*. I have written because I could not restrain myself. I have read much, I have pondered much, during the stay, for four months³ in London, of the Transvaal Indian deputation.⁴ I discussed things with as many of my countrymen as I could. I met, too, as many Englishmen as it was

¹ This was originally written in Gujarati during Gandhiji’s return journey from England on the *Kildonan Castle* and published in *Indian Opinion*, the first twelve chapters on 11-12-1909 and the rest on 18-12-1909. Issued as a booklet in January 1910, it was proscribed in India by the Government of Bombay on March 24, 1910; vide “Our Publications”, (7-5-1910). This hastened Gandhiji’s decision to publish the English translation; vide “Preface to *Hind Swaraj*”, (20-3-1910). This was issued by the International Printing Press, Phoenix, with a foreword by Gandhiji dated March 20, 1910 and also the English translation of the Gujarati foreword dated November 22, 1909, reproduced here.

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

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

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

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

² “Twenty”, according to the original Preface in Gujarati

³ July 10 to November 13

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

KILDONAN CASTLE,

22-11-1909

[From Gujarati]

¹ Vide "Some Authorities", Appendix I to *Hind Swaraj*

CHAPTER I: THE CONGRESS AND ITS OFFICIALS

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

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

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

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

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

EDITOR: That opinion is not justified. Had not the Grand Old Man⁴ of India prepared the soil, our young men could not have even spoken about Home Rule. How can we what Mr. Hume⁵ has written, how he has lashed us into action, and with what effort he has awakened us, in order to achieve the objects of the Congress? Sir William Wedderburn⁶ has given his body, mind and money to the same cause. His writings⁷ are worthy of perusal to this day. Professor

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

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

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

⁴ Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917), also *vide* "The Grand Old Man of India", 3-9-1910.

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

⁶ President, Indian National Congress at Bombay (1889) and at Allahabad (1910)

⁷ The original adds: "on British rule".

Gokhale¹ in order to prepare the nation, embraced poverty and gave twenty years of his life. Even now, he is living in poverty. The late Justice Budruddin Tyebji² was also one of those who, through the Congress, sowed the seed of Home Rule. Similarly, in Bengal, Madras, the Punjab and other places, there have been lovers of India and members of the Congress, both Indian and English.

READER: Stay, stay; you are going too far, you are straying away from my question. I have asked you about Home or Self-Rule; you are discussing foreign rule. I do not desire to hear English names, and you are giving me such names. In these circumstances, I do not think we can ever meet. I shall be pleased if you will confine yourself to Home Rule. All other talk³ will not satisfy me.

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

READER: It seems to me that you simply want to put me off by talking round and round. Those whom you consider to be wellwishers of India are not such in my estimation. Why, then, should I listen to your discourse on such people?⁴ What has he whom you consider to be the Father of the Nation done for it? He says that the English Governors will do justice and that we should co-operate with them.

EDITOR: I must tell you, with all gentleness, that it must be a matter of shame for us that you should speak about that great man in terms of disrespect. Just look at his work. He has dedicated his life to the service of India. We have learned what we know from him. It was the respected Dadabhai who taught us that the English had sucked our life-blood. What does it matter that, today, his trust is still in the English nation? Is Dadabhai less to be honoured because, in the

¹ Distinguished Indian leader and statesman, educationist and reformer;

² Judge of the Bombay High Court and President of the Indian National Congress at Madras (1887); *vide* footnote of "the Late Mr. Tata", 20-5-1905.

³ The original has: "This fine talk about other things will not satisfy me." The first Indian edition had: "All other wise talk. . ."

⁴ The original has: "Whose services, then, must I hear about?"

exuberance of youth, we are prepared to go a step further? Are we, on that account, wiser than he? It is a mark of wisdom not to kick away the very step from which we have risen higher. The removal¹ of a step from a staircase brings down the whole of it. When, out of infancy, we grow into youth, we do not despise infancy, but on the contrary, we recall with affection the days of our childhood. If, after many years of study, a teacher were to teach me something, and if I were to build a little more on the foundation laid by that teacher, I would not, on that account, be considered wiser than the teacher. He would always command my respect. Such is the case with the Grand Old Man of India. We must admit that he is the author of nationalism.²

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

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

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

EDITOR: I never said any such thing. If we conscientiously differed from him, the learned Professor himself would advise us to

¹ The original has: "It must be remembered that the removal."

² The original has: "that he gave a lead to the Indian people".

follow the dictates of our conscience rather than him. Our chief purpose is not to decry his work, but to believe that he is infinitely greater than we are, and to feel assured that compared with his work for India, ours is infinitesimal. Several newspapers write disrespectfully of him. It is our duty to protest against such writings. We should consider men like Professor Gokhale to be the pillars of Home Rule. It is a bad habit to say that another man's thoughts are bad and ours only are good and that those holding different views from ours are the enemies of the country.

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

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

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

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

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

EDITOR: Let us see. The Congress brought together Indians from

different parts of India, and enthused us with the idea of nationality. The Government used to look upon it with disfavour. The Congress has always insisted that the Nation should control revenue and expenditure. It has always desired self-government after the Canadian model. Whether we can get it or not, whether we desire it or not, and whether there is not something more desirable, are different questions. All I have to show is that the Congress gave us a foretaste of Home Rule. To deprive it of the honour is not proper,¹ and for us to do so would not only be ungrateful, but retard the fulfilment of our object. To treat the Congress² as an institution inimical to our growth as a nation would disable us from using that body.

CHAPTER II: THE PARTITION OF BENGAL

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

EDITOR: The seed is never seen. It works underneath the ground, is itself destroyed, and the tree which rises above the ground is alone seen. Such is the case with the Congress. Yet, what you call the real awakening took place after the Partition of Bengal. For this we have to be thankful to Lord Curzon³. At the time of the Partition,⁴ the people of Bengal reasoned with Lord Curzon, but in the pride of power he disregarded all their prayers. He took it for granted that Indians could only prattle, that they could never take any effective steps. He used insulting language, and in the teeth of all opposition partitioned Bengal. That day may be considered to be the day of the partition of the British Empire. The shock the British power received through the Partition has never been equalled by any other act. This does not mean that the other injustices done to India are less glaring than that done by the Partition. The salt-tax is not a small injustice. We shall see many such things later on. But the people were ready to resist the Partition. At that time feeling ran high. Many leading Bengalis were ready to lose their all. They knew their power; hence the conflagration. It is now well-nigh unquenchable; it is not necessary to quench it either. The Partition will go, Bengal will be reunited, but the

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

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

³ Viceroy of India, 1899-1905; *vide* "Lord Curzon", 26-8-1905.

⁴ In 1905

rift in the English barque will remain; it must daily widen. India awakened is not likely to fall asleep. The demand for the abrogation of the Partition is tantamount to a demand for Home Rule. Leaders in Bengal know this. British officials realize it. That is why the Partition still remains. As time passes, the Nation is being forged. Nations are not formed in a day; the formation requires years.

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

EDITOR: Hitherto we have considered that for redress of grievances we must approach the throne, and if we get no redress we must sit still, except that we may still petition. After the Partition, people saw that petitions must be backed up by force, and that they must be capable of suffering. This new spirit must be considered to be the chief result of the Partition. That spirit was seen in the outspoken writings in the Press. That which the people said tremblingly and in secret began to be said and to be written publicly. The Swadeshi movement was inaugurated. People, young and old, used to run away at the sight of an English face; it now no longer awes them. They do not fear even a row, or being imprisoned. Some of the best sons of India are at present in banishment.¹ This is something different from mere petitioning. Thus are the people moved. The spirit generated in Bengal has spread in the north to the Punjab, and in the south to Cape Comorin.

READER: Do you suggest any other striking result?

EDITOR: The Partition has not only made a rift in the English ship but has made it in ours also. Great events always produce great results. Our leaders are divided into two parties: the Moderates and the Extremists. These may be considered as the slow party and the impatient party. Some call the Moderates the timid party, and the Extremists the bold party. All interpret the two words according to their preconceptions. This much is certain—that there has arisen an enmity between the two. The one distrusts the other and imputes motives. At the time of the Surat Congress² there was almost a fight. I think that this division is not a good thing for the country, but I think also that such divisions will not last long. It all depends upon the leaders how long they will last.

CHAPTER III: DISCONTENT AND UNREST

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

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

² In 1907

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

READER: WHAT IS THE OTHER FORM OF UNREST ?

EDITOR: Unrest is, in reality, discontent. The latter is only now described as unrest. During the Congress period, it was labelled discontent. Mr. Hume always said that the spread of discontent in India was necessary. This discontent is a very useful thing. As long as a man is contented with his present lot, so long is it difficult to persuade him to come out of it. Therefore it is that every reform must be preceded by discontent. We throw away things we have, only when we cease to like them. Such discontent has been produced among us after reading the great works of Indians and Englishmen. Discontent has led to unrest, and the latter has brought about many deaths,¹ many imprisonments, many banishments.² Such a state of things will still continue. It must be so. All these may be considered good signs but they may also lead to bad results.

CHAPTER IV: WHAT IS SWARAJ ?

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

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

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

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

READER: I should ask of them only one thing, that is: "Please leave our country." If, after they have complied with this request, their withdrawal from India means¹ that they are still in India, I should have no objection. Then we would understand that, in their language, the word "gone" is equivalent to "remained".

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

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

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

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

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

READER: That question is useless. It is similar to the question

¹ The original has: "is taken to mean, perversely enough."

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

EDITOR: Supposing we get Self-Government similar to what the Canadians and the South Africans² have, will it be good enough?

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

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

READER: I have placed before you my idea of Swaraj as I think it should be. If the education we have received be of any use, if the works of Spencer, Mill and others be of any importance, and if the English Parliament be the Mother of Parliaments, I certainly think that we should copy the English people, and this to such an extent that, just as they do not allow others to obtain a footing in their country, so we should not allow them or others to obtain it in ours. What they have done in their own country has not been done in any other country. It is, therefore, proper for us to import their institutions. But now I want to know your views.

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

CHAPTER V: THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND

READER: Then from your statement I deduce that the Government of England is not desirable⁴ and not worth copying by us.

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

² The original has: "Boers".

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

⁴ The original has: "... the Government which England enjoys is not the right kind and ..."

EDITOR: Your deduction is justified. The condition of England at present is pitiable. I pray to God that India may never be in that plight. That which you consider to be the Mother of Parliaments is like a sterile woman and a prostitute. Both these are harsh terms, but exactly fit the case. That Parliament has not yet, of its own accord, done a single good thing. Hence I have compared it to a sterile woman. The natural condition of that Parliament is such that, without outside pressure, it can do nothing. It is like a prostitute because it is under the control of ministers who change from time to time. Today it is under Mr. Asquith¹, tomorrow it may be under Mr. Balfour².

READER: You have said this sarcastically. The term “sterile woman” is not applicable. The Parliament, being elected by the people, must work under public pressure. This is its quality.³

EDITOR: You are mistaken. Let us examine it a little more closely.⁴ The best men are supposed to be elected by the people. The members serve without pay⁵ and therefore, it must be assumed, only for the public weal. The electors are considered to be educated and therefore we should assume that they would not generally make mistakes in their choice. Such a Parliament should not need the spur of petitions or any other pressure. Its work should be so smooth that its effects would be more apparent day by day. But, as a matter of fact, it is generally acknowledged that the members are hypocritical and selfish. Each thinks of his own little interest. It is fear that is the guiding motive. What is done today may be undone tomorrow. *It is not possible to recall a single instance in which finality can be predicted for its work.* When the greatest questions are debated, its members have been seen to stretch themselves and to doze. Sometimes the members talk away until the listeners are disgusted. Carlyle has called it the “talking shop of the World”. Members vote for their party without a thought. Their so-called discipline binds them to it. If any member, by way of exception, gives an independent vote, he is considered a renegade. If the money and the time wasted by

¹ Herbert Henry Asquith (1852-1928), Prime Minister of Great Britain, 1908-16

² Arthur James Balfour, Prime Minister of Great Britain, 1902-05. The original adds: “and the day after, it will be somebody else”.

³ The original has: “That is its very nature, what keeps it in check.”

⁴ The original has: “If Parliament were not like a sterile woman, this is what we might expect.”

⁵ Payment to members began in 1911.

Parliament were entrusted to a few good men, the English nation would be occupying today a much higher platform. Parliament is simply a costly toy of the nation. These views are by no means peculiar to me. Some great English thinkers have expressed them. One of the members of that Parliament recently said that a true Christian could not become a member of it. Another said that it was a baby. And if it has remained a baby after an existence of seven hundred years, when will it outgrow its babyhood ?

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

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

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

EDITOR: Yes, that is true; I can have nothing against Prime Ministers, but what I have seen leads me to think that they cannot be considered really patriotic. If they are to be considered honest because they do not take what are generally known as bribes, let them be so considered, but they are open to subtler influences. In order to

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

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

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

gain their ends, they certainly bribe people with honours. I do not hesitate to say that they have neither real honesty nor a living conscience.

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

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

READER: You shall describe it.

EDITOR: These people change their views frequently. It is said that they change them every seven years. These views swing like the pendulum of a clock and are never steadfast. The people would follow a powerful orator or a man² who gives them parties, receptions, etc. As are the people, so is their Parliament. They have certainly one quality very strongly developed. They will never allow their country to be lost. If any person were to cast an evil eye on it, they would pluck out his eyes. But that does not mean that the nation possesses every other virtue or that it should be imitated. If India copies England, it is my firm conviction that she will be ruined.

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

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

CHAPTER VI: CIVILIZATION

READER: Now you will have to explain what you mean by civilization.³

EDITOR: It is not a question of what I mean. Several English

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

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

³ The original adds: "According to you, civilization is not civilization but the opposite of it."

writers refuse to call that civilization which passes under that name. Many books have been written upon that subject. Societies have been formed to cure the nation of the evils of civilization. A great English writer¹ has written a work called *Civilization: Its Cause and Cure*. Therein he has called it a disease.

READER: Why do we not know this generally?

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

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

EDITOR: Let us first consider what state of things is described by the word “civilization”. Its true test lies in the fact that people living in it make bodily welfare the object of life. We will take some examples. The people of Europe today live in better-built houses than they did a hundred years ago. This is considered an emblem of civilization, and this is also a matter to promote bodily happiness.² Formerly, they wore skins, and used spears as their weapons. Now, they wear long trousers, and, for embellishing their bodies, they wear a variety of clothing, and, instead of spears, they carry with them revolvers containing five or more chambers.³ If people of a certain country, who have hitherto not been in the habit of wearing much clothing, boots, etc., adopt European clothing, they are supposed to have become civilized out of savagery. Formerly, in Europe, people ploughed their lands mainly by manual labour. Now, one man can plough a vast tract by means of steam engines and can thus amass great wealth. This is called a sign of civilization. Formerly, only a few

¹ Edward Carpenter; *vide* Appendix I to *Hind Swaraj*, 15-12-1820.

² The original has: “ . . . an emblem of civilization. This is a matter which concerns physical comfort.”

³ The original adds: “; that is considered a sign of civilization”.

men wrote valuable books.¹ Now, anybody writes and prints anything he likes and poisons people's minds.² Formerly, men travelled in waggons.³ Now, they fly through the air⁴ in trains at the rate of four hundred and more miles per day. This is considered the height of civilization. It has been stated that, as men progress, they shall be able to travel in airships and reach any part of the world in a few hours. Men will not need the use of their hands and feet. They will press a button, and they will have their clothing by their side. They will press another button, and they will have their newspaper. A third, and a motor-car will be in waiting for them. They will have a variety of delicately dished up food. Everything will be done by machinery. Formerly, when people wanted to fight with one another, they measured between them their bodily strength; now it is possible to take away thousands of lives by one man working behind a gun from a hill. This is civilization. Formerly, men worked in the open air only as much as they liked. Now thousands of workmen meet together and for the sake of maintenance work in factories or mines. Their condition is worse than that of beasts. They are obliged to work, at the risk of their lives, at most dangerous occupations, for the sake of millionaires. Formerly, men were made slaves under physical compulsion. Now they are enslaved by temptation of money and of the luxuries that money can buy. There are now diseases of which people never dreamt before, and an army of doctors is engaged in finding out their cures, and so hospitals have increased. This is a test of civilization. Formerly, special messengers were required and much expense was incurred in order to send letters; today, anyone can abuse his fellow by means of a letter for one penny. True, at the same cost, one can send one's thanks also. Formerly, people had two or three meals consisting of home-made bread and vegetables; now, they require something to eat every two hours so that they have hardly leisure for anything else. What more need I say? All this you can ascertain from several authoritative books. These are all true tests of civilization.⁵ And if anyone speaks to the contrary, know that he is

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

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

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

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

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

ignorant.¹ This civilization takes note neither of morality nor of religion. Its votaries calmly state that their business is not to teach religion. Some even consider it to be a superstitious growth. Others put on the cloak of religion, and prate about morality. But, after twenty years' experience, I have come to the conclusion that immorality is often taught in the name of morality. Even a child can understand that in all I have described above there can be no inducement to morality. Civilization seeks to increase bodily comforts, and it fails miserably even in doing so.

This civilization is irreligion, and it has taken such a hold on the people in Europe that those who are in it appear to be half mad. They lack real physical strength or courage. They keep up their energy by intoxication. They can hardly be happy in solitude. Women, who should be the queens of households, wander in the streets or they slave away in factories. For the sake of a pittance, half a million² women in England alone are labouring under trying circumstances³ in factories or similar institutions. This awful fact is one of the causes of the daily growing⁴ suffragette movement.

This civilization is such that one has only to be patient and it will be self-destroyed. According to the teaching of Mahomed this would be considered a Satanic Civilization. Hinduism calls it the Black Age. I cannot give you an adequate conception of it.⁵ It is eating into the vitals of the English nation.⁶ It must be shunned.⁷ Parliaments are really emblems of slavery. If you will sufficiently think over this, you will entertain the same opinion and cease to blame the English. They rather deserve our sympathy. They are a shrewd nation and I therefore believe that they will cast off the evil. They are enterprising and industrious, and their mode of thought is not inherently immoral. Neither are they bad at heart. I therefore respect them. Civilization is not an incurable disease,⁸ but it should never be forgotten that the

¹ The original adds: "Civilization is what I have described it to be."

² The original has: "four million".

³ The original has: "... are labouring like beasts of burden".

⁴ The words for "awful" and "daily growing" are not found in the original.

⁵ The original adds: "That is beyond my capacity."

⁶ The original adds: "It is a deadly civilization, and is bound to perish."

⁷ The original adds: "These are the reasons why the British Parliament and other parliaments as well are found to be ineffective."

⁸ The original has: "It is not that they cannot be cured of this disease of civilization,..."

English people are at present afflicted by it.

CHAPTER VII: WHY WAS INDIA LOST?

READER: You have said much about civilization—enough to make me ponder over it. I do not now know what I should adopt and what I should avoid from the nations of Europe, but one question comes to my lips immediately. If civilization is a disease¹ and if it has attacked England, why has she been able to take India, and why is she able to retain it?

EDITOR: Your question is not very difficult to answer, and we shall presently be able to examine the true nature of Swaraj; for I am aware that I have still to answer that question. I will, however, take up your previous question. The English have not taken India; we have given it to them. They are not in India because of their strength, but because we keep them. Let us now see whether these propositions can be sustained. They came to our country originally for purposes of trade. Recall the Company² Bahadur³. Who made it Bahadur? They had not the slightest intention at the time of establishing a kingdom. Who assisted the Company's officers? Who was tempted at the sight of their silver? Who bought their goods? History testifies that we did all this. In order to become rich all at once we welcomed the Company's officers with open arms. We assisted them. If I am in the habit of drinking *bhang* and a seller thereof sells it to me, am I to blame him or myself? By blaming the seller, shall I be able to avoid the habit? And, if a particular retailer is driven away, will not another take his place? A true servant of India will have to go to the root of the matter. If an excess of food has caused me indigestion, I shall certainly not avoid it by blaming water. He is a true physician who probes the cause of disease, and if you pose as a physician for the disease of India, you will have to find out its true cause.

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

¹ The original has: "If civilization is not civilization but the opposite of it, if it is a disease. . . ."

² East India Company

³ Literally, 'brave', here 'powerful', 'sovereign'

EDITOR: I am afraid that,¹ in spite of your enthusiasm, as we proceed further, we shall have differences of opinion. Nevertheless, I shall argue only when you stop me. We have already seen that the English merchants were able to get a footing in India because we encouraged them. When our Princes fought among themselves, they sought the assistance of Company Bahadur. That corporation was versed alike in commerce and war. It was unhampered by questions of morality. Its object was to increase its commerce and to make money. It accepted our assistance, and increased the number of its warehouses. To protect the latter it employed an army which was utilized by us also. Is it not then useless to blame the English for what we did at that time? The Hindus and the Mahomedans were at daggers drawn. This, too, gave the Company its opportunity and thus we created the circumstances that gave the Company its control over India. Hence it is truer to say that we gave India to the English than that India was lost.

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

EDITOR: The causes that gave them India enable them to retain it. Some Englishmen state that they took and they hold India by the sword. Both these statements are wrong. The sword is entirely useless for holding India. We alone keep them. Napoleon is said to have described the English as a nation of shop-keepers. It is a fitting description. They hold whatever dominions they have for the sake of their commerce. Their army and their navy are intended to protect it. When the Transvaal offered no such attractions, the late Mr. Gladstone² discovered that it was not right for the English to hold it. When it became a paying proposition, resistance led to war. Mr. Chamberlain³ soon discovered that England enjoyed a suzerainty over the Transvaal. It is related that someone asked the late President Kruger⁴ whether there was gold in the moon. He replied that it was highly unlikely because, if there were, the English would have annexed it. Many problems can be solved by remembering that money is their God. Then it follows that we keep the English in India

¹ In the original, the paragraph begins: "Very well. I am afraid. . . ."

² William Ewart Gladstone (1809-98), Prime Minister of Great Britain, 1868-74; 1880-85, 1886, and 1892-94

³ Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914), Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1895

⁴ Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger (1825-1904), Boer leader and State President of the South African Republic; *vide* "Memorial to Chamberlain", 16-5-1899.

for our base self-interest. We like their commerce; they please us by their subtle methods and get what they want from us. To blame them for this is to perpetuate their power. We further strengthen their hold by quarrelling amongst ourselves. If you accept the above statements, it is proved that the English entered India for the purposes of trade. They remain in it for the same purpose and we help them to do so. Their arms and ammunition are perfectly useless. In this connection I remind you that it is the British flag which is waving in Japan and not the Japanese. The English have a treaty with Japan for the sake of their commerce, and you will see that if they can manage it, their commerce will greatly expand in that country. They wish to convert the whole world into a vast market for their goods. That they cannot do so is true, but the blame will not be theirs. They will leave no stone unturned to reach the goal.¹

CHAPTER VIII: THE CONDITION OF INDIA

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

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

READER: How so?

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

¹ The original has: "They will not spare any effort."

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

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

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

EDITOR: I certainly submit that the above hardships are far more bearable than those of civilization. Everybody understands that the cruelties you have named are not part of religion although they have been practised in its name; therefore there is no aftermath to these cruelties.² They will always happen so long as there are to be found ignorant and credulous people.³ But there is no end to the victims destroyed in the fire of civilization. Its deadly effect is that people come under its scorching flames believing it to be all good. They become utterly irreligious and, in reality, derive little advantage from the world.⁴ Civilization is like a mouse gnawing while it is soothing us. When its full effect is realized, we shall see that religious superstition is harmless compared to that of modern civilization. I am not pleading for a continuance of religious superstitions. We shall certainly fight them tooth and nail, but we can never do so by disregarding religion. We can only do so by appreciating and conserving the latter.

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

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

READER: You make light of the terror that the Thugs⁵, the

¹ The original adds: "and still does so".

² The original has: "; therefore they cease when their perpetrators die".

³ The original adds: "But their evil effects do not remain for even"

⁴ The Gujarati saying used by Gandhiji means: "They neither follow the way of religion nor that of the world." The original also adds: "They forget the things that really matter."

⁵ Predatory groups that used to loot, rob and kill people.

Pindaris¹ and the Bhils² were to the country.

EDITOR: If you give the matter some thought, you will see that the terror was by no means such a mighty thing. If it had been a very substantial thing, the other people would have died away before the English advent. Moreover, the present peace is only nominal, for by it we have become emasculated and cowardly. We are not to assume that the English have changed the nature of the Pindaris and the Bhils. It is, therefore, better to suffer the Pindari peril than that someone else should protect us from it and thus render us effeminate. I should prefer to be killed by the arrow of a Bhil than to seek unmanly protection. India without such protection was an India full of valour. Macaulay betrayed gross ignorance when he libelled Indians as being practically cowards. They never merited the charge. Cowards living in a country inhabited by hardy mountaineers and infested by wolves and tigers must surely find an early grave. Have you ever visited our fields? I assure you that our agriculturists sleep fearlessly on their farms even today; but the English and you and I would hesitate to sleep where they sleep. Strength³ lies in absence of fear, not in the quantity of flesh and muscle we may have on our bodies. Moreover, I must remind you who desire Home Rule that, after all, the Bhils, the Pindaris,⁴ and the Thugs are our own countrymen. To conquer⁵ them is your and my work. So long as we fear our own brethren, we are unfit to reach the goal.

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

READER: You have deprived me of the consolation I used to have regarding peace in India.⁶

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

¹ Mounted marauders during the 17th and 18th centuries

² Tribe in Central India and Gujarat

³ The original begins: "A little reflection will show that strength . . ."

⁴ The original adds: "the Assamese". This was, however, deleted in all subsequent editions.

⁵ The original has "To win them over".

⁶ The original has: "You have shattered my illusions about the value of peace in India." The original adds further: "You have left me with nothing that I can think of."

READER: What may that be ?

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

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

EDITOR: It is necessary to exercise patience. The true inwardness of the evils of civilization you will understand with difficulty. Doctors assure us that a consumptive clings to life even when he is about to die. Consumption does not produce apparent hurt—it even produces a seductive colour about a patient’s face so as to induce the belief that all is well.¹ Civilization is such a disease and we have to be very wary.²

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

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

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

EDITOR: Good travels at a snail’s pace—it can, therefore, have little to do with the railways. Those who want to do good are not selfish, they are not in a hurry, they know that to impregnate people with good requires a long time. But evil has wings. To build a house

¹ The original has: “. . . about a patient’s face so that he keeps on hoping that all will be well, till he succumbs in the end”.

² The original has: “This is also true of civilization. It is a disease that cannot be detected. Be on your guard against it.”

takes time. Its destruction takes none. So the railways can become a distributing agency for the evil one only. It may be a debatable matter whether railways spread famines, but it is beyond dispute that they propagate evil.

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

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

READER: This requires an explanation.

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

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

what I had said on the railways.¹

READER: I will gladly do so, but one question occurs to me even now. You have described to me the India of the pre-Mahomedan period, but now we have Mahomedans, Parsis and Christians. How can they be one nation? Hindus and Mahomedans are old enemies.² Our very proverbs prove it.³ Mahomedans turn to the West for worship, whilst Hindus turn to the East. The former look down on the Hindus as idolaters.⁴ The Hindus worship the cow, the Mahomedans kill her. The Hindus believe in the doctrine of non-killing, the Mahomedans do not. We thus meet with differences at every step. How can India be one nation?⁵

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

EDITOR: Your last question is a serious one and yet, on careful consideration, it will be found to be easy of solution. The question arises because of the presence of the railways, of the lawyers and of the doctors. We shall presently examine the last two. We have already considered the railways. I should, however, like to add that man is so made by nature as to require him⁶ to restrict his movements as far as his hands and feet will take him. If we did not rush about from place to place by means of railways and such other maddening⁷ conveniences, much of the confusion that arises would be obviated. Our difficulties are of our own creation. God set a limit to man's locomotive ambition in the construction of his body. Man immediately proceeded to discover means of overriding the limit. God gifted man with intellect that he might know his Maker. Man abused it so that he might forget his Maker. I am so constructed that I can only serve my immediate neighbours, but in my conceit I pretend to have discovered that I must with my body serve every individual in the Universe. In thus attempting the impossible, man comes in contact

¹ The original adds: "Doubts will still occur to you, but you will be able to resolve them yourself."

² The original has: "... are believed to be inveterate enemies."

³ The original adds: "A Mahomedan has no use for Mahadev."

⁴ The original adds: "Hindus worship images; Mahomedans are iconoclasts."

⁵ The original has: "How can these disappear and India be one nation?"

⁶ The original has: "... by nature that he should restrict. ..."

⁷ The word for "maddening" is not found in the original.

with different natures, different religions, and¹ is utterly confounded. According to this reasoning, it must be apparent to you that railways are a most dangerous institution. Owing to them, man has gone further away from his Maker.

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

EDITOR: India cannot cease to be one nation because people belonging to different religions live in it. The introduction of foreigners does not necessarily destroy the nation; they merge in it. A country is one nation only when such a condition obtains in it. That country must have a faculty for assimilation. India has ever been such a country. In reality, there are as many religions as there are individuals; but those who are conscious of the spirit of nationality do not interfere with one another's religion. If they do, they are not fit to be considered a nation. If the Hindus believe that India should be peopled only by Hindus, they are living in dreamland.² The Hindus, the Mahomedans, the Parsis and the Christians who have made India their country are fellow countrymen, and they will have to live in unity, if only for their own interest. In no part of the world are one nationality and one religion synonymous terms; nor has it ever been so in India.

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

EDITOR: That phrase has been invented by our mutual enemy. When the Hindus and Mahomedans fought against one another, they certainly spoke in that strain. They have long since ceased to fight. How, then, can there be any inborn enmity? Pray remember this too, that we did not cease to fight only after British occupation. The Hindus flourished under Moslem sovereigns and Moslems under the Hindu. Each party recognized that mutual fighting was suicidal, and that neither party would abandon its religion by force of arms.³ Both parties, therefore, decided to live in peace. With the English advent quarrels re-commenced.

¹ The original has: "and, being unable to carry the burden imposed by this, gives way to impatience."

² The original adds: "The Mahomedans also live in dreamland if they believe that there should be only Muslims in India."

³ The original has: "... neither party could be made to abandon its religion or change its ways by force of arms."

The proverbs you have quoted were coined when both were fighting; to quote them now is obviously harmful. Should we not remember that many Hindus and Mahomedans own the same ancestors and the same blood runs through their veins?¹ Do people become enemies because they change their religion? Is the God of the Mahomedan different from the God of the Hindu? Religions are different roads converging to the same point. What does it matter that we take different roads so long as we reach the same goal? Wherein is the cause for quarrelling ?

Moreover, there are deadly proverbs as between the followers of Shiva and those of Vishnu, yet nobody suggests that these two do not belong to the same nation. It is said that the Vedic religion is different from Jainism, but the followers of the respective faiths are not different nations. The fact is that we have become enslaved and, therefore, quarrel and like to have our quarrels decided by a third party. There are Hindu iconoclasts as there are Mahomedan. The more we advance in true knowledge, the better we shall understand that we need not be at war with those whose religion we may not follow.

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

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

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

¹ The original has: "What is stated above also applies to the saying, 'A Mahomedan has no use for Mahadev.' Some sayings live on and cause mischief. Misled by the sayings, we do not even remember that many Hindus and Muslims had the same ancestors and have the same blood."

overfull of pity for the cow, I should sacrifice my life to save her but not take my brother's. This, I hold, is the law of our religion.

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

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

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

Lastly, if it be true that the Hindus believe in the doctrine of non-killing and the Mahomedans do not, what, pray, is the duty of the former? It is not written that a follower of the religion of Ahimsa (nonkilling) may kill a fellow-man. For him the way is straight. In order to save one being, he may not kill another. He can only plead—therein lies his sole duty.

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

These thoughts are put into our minds by selfish and false religious teachers. The English put the finishing touch. They have a habit of writing history; they pretend to study the manners and

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

customs of all peoples. God has given us a limited mental capacity, but they usurp the function of the Godhead and indulge in novel experiments. They write about their own researches in most laudatory terms and hypnotize us into believing them. We in our ignorance then fall at their feet.¹

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

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

EDITOR: This question arises out of your timidity. It betrays our shallowness. If two brothers want to live in peace, is it possible for a third party to separate them? If they were to listen to evil counsels we would consider them to be foolish. Similarly, we Hindus and Mahomedans would have to blame our folly rather than the English, if we allowed them to put us asunder. A clay pot would break through impact, if not with one stone, then with another. The way to save the pot is not to keep it away from the dangerpoint but to bake it so that no stone would break it. We have then to make our hearts of perfectly baked clay. Then we shall be steeled against all danger.² This can be easily done by the Hindus.³ They are superior in numbers; they pretend that they are more educated; they are, therefore, better able to shield themselves from attack on their amicable relations with the Mahomedans.⁴

¹ The original has: "We in our simplicity believe all that they say."

² The original has: "Should even one side be sound of heart, the third party will not succeed in its designs."

³ The original has: "The Hindus can easily afford to be so."

⁴ The original has: "it should therefore be possible for them to have a heart of well-baked clay".

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

I do not suggest that the Hindus and the Mahomedans will never fight. Two brothers living together often do so. We shall sometimes have our heads broken. Such a thing ought not to be necessary, but all men are not equitable¹. When people are in a rage, they do many foolish things. These we have to put up with. But when we do quarrel, we certainly do not want to engage counsel and resort to English or any law-courts. Two men fight; both have their heads broken, or one only. How shall a third party distribute justice amongst them? Those who fight may expect to be injured.²

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

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

EDITOR: Whether you call it astonishing or not, it is the truth. And your question introduces us to the lawyers and the doctors. My firm³ opinion is that the lawyers have enslaved India, have accentuated Hindu-Mahomedan dissensions and have confirmed English authority.

READER: It is easy enough to bring these charges, but it will be difficult for you to prove them. But for the lawyers, who would have shown us the road to independence? Who would have protected the poor? Whowould have secured justice? For instance, the late Manomohan Ghose⁴ defended many a poor man free of charge. The Congress, which you have praised so much, is dependent for its

¹ The original has: "equally sensible".

² The original adds: "When human bodies clash against one another, some marks are bound to be left on them. Where is the question of awarding justice in this matter?"

³ The word for "firm" is not found in the original

⁴ (1844-96), lawyer and Congressman; first Indian barrister; founder and editor of *Indian Mirror*

existence and activity upon the work of the lawyers. To denounce such an estimable¹ class of men is to spell injustice,² and you are abusing the liberty of the Press by decrying lawyers.

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

The Hindus and the Mahomedans have quarrelled. An ordinary man will ask them to forget all about it; he will tell them that both must be more or less at fault, and will advise them no longer to quarrel. But they go to lawyers. The latter's duty is to side with their clients and to find out ways and arguments in favour of the clients, to which they (the clients) are often strangers. If they do not do so, they will be considered to have degraded their profession. The lawyers, therefore, will, as a rule, advance quarrels instead of repressing them.³ Moreover, men take up that profession, not in order to help others out of their miseries, but to enrich themselves. It is one of the avenues of becoming wealthy and their interest exists in multiplying disputes. It is within my knowledge that they are glad when men have disputes. Petty pleaders actually manufacture them. Their touts, like so many leeches, suck the blood of the poor people.⁴ Lawyers are men who have little to do. Lazy people, in order to indulge in luxuries, take up such professions. This is a true statement. Any other argument is a mere pretension. It is the lawyers who have discovered that theirs is an honourable profession. They frame laws as they frame their own praises. They decide what fees they will charge and they put on so much side that poor people almost consider them to be heaven-born.

¹ The word for "estimable" is not found in the original.

² The original has: "is to treat justice as injustice".

³ The original has: "As a rule, therefore, the lawyer will be for taking further action in the dispute."

⁴ The original adds: "It is a profession which cannot but result in encouragement of quarrels."

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

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

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

The chief thing, however, to be remembered is that without lawyers courts could not have been established or conducted and without the latter the English could not rule. Supposing that there were only English judges, English pleaders and English police, they could only rule over the English. The English could not do without Indian judges and Indian pleaders. How the pleaders were made in the first instance and how they were favoured³ you should understand

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

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

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

well. Then you will have the same abhorrence for the profession that I have.¹ If pleaders were to abandon their profession, and consider it just as degrading as prostitution, English rule would break up in a day. They have been instrumental in having the charge laid against us that we love quarrels and courts as fish love water. What I have said with reference to the pleaders necessarily applies to the judges; they are first cousins; and the one gives strength to the other.

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

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

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

The English have certainly effectively used the medical profession for holding us. English physicians are known to have used their profession with several Asiatic potentates for political gain.²

Doctors have almost unhinged us. Sometimes I think that quacks are better than highly qualified doctors. Let us consider: the business of a doctor is to take care of the body, or, properly speaking, not even that. Their business is really to rid the body of diseases that may afflict it. How do these diseases arise? Surely by our negligence or indulgence. I overeat, I have indigestion, I go to a doctor, he gives

¹ The original adds: "Among the chief features of British rule which account for its success are the courts, and these depend upon lawyers."

² Instead of the last sentence, the original has: "The pretensions of physicians also know no bounds. It was a British physician who played upon the credulity of the Moghul Emperor. He was successful in treating an illness in the Emperor's family and was in consequence rewarded. It was again a physician who ingratiated himself with the Ameer."

me medicine, I am cured. I overeat again, I take his pills again. Had I not taken the pills in the first instance, I would have suffered the punishment deserved by me and I would not have overeaten again. The doctor intervened and helped me to indulge myself. My body thereby certainly felt more at ease; but my mind became weakened. A continuance of a course of medicine must, therefore, result in loss of control over the mind.

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

Hospitals are institutions for propagating sin. Men take less care of their bodies and immorality increases. European doctors are the worst of all. For the sake of a mistaken care of the human body, they kill annually thousands of animals. They practise vivisection. No religion sanctions this. All say that it is not necessary to take so many lives for the sake of our bodies.

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

It is worth considering why we take up the profession of medicine. It is certainly not taken up for the purpose of serving humanity. We become doctors so that we may obtain honours and riches. I have endeavoured to show that there is no real service of humanity in the profession, and that it is injurious to mankind. Doctors make a show of their knowledge, and charge exorbitant fees. Their preparations, which are intrinsically worth a few pence, cost shillings. The populace, in its credulity and in the hope of ridding itself of some disease, allows itself to be cheated. Are not quacks then, whom we know, better than the doctors who put on an air of humaneness,

CHAPTER XIII: WHAT IS TRUE CIVILIZATION?

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

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

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

If this definition be correct, then India, as so many writers² have shown,³ has nothing to learn from anybody else, and this is as it should be. We notice that the mind is a restless bird; the more it gets the more it wants, and still remains unsatisfied. The more we indulge our passions, the more unbridled they become. Our ancestors, therefore, set a limit to our indulgences. They saw that happiness was largely a mental condition. A man is not necessarily happy because he is rich, or unhappy because he is poor. The rich are often seen to be unhappy, the poor to be happy. Millions will always remain poor.

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

² The original has “British writers”.

³ *Vide* “Testimonies by Eminent Men”, Appendix II to *Hind Swaraj*, 5-12-1820

Observing all this, our ancestors dissuaded us from luxuries and pleasures. We have managed with the same kind of plough as existed thousands of years ago. We have retained the same kind of cottages that we had in former times and our indigenous education remains the same as before. We have had no system of life-corroding competition. Each followed his own occupation or trade and charged a regulation wage. It was not that we did not know how to invent machinery, but our forefathers knew that, if we set our hearts after such things, we would become slaves and lose our moral fibre. They, therefore, after due deliberation decided that we should only do what we could with our hands and feet. They saw that our real happiness and health consisted in a proper use of our hands and feet. They further reasoned that large cities were a snare and a useless encumbrance and that people would not be happy in them, that there would be gangs of thieves and robbers, prostitution and vice flourishing in them and that poor men would be robbed by rich men. They were, therefore, satisfied with small villages. They saw that kings and their swords were inferior to the sword of ethics, and they, therefore, held the sovereigns of the earth to be inferior to the Rishis and the Fakirs¹. A nation with a constitution like this is fitter to teach others than to learn from others. This nation had courts, lawyers and doctors, but they were all within bounds. Everybody knew that these professions were not particularly superior; moreover, these vakils¹ and *vaid*s² did not rob people; they were considered people's dependants, not their masters. Justice was tolerably fair. The ordinary rule was to avoid courts. There were no touts to lure people into them. This evil, too, was noticeable only in and around capitals. The common people lived independently and followed their agricultural occupation. They enjoyed true Home Rule.

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

¹ Sages and ascetics

² Lawyers and doctors

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

READER: It would be all right if India were exactly as you have described it, but it is also India where there are hundreds of child widows, where two-year-old babies are married, where twelve-year-old girls are mothers and housewives, where women practise polyandry, where the practice of Niyoga¹ obtains, where, in the name of religion, girls dedicate themselves to prostitution, and in the name of religion sheep² and goats are killed. Do you consider these also symbols of the civilization that you have described?

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

CHAPTER XIV: HOW CAN INDIA BECOME FREE?

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

EDITOR: I do not expect my views to be accepted all of a sudden. My duty is to place them before readers like yourself. Time can be trusted to do the rest.³ We have already examined the conditions for freeing India, but we have done so indirectly; we will now do so directly. It is a world-known maxim that the removal of the cause of a

¹ Insemination by a person other than one's husband

² The original has: "he-buffaloes".

³ The original has: Time will show whether they find them acceptable or not."

disease results in the removal of the disease itself. Similarly if the cause of India's slavery be removed, India can become free.

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

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

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

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

READER: But it has not occurred in history.

EDITOR: To believe that what has not occurred in history will not occur at all is to argue disbelief in the dignity of man. At any rate, it

behoves us to try what appeals to our reason. All countries are not similarly conditioned. The condition of India is unique. Its strength is immeasurable. We need not, therefore, refer to the history of other countries. I have drawn attention to the fact that, when other civilizations have succumbed, the Indian has survived many a shock.

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

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

READER: In the same way as Italy did it. What was possible for Mazzini¹ and Garibaldi² is possible for us. You cannot deny that they were very great men.

CHAPTER XV: ITALY AND INDIA

EDITOR: It is well that you have instanced Italy. Mazzini was a great and good man; Garibaldi was a great warrior. Both are adorable; from their lives we can learn much. But the condition of Italy was different from that of India. In the first instance, the difference between Mazzini and Garibaldi is worth noting. Mazzini's ambition was not and has not yet been realized regarding Italy. Mazzini has shown in his writings on the duty of man that every man must learn how to rule himself. This has not happened in Italy. Garibaldi did not hold this view of Mazzini. Garibaldi gave and every Italian took arms. Italy and Austria had the same civilization; they were cousins in this respect. It was a matter of tit for tat. Garibaldi simply wanted Italy to be free from the Austrian yoke. The machinations of Minister

¹ Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-72); *vide* "Joseph Mazzini", 22-7-1905.

² Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-82), Italian soldier and patriot, one of the leaders in the struggle for unification of Italy; *Vide* "Important suggestions for Indians Going to the Transvaal", 22-7-1905.

Cavour¹ disgrace that portion of the history of Italy. And what has been the result? If you believe that because Italians rule Italy the Italian nation is happy, you are groping in darkness. Mazzini has shown conclusively that Italy did not become free. Victor Emmanuel [II] gave one meaning to the expression; Mazzini gave another. According to Emmanuel, Cavour and even Garibaldi, Italy meant the King of Italy and his henchmen. According to Mazzini, it meant the whole of the Italian people, that is, its agriculturists. Emmanuel was only its servant. The Italy of Mazzini still remains in a state of slavery. At the time of the so-called national war, it was a game of chess between two rival kings with the people of Italy as pawns. The working classes in that land are still unhappy. They, therefore, indulge in assassination, rise in revolt, and rebellion on their part is always expected. What substantial gain did Italy obtain after the withdrawal of the Austrian troops? The gain was only nominal. The reforms for the sake of which the war was supposed to have been undertaken have not yet been granted. The condition of the people in general still remains the same. I am sure you do not wish to reproduce such a condition in India. I believe that you want the millions of India to be happy, not that you want the reins of government in your hands. If that be so, we have to consider only one thing: how can the millions obtain self-rule? You will admit that people under several Indian princes are being ground down. The latter mercilessly crush them. Their tyranny is greater than that of the English, and if you want such tyranny in India, then we shall never agree. My patriotism does not teach me that I am to allow people to be crushed under the heel of Indian princes if only the English retire. If I have the power, I should resist the tyranny of Indian princes just as much as that of the English. By patriotism I mean the welfare of the whole people, and if I could secure it at the hands of the English, I should bow down my head to them. If any Englishman dedicated his life to securing the freedom of India, resisting tyranny and serving the land, I should welcome that Englishman as an Indian.

Again, India can fight like Italy only when she has arms. You have not considered this problem at all. The English are splendidly armed; that does not frighten me, but it is clear that, to pit ourselves

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

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

READER: You are over-stating the facts. All need not be armed. At first, we shall assassinate a few Englishmen and strike terror; then, a few men who will have been armed will fight openly. We may have to lose a quarter¹ of a million men, more or less, but we shall regain our land. We shall undertake guerilla warfare, and defeat the English.

EDITOR: That is to say, you want to make the holy land of India unholy. Do you not tremble to think of freeing India by assassination? What we need to do is to sacrifice ourselves. It is a cowardly thought, that of killing others. Whom do you suppose to free by assassination? The millions of India do not desire it. Those who are intoxicated by the wretched modern civilization think these things. Those who will rise to power by murder will certainly not make the nation happy. Those who believe that India has gained by Dhingra's act² and other similar acts³ in India make a serious mistake. Dhingra was a patriot, but his love was blind. He gave his body in a wrong way; its ultimate result can only be mischievous.

READER: But you will admit that the English have been frightened by these murders, and that Lord Morley's⁴ reforms are due to fear.

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

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

² *Vide* 1st footnote of "Preface to Leo Tolstoy's "Letter to a Hindoo", 19-11-1909.

³ *Vide* 2nd footnote of "Hind Swaraj", 22-11-1909.

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

CHAPTER XVI: BRUTE FORCE

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

EDITOR: Not so. The Proclamation of 1857¹ was given at the end of a revolt, and for the purpose of preserving peace. When peace was secured and people became simple-minded, its full effect was toned down. If I cease stealing for fear of punishment, I would recommence the operation as soon as the fear is withdrawn from me. This is almost a universal experience. We have assumed that we can get men to do things by force and, therefore, we use force.

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

EDITOR: Your reasoning is plausible. It has deluded many. I have used similar arguments before now. But I think I know better now, and I shall endeavour to undeceive you. Let us first take the argument that we are justified in gaining our end by using brute force because the English gained theirs by using similar means. It is perfectly true that they used brute force and that it is possible for us to do likewise, but by using similar means we can get only the same thing that they got. You will admit that we do not want that. Your belief that there is no connection between the means and the end is a great mistake. Through that mistake even men who have been considered religious

¹ Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858

have committed grievous crimes. Your reasoning is the same as saying that we can get a rose through planting a noxious weed. If I want to cross the ocean, I can do so only by means of a vessel; if I were to use a cart for that purpose, both the cart and I would soon find the bottom. “As is the God, so is the votary”, is a maxim worth considering. Its meaning has been distorted and men have gone astray. The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree; and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree. I am not likely to obtain the result flowing from the worship of God by laying myself prostrate before Satan. If, therefore, anyone were to say: “I want to worship God; it does not matter that I do so by means of Satan”, it would be set down as ignorant folly. We reap exactly as we sow. The English in 1833 obtained greater voting power by violence. Did they by using brute force better appreciate their duty ? They wanted the right of voting, which they obtained by using physical force. But real rights are a result of performance of duty; these rights they have not obtained. We, therefore, have before us in England the force¹ of everybody wanting and insisting on his rights, nobody thinking of his duty. And, where everybody wants rights, who shall give them to whom? I do not wish to imply that they do no duties. They don’t perform the duties corresponding to those rights; and as they do not perform that particular duty, namely, acquire fitness, their rights have proved a burden to them. In other words, what they have obtained is an exact result of the means they adopted. They used the means corresponding to the end. If I want to deprive you of your watch, I shall certainly have to fight for it; if I want to buy your watch, I shall have to pay you for it; and if I want a gift I shall have to plead for it; and, according to the means I employ, the watch is stolen property, my own property, or a donation. Thus we see three different results from three different means. Will you still say that means do not matter?

Now we shall take the example given by you of the thief to be driven out. I do not agree with you that the thief may be driven out by any means. If it is my father who has come to steal I shall use one kind of means. If it is an acquaintance I shall use another; and in the case of a perfect stranger I shall use a third. If it is a white man, you

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

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

Let us proceed a little further. That well-armed man has stolen your property; you have harboured the thought of his act; you are filled with anger; you argue that you want to punish that rogue, not for your own sake, but for the good of your neighbours; you have collected a number of armed men, you want to take his house by assault; he is duly informed of it, he runs away; he too is incensed. He collects his brother-robbers, and sends you a defiant message that he will commit robbery in broad daylight. You are strong, you do not fear him, you are prepared to receive him. Meanwhile, the robber pesters your neighbours. They complain before you. You reply that you are doing all for their sake, you do not mind that your own goods have been stolen. Your neighbours reply that the robber never pestered them before, and that he commenced his depredations only after you declared hostilities against him. You are between Scylla and Charybdis. You are full of pity for the poor men. What they say is true. What are you to do? You will be disgraced if you now leave the robber alone. You, therefore, tell the poor men: "Never mind. Come, my wealth is yours, I will give you arms, I will teach you how to use them; you should belabour the rogue; don't you leave him alone." And so the battle grows; the robbers increase in numbers; your

neighbours have deliberately put themselves to inconvenience. Thus the result of wanting to take revenge upon the robber is that you have disturbed your own peace; you are in perpetual fear of being robbed and assaulted; your courage has given place to cowardice. If you will patiently examine the argument, you will see that I have not overdrawn the picture. This is one of the means. Now let us examine the other. You set this armed robber down as an ignorant brother; you intend to reason with him at a suitable opportunity: you argue that he is, after all, a fellow man; you do not know what prompted him to steal. You, therefore, decide that, when you can, you will destroy the man's motive for stealing. Whilst you are thus reasoning with yourself the man comes again to steal. Instead of being angry with him, you take pity on him. You think that this stealing habit must be a disease with him. Henceforth, you, therefore, keep your doors and windows open, you change your sleeping-place, and you keep your things in a manner most accessible to him. The robber comes again and is confused as all this is new to him; nevertheless, he takes away your things. But his mind is agitated. He inquires about you in the village, he comes to learn about your broad and loving heart, he repents, he begs your pardon, returns you your things, and leaves off the stealing habit. He becomes your servant, and you find for him honourable employment. This is the second method. Thus, you see, different means have brought about totally different results. I do not wish to deduce from this that robbers will act in the above manner or that all will have the same pity and love like you, but I only wish to show that fair means alone can produce fair results, and that, at least in the majority of cases, if not indeed in all, the force of love and pity is infinitely greater than the force of arms. There is harm in the exercise of brute force, never in that of pity.

Now we will take the question of petitioning. It is a fact beyond dispute that a petition, without the backing of force, is useless. However, the late Justice Ranade¹ used to say that petitions served a useful purpose because they were a means of educating people. They give the latter an idea of their condition and warn the rulers. From this point of view, they are not altogether useless. A petition of an equal is a sign of courtesy; a petition from a slave is a symbol of his slavery. A petition backed by force is a petition from an equal and, when he transmits his demand in the form of a petition, it testifies to his

¹ Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901), distinguished Indian judge, social reformer, author and one of the founders of the Indian National Congress.

nobility. Two kinds of force can back petitions. "We shall hurt you if you do not give this," is one kind of force; it is the force of arms, whose evil results we have already examined. The second kind of force can thus be stated: "If you do not concede our demand, we shall be no longer your petitioners. You can govern us only so long as we remain the governed; we shall no longer have any dealings with you." The force implied in this may be described as love-force, soul-force, or, more popularly but less accurately, passive resistance.¹ This force is indestructible. He who uses it perfectly understands his position. We have an ancient proverb which literally means: "One negative cures thirty-six diseases." The force of arms is powerless when matched against the force of love or the soul.

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

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

¹ Instead of "more popularly but less accurately, passive resistance", the original has the one word "satyagraha".

child, you will have to sacrifice yourself. If you are capable of such immeasurable pity, I wish you well in its exercise.¹

CHAPTER XVII: PASSIVE RESISTANCE²

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

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

¹ The original adds: "The thing is simply impossible."

² The original has: "Satyagraha—Soul-force".

³ Literally, "*Itihas* [history] means, 'it so happened'."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A man who has realized his manhood, who fears only God, will fear no one else. Man-made laws are not necessarily binding on him. Even the Government does not expect any such thing from us. They do not say: “You must do such and such a thing,” but they say: “If you do not do it, we will punish you.” We are sunk so low that we

¹ The original has: “to strip ourselves naked and dance. . . .”

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

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

fancy that it is our duty and our religion to do what the law lays down. If man will only realize that it is unmanly to obey laws that are unjust, no man's tyranny will enslave him. This is the key to self-rule or home rule.

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

To use brute-force, to use gunpowder, is contrary to passive resistance, for it means that we want our opponent to do by force that which we desire but he does not. And if such a use of force is justifiable, surely he is entitled to do likewise by us. And so we should never come to an agreement. We may simply fancy, like the blind horse¹ moving in a circle round a mill, that we are making progress. Those who believe that they are not bound to obey laws which are repugnant to their conscience have only the remedy of passive resistance open to them. Any other must lead to disaster.

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

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

¹ The original has: "bullock".

cannon.

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

This, however, I will admit: that even a man weak in body is capable of offering this resistance. One man can offer it just as well as millions. Both men and women can indulge in it.¹ It does not require the training of an army; it needs no Jiu-Jitsu. Control over the mind is alone necessary, and when that is attained, man is free like the king of the forest and his very glance withers the enemy.

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

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

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

Kings will always use their kingly weapons. To use force is bred in them. They want to command, but those who have to obey commands do not want guns; and these are in a majority throughout the world. They have to learn either body-force or soul-force. Where they learn the former, both the rulers and the ruled become like so many madmen; but where they learn soul-force, the commands of the rulers do not go beyond the point of their swords, for true men disregard unjust commands. Peasants have never been subdued by the sword, and never will be. They do not know the use of the sword, and they are not frightened by the use of it by others. That nation is great which rests its head upon death as its pillow. Those who defy death are

¹ The original has: "A woman can offer it as well as a man."

free from all fear.¹ For those who are labouring under the delusive charms of brute-force, this picture is not overdrawn. The fact is that, in India, the nation at large has generally used passive resistance in all departments of life. We cease to co-operate with our rulers when they displease us. This is passive resistance.

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

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

EDITOR: I will certainly not say any such thing. It is difficult to become a passive resister unless the body is trained. As a rule, the mind, residing in a body that has become weakened by pampering, is also weak, and where there is no strength of mind there can be no strength of soul. We shall have to improve our physique by getting rid of infant marriages and luxurious living. If I were to ask a man with a shattered body to face a cannon's mouth, I should make a laughing-stock of myself.

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

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

Chastity is one of the greatest disciplines without which the mind cannot attain requisite firmness. A man who is unchaste loses stamina, becomes emasculated and cowardly. He whose mind is given over to animal passions is not capable of any great effort. This can be proved

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

by innumerable instances. What, then, is a married person to do is the question that arises naturally; and yet it need not. When a husband and wife gratify the passions, it is no less an animal indulgence on that account. Such an indulgence, except for perpetuating the race, is strictly prohibited. But a passive resister has to avoid even that very limited indulgence because he can have no desire for progeny. A married man, therefore, can observe perfect chastity. This subject is not capable of being treated at greater length. Several questions arise: How is one to carry one's wife with one, what are her rights, and other similar questions. Yet those who wish to take part in a great work are bound to solve these puzzles.

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

Passive resistance has been described in the course of our discussion as truth-force. Truth, therefore, has necessarily to be followed and that at any cost.¹ In this connection, academic questions such as whether a man may not lie in order to save a life, etc., arise, but these questions occur only to those who wish to justify lying. Those who want to follow truth every time are not placed in such a quandary; and if they are, they are still saved from a false position.

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

These observances are not to be abandoned in the belief that they are difficult. Nature has implanted in the human breast ability to cope with any difficulty or suffering that may come to man unprovoked. These qualities are worth having, even for those who do not wish to serve the country. Let there be no mistake, as those who want to train themselves in the use of arms are also obliged to have these qualities more or less. Everybody does not become a warrior for the wish. A would-be warrior will have to observe chastity and to be

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

satisfied with poverty as his lot. A warrior without fearlessness cannot be conceived of. It may be thought that he would not need to be exactly truthful, but that quality follows real fearlessness. When a man abandons truth, he does so owing to fear in some shape or form. The above four attributes, then, need not frighten anyone. It may be as well here to note that a physical-force man has to have many other useless qualities which a passive resister never needs. And you will find that whatever extra effort a swordsman needs is due to lack of fearlessness. If he is an embodiment of the latter, the sword will drop from his hand that very moment. He does not need its support. One who is free from hatred requires no sword. A man with a stick suddenly came face to face with a lion and instinctively raised his weapon in self-defence. The man saw that he had only prated about fearlessness when there was none in him. That moment he dropped the stick and found himself free from all fear.

CHAPTER XVIII: EDUCATION

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

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

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

The ordinary meaning of education is a knowledge of letters. To teach boys reading, writing and arithmetic is called primary education. A peasant earns his bread honestly. He has ordinary

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

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

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

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

READER: If that is so, I shall have to ask you another question. What enables you to tell all these things to me? If you had not received higher education, how would you have been able to explain to me the things that you have?

EDITOR: You have spoken well.³ But my answer is simple: I do not for one moment believe that my life would have been wasted, had

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

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

³ Literally, "This is a brave attack indeed."

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

Moreover,¹ I have not run down a knowledge of letters in all circumstances. All I have now shown is that we must not make of it a fetish. It is not our *Kamadruk*². In its place it can be of use and it has its place when we have brought our senses under subjection and put our ethics on a firm foundation. And then, if we feel inclined to receive that education, we may make good use of it. As an ornament it is likely to sit well on us. It now follows that it is not necessary to make this education compulsory. Our ancient school system is enough. Characterbuilding has the first place in it and that is primary education. A building erected on that foundation will last.

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

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

And it is worthy of note that the systems which the Europeans have discarded systems in vogue among us. Their learned men continually make changes. We ignorantly adhere to their cast-off systems. They are trying each division to improve its own status. Wales is a small portion of England.³ Great efforts are being made to revive a knowledge of Welsh among Welshmen. The English Chancellor, Mr. Lloyd George, is taking a leading part in the movement to make Welsh children speak Welsh. And what is our condition? We write to each in faulty English, and from this even our M.A.'s are not free; our best thoughts are expressed in English; the proceedings of our

¹ The original adds: "Your attack is ill-conceived, for".

² Mythical cow, yielding whatever is wished for

³ The original adds: "Its language is no language at all".

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

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

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

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

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

READER: Then what education shall we give ?

EDITOR: This has been somewhat considered above, but we will consider it a little more. I think that we have to improve all our

languages. What subjects we should learn through them need not be elaborated here. Those English books which are valuable, we should translate into the various Indian languages. We should abandon the pretension of learning many sciences. Religious, that is ethical, education will occupy the first place. Every cultured Indian will know in addition to his own provincial language, if a Hindu, Sanskrit; if a Mahomedan, Arabic; if a Parsee, Persian; and all, Hindi. Some Hindus should know Arabic and Persian; some Mahomedans and Parsees, Sanskrit. Several Northerners and Westerners should learn Tamil. A universal language for India should be Hindi, with the option of writing it in Persian or Nagari characters. In order that the Hindus and the Mahomedans may have closer relations, it is necessary to know both the characters. And, if we can do this, we can drive the English language out of the field in a short time. All this is necessary for us, slaves. Through our slavery the nation has been enslaved, and it will be free with our freedom.

READER: The question of religious education is very difficult.

EDITOR: Yet we cannot do without it. India will never be godless. Rank atheism cannot flourish in this land. The task is indeed difficult. My head begins to turn as I think of religious education. Our religious teachers are hypocritical and selfish; they will have to be approached. The Mullas¹, the Dasturs² and the Brahmins hold the key in their hands, but if they will not have the good sense, the energy that we have derived from English education will have to be devoted to religious education. This is not very difficult. Only the fringe of the ocean has been polluted and it is those who are within the fringe who alone need cleansing. We who come under this category can even cleanse ourselves because my remarks do not apply to the millions. In order to restore India to its pristine condition, we have to return to it. In our own civilization there will naturally be progress, retrogression, reforms, and reactions; but one effort is required, and that is to drive out Western civilization. All else will follow.

CHAPTER XIX: MACHINERY

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

EDITOR: By raising this question you have opened the wound I

¹ Muslim divines

² Parsee priests

have received.¹ When I read Mr. Dutt's *Economic History of India*, I wept; and as I think of it again my heart sickens. It is machinery that has impoverished India. It is difficult to measure the harm that Manchester has done to us. It is due to Manchester that Indian handicraft has all but disappeared.

But I make a mistake. How can Manchester be blamed ? We wore Manchester cloth and this is why Manchester wove it. I was delighted when I read about the bravery of Bengal.² There were no cloth-mills in that Presidency. They were, therefore, able to restore the original hand-weaving occupation. It is true Bengal encourages the mill-industry of Bombay. If Bengal had proclaimed a boycott of *all* machine-made goods, it would have been much better.

Machinery has begun to desolate Europe. Ruination is now knocking at the English³ gates. Machinery is the chief symbol of modern civilization; it represents a great sin.⁴

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

¹ The original has: "You have re-opened my wound."

² The reference, obviously, is to the Swadeshi Movement.

³ The original has "Indian".

⁴ The original has: "I am convinced that it . . ."

and soul. We need not, therefore, be pleased with the prospect of the growth of the mill-industry.

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

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

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

EDITOR: Indeed, our gods even are made in Germany. What need, then, to speak of matches, pins and glassware? My answer can be only one. What did India do before these articles were introduced? Precisely the same should be done today. As long as we cannot make pins without machinery, so long will we do without them. The tinsel splendour of glassware we will have nothing to do with, and we will make wicks, as of old, with home-grown cotton and use hand-made earthen saucers¹ or lamps. So doing, we shall save our eyes and money and support Swadeshi and so shall we attain Home Rule.

It is not to be conceived that all men will do all these things at one time or that some men will give up all machine-made things at once. But, if the thought is sound, we shall always find out what we can give up and gradually cease to use it. What a few may do, others will copy; and the movement will grow like the coconut of the mathematical problem. What the leaders do, the populace will gladly do in turn. The matter is neither complicated nor difficult. You and I need not wait until we can carry others with us. Those will be the losers who will not do it, and those who will not do it, although they appreciate the truth, will deserve to be called cowards¹.

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

EDITOR: This question is now too late. It signifies nothing. If we are to do without the railways we shall have to do without the tramcars.

¹ Literally, "hypocrites"

Machinery is like a snake-hole which may contain from one to a hundred snakes. Where there is machinery there are large cities; and where there are large cities, there are tram-cars and railways; and there only does one see electric light. English villages do not boast of any of these things. Honest physicians will tell you that where means of artificial locomotion have increased, the health of the people has suffered. I remember that when in a European town there was a scarcity of money, the receipts of the tramway company, of the lawyers and of the doctors went down and people were less unhealthy. I cannot recall a single good point in connection with machinery. Books can be written to demonstrate its evils.

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

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

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

CHAPTER XX: CONCLUSION

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

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

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

EDITOR: I would say to the extremists: "I know that you want Home Rule for India; it is not to be had for your asking. Everyone

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

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

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

If this idea were carried out, both the extremists and the moderates could¹ join hands. There is no occasion to fear or distrust one another.

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

EDITOR: To them I would respectfully say: “I admit you are my rulers. It is not necessary to debate the question whether you hold India by the sword or by my consent. I have no objection to your remaining in my country, but although you are the rulers, you will

¹ The original has: “will join hands, they can, they must”.

have to remain as servants of the people. It is not we who have to do as you wish, but it is you who have to do as we wish. You may keep the riches that you have drained away from this land, but you may not drain riches henceforth. Your function will be, if you so wish, to police India; you must abandon the idea of deriving any commercial benefit from us. We hold the civilization that you support to be the reverse of civilization. We consider our civilization to be far superior to yours. If you realize this truth, it will be to your advantage and, if you do not, according to your own proverb, you should only live in our country in the same manner as we do.¹ You must not do anything that is contrary to our religions. It is your duty as rulers that for the sake of the Hindus you should eschew beef, and for the sake of Mahomedans you should avoid bacon and ham. We have hitherto said nothing because we have been cowed down, but you need not consider that you have not hurt our feelings by your conduct. We are not expressing our sentiments either through base selfishness or fear, but because it is our duty now to speak out boldly. We consider your schools and law courts to be useless. We want our own ancient schools and courts to be restored. The common language of India is not English but Hindi. You should, therefore, learn it. We can hold communication with you only in our national language.

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

“This has not been said to you in arrogance. You have great military resources. Your naval power is matchless. If we wanted to fight with you on your own ground, we should be unable to do so, but if the above submissions be not acceptable to you, we cease to play the part of the ruled. You may, if you like, cut us to pieces. You may shatter us at the cannon’s mouth. If you act contrary to our will, we shall not help you; and without our help, we know that you cannot move one step forward.

¹ A reference to: “When in Rome, do as the Romans do.”

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

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

READER: What will you say to the nation ?

EDITOR: Who is the nation ?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

necessary.

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

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

APPENDICES

SOME AUTHORITIES AND TESTIMONIES BY EMINENT MEN

I. SOME AUTHORITIES

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

The Kingdom of God Is within You (Tolstoy)

What Is Art? (Tolstoy)

The Slavery of Our Times (Tolstoy)

The First Step (Tolstoy)

How Shall We Escape? (Tolstoy)

Letter to a Hindoo (Tolstoy)

The White Slaves of England (Sherard)

Civilization, Its Cause and Cure (Carpenter)

The Fallacy of Speed (Taylor)

A New Crusade (Blount)

On the Duty of Civil Disobedience (Thoreau)

Life without Principle (Thoreau)

Unto This Last (Ruskin)

A Joy for Ever (Ruskin)

Duties of Man (Mazzini)

Defence and Death of Socrates (from Plato)

Paradoxes of Civilization (Max Nordau)

Poverty and Un-British Rule in India (Naoroji)

Economic History of India (Dutt)

Village Communities (Maine)

II. TESTIMONIES BY EMINENT MEN

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

J. SEYMOUR KEAY, M. P.

BANKER IN INDIA AND INDIA AGENT

(Writing in 1883)

It cannot be too well understood that our position in India has never been in any degree that of civilians bringing civilization to savage races. When we landed in India we found there a hoary civilization, which, during the progress of thousands of years, had fitted into the character and adjusted itself to the wants of highly intellectual races. The civilization was not perfunctory, but universal and all-pervading—furnishing the country not only with political systems, but with social and domestic institutions of the most ramified description. The beneficent nature of these institutions as a whole may be judged from their effects on the character of the Hindu race. Perhaps there are no other people in the world who show so much in their character the advantageous effects of their own civilization. They are shrewd in business, acute in reasoning, thrifty, religious, sober, charitable, obedient to parents, reverential to old age, amiable, law-abiding, compassionate towards the helpless and patient under suffering.

VICTOR COUSIN (1792-1867)

FOUNDER OF SYSTEMATIC ECLECTICISM IN PHILOSOPHY

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

FRIEDRICH MAX MULLER¹

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

FREDERICK VON SCHLEGEL

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

ABBE J. A. DUBOIS

MISSIONARY IN MYSORE

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

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

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

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

Statistics

PRISON POPULATION PER 100,000 OF INHABITANTS

Several European States.... 100 to 230

England and Wales....90

India38

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

living under the same roof to agree together.

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

J. YOUNG

SECRETARY, SAVON MECHANICS INSTITUTES WITHIN RECENT YEARS

Those races (the Indian viewed from a moral aspect) are perhaps the most remarkable people in the world. They breathe in an atmosphere of moral purity, which cannot but excite admiration, and this is especially the case with the poorer classes, who, notwithstanding the privations of their humble lot, appear to be happy and contented. True children of nature, they live on from day to day, taking no thought for the morrow and thankful for the simple fare which Providence has provided for them. It is curious to witness the spectacle of coolies of both sexes returning home at nightfall after a hard day's work often lasting from sunrise to sunset. In spite of fatigue from the effects of the unrelenting toil, they are, for the most part, gay and animated, conversing cheerfully together and occasionally breaking into snatches of light-hearted song. Yet what awaits them on their return to the hovels which they call home? A dish of rice for food, and the floor for a bed. Domestic felicity appears to be the rule among the Natives, and this is the more strange when the customs of marriage are taken into account, parents arranging all such matters. Many Indian households afford examples of the married state in its highest degree of perfection. This may be due to the teachings of the Shastras, and to the strict injunctions which they inculcate with regard to marital obligation; but it is no exaggeration to say that husbands are generally devotedly attached to their wives, and in many instances the latter have the most exalted conception of their duties towards their husbands.

COLONEL THOMAS MUNRO

THIRTY-TWO YEARS' SERVICE IN INDIA

If a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience or luxury; schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic; the general practice of hospitality and charity among each other; and, above all, a treatment of the female

sex, full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilized people, then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe; and if civilization is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that this country [England] will gain by the import cargo.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, BART.

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

161. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

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

CHI. MAGANLAL¹,

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

I was glad to read about Chi. Santok's³ condition.

It seems quite appropriate that the name of Phoenix should be that and nothing else. I wish that my name is forgotten, and only my work endures. The work will endure only if the name is forgotten. It is

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

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

³ Wife of Maganlal Gandhi

good of a name when we are just making experiments? And even when a name is given, we shall have to find a common word over which the question of Hindu or Mussalman will not arise. The word *math* or *ashram* has a particularly Hindu connotation and therefore may not be used. “Phoenix” is a very good word which has come to us without any effort on our part. Being an English word, it serves to pay homage to the land in which we live. Moreover, it is neutral. Its significance, as the legend goes, is that the bird Phoenix comes back to life again and again from its own ashes, i.e., it never dies. The name Phoenix, for the present, serves the purpose quite well, for we believe that the aims of Phoenix will not vanish even when we are turned to dust. We shall see what we can do later on. At present our whole structure and behaviour¹ are those of the bird Phoenix.

Please see my letter² to Mr. Thakkar³.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

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

¹ The original has “વાટ અને ઘાટ...”, i.e., path and form, a common Gujarati phrase.

² This is not available.

³ Harilal Thakkar, a worker in the printing press at Phoenix

162. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

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

CHI. MANILAL¹,

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

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

It was good you asked the question about Phoenix. First of all, we shall have to consider how we can realize the self and how serve our country. After we do this, we can explain what Phoenix is. For realizing the self, the first essential thing is to cultivate a strong moral sense. Morality means the acquisition of virtues such as fearlessness, truth, *brahmacharya* [celibacy] and so on. Service is automatically rendered to the country in this process of cultivating morality. Phoenix is of great help in this process. I believe that it is very difficult to preserve morality in cities where people live in congestion and there are many temptations. That is why the wise have recommended solitary places like Phoenix. Experience is the real school. The experience you have had in Phoenix you could not have got elsewhere. Thoughts about realizing the self, again, could only occur to you there. The very fact that you have asked me such a profound question when you are a mere child shows your merit. The credit of your having been able to nurse Mr. West² and others also goes to Phoenix. As most of the people in Phoenix are just beginners, you may find faults all round you. They may be there. Phoenix is not perfect but we wish it to become so.

The Phoenix School has nothing to do with what I have said above. The school is a means to achieve our end. If it breaks down, we shall know that we are not yet fit for that kind of work. I understand

¹ Gandhiji's second son

² Manager, International Printing Press, Phoenix; during his illness, Manilal attended on him; *vide* "Letter to Manilal Gandhi", 12-10-1909.

your eagerness to study. My advice to you is to have patience. Concerning you, I have been thinking in various ways. I shall explain this to you when we meet. Meanwhile have faith in Bapu. Ask me if there is anything you have not understood.

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

I am anxious about Deva¹. Please look after him.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

163. LAST NOTE ON DEPUTATION²

I³

KILDONAN CASTLE,

November 25, 1909

This is my last note on the Deputation. I should like to request every Indian to go through it carefully. It is my hope that when this note is published in *Indian Opinion*, we, both the brothers⁴, will have been lodged in gaol or will soon be.

POLAK'S WORK

It appears that the more General Smuts sets himself against us, the greater the support we get from India. But four months is too short a period in which to rouse a people. Even four years will not be enough. What then is the secret of the success of Mr. Polak's mission?⁵ The Transvaal satyagrahis, of course. Mr. Polak's effort has

¹ Devdas, Gandhiji's youngest son

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

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

⁴ Gandhiji and Hajee Habib. When the deputation was on its way to England, fellow-passengers on the ship got the impression, from the friendly relations between the two, that they were brothers. *Vide* "Deputation's Voyage [—II], Before 9-7-1909.

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

been welcomed on all sides, not because he is Mr. Polak, but because he is our spokesman telling the story of our grievances, because it is for India that we have been suffering and because India has come to realize the justice of our cause.

PROTEST IN ENGLAND

What about England? I cannot explain how deep a root the movement initiated in England is likely to strike. After the Deputation of 1906, the [South Africa British Indian] Committee was formed. We have often spoken of the invaluable work done by the Committee. Lord Ampthill¹ and Sir Muncherji² are unremitting in their efforts, in the faith that we shall hold out till the end. But the movement³ that has now started is far more important than the work of the Committee. Its object is to take our cause right to the individual Englishman and see that every Indian in England becomes fully acquainted [with the situation]. We are not making this effort because we depend on the support of the British people. Every human being can help our cause. The object of our effort is to give world-wide publicity to the justice of our cause and the injustice of the Transvaal [Government]'s stand. We bring the matter to the notice of the British people because of the connection that exists between them and us. On being acquainted with the facts, they tell us that what we have been doing is right. They send money in aid of our cause. This conveys the suggestion of our being their equals. They do not write to us with an air of condescension, but as our brothers and sisters. This is a new idea. They do their duty [by us]. Let us assume that about a hundred thousand signatures and as many pence will be collected. The significance of this cannot be easily grasped by everyone. A hundred thousand pence will make £416. That is not a small amount. But it is not the amount that matters. The collection of 100,000 signatures is no child's play. About 40 Indians and Englishmen have volunteered to go round for the purpose. It will require a great effort on the part of all these persons to collect such a large number of signatures. Besides, it is not a small thing that 100,000 persons encourage us to go ahead with our fight. Why should these men work? Only because we make sacrifices. Does anyone

¹ Chairman of the Committee; former Governor of Madras; *vide* "Deeds Better Than Words", 26-10-1906.

² Bhownaggee (1851-1933), Indian barrister settled in England, Member of Parliament; "Mr. Brodrick and British Indians in the Transvaal", 2-7-1905.

³ *Vide* "Speech at Meeting of Indians", 2-11-1909.

believe that we could get a single person to work so much for us merely by babbling something about wanting rights for ourselves ?

Having carried on the fight so far, what will the Transvaal Indians do now? If they want to uphold the honour of the people of India, they will meet death rather than give up the fight. They will not keep looking at one another, but go on with the fight. Everyone will want to be a Nagappen¹. They will not be unnerved, but happy rather that the struggle is lengthening out, for, as days pass, people realize that we are not just being theatrical, and they also grow better acquainted with the nature of our struggle. That is the miracle that suffering works. As, one after another, the brave Moor soldiers threw themselves on the French guns and fell dead,² the French gunmen at last refused to fire on them and embraced the survivors. So great is the respect that courage inspires. The Moors could make the impression that they did because they were reckless of their lives. Had they known how to fire a gun, they could not have succeeded so well. But they knew how to die. Through their deeds they told the gunmen: "We are not frightened by your guns. Our country and our religion are dearer to us than our lives. Therefore, keep your guns to yourselves. You cannot bend us. You may seize our lands, if you can, after our death. Do not think, you can take them while we live." These Moors have not in fact died, but live on. For generations their people will recall the story of their courage and the whole world, too, will cite their example. The same is true of the Transvaal Indians. Let them all speak out with one voice that they are prepared to lay down their lives to fulfil their pledge; and then be as good as their word.

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

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

¹ A satyagrahi, who died a martyr; *vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case". 16-7-1909.

² *Vide* "Cape Town Indians", 31-8-1907.

- (2) Those who cannot should cheer the others who continue fighting rather than attempt to dispirit them, or hold their tongue and not come in the way of anyone attempting to do something good.
- (3) Those who cannot take part [in the struggle] as in (1) above should help with money. This is how all wars are fought. Everyone does not march to the front. The others [who remain behind] cheer those on the front, nurse them [when wounded] and help with their money.
- (4) Everyone must bring home to General Smuts the determination of the Indian community not to rest till it had won its demands.

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

Indians must bear in mind that they will call down disgrace on the community if they do not act as suggested above. Even a child can see that we must win the fight. They offer to repeal the Act and to permit entry of six Indians, but refuse equal rights of entry [with the whites] under the law. The explanation for this hurdle has also been provided by General Smuts: it is that there are only a few Indians who carry on the fight. The rest have grown sick of it. If this is true, it is obvious that we shall get nothing.

EXPENDITURE ON DEPUTATION

The expenditure on the Deputation has amounted to about £500. Of this, £210 represents the fare for the journey both ways, which leaves £290 as the figure of expenses in England. The printing bill has not yet been paid. Two thousand copies of our statement¹ were printed. The paper for these remains to be paid for and there is still some unavoidable expenditure to be incurred. The accounts for these items will be given later. An abstract of the expenditure mentioned above will also be published in *Indian Opinion*.² In view of the work [of collecting signatures, etc.] that we have undertaken as stated above,

¹ Of 16-7-1909; *vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", 16-7-1909.

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

a typist under Mr. Ritch¹ will have to be maintained for the present. Miss Maud Polak² has undertaken the work. She gave notice resigning her permanent job when we were about to leave. The balance of the amount received last in connection with this [signature campaign] has been deposited in the bank.

OUR DEMAND

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

GENERAL SMUTS' OFFER

General Smuts has shown himself prepared to give permits of permanent residence to Indians, and also to repeal the obnoxious Act³. But he is not prepared to grant equal rights under the immigration law. There must be [he says] a separate law making special provision for the Asiatics. Lord Crewe⁴ has stated emphatically that General Smuts is not prepared to concede equal rights even in theory.

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

IF

FUND IN ENGLAND

Contributions have been received to-date as follows, two items mentioned earlier⁶ being repeated:

	[£ s. d.]
Dr. Mehta	10. 0. 0
Servant of India (per month)	3. 0. 0

¹ Louis Walter Ritch, an articled clerk under Gandhiji and later Secretary, South Africa British Indian Committee, London; *vide* "Speech at Farewell to L.W. Ritch", 9-3-1905.

² Sister of H. S. L. Polak

³ The Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act 2 of 1907

⁴ Secretary of State for the Colonies

⁵ This appeared as the second instalment in *Indian Opinion*, 25-12-1909.

⁶ From Dalal and Dr. Miss Joshi; *vide* "London", Before 8-11-1909.

Mr. Gokulbhai Dalal	0.10.0
Mr. J. M. Parikh	1. 1. 0
Mr. H. Bose	0. 2. 0
Miss Winterbottom	10. 0. 0
Mr. Duleepsingh ¹	5. 0. 0
Mrs. Dubey	1. 0. 0
Dr. Miss Joshi	3. 0. 0
	<hr/>
	33. 13. 0
	<hr/>

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

MEETING IN CAMBRIDGE

Mr. Hajee Habib, Mr. Ismail Ise, Mr. Azam and I visited Cambridge in response to an invitation. We met students from the Aligarh College as also from the Punjab, Bengal and Gujarat. Mr. Khan came along with us from London. We met about 70 students. Mr. Hajee Habib and I addressed the meeting², which appeared to be considerably roused by our speeches. The students have agreed to help in raising contributions and collecting signatures. We also met Prof. Tejasingh³ there.

The Polak family, Miss Smith, Sir Muncherji, Mr. Dubey, Mr. Parikh, Mr. Munsif, Mr. Bose and some other Indians and Englishmen were present at the station to see us off. Thus, on all sides, sympathy has been evoked for us. It is for us to keep it alive. Likewise, it also depends on us whether the fight will be over early or whether it will go on for a long time.

AT MEYER'S PARTY

Mr. Meyer⁴ arranged a party on the 12th in the Westminster Palace Hotel to enable [friends] to meet us both and hear what we had to say. Letters were received from Lord Ampthill, Lord Curzon, Lord

¹ Prince Duleep Singh

² Of the Indian Majlis held on 7-11-1909; *vide* "Letter to H.S.I. Polak", 5-11-1909.

³ A Cambridge graduate, Professor of English at Khalsa College in the Punjab and leading member of the Sikh community in Canada, who organized the Guru Nanak Mining, Developing and Trust Company there to help settle the Sikhs

⁴ Rev. F. B. Meyer, member S. A. B. I. Committee; *vide* "Deputation's Last Letter", After 6-11-1909.

Roberts¹ and other gentlemen expressing their inability to attend. Sir Charles Bruce² wrote as follows:

Although the cause they represent is passing through a dark hour, I am not discouraged. In the history of the human race, it has been darkest before the dawn. . . . Never did the cause of the Negro seem more hopeless than during the years that preceded the abolition of slavery. . . . The Saviour of the world deemed Himself lost in the moment that brought our redemption. And so I join you in spirit in wishing Godspeed to Messrs Gandhi and Hajee Habib.³

Sir William Markby⁴ wrote:

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

The function was attended, among others, by Princess Sophia Duleepsingh, Sir Raymond West⁵, Mr. Ameer Ali⁶, Sir Frederick Lely, Dr. Rutherford, Sir Muncherji Bhownaggee, Major Syed Hussain Bilgrami, Miss Winterbottom⁷, Mr. and Mrs. Dube, the Hon'ble Mr. Daaji Abaji Khare, Mrs. Khare, Mr. Motilal Nehru, Mr. and Mrs. Marnham, Mr. and Mrs. Ratcliffe, Mr. Ritch and Mr. Ismail Ise.

Speaking after tea, Mr. Meyer said⁸ that, when Mr. Gandhi told him what had happened, he felt that arrangements should be made for a few gentlemen to meet Mr. Hajee Habib and Mr. Gandhi and hence he had called this meeting. He had met Mr. Gandhi in South Africa and had come to know of his self-sacrifice. They had, he said, the reputation of being men who loved fair play and could not therefore

¹ Commander in-Chief in South Africa, 1899-1900 and 1901-04; *vide* "What should the Brave Do?", 1-6-1907.

² Governor of Mauritius (1897-1904)

³ From the English text of the letter published in *Indian Opinion*, 11-12-1909

⁴ (1829-1914), Judge, Calcutta High Court, 1866-78; *vide* "Letter to Sir William Markby", 20-11-1906.

⁵ (1832-1912), Jurist, Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University; *vide* "Deputation Notes -III, 23-11-1906.

⁶ Member, Privy Council; *vide* "Honour for Justice Ameer Ali", 25-12-1909

⁷ Secretary of the Union of Ethical Societies; *vide* "Letter to Miss F. Winterbottom", 13-11-1906.

⁸ The translation has been collated with the English report in *Indian Opinion*, 11-12-1909.

allow their friends to depart without showing them their goodwill. He thought their presence there did not endorse in every particular all Mr. Gandhi's words and acts or suggest that he had made no mistakes. Human beings would not be human beings if they did not make mistakes. But, on the whole, their presence at that meeting was their endorsement of the Indian struggle. The question touched not only the Transvaal or India, but the British Empire as a whole. Mr. Gandhi had informed them, he said, that there was an offer from General Smuts to repeal the Act of 1907, but it was subject to a condition which was unacceptable. Mr. Gandhi did not resist legislation in general, but only legislation which cast a slur upon Indians.

Mr. Gandhi said:

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

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

¹ Vide "The Mass Meeting", 11-9-1906 and "Johannesburg Letter", 22-9-1906.

² Vide *Old Testament, Daniel*, Ch. VI.

condition, that this bond of slavery will always exist between us.” Will the slave acquiesce in such an arrangement, if he wants to be free? What he must do is to tear off the bond of slavery. That is our position. We want to tear off the bond of slavery.

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

He was followed by Sir Raymond West and Sir Frederick Lely. Major Syed Hussain also made a spirited speech and said that the whole of India, Hindus, Muslims and Parsis, were at the back of the [Transvaal] campaign. The following resolution¹ was then passed unanimously:

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

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

[From Gujarati]

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

164. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

UNION-CASTLE LINE,
November 25, 1909

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I write this in anticipation of my going to gaol before reaching Johannesburg.

Your letters are always a study in human nature at its best. Your last one is more so than usual. I call them a study in human nature at its best because you lay bare your heart to me ≈ a privilege I

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

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

assure you I appreciate very much indeed.

If I were to discuss all I have seen and pondered over, it will fill pages and yet I should not succeed in explaining my meaning thoroughly. I fully understand your moral difficulty \approx how to get out of the ordinary dishonesty. I should prize this healthy discontent and nurture it. You will then soon find a way out of it. In the light of my new experiences and further development I have gone through I would like to be by your side and as of old go into the life problems with you. But there need be no impatience. Meanwhile, you have many desirable things to occupy your mind, chiefest among which is this Transvaal struggle.

You ask when will you and I be free from it? I know you have been taxed sufficiently. You have got more than you bargained for. That unfortunately is the price friends pay for close association with me. But apart from feelings of consideration for you I see no necessity for the question when shall we be free. Whichever turn the struggle takes, it is the best discipline I can have. Whilst I work strenuously to bring it to close, I continue in it as if it was to last a lifetime. And so it may be with you if you can take it cheerfully and calmly. We agreed when I left for London, that you could not be better occupied. And I am now face to face with the fact that you have to be so occupied to the end of the struggle. To say you could leave it, is to insult you and to understand your ability to stand fire. No, my dear Lower House, I can only say you should be absorbed in the struggle and to that end compel yourself to be calm.

I shall be writing to you officially also, so that you will see how far the struggle has advanced in London and what effort is necessary in the Transvaal.

Cordes continues to cause trouble. He has been swearing, it appears, at Purushottamdas Desai¹ who, so far as I know, is a very quiet and amiable man. He has felt it terribly, I do not want to write to Cordes for fear I may offend him without doing good. There seems to have been some financial trouble also. I fear that Phoenix has to be supplied with funds. What the condition there is, I do not know. I can only leave the matter in your hands to do the best you can and to ease the situation at Phoenix. Devdas, I notice, was very ill and had not recovered quite at the time they wrote to me. All this shows that I

¹ Who was in charge of the Phoenix school

should be free for a few days and yet I know that I must not ask for a postponement.

I can understand your repugnance towards Motan. And yet I feel that some day or other you [would] want to get rid of this sort of thing. Is he not a member of the same human family? Before you and I realize the identity of all life, we have to live this prejudice down. The thing is difficult but there is no escape from it.

This is a very unsatisfactory letter. Instead of relieving you of the worry and the trouble of looking after the struggle and my affairs when you are yourself not at ease, this letter invites [you] to take on more. I can only hope that I may be soon able to relieve you although the struggle may not end soon.

When I think of you and think of what awaits Mr.Doke, my head begins to turn. I pull myself up and say to myself: there is nothing of self in this. Why then worry? You and he could only do the best. And there I must leave the situation.

I expect that the house has not gone beyond what you described in your letter. I would certainly like to poke my nose into it and play the architect and give some of the newfangled notions I am bringing with me.

With every apology for this letter and with love,

Yours sincerely,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

I have been working very hard on the steamer and have given myself no rest. It is now after 8 p.m. and there is still much before me to finish. I have translated a long letter from Tolstoy¹ and written an original book in Gujarati.²

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

¹ Which was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 25-12-1909, 1-1-1910 and 8-1-1910; for Gandhiji's Preface to the Gujarati translation of Tolstoy's "Letter to a Hindoo", vide "Letter to A.H.West", 24-12-1909 and also "Letter to Leo Tolstoy", 1-10-1909 and Appendix "Tolstoy's Letter to Gandhiji", 7-10-1909.

² *Hind Swaraj*; vide 15-12-1820

165. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

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

MY DEAR WEST,

This is an official letter. I knew nothing about the financial difficulty with the exception of a letter Mr. Cordes¹ sent me as from Mr. Kallenbach². As my movements will be uncertain, I have written to Mr. Kallenbach. I am sorry for the position. I made all the arrangements. I was capable of making. My instructions about printing several things are to be read together with this except the order from Dr. Mehta³.

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

You may make any other changes you may consider necessary in order to put the financial position on a satisfactory footing. I would plead, however, for Kababhai⁴. I suggest that he be not touched. As to the closing of the Durban Office, the matter requires very careful thinking. But if you think that it had better be closed, by all means do so. You may cut about the exchange and complimentary list as you may think fit and may reduce the size of the English columns. I suggest that all this should be done in consultation with Mr. Kallenbach. I am likely to meet him before I am gaoled. In that case, I shall discuss things fully with him.

With reference to Chhaganlal, Dr. Mehta offered to send one of my boys. I then suggested that he should not restrict me. He was

¹ A German theosophist, in charge of the Phoenix School; came to India and joined Gandhiji at Sevagram; died there in 1960.

² A German architect, devoted friend and co-worker of Gandhiji placed his farm at the disposal of the satyagrahis. *Vide* "Letter to H. Kallenbach", 30-5-1910**.

³ Dr. Pranjivan Mehta, M.D., Bar-at-Law, and jeweller; his association with Gandhiji began right from the time he received Gandhiji on his arrival in England for the first time as a student. He rendered financial help to Gandhiji in his activities from the days of the Phoenix Settlement till his death in 1932.

⁴ A compositor in the press.

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

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

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

Mr. Cordes asked me a question as to what should be done for payment of schemers¹ who may be laid up with sickness for a long time. My answer is that we are a family and that we are bound to support them and even find what medical help as poor people we are capable of finding. I am quite willing that my guarantee should stand for such cases. I would add that the same condition should apply within reasonable limits to the non-schemers. It is in such matters that in my opinion we best realize our ideals. We are trying to live a life of perpetual self-sacrifice and find joy in it. But the latter suggestion is for you to accept or reject, as you may think best.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

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

¹ Founder-members of the scheme of the Phoenix Settlement; *vide* "Letter to A. H. West", On or before 29-12-1909.

166. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

UNION CASTLE LINE,
November 27, 1909

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I thought of communicating to you the ideas that arose in my mind after reading Mr. McIntyre's¹ letter about our financial position and after writing a letter to Mr. West.² Please share this letter with Parshotamdas³.

Phoenix will be put to test now. Probably we may not get money from Johannesburg. Our pledge is that we shall bring out at least a one-page issue of *Indian Opinion* and distribute it among the people as long as there is even one person in Phoenix. Do not allow any intrigues to flourish there. You must put up with anything that the others might say. If the Durban office is closed down, let it be. Always bear in mind that the main point should be stuck to. In order to give one's life for it, one has to give up the rest. The main point is to bring out the paper at any cost and not to leave Phoenix. If this one point is kept, the other things may go. We do not want to make a fetish of the journal and worship it. But we do want to keep our pledge. Our victory does not lie in issuing the paper, it lies in the pledge. There is nothing in getting the Transvaal Act repealed but there is everything in keeping the pledge. Our soul is moulded by our pledge and that is and should be the significance of keeping our pledge as well as of carrying on our other activities. You might suggest that the office may continue even if Mr. West has to go to Durban. Or let Manilal go [to Durban]. I would confide to you two only that I intend to sacrifice Manilal in the struggle if he is willing and if Ba⁴ agrees. That will calm his restless mind. In fact, he wanted it himself. But if this does not materialize, it is just as well that he goes to Durban, and you remain in Phoenix. This should be done only if it is necessary. Make up your mind not to be upset if money does not come from Johannesburg.

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

² *Vide* "Letter to A. H. West", 26-11-1909.

³ Parshotamdas Desai, who was in charge of the Phoenix School; *vide* "Letter to A. H. West", On or before 29-12-1909.

⁴ Kasturba Gandhi, wife of Gandhiji and mother of Manilal.

You may tell them that in that case you will provide the necessary funds by earning the money in some other way. You may also declare that you will continue to live and die in Phoenix even when no one else remains there. The others will catch your spirit, provided it is born of your steadfast mind and not of arrogance. The spirit has to be genuine, not merely expressed in strong words. Be quite sure that its echo will definitely be heard. Let the other necessary changes also be made. If any changes that you consider needless are made, let them also be made. There should not be any insistence in matters of pecuniary profit and loss. It is out of our ignorance that we believe we get our bread because of our efforts. It is best if one realizes that He who has given us teeth will also give us food for chewing.

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

167. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

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

CHI. RAMDAS¹,

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

Do not be upset if I go to gaol; rather you should rejoice. I should be where Harilal² is. I must live there even for the sake of the struggle. Be cheerful. I want to see you stout and strong.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Third son of Gandhiji.

² Gandhiji's eldest son.

168. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE¹

[November 30, 1909]

PRAY THANK MR. TATA² FOR MUNIFICENT TIME-
LY HELP. DISTRESS GREAT. PRISONERS' LOT
HARD. RELIGIOUS SCRUPLES DISREGARDED. RATIONS
SHORT. PRISONERS CARRY SLOP-PAIS; FOR RE-
FUSING, PUT ON SPARE DIET. SOLITARY CON-
FINEMENT. PROMINENT MOSLEMS? HINDUS, PARSIS IN
JAIL.

GANDHI

Gujarati, 19-12-1909

169. MESSAGE FROM DELEGATES AT CAPE TOWN³

[November 30, 1909]

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

We have received a cablegram from the Hon. Prof. Gokhale informing us that Mr. Ratanji Jamshedji Tata of Bombay has given Rs. 25,000 in aid of the Transvaal struggle. This munificent aid shows that the Motherland is fully alive. It requires⁴ for passive resisters to show they are prepared to die for a cause that is righteous, godly and national.

Indian Opinion, 4-12-1909

¹ This, the Bombay weekly *Gujarati* reported, was sent by Gandhiji to G. K. Gokhale, whose cable announcing the donation was received by Gandhiji on his arrival on November 30 at Cape Town; *vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", 6-12-1909.

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

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

⁴ A slip for "remains"?

170. INTERVIEW TO "CAPE ARGUS"¹

[CAPE TOWN,
November 30, 1909]

Dr. Abdurahman², this morning, introduced Mr. Gandhi and [Mr.] Habib, who left South Africa in June last as a deputation to England on behalf of the Indian Passive Resisters. They arrived this morning, and continue their journey today to the Transvaal, if they are not stopped at Vereeniging.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

engaged in it have no personal interest to serve, merely fighting for a principle. The method adopted also is idealised, as we seek to bring about relief through personal suffering by disregard of the law, which we hold to be against our conscience and our self-respect.

We suffer, that is the penalty; hence over 2,500 Indians have suffered imprisonment in the Transvaal, some of them even four times. Among this number are merchants, hawkers and servants, men representative of all the different religions, and today we have received a cablegram from Professor Gokhale, who is a member of the Viceregal Council, Calcutta, stating that one of the millionaires of India, Mr. R. J. Tata, has given 25,000 rupees (£1,630) to the funds of the passive resisters. Hitherto we have not appealed for funds outside of South Africa, but since the prolongation of the struggle has reduced so many Indian families to poverty, we find it necessary to accept assistance from outside South Africa. In England many Englishmen and Indians volunteered to collect subscriptions and to sign a letter¹ addressed to the passive resisters, encouraging them to continue the fight.²

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

As regards the effect in India, meetings have been held throughout the chief towns of India, in which all the different classes combined in support of the passive resisters, and I notice that one⁴ the retiring Indian members of Lord Morley's Council has stated that no question has so agitated India as this concerning the Transvaal

¹ Vide "Letter to Transvaal British Indians", 6-11-1909

² This paragraph was not reproduced in *Indian Opinion*.

³ This sentence was not reproduced in *Indian Opinion*.

⁴ Syed Hussain Bilgrami

treatment of the Indians.¹

Question: Will the education test be accepted ?

[GANDHI:] Yes, the Emigration Officer would have a discretionary power as to the test to be applied, and it would be open to him to make a severe test as regards Indians, and so reject those who were not able to meet it. This is done in Australia and other colonies. I see no difficulty about it. There is a fear that the education test would keep the agitation alive, but I hold this to be groundless.

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

Cape Argus, 30-11-1909

171. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER²

December 1, 1909

I never realize any distinction between a Hindu and a Mahomedan. To my mind, both are sons of Mother India. I know that Hindus are in a numerical majority, and that they are believed to be more advanced in knowledge and education. Accordingly they should be glad to give way so much the More to their Mahomedan brethren. As a man of truth, I honestly believe that Hindus should yield to the Mahomedans what the latter desire, and that they should rejoice in so doing. We can expect unity only if such mutual large-heartedness is displayed. When the Hindus and Mahomedans act towards each other as blood-brothers, then only we can hope for the dawn of India.

Indian Opinion, 4-12-1909

172. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

JOHANNESBURG,

Kartak Vadi 5 [Samvat] 1966,

[December 2, 1909]

CHI. MANILAL,

So long as you are firm in morals and discharge your duties, I for one shall have no worry at all about your studies. If the

¹ This paragraph was not reproduced in *Indian Opinion*.

² Written in Gujarati to a Mahomedan correspondent

injunctions and observances prescribed by the Shastras are practised, it will be enough for my purpose. I shall be helpful to you if you want to make further progress in your academic studies, either as a hobby or to be better equipped [for work]. I will not find fault with you even if you do not do it. However, if you decide upon a particular course of action, try to stick to it. Let me know what things you are doing now the press; also when you get up in the morning, what work you do in the field, etc.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

173. INTERVIEW TO REUTER

[JOHANNESBURG,

December 2, 1909]

Messrs Gandhi and Hajee Habib¹ arrived at Park Station this evening. Long before the arrival of the train, hundreds of Indians and Chinese [had] assembled. When the train steamed in, quite 2,000 Indians and Chinese, and several Europeans, were present. The crowd was of the orderliest. There was a tremendous ovation, and flowers were showered upon Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi returned thanks to the Transvaal Government for their courtesy in allowing them uninterfered re-entry. He said he hoped that the Transvaal [Government] would soon see their way to remedying the legislation. He considered the Transvaal's action was injuring, not the Indians, but the stability of the Empire. The people of England and India were waking up to the fact that the struggle was just. They were realising the detrimental nature of the Transvaal's action. The people of India were particularly alive to the necessity of carrying on the struggle, as evidenced by the handsome donation by Mr. Tata² during the past few days. He was pleased to know that they had a great number of European sympathisers. The English people now realised the justness of the struggle. He felt very fit, and so did all his supporters. Many men among their ranks were ready to die for the cause.

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

Indian Opinion, 4-12-1909

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

² *Vide* "Interview to *Cape Argus*", 30-11-1909.

174. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Thursday night [On or after December 2, 1909]¹

CHI. MAGANLAL,

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

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

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

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

175. LETTER TO H.S.L. POLAK

Monday [After December 2, 1909]²

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have not the time to give you a long letter today. Too much disturbance at the office. At the invitation of Nagdee I took the school children to Warmbaths for the Sunday. We have just returned Kallenbach and Ritch were with me and so also Pragji.³

¹ This letter, of which only the first two pages are available, is placed after Gandhiji's return from England. The reference to the Bank in the second paragraph suggests that the addressee had taken charge of bank matters which were attended to heretofore by Chhaganlal Gandhi, who was at this time in India *en route* to England.

² This letter was evidently written after the one to the addressee dated September 23, 1909, in which Gandhiji mentions the essay on passive resistance and the syllabus that he was to draw up for it; *vide* "Letter to H.S.L. Polak", 23-9-1909. Gandhiji was in London about this time and it would appear that this was written after he returned to Johannesburg on December 2, 1909.

³ Pragji Khandubhai Desai

You will have copy of my evidence before the Select Committee. It is not meant for publication. Dr. Mehta is there. I wish you could fix up now the essay on passive resistance on which you will remember I drew up a syllabus.

Yours sincerely,

BHAI

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

176. REPLY TO “THE STAR”¹

[JOHANNESBURG,]

December 3, 1909

SIR,

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

I must confess that, even in London, I could see no sign of the majority of my compatriots here having been tired of the struggle, as you are. They have certainly felt the strain. Some have undoubtedly succumbed, and, before we are through, more may succumb; but the demonstration at the station last evening² could not have failed to show even a superficial observer that practically the whole of the Indian community is at the back of it, and that those who have, through weakness or through other causes, accepted the law no less keenly resent it than active passive resisters.

I am, however, more anxious to engage the attention of your readers on the merits than on the question of the strength or weakness of passive resistance. In spite of your quotation from *Macbeth*,³ I venture to repeat what I have said—that the theory of equality may be restored in our legislation as to immigration, which may be deliberately departed from in administration, and yet I would deny the

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

² At the Park Station, *vide* “Interview to Reuter”, 2-12-1909.

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

charge of having “paltered with” anybody “in a double sense”. It will not do to dismiss a great principle of the British Constitution by loosely using the words “administrative chicanery”, “dishonesty”, etc. In theory, the Indian Civil Service is open to all British subjects; in practice, it is open to the people of India in a most restricted sense. This departure from theory is unfortunate, but it is neither dishonest nor fraudulent, because the thing is done openly, and, rightly or wrongly, as an administrative necessity. Australia, Natal, and many other Colonies have legislation such as British Indians have submitted to the Transvaal Government for acceptance; and it is not possible to charge all these Colonies with questionable practices because they use their education test very effectively to keep out British Indians. Their legislation contains no national insult, and who can deny that it is a great thing to keep the Statute Books of the Colony free from the taint of prejudice? If administration is differential, it will simply be a concession to prejudice, as also the well-defined policy of the white inhabitants of South Africa. But, in the latest amendment submitted through Lord Ampthill, there is even no room left for the charge of dishonesty. The law will clearly state that the Governor-in-Council will have the power to limit the number of immigrants belonging to any class or race, in spite of their having passed the education test.

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

Meanwhile, the Government are making the lot of passive resisters well-nigh intolerable. One of the greatest Indians in South Africa is, in spite of his weak constitution, being deprived at Diepkloof of the special food which was issued to him by the Medical Officer at Volksrust and at Houtpoort. He has been compelled to uncover his head, although he has a religious objection to doing so, an objection that was respected during his three incarcerations. He was not only hand-cuffed but chained on his arrival from Johannesburg; but, if I know Mr. Rustomjee well, I know that nothing in the world will daunt his brave spirit. Another Indian¹, an ex-sergeant, has been called upon to empty slop-pails.² He has scruples. Such scruples have been hitherto, within my own knowledge, very largely respected. Now he

¹ U. M. Shelat; *vide* “Indian Stretcher-Bearer Corps”, Before 19-7-1906.

² *Vide* “Speech at Johannesburg Mass Meeting”, 5-12-1909

has been, for his disobedience so called, put on spare diet and confined in a solitary cell.¹ It is well for the Colony to know what is being done in its name.

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

I am, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

The Star, 4-12-1909

177. SPEECH AT TAMIL LADIES' MEETING²

[JOHANNESBURG,
December 3, 1909]

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

Indian Opinion, 11-12-1909

¹ *Vide* "Mr. Shelat's Discharge", 1-1-1910

² Mrs. Vogl presided at the meeting, which was held at 175, Market Street, Johannesburg. The work among "Indian ladies" had been inaugurated by Mrs. Polak, and was continued by Mrs. Vogl and Miss Schlesin; women's meetings were held regularly. At the conclusion of Gandhiji's speech, the ladies assured him that they would not flinch from their duty in the struggle.

178. SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG MASS MEETING¹

[December 5, 1909]

Mr. Gandhi said that it gave Mr. Hajee Habib and himself the greatest satisfaction to see his countrymen in such large numbers face to face again. Their presence and their welcome at Park Station gave the lie direct to the charge that interest in the struggle had waned. The speaker offered thanks to the Transvaal Government for their having allowed Mr. Hajee Habib and himself to cross the border unchallenged. It showed that the struggle could be carried on with dignity and without unnecessary bitterness, and yet the proceedings of the past five months showed that there was a great deal of bitterness as also irritation. He recalled the death of the gallant young Nagappan, who gave his life for the struggle. A thousand Major Dixons² could not remove the impression from his mind that he had died a martyr's death. The great philanthropist Mr. Rustomjee was in gaol, and he was shattered in health. The illustrious Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer was also suffering imprisonment, and so were the stout-hearted Mr. Sorabji and other brave Indians. Mr. Shelat was suffering solitary imprisonment and was put upon spare diet, because he refused to carry sloop-pails. These things could not but cause great bitterness and irritation. It had been said that the community had weakened. It was perfectly true that some had fallen. It was not their fault. It was not in human nature to expect capacity for prolonged suffering on the part of many.

The state in which they were living was described by General Smuts as that of war; and, in every war, the honours of battle were reserved for the few, and every community was represented, after all, by the fewest possible. In the gaol at Diepkloof, every action of the community was represented by its best men. There

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

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

² Major F. J. Dixon, Assistant Resident Magistrate, Pretoria, was appointed Commissioner to hold an enquiry into the allegations made in connection with the death of Nagappan on July 6. *Vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", 16-7-1909 "Letter to Lord Ampthill", 16-8-1909 & "Letter to "South Africa", Before 16-10-1909.

was, therefore, every reason for hope, and the speaker hoped that Indians would follow the worthy example of their leaders. As a matter of fact, the deputations to England and to India were against the real spirit of passive resistance, which relied entirely upon self-suffering, but there was weakness, too. It, therefore, became necessary to supplement the effort by sending deputations. They had returned from England without any final result, and yet they had not returned disappointed. The authorities now knew the exact nature of the struggle. There was no one in England who had anything to say against it. Lord Ampthill had supported them with his whole heart. Everyone knew that they were fighting for legal and theoretical equality as to immigration. It was recognised that the struggle was not on behalf of a handful of Indian residents in the Transvaal. It was on behalf of the whole of India, indeed, on behalf of the whole Empire. Its honour was entrusted to them, and it would be well for the Colonists to understand the seriousness of the struggle. They could not question the demand of the Indian community for a restoration of that equality it had enjoyed before the War and up to 1906, when the Colonial policy of restricting immigration from India was accepted and carried out. It was the duty of Indians to resent a national wrong. When they were told that they could not enter the country because they were Indians, the implied insult became intolerable. It was a life-and-death struggle. His (the speaker's) life and he believed that of many of his countrymen was dedicated to fighting against the policy underlying the legislation they were protesting against. The formation of a band of volunteers for doing house to house work, for collecting subscription,¹ and for reaching the heart of democracy in the United Kingdom was a very important result of their mission. The movement might be far-reaching in its effects. Many earnest English men and women and Indians had joined it. The magnificent efforts that were being made by the self-sacrificing Mr. Polak had borne ample fruit. It had resulted in the magnificent donation of Mr. Ratanji Jamshedji Tata. A struggle such as this might well be prolonged. Prolongation meant greater discipline, if it also meant greater hardship, but the goal to be achieved was worth all the sacrifice, and the speaker hoped that Asiatics would continue the struggle to the end.

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

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Meeting of Indians", 2-11-1909.

In dwelling upon the European support received in the Transvaal, Mr. Gandhi paid a tribute to the work done by the Committee led by Mr. Hosken¹. Those who were members of the Committee cherished the Colonial ideal just as much as anybody else, but they did not find it incompatible with that ideal to espouse the Indian cause. He confessed that passive resistance would have been practically impossible without the encouragement, support, and sympathy that were received from the European friends and workers.²

Indian Opinion, 11-12-1909

179. SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG MASS MEETING³

[December 5, 1909]

This meeting has disproved the allegation that the Indian community was weakening. It must be admitted, however, that the spirit today is not what it was in the beginning. Some Indians have indeed fallen off, but that is no reason for us to be discouraged. In every struggle, the same thing happens. Only a few continue to fight to the bitter end. A community which has in it heroes like Mr. Bawazeer, Mr. Rustomjee, Mr. Naidoo⁴ and Mr. Sorabji cannot surely be said to have accepted defeat. A community which can boast of such members is bound to win. But, while recognizing our strength, we must not fail to notice our weakness. Even a child can see that there would have been a settlement by now if those who gave in had not done so.

General Smuts deserves thanks for having allowed us to come in. This is an instance of the spirit of dignity that informs this struggle. But there is also increased bitterness. How can it be otherwise when they compel prisoners to carry slop-pails⁵ and harass them unnecessarily? How can we forget that Nagappen gave his life for the cause? If the Indian community remembers all this, it will never give up the fight. Whatever may happen, I and many other Indians have dedicated our lives to the cause for which we have been fighting. If every Indian had been a satyagrahi, there would have been no need to take a deputation to England. The strength of the satyagrahi lies entirely in self-suffering. Since, however, all of us were not satyagrahis, a deputation was sent. It has returned unsuccessful, but not dispirited. Lord Crewe has now realized

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

² *Vide* "Resolutions at Johannesburg Mass Meeting", 5-12-1909.

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

⁴ Thambi Naidoo, *vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale," 6-12-1909.

⁵ This is a reference to Shelat; *vide* the preceding item.

that our struggle is a pure one, that it is not dictated by self-interest and that all our methods have been above reproach. Likewise, Lord Ampthill and other British leaders too understand all these things. We did not come across a single Englishman or Indian who said that our fight was not justified. This is no mean achievement. We can go ahead now.

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

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

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

It must also be realized that the status of Indians in South Africa depends to a large extent on this struggle. It is because of the struggle that new laws have not been passed, the Licenses Act in Natal has been amended and legislation in Rhodesia was disallowed. If we continue, it will be difficult to make laws against us when the Union Parliament comes into being. This is as much as to say that our interests also are involved.

That the struggle is drawing out is to our advantage, rather than otherwise. India is being awakened thereby, we are being educated and are learning to do public work. It is, therefore, my earnest request to the community that those who are strong must remain strong, that those who have fallen must openly admit their weakness and

help the struggle by giving money and in other ways. This is but a duty that every Indian owes to himself. The Imam Saheb¹, Mr. Rustomjee and others are in gaol for our sake. It will indeed be shameful for us to leave them in gaol, confessing ourselves [too] weak [to follow them], or to refuse other help that may be needed.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-12-1909

180. RESOLUTIONS AT JOHANNESBURG MASS MEETING²

December 5, 1909

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

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

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

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

5. This meeting of British Indians of the Transvaal appeals to the Imperial and the Indian Governments to use their friendly efforts for securing a settlement of the long-standing grievance of the community, regard being especially had to the fact that the grievance is national and a further prolongation of it is calculated to injure the prestige of the British Empire.

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

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

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

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

Indian Opinion, 11-12-1909

*181. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY
TO TRANSVAAL GOVERNOR¹*

JOHANNESBURG,
December 6, 1909

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF THE TRANSVAAL
JOHANNESBURG

SIR,

I have the honour to enclose herewith Resolutions that were carried unanimously at a Mass Meeting of British Indians, held yesterday and attended by nearly fifteen hundred men representing all sections of the community. I am desired by the meeting² to request His Excellency to forward these Resolutions to the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for the Colonies and to the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) A. M. CACHALIA,³

CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

[Enclosure⁴]

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

¹ Presumably drafted by Gandhiji.

² *Vide* Resolution No. 7 (preceding item), which was not enclosed.

³ He also presided over the Mass Meeting.

⁴ The first six resolutions of the preceding item.

182. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

JOHANNESBURG,
December 6, 1909

DEAR PROFESSOR GOKHALE,

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

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

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

Office here	£50
Office London	£40
<i>Indian Opinion</i>	£50
Distressed families	£25

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

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

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

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

eighteen months he has been practically in gaol. I could continue to multiply the names. In all, there are about thirty Indian passive resisters in the gaols at present; many more would certainly claim the honours if the Government would give them. The possibilities of a struggle such as this it is very difficult to measure. I hope that the Motherland will come to the rescue, and assist us as far as possible. The moral effect of continued pecuniary assistance from India will also be very great. I hope that my letter¹ from London has duly reached you, and that it has received your consideration.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

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

M. K. G.

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

183. EXTRACT FROM LETTER²

[JOHANNESBURG,

December 6, 1909]

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

Colonial Office Records: C.O. 291/141

¹ Dated 11-11-1909, inviting Gokhale to the Transvaal; *vide* "Letter to G.K. Gokhale", 11-11-1909.

² Quoted in a letter dated December 31, 1909 from Sir Mancherji Bhownaggee to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies; the full text is not available.

184. TATA'S GIFT

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

Parsis are known the world over for their generous gifts. Mr. Tata has been true to that spirit of generosity. In South Africa hardly any Indian can equal Mr. Rustomjee's performance. We have had many generous donations from him. For us, therefore, Mr. Tata's gift is no matter for surprise.

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

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

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

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-12-1909

185. NATAL LICENSING ACT

The Natal Parliament has amended the Dealers' Licenses Act. The Indian community was keen on provision for appeal, and its desire has been partly satisfied. If an officer refuses to renew an existing licence, an appeal will now be allowed to the Supreme Court. This is a matter for some satisfaction. There used to be rank injustice sometimes, which will now cease. The amendment does not apply to

new licences, but we do not think this is much of a difficulty. With some effort we may possibly secure that too.

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

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

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

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

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

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-12-1909

186. LETTER TO “RAND DAILY MAIL”¹

JOHANNESBURG,
December 11, 1909

SIR,

Every person who has the interests of the Colony, as also the Empire, at heart, must feel thankful to you for your leading article² on the Transvaal Indian situation.

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

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Rand Daily Mail, 13-12-1909

187. JOSEPH ROYEPPEN

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

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 18-12-1909

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

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

188. LETTER TO “INDIAN OPINION”

December 20, 1909

TO

THE EDITOR

INDIAN OPINION

SIR,

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

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

To those who are in gaol now I make this request, that they should make up their minds to return to gaol the moment they are released, without so much as pausing for breath. An exception may be made only in the case of Mr. Rustomjee. If he is not arrested [on his release], he would do well to go to Durban for a month. But as soon as a month is over, it will be his duty, so at least it appears to me, to return [to the Transvaal], whatever the state of his health.

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

Whether or not others fill them, it is obviously the duty of those

¹ Gandhiji expected he would be arrested on 22nd December while entering the Transvaal from Natal with six British Indians including Manilal. *Vide* “Cable to H. S. L. Polak”, 22-12-1909

² 18 years, *vide* “Cable to H. S. L. Polak”, 22-12-1909

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

who would do so for the sake of India not to pause even a moment for breath.

Yours,

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 25-12-1909

189. SPEECH AT DURBAN MEETING

[December 20, 1909]

The resolutions² proposed at this meeting are a proof of your enthusiasm and your spirit. You have identified yourself with the struggle, and that is as it ought to be, for this struggle is the support on which rest the rights of all. If we lose it, we shall be uprooted from this land or, in any case, be reduced to slavery. Even as it is, the slavery is there, as can be seen from the subjects of your resolutions. If you have any trace of manliness in you, you will turn satyagrahis. For instance, all the teachers can resign³, and all parents can withdraw their children from schools. Parents who believe that their children receive any education in Government schools are only deluding themselves. There is, again, the question of indentured labourers. You should never forget that the provision for appeal⁴ in regard to trading licences is only a bait. It has been offered in order to induce us to give up our opposition to the repatriation of indentured labourers on the expiry of their terms of contract. Is there any Indian who will agree to this? You must oppose such repatriation. The petitions you make will avail you nothing by themselves. They must be backed by some force, by the force of satyagraha (passive resistance). As General Smuts has declared, satyagraha is a kind of war. The Natal Indians can hope for no improvement in their lot unless they resort to satyagraha. Today England is on our side. India has been stirred by Mr. Polak. I have had news today from Johannesburg of a telegraphic offer of £400

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

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

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

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

from the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, following on Mr. Tata's gift. Mr. Joseph Royeppen has returned with degrees from England, and will now accompany me to gaol to receive the latest degree. Another person to come forward is Mr. V. Lawrence. He has a wife and children, whom he will be leaving behind. He will also give up his job in order to join the struggle. I am proud of him. How can we ever turn away from the example that has been set by Nagappen? Cherishing his memory, we must fight on till we win. Victory will not further anyone's personal interest, but it will uphold India's honour. If these friends or any other Indians are coming along in the hope that thereby they will secure for themselves domiciliary rights in the Transvaal, I would ask them not to do so. Among those who are accompanying us, there is another Colonial-born Indian, Mr. Samuel Joseph. Likewise, Mr. Ramalal Singh has crossed over from Germiston, and he too will enter [the Transvaal] with us and go to gaol. Having thus carried on the fight for three years, it will be disgraceful of us to give it up now. Nothing is ever achieved except through suffering. A mother suffers when her child is born. In the same way, India has to go through suffering at present. Gaol-life is a kind of education and strengthens the will-power. This, I believe, is a great benefit, and hence I have decided to take along with me my second son Manilal. He has himself elected to come. In gaol, we are to work as missionaries of satyagraha, i.e., good life.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 25-12-1909

190. CABLE TO H. S. L. POLAK¹

[JOHANNESBURG,
December 22, 1909]

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

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

INDIAN ASSOCIATION, AND MYSELF HAVE CROSSED THE BORDER¹ UNCHALLENGED, BUT WE EXPECT TO BE ARRESTED AT ANY TIME. I THINK THAT THE ARREST IS SUSPENDED TO AVOID CAUSING A SENSATION AT THE TIME OF THE CONGRESS. MR. FAZANDAR, ALTHOUGH VOLUNTARILY REGISTERED, WAS DEPORTED LAST WEEK. HE RE-ENTERED. THE POLICY OF THE TRANSVAAL AUTHORITIES APPEARS TO BE TO DEPORT TO INDIA EVEN THOSE VOLUNTARILY REGISTERED, THAT IS TO SAY, THOSE WHO ARE ADMITTED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO BE LAWFULLY RESIDENT IN THE TRANSVAAL. HAZURA SINGH LAL AND BAHADUR SINGH VAJA AND SIX OTHERS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED WITH A VIEW TO DEPORTATION. THEIR CASES HAVE BEEN ADJOURNED. THE "RAND DAILY MAIL" AND "THE TRANSVAAL LEADER" RECOMMEND THE ACCEPTANCE OF OUR DEMANDS .

India, 28-1-1910

191. SUBSTANCE OF LETTER TO COLONIAL SECRETARY²

[JOHANNESBURG,

December 23, 1909]

Mr. A. M. Cachalia, Chairman of the British Indian Association, has written a letter to the Colonial Secretary in which he says the regulations³ are uncalled for irritating and degrading. The regulations, in the humble opinion of his Committee, are contrary to the declarations so often made by the Government that there is no intention to wound the feelings or to interfere with the movements of domiciled British Indians.

Indian Opinion, 1-1-1910

¹ On December 22, 1909

² The text of this letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, is not available.

³ The Railway Regulations gazetted on 17-12-1909

192. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

Friday Night [December 24, 1909]

MY DEAR WEST,

Both your letter and Joseph's¹ to the *Mercury* are very good. I should like to keep them for Natesan² if I may.

If there is not sufficient to pay wages, I, being the manager of the Trust³, must make provision. In any case, the whole estate is liable for wages. Such is the legal position. The moral position is this: We do not make two ends meet; I fail to find money; we close down the Press, try other means; if we do not succeed and if we do not want to die on the land in the attempt to make it pay, we disperse or those who are dissatisfied will disperse. What do owners do, when they find their enterprise not paying? Settlers are virtually owners. Yes, it is possible for the majority to sell the land. I think we ought to leave the door open.

You will remember I once remarked that *Indian Opinion* only may be taken over by the settlers, or some of them. Hence the clause⁴. Throughout I have presumed that the majority of us at least may be expected to carry out the ideals. The settlers will be those who will sign the list of settlers to be appended to the Trust. The wives and children are not 'Settlers, in the sense of the Trust. Polak and Harilal who have joined the scheme are. Miss Schlesin can be one. Mr. Doke and Miss Smith are not.

The earnings will pay for all they can. For the present we only contemplate a deficit. The scope has been changed in that the settlers are paid according to needs and not according to income or ability.

I shall still await your concrete suggestions for amendment or alteration or addition.⁵

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand C. W. 4411

¹ Joseph Royeppen's letter was published in *The Natal Mercury*, 22-12-1909, and reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 1-1-1910.

² G. A. Natesan, Editor, *Indian Review*, Madras

³ ⁴ and ⁵ The draft of the Trust deed is not available; for Trust deed *vide* Vol. XI; some particulars in regard to the Phoenix Scheme are given in "Letter to A. H. West", On or before 29-12-1909.

193. HONOUR FOR JUSTICE AMEER ALI

Last week we gave the news about Justice Ameer Ali having been honoured by the Emperor. He has been appointed a Privy Councillor. That is, he has received the right of sitting in the Emperor's Council. No Indian has received such an honour before now and Justice Ameer Ali is the first recipient. We congratulate him. Our readers probably know that for many years he has been living in England. He is President of the All-India Muslim League in England. He is also a member of the South Africa British Indian Committee, which is all the more reason why we should rejoice [at his appointment]. Also, his being honoured will encourage us to still greater effort.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 25-12-1909

194. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

Sunday, December 26, 1909

MY DEAR MILLIE,

I am writing this in Mr. Kallenbach's tent. It has been raining for the last two days. The tent is soaking wet, water dropping here and there. The wind is howling about me. Manilal is with us. He is a good boy. I notice that he is over-particular about his dress. He devoted nearly a[n] hour to ironing his suit. He is pining to go to goal.

I see you address me Brother in inverted commas and underlined thrice. We may well call ourselves brother and sister. Our conduct certainly justifies it. But will you give me a sister's confidence? If you say 'yes', I shall try to be 'brother' to you. No real increase in my family can be cause of sorrow to me.

Henry wants me to send you £ 17 now. His previous letter said £ 16. I think I wrote to you from 'on board' that I should like to be able to send you more. Now it is done by Henry which is the same thing. Henry wonders how you will take his prolonged stay in India. And yet he is there in his element. After a certain stage, my presence is a hindrance to friends' growth. Henry is doing much better independently of me. He has succeeded in captivating Dr. Mehta who wants me to print his address on industrialism and its evils for free

distribution.

Your letter is full of epigrams in your best style. You could hardly be so sweet as you are if you never needed a friend's help and consolation. Though a brother could never replace a husband, I tried during my stay in London to replace Henry so far as I could. It was no more a wrench to you to separate from me than it was to me to separate from you. We certainly came nearer each other in London than ever before. It was natural.

You may well envy Maud and yet you cannot. Maud is a different type. Friends can make or mar her. You can be helped by friends and never marred. A trusting nature like Maud's is beautiful. It can under good auspices develop into a very strong nature. Her progress can be rapid but so can her retrogression. With you retrogression is impossible. And progress, shall I say, slow if not even difficult. You would be justified. I know, in saying the same of me. We are both strong natures. We may be nearest each other but never identical. I was tempted to analyse Henry. But I must not speculate any further. Your wonderful letter before me has given rise to these thoughts. That is the beauty of epigrams. You could say so much on each.

You are right in assuming that Lord Morley's reforms may be a piece of bone thrown to a hungry dog. And yet it is open to those who will be the leaders in the new Assembly to make much out of them. Lord Morley can do little for India unless Indians themselves are prepared to do something for themselves. Just now assassination is the order of the day. Lord Morely can stop it but he is too blind to see the way. I should like to be able to throw myself into the work but I cannot, and have no desire to force the pace.

I am glad Waldo and Baby are getting on. I hope Celia and Amy are keeping well.

Of myself, you will learn from elsewhere.

With love,

Yours sincerely,

YOUR 'BROTHER'

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

195. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

Wednesday [On or before *December 29, 1909*]¹

DEAR MR. WEST,

Without going into the argument, the following is my opinion.

Health—As to sanitation, I will say nothing. I have already given my opinion as to medical expenses.² Reasonable medical expenses of all should come out of the business. What is reasonable should be decided in each case separately in consultation with the patient. The scheme is based on mutual trust and we must expect everyone not to wilfully fall ill or to wilfully ask us to incur expenses. If I do not want a doctor, I cannot impose the idea on others. In coming to this conclusion, I fancy that the ordinary law of human life is health and not sickness. If Dr. Nanji³ will not come to Phoenix, another doctor may be consulted.

The School—The school should vegetate and as to the material, Mr. Gora⁴ may be asked as to what he proposes to do with it. I suggest your personally seeing him. For the present, Purshotamdas alone may do what he can for the school.

Indian Opinion—The size should be changed as suggested. No apology need be offered in the paper for it. The English columns should be reduced. No leading matter of opinion [be] given for the present except explanatory notes. All matter should be severely condensed. Energy should be devoted to the art of condensing. It may be divided into Passive Resistance, Natal notes, Cape notes, etc. Reports of Bombay and other meetings may be considerably shortened. Original papers from which condensation is made should, if possible, be kept pasted in book form. The English columns then should simply give news on the disabilities throughout South Africa and about matters we are interested in. When Mr. Polak returns, he may enlarge the scope and size if funds then permit. Mr. Kallenbach should be advised as to how much will be required monthly under this

¹ The letter seems to have been written after Gandhiji's return from England and before the size of *Indian Opinion* was changed, which was done on January 1, 1910.

² Vide "Letter to A. H. West", 26-11-1909.

³ An Indian physician of Durban, who often treated those at Phoenix including M. Gandhi

⁴ Ismail Gora, Acting President, Anjuman Islam Society, Durban

heading, the ideal being not to ask for any support at all. The Gujarati columns ought not to be reduced, but if the Gujarati subscribers fall off, even that may be reduced almost to any extent, you there, in Mr. Polak's and my absence, being the sole judge.

You may put a limit to the credit for subscribers. Mr. Dawd Mahomed¹ and such others foreign or local may be placed on the complimentary or separate list, so that we know that we have to collect from them. You may cut about the complimentary list as you think fit.

As to libels, you need not fear or bother. All facts, you cannot vouch for, should be signed by those who give them—no law need be read on it just now. If I find a simple book, I shall send it. No legal adviser is necessary. But in emergency, Mr. Khan² will advise.

Scheme—All except Kababhai and Mrs. West should be invited to join the scheme or leave. I am so firmly of this opinion that I would do away with the Kaffir labour. We would simply do what we can with the schemers and no more. All should be voters. They should appoint a sub-committee or managers—the final veto being retained to me. Personally I feel inclined to treat Mrs. West and Kababhai too as schemers with full rights except as to the drawings. All decisions to be by votes of majority, pure and simple. You may frame rules for guiding deliberations and defining the duties of the sub-committee and managers.

A wife working in the Press does not forfeit the privileges of a schemer's wife.

I send herewith draft for £75 which please place to my credit.

Mr. Kallenbach has seen this letter.

Mr. Sam's papers will be returned to him with the cession of the bond cancelled.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

There is no one now in Johannesburg who can go out collecting. I suggest Mr. Cordes coming out for collections. Periodical visits should be paid. No reliance should be placed on the

¹ A leader of the Natal Indian community; one-time President, Natal Indian Congress; a passive resister.

² An Indian barrister of Durban, *vide* "Speech at Calcutta Meeting", 27-1-1902.

Johannesburg office as to collections. I shall endeavour to bring up the deficit in the capital a/c as quickly as possible.

M. K. G.

[PP.S.]

I have endorsed the draft.¹

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4410 Courtesy: A. H. West

196. JOHANNESBURG²

[Wednesday, December 29, 1909]

KRUGERSDORP SATYAGRAHA

The case of Mr. Amad Vaja, Mr. Moosa Vaja and Suleman Hossen³ came up for hearing on Tuesday last. There was a move to have them all deported under the Immigration law. Mr. Gandhi, appearing for the defence, argued that:

The Immigration law had no application [in the present case], since all of them had taken out voluntary registration certificates. True, they had refused to produce their certificates, that being the place of the campaign. There is no provision in law for deporting those who refuse to show their certificates, but such persons can be sentenced to imprisonment.

The Public Prosecutor read out the instructions which he had received from Pretoria. The case has been adjourned to Wednesday⁴

¹ These words have been written by Gandhiji in the margin at the top left corner of the letter.

² This is an extract from the weekly dispatch "Johannesburg", which appeared almost regularly in *Indian Opinion* from 3-3-1906 onwards. (*Vide* "Letter to Chhaganla Gandhi", 18-2-1906 & "Johannesburg Letter", 26-2-1906). The dispatch was originally named "Johannesburg Letter", but the word "Letter" was dropped from 16-10-1909 onwards. After his return from England in December 1909, Gandhiji, on the evidence available, seems to have contributed only occasional paragraphs to the dispatch.

³ Indian merchants

⁴ The case came up on Thursday, December 30; *vide* "Transvaal Notes", *Indian Opinion*, 1-1-1910.

for judgment.¹

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-1-1910

197. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

JOHANNESBURG,
December 31, 1909

MY DEAR MILLIE,

Nowadays I come to the office between 7 and 8. I have a quiet half hour just now which I wish to devote to writing to you. You are dearer to me than my widowed sister Gokuldas' mother, whom as you know I worship, though in thoughts a gulf divides us. You are dearer because there is so much in common between us and because I have entered so much into your and Henry's lives - I hope for our common good and the good of humanity. Your brief letter haunts me. It fills me with sorrow and admiration for you. You have written it in love, grief and resignation. I wish you had sent me the other letter also that you wrote.

No, no, my dear sister, you are not going to live away from Henry for ever. Your wondrous imagination has carried you much further, I am sure, than Henry could ever intend you to go. How I wish I was close by you to comfort you and show how wrong you were. In reply to that letter of mine which you read, Henry wrote to me and told me he was writing to you. I wish you had sent his letter to me. You have cut a deep wound in my heart by telling me that your brief letter is to be the last for many weeks. You will not treat your only (am I) adopted brother in that fashion? If I am your brother, you *must*² let me share your sorrows.

You are Henry's better half. No path can be considered right for him along which he cannot carry you. Will you not have sufficient faith in him to know for certain that he is incapable of creating a gulf between you and himself? I ask you to trust me *neve*³ to carry Henry

¹ The court ordered, after hearing McIntyre's arguments, this time, that the defendants be deported, the deportation to take effect after the decision in the appeal to the Supreme Court.

² Words supplied in italics here and elsewhere in the text of a letter (other than those italicised as per editorial style) are underlined in the original, evidently for emphasis.

³ *ibid*

along any route without your approval. A gift given or a sacrifice made grudgingly and not cheerfully is no gift or sacrifice. You have often given me the privilege of analysing you to yourself. You have heroically sacrificed yourself on the altar of duty. But you have done so in bitterness not always free from resentment. Your noble nature and your mad regard for truth should free you from that error. Why should not duty be pleasure? I hope you follow me in what I am writing.

Will you not, for my sake, shake yourself free from that little morbidity of your nature? It ill becomes a character like yours. I want a perfect sister and am anxious for Henry that he should have a perfect wife. It is because it is in you to be perfect that I venture to draw attention to what in my opinion is lacking in you.

‘Take no thought for the morrow’ is a sound maxim of life. You know exactly what this means. Why then worry!

Now do tell me what you will have me to do? At any rate let me know if you will be a true sister to me, what is running in your mind, what it is that Henry intends doing, what has caused you such a severe shock. I trust you, on the strength of a brother’s love, to tell me fully, frankly and freely where you are.

With love,

Yours,

‘BROTHER’

[PS.]

I return you your letter to enable you to understand this better.

M. K. G.

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

198. MR. SHELAT’S DISCHARGE

After having served six months, imprisonment, Mr. Shelat was discharged from Diepkloof Gaol on the 24th December, reduced in weight from 139 pounds to 110, looking weak and emaciated. The readers of this journal will remember that Mr. Shelat was confined to a solitary cell and placed on reduced diet for having refused to carry

slop-pails.¹ We consider that passive resisters should not hesitate to do the meanest work in the Transvaal prisons. But Mr. Shelat—a Brahmin—made the matter a point of conscience. We can but treat his objection, therefore, with respect. He was first punished with twenty-four hours' solitary confinement with spare diet for disobeying the order. Mr. Shelat was immovable. The next punishment was for forty-eight hours; still with spare diet, but without effect. The third sentence was increased to six days with spare diet. Mr. Shelat was adamant. Spare diet meant rice water twice per day. This told on him, but Mr. Shelat was determined to die for his conscience. He was further sentenced to 14 days' solitary confinement and with reduced diet. Reduced diet meant half the ordinary scale. But even the long spell in a semi-dark cell could not bend this passive resister's spirit. The last sentence was, therefore, twenty-eight days. This meant prolonging his six months' sentence by nine days. The authorities, however, discharged him without exacting the extra nine days. This is a feat that will always remain in the annals of Passive Resistance as one of the most brilliant. We congratulate Mr. Shelat on his pluck. He has shown the Transvaal Government that there are some Indians who, when it is a matter of conscience with them, do not fear consequences. Such punishment as was awarded to Mr. Shelat is reserved for criminals of a hardened type. To have inflicted it on Mr. Shelat and half starved him was wanton cruelty. But we boldly say to those who know what the struggle means—"Never mind what suffering you have to undergo. The more you suffer, the better it is for you and the community."

Indian Opinion, 1-1-1910

199. OURSELVES

With the present issue, this journal appears under a somewhat changed dress. The size, too, has been reduced. The Transvaal struggle has put a very severe strain on our resources. It has now become too great for us to continue the old form and size. It is within the knowledge of most of our readers that our publication is not a commercial concern, but our capacity for the service of the community to whose interests *Indian Opinion* is devoted is limited, and our limitation has necessitated the change the readers will notice

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Johannesburg Mass Meeting", 5-12-1909

in its appearance. We part very reluctantly by way of retrenchment with the cover whose colour was very specially selected. Though the size has been reduced, we hope that we shall be able by means of condensation to give the same amount of information. Our readers who are interested in the ideals we endeavour to promote can render useful service by finding subscribers for the journal which they may call their own. It is our desire to give more varied matter as our resources increase. It is, then, for the readers to say when they shall have a better service of news.

Indian Opinion, 1-1-1910

200. BALANCE-SHEET

Years follow one another. At the end of each, we take stock of the community's position. The Transvaal satyagraha has thrown everything else into the shade. The course of the struggle has been marked by a number of notable events. A deputation also went to England. Numerous have been the benefits of the struggle. We can make the claim that the campaign has saved us from much disabling legislation in South Africa. Several instances of this will easily occur to the reader. The educative value of the discipline of satyagraha can never be overestimated. Everyone can see now that carrying on this fight is in itself a kind of achievement. The Transvaal campaign is still going on. Quite a few Indians have weakened. Had it not been for this fact, the struggle would have ended by now. But the community has lost nothing by the fact that the struggle has been prolonged. Of soul-force, it may be said, the more it is employed the greater is the benefit. Like learning, it grows through use. The campaign has now assumed an excellent form. In England, the volunteers have been doing very good work under the guidance of Mr. Ritch. If the present tempo of the work is maintained for a year, consider what it will mean. Assuming an average of £4 a week, the collection will total £208. If the signatures average 50 [a week], there will be 2,600 in all. In fact, much more than this is likely to be achieved. If, however, even 2,600 come to be properly informed about our struggle, it will be no small achievement. The wider the publicity a satyagraha campaign receives the greater the admiration it wins, making its opponents feel rather crest-fallen. Mr. Polak has roused India. As days pass, her pressure grows more vigorous. All this shows that we stand to lose nothing because the struggle is long drawn out. A campaign in which the

combatants have no interests of their own to serve profits them all the more by being prolonged, for they fight for the good of others, and there can be no limit to doing good to others. From this point of view, we should not feel concerned even about those who have been suffering in gaol. They are tested through suffering and their worth shines all the brighter.

Turning to Natal, [we find that] the condition there is pitiable. The Natal Government has passed some laws which the community ought to oppose. We attach little value to the minor change that has been made in the Dealers' Act.¹ In the matter of education, the Government has been very high-handed. Sooner or later, the Natal Indians will have no option but to take up satyagraha.

We find that the Cape Indians have been slumbering. There has not been any new legislation to speak of in the Cape, but the community is growing weaker day by day. Trade is no longer in Indian hands. The community has failed to profit by the favourable conditions there; otherwise, the Cape Indians are in a position to do fine work not only in the Cape but in the whole of South Africa.

In Delagoa Bay, Indians have been gradually losing their rights. The Portuguese authorities have been tightening the screw on them at the instance of the British. We put it to the community that they will lose nothing by resisting the tyranny of the Government. They must do so for the good name of the community. Their duty, too, requires the same thing.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 1-1-1910

201. COLLECTOR'S ASSASSINATION

There was a cable-report in last week's papers about a Collector named Jackson² having been assassinated near Nasik. There are some Indians who hope to terrorize the British by such acts. What they are doing is a grave matter. The assassin is quite convinced in his mind that he is acting in the interest of the country, but it is difficult to see what good assassination can do. Wherever assassinations have taken

¹ *Vide* "Natal Licensing Act", 11-12-1909

² A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., District Magistrate of Nasik, was shot dead on 21-12-1909 by a young man from Aurangabad.

place, they have done more harm than good. President Mackinley¹ of America was assassinated by someone who imagined that that was the way to eradicate corruption from America. No such result followed. Similarly, President Carnot² of France was killed a few years ago. That certainly did not lead to any reforms in France. What followed both in America and France was increased repression by, and expenditure on, the police.

Unless a particular form of tyranny is directly attacked, it can never be got rid of. If at any time it does seem to have been eradicated, other undesirable consequences will follow. If B, being oppressed by A, does not himself offer resistance but gets relief through C, that will not end his subjection. He will have C, instead of A, on top of him. If C is a good man, he may put B in shackles of gold instead of iron, but the shackles—the slavery—will remain. What is necessary is to open B's eyes to his state of slavery and teach him to be free. It is not by murdering others that he can be taught this.

It is our particular request to readers of this journal that they give the utmost thought to this matter. We know it is becoming fashionable among the Indian people to admire assassinations. The fashion, we suppose, will not last long. Let every reader of *Indian Opinion* work to bring it to an early end.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-1-1910

202. TERRIBLE STEP

The Pretoria Town Council is dead set against the Coloured people. Every year, students are seated in the Town Hall during their examination. This time a Kaffir sat with the whites in the same hall. The Council was angered by this and served notice on the examiners that, since they had seated a Kaffir with the whites in the same hall, it would not be available to them henceforth. The examiners thereupon

¹ William Mackinley (1843-1901), twenty-fifth President of the United States in 1896, re-elected in 1900, was shot on 6-9-1901 by a Pole, Leon Czolgosz, and died on 14-9-1901.

² Marie Francois Sadi Carnot, (1837-1894); in 1887 became the fourth President of the Third Republic of France. His presidency was marked by the Boulangist agitation (1889) and the Panama Scandals (1892). On 24-6-1894, he was stabbed by an Italian anarchist named Caserio at Lyons, and expired almost immediately.

asked for a separate room for the Kaffir. This, too, was refused by the Council and a resolution was passed that no Kaffir or any other Coloured person should ever be allowed to use the Town Hall or any of its rooms. The whites who passed this resolution are counted very respectable and well-educated men. In a country like this, the Coloured people are placed in an extremely difficult position. We think there is no way out of this except satyagraha. Such instances of injustice are a natural consequence of the whites' refusal to treat the Coloured people as their equals. It is in order to put an end to this state of affairs that we have been fighting in the Transvaal, and it is not surprising that the fight against a people with such deep prejudice should take a long time [to bear fruit].

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-1-1910

203. POLAK'S BOOK

To his other successful efforts in India, Mr. Polak has added one more by writing a book¹ on South Africa. Its expenses, moreover, will not be borne by us, since Mr. Natesan has published it at his own cost.

The book gives an account of conditions in the whole of South Africa. It has four sections. The first section gives detailed information about almost all the laws in South Africa, beginning with Natal. The section occupies 90 pages, 69 being taken up by Natal. The part [dealing with Natal] contains full information about the Dealers' Act, the Immigration law and the law relating to indentured labour. In giving the account of the Dealers' Act he has cited the cases of Mr. Hoondamal², Mr. Dada Osman³, Mr. Cassim Mahomed, Mr. Wahed, Mr. Goga, Mr. Chetty, Mr. Amad Bemat and others.

He has also cited many cases of hardships suffered by indentured labourers.

The Transvaal campaign takes up 45 pages.

In addition, statements made by a number of public men have also been included.

Under the heading "Immigration Scandal in Natal", Mr. Polak

¹ *The Indians of South Africa*, published in Madras

² *Vide* "Indian Licences: Need for Vigilance—I, 18-2-1905.

³ *Vide* "Dada Osman's Case", 14-9-1898.

has quoted the strong letter which Mr. Anglia addressed to Lord Crewe. Information about education in Natal has also been included.

There is also information about laws in the Cape, Rhodesia and Delagoa Bay. This is a very valuable book which should be in the hands of every Indian. It is priced Re. 1.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-1-1910

204. *LETTER TO GENERAL MANAGER, C. S. A. R.*¹

[JOHANNESBURG,
January 4, 1910]

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter² of the 30th ultimo, in reply to my letter addressed to the Honourable the Colonial Secretary and dated the 23rd ultimo,³ with respect to the Regulations affecting Natives and Asiatics. Whilst my Association is grateful to you for your exhaustive, courteous and conciliatory reply, I venture to point out that the spirit of my communication has been missed. My Association is aware of the existence of departmental regulations or instructions prior to the publication thereof in the *Gazette*⁴. If I may venture to say so, the instructions were a result of co-operation on the part of the community represented by my Association, and undoubtedly a proof of the amicable relationship that has hitherto existed between the Railway Administration and British Indians; but the legalising of these instructions gives the impression that the Administration is not satisfied with the spirit of forbearance and co-operation shown by them. My Association has never resented the separate accommodation provided in the respective classes and the affixing of the “reserved” labels. My Association has, however, never assented to the position that the Indian community should be deprived of facilities for travelling by express trains.

As you are aware, the present bitter and exhausting Asiatic struggle going on in the Colony is due to legal inequality and

¹ This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent over the signature of the Chairman, British Indian Association.

² Reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910; *vide* “The Transvaal Railway Regulation”, “The Transvaal Railway Regulations”, 8-1-1910 & “The Transvaal Railway Regulations”, 8-1-1910.

³ *Vide* “Substance of Letter to Colonial Secretary”, 23-12-1909.

⁴ Of 17-12-1909

differentiation, and not to departmental differentiation, which Asiatics have held to be justifiable, owing to the existence of colour prejudice in the Colony. The Railway Board, in legalising the Regulations, have ignored the struggle, and accentuated a situation against which my Association has been fighting.

It is difficult for my Association to give an opinion as to whether legal power is required by the Administration in order to deal with the Natives, but, so far as British Indians are concerned, perhaps it will be admitted that such power is not necessary. My Association, therefore, ventures to trust that the Regulations will be withdrawn in so far as they affect British Indians.

Indian Opinion, 8-1-1910

205. JOHANNESBURG

[Wednesday, January 5, 1910]

OF INTEREST TO TRADERS

I give below the substance of a notice published in the newspapers.

Licences of all kinds must be taken out before the end of this month. Before a licence can be had, every business must have been duly registered as required by law. Those who fail to get their businesses registered will be prosecuted and those found without licences will be required to take them out after paying a 10 per cent fine. The following are the rates of licences:

	£ s. d.
Agent of a foreign company	10 0 0
Broker	1 0 0
General dealer	1 0 0
Pedlar	1 0 0
Hawker (with a horse-drawn carriage)	2 0 0

A hawker who does not already hold a licence will not get a [new] licence straight away. Anyone who wants a new one will have to produce a certificate from a J. P.

Trading licences should be taken out between the 12th and the 15th, if the applicant's surname begins with any of the

letters A, B, C, and D; between the 17th and the 20th, if the surname begins with any letter from E to L; between the 21st and the 25th, if from M to R; and between the 26th and the 30th, if from S to Z. Licences will be issued to Indians between 2 and 3.30 p.m. except on Saturdays.

All this applies to those who have to take out licences from the Revenue Office.

There are separate rates for those who hawk within municipal limits; they have to take out licences in Johannesburg on or before January 15.

WHAT NOW?

This means that Indians who are not full-fledged satyagrahis, or any other Indians for that matter, ought not to step into the Licence Office up to January 15. Those who own stores should not take out licences before January 30.

Though many Indians have fallen, some of them can rise again. It will be but proper for storekeepers not to take out licences for the present but to do so only at the end. Moreover, it is necessary for every storekeeper to send out at least one person from his store for hawking. Any such person who goes out hawking must do so properly. Every hawker should prepare to get arrested from the 16th onwards; for once they must fill the gaols to crowding. They will not have done anything extraordinary, if they do. If it is certain that everyone will not go to gaol, a few at least from every group or from among the members of an eating-house should do so. No one should be guided by what others do. Everyone must do what he can. If, after returning from gaol, a hawker feels inclined to take out a licence, he may, but it will be better if he does not. If the people do at least this, they will have served the community and received some training themselves.

Mr. Gardi, Mr. Moosa Miya and Mr. Ahmed Miya have undertaken to explain matters to the hawkers; they will, moreover, send out one person each from their shops. Mr. Hajee Habib will court imprisonment by working as picket or in some other manner and will also send out one person from his shop. I hope other Indians will follow this example.

I think Mr. Joseph Royeppen, Mr. Samuel Joseph and Mr. David Andrew will also go out hawking if they are not arrested.

Indians from mofussil areas can do excellent work in this field.

I am writing this letter on Wednesday. Today Mr. Joseph Royeppen, his companions, Mr. Cachalia and Mr. Gandhi are to go to Boksburg in response to an invitation from there. If people regain their spirit, an early solution is quite likely. Whether or not it is so, people must do their duty.

MORE MONEY

Mr. Gandhi has received today by telegram a further¹ sum of £200 from Mr. Petit.

ARREST

News has just been received that Mr. Ibrahim Hoosen, a satyagrahi, who had started a hair-cutting saloon, was arrested today.

HELP FROM MOZAMBIQUE

Mr. Damodar Anandji's cheque for £50 in aid of the satyagraha campaign has been received. Indian friends at Mozambique rendered excellent help to Mr. Isaac.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-1-1910

206. *LETTER TO J. C. GIBSON*²

JOHANNESBURG,
January 6, 1910

DEAR MR. GIBSON,

I enclose herewith a memorandum, showing what would finally close the bitter and exhausting Asiatic struggle that is now going on in the Colony.

It has been brought to my notice that the Indian community is being charged with two things: firstly, that British Indians have continually shifted their ground as to their demands; secondly, that the movement here is entirely engineered and controlled from India.

¹ "Transvaal Notes", *Indian Opinion*, 1-1-1910, had indicated: "Mr. Jahangir Petit has cabled Mr. Gandhi £400 from Bombay."

² This letter and the statement were the outcome of the interview which the Rev. Charles Phillips and J. C. Gibson had with Gandhiji on 6th January 1910, following their conversation with Lord Selborne, High Commissioner of the Transvaal. *Vide* their letter dated 7-1-1910 to Lord Selborne, reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 10-12-1910.

As to the first, here are a few facts. About the month of September, 1907, that is to say, before imprisonments had commenced and the compromise was effected, a public document¹ was addressed to the Colonial Secretary, signed by several thousand Indians, in which occurs the following sentence: “We respectfully submit that nothing short of total repeal of the Act can meet the difficult situation that has arisen.” So that repeal of the Act was the goal always aimed at. Total repeal at the time or at any time before the passing of the second Registration Act would have restored legal equality under the Immigration Act.

When the compromise was effected², I contend that repeal against voluntary registration was definitely promised. This promise was alluded to by General Smuts in his Richmond speech³ two days after the compromise. He stated that the Asiatics had asked for repeal, and that he had told the leaders that, until every Asiatic was registered, he would not repeal the Act.

When I was assaulted, a document⁴ for publication was drawn as between Mr. Chamney and myself, to the effect that the Act would be repealed if voluntary registration was completed to the satisfaction of the authorities. At the meeting of the Executive Council, after the burning of the certificates, a compromise became impossible because the essential point of repeal, namely, legal equality as to immigration, was not granted; and a final settlement was not arrived at in London only because of this point remaining undecided. The following is Mr. Duncan’s⁵ testimony—and Mr. Duncan ought to know what he is speaking about—to the effect that we have never shifted the ground. Writing in the month of February last in the *State*⁶, Mr. Duncan said:

The position of the Indian leaders is that they will tolerate no law which does not put them on an equality with Europeans in regard to restriction on immigration. They are willing to see the number of Asiatics limited by administrative action. They insist on equality in the terms of the law itself.

In this article, Mr. Duncan has examined the charge of shifting,

¹ *Vide* “Monster Petition”, before 21-9-1907.

² On 30-1-1908; *vide* “Letter to Colonial Secretary”, 28-1-1908 & “Interview to the Transvaal Leader”, 30-1-1908.

³ *Vide* Appendix “General Smuts’ Speech in Richmond”.

⁴ Not published and not available; *vide* “Letter to the Press”, 2-7-1908.

⁵ Patrick Duncan, Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal before Smuts

⁶ Monthly organ of the Closer Union Societies

and has come to the conclusion that there has been none.

As to the charge of the movement being engineered and controlled from India, I can only state that it is absolutely devoid of foundation. Indeed, it is common knowledge among those who have at all understood the agitation here that the complaint was that India was not sufficiently awakened to the national importance of the struggle going on here. Hence it was that Mr. Polak was sent. Before the deputation went to England,¹ there never was any pecuniary assistance either received or required from India. Today it is a world-wide fact that the struggle is not only affecting Indian politics, but is being financially supported from there. Every penny received is being publicly advertised. We are receiving similar support now from England also.

In conclusion, I would state that, if my letter or the statement hereto attached are not considered explicit, I shall be prepared to send any other document, so long as it carries out the intention of the statement, which is to secure repeal of the Act and legal equality as to immigration. It has become necessary to mention one point as if there were two points, because of the second Registration Act being in the way, but the point is really only one.

Yours truly,

M. K. GANDHI

[Enclosure]

STATEMENT

British Indians will be satisfied if Act 2 of 1907 is repealed, and the Immigration Act is so amended as to enable any Asiatic immigrants of culture to enter the Colony on precisely the same terms as Europeans, and without the necessity for complying with any Registration Act. This Amendment will allow the Immigration Officer the fullest discretion as to the mode of setting the education test, and will give the power to the Governor-in-Council to frame regulations limiting the number of immigrants belonging to different classes or races, even though they may have passed the education test. So far as Asiatics are concerned, no amendment of the Immigration Act would be necessary, were it not for the presence of the second Asiatic Act passed in 1908. The amendment giving the Governor-in-Council the

¹ It left South Africa on June 23 and reached England on July 10, 1909.

power to make the regulations in the manner above referred to meets the objection that the administration of the law would be so different from its wording. So long as a limited number of (say, up to six) British Indians of culture are admitted into the Colony per year under the education test, British Indians will be satisfied. The granting of these two concessions *will finally close the struggle, and remove the question from the arena of Indian politics*. The educated Indians who have entered the Transvaal will then retire, and claim to enter, if at all, under the general test.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of Cd. 5363; also
Indian Opinion, 10-12-1910

207. SPEECH AT DINNER TO JOSEPH ROYEPPEN AND OTHERS¹

[JOHANNESBURG,
January 7, 1910]

Mr. Gandhi, in proposing the toast of “The Guests”, explained their motive in coming to the Colony—one, simply, of vindicating their national honour. They were here to hearten their own people by going themselves through the mill of suffering. Many of them there knew what the ordeal was, and it had, of course, yet to be seen how far the new recruits could bear it. He would acknowledge that they could no longer boast that they numbered hundreds upon hundreds who were prepared to suffer. Some 2,500 had gonethrough gaol, and many of these felt unable to return. He did not blame those who broke down—such persons were to be found in every struggle. This, however, he could say that the best of his people had simply been steeled by their suffering, and that whether the struggle lasted for months or years, it could continue until either they died or it succeeded. Personally, he had no doubt about the result. Whether the ordeal was longer or shorter was, in his view, comparatively unimportant. The thing to be thankful for was that it was proved they had in their midst a considerable residue of men showing unbreakable spirit in defence of a moral principle. Mr. Gandhi proceeded to instance the Mohammedan priest², “a man softly

¹ At a private dinner at the Masonic Hall, Johannesburg, in honour of Messrs Joseph Royeppen, David Andrew, Samuel Joseph and Manilal Gandhi. William Hosken presided and proposed the toast of “The King”. Several prominent Indians and Europeans were present. The report of Gandhiji’s speech was reproduced in *Indian Opinion* as from *The Transvaal Leader*.

² Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer

nurtured”, who was now serving at Diepkloof his third term; and another British Indian—a leading Parsee¹. The latter, he stated, had sacrificed a prosperous business, and would on the 11th of next month have served a continuous term of 12 months. He had been imprisoned originally for 6 months, but on liberation had immediately re-crossed the border and thus courted further imprisonment. Mr. Gandhi explained (being requested by the Chairman) his reason for allowing his own son² of 17 to enter the Colony with the prospect of arrest. The lad had repeatedly expressed his wish to share the honourable sufferings of his people, and Mr. Gandhi had at length consented, feeling that he would go into the prison not to acquire the vices of such a place, not in any sense as a criminal—(applause)—but as a missionary among his co-sufferers of his own race and among the Native convicts with whom he would be classed. (Loud applause.) He (Mr. Gandhi) felt that the stand the passive resisters were making for righteousness’ sake had taken away from the gaol all criminal savour—so far as they were concerned—and he believed that in God’s providence right would yet be done them and their cause would triumph. (Loud applause.)³

Indian Opinion, 15-1-1910

208. LIBERTY

Liberty consists in being able to obey our own will and conscience rather than the will and conscience of others.—Lord Hugh Cecil at the Edinburgh University Associated Societies.

It has often been said that the struggle at present going on in the Transvaal is a fight for liberty. Judging it according to the definition quoted above, our countrymen in the Transvaal are truly fighting for liberty and that should, therefore, command universal sympathy. Lord Hugh Cecil, in elaborating the definition he gave, said:

The true ground for maintaining liberty is that, without it, there cannot be in any true sense virtue or righteousness. Virtue does not consist in doing right, but in choosing to do right. This is the great distinction between the animal and man.

The Transvaal Indians are exercising the power to obey their will and conscience rather than the will of the State which is in conflict with theirs. Any man who subordinates his will to that of the State surrenders his liberty and thus becomes a slave. The Asiatic Act

¹ Parsee Rustomjee

² Manilal Gandhi

³ Royeppen then replied to the toast, after which Cachalia detailed his gaol experiences and D. W. Drew spoke. He said: Men who stood for great moral and spiritual principles were invincible.

imposes slavery on Indians in that it deprives them of liberty, i.e., the ability¹ to obey their conscience.

From His Lordship's remarks, it further follows that men cannot be made virtuous by Acts of Parliament. If they are compelled to do an act which is considered good, they are no more to be credited with virtue than a donkey who is compelled to carry a load.

Passive resisters in the Transvaal are, then, fighting for the liberty of the whole of South Africa in offering battle to the most powerful South African State. A handful though they are, they have a great and clear mission before them. And they have every reason to be proud of their record.

Lord Hugh Cecil, while giving us a scientific definition of liberty, does not tell us how we are to achieve it. If liberty be ability to act according to the dictates of our conscience, we certainly cannot achieve it by force of arms, i.e., by physical violence. It is attainable only by suffering in our own persons until our opponents see the error of their ways and cease to harass us by trying to impose their will on us. Such a method of fighting, and no other, is the natural corollary of the definition. Any other method of gaining liberty is a usurpation.

Indian Opinion, 8-1-1910

209. NATAL LICENCES REGULATIONS

We give in another column an abstract² of the regulations published under the Dealers' Licences Act. There is nothing new or striking in them, save that the fee of £12.10.0 to be deposited by appellants is still retained. We have already expressed the opinion that this fee is an illegal charge, and that the appellants are not bound to deposit the amount. The regulations show clearly that the intention is to make it more and more difficult for Indian traders to get new licences. That even a hawker, if he wants a new licence, should have to go through the farce of advertising in the papers and go through an intricate ceremony before he can labour away in order to earn an honest livelihood is, to say the least, a cruel procedure, and tantamount to putting a premium on dishonesty and laziness.

Indian Opinion, 8-1-1910

¹ The original has "activity".

² Not reproduced here

210. THE TRANSVAAL RAILWAY REGULATIONS

We publish an abstract¹ of further correspondence between the General Manager of the C. S. A. R.² and the Chairman of the British Indian Association, Johannesburg. We trust that the conciliatory tone of the letter will not deceive the Indians in the Transvaal into inaction. We welcome, therefore, Mr. Cachalia's reply³ to the General Manager, that the fact that the same facilities for travelling will still be afforded to the Indian public means nothing so far as the Association is concerned, because its duty is rather to have the principles recognised and established than details in administration examined or challenged, important as the matter may be. The main and only point at issue is that, whereas the regulations, before they were gazetted, were simply in the nature of departmental instructions and had not the force of law, they are today part of the laws of the Colony, and, as they lay down the principle of legal inequality, it is the duty of the Indian community of the Transvaal to combat the evil with all its might. Separate accommodation on the Railways and kindred matters cannot be a subject of legislation, but can only be regulated by the good sense of the communities concerned and by voluntary co-operation. Immediately that state of things is changed, it becomes a usurpation of authority, which should be resisted by all lawful means. We use the term "lawful" in the sense well known to the readers of this journal, passive resistance, in our opinion, being a strictly lawful method of seeking redress.

Indian Opinion, 8-1-1910

211. DUTY OF HAWKERS

We address this specially to the hawkers of the Transvaal. Because of their courage, the campaign has created so fine an impression. It is because hundreds of them went to gaol that it has come to be recognized as a great movement. Questions of self-respect or honour, it was thought so far, could have little meaning for hawkers. Now, everyone admits that hawkers do care for self-respect,

¹ Not reproduced here

² Central South African Railways

³ *Vide* "Letter to General Manager, C.S.A.R.", 4-1-1910

and they have risen in the esteem of others. Their presence at meetings does them credit. Having done so much, it will be unworthy of them to give in now.

The Transvaal campaign is such that everyone must rely on his own strength. We cannot depend on others to win it for us. In this struggle, we must learn to solve our own problems. If, therefore, the hawkers show themselves defeated this time, it will be impossible for them to obtain redress of any grievances in future.

It is for the hawkers to ensure an early conclusion to this struggle, and they can do so at no great cost to themselves. They should, for the present, avoid taking out hawking licences, and get themselves arrested by trading without them. This they can do quite easily. If the Government has discovered that the hawkers' resistance has collapsed, The hawkers on their part can show to the Government that, though fallen, they can rise again. In this matter, one must not depend on what others do, but each one can put in an effort on his own.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-1-1910

212. INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND MUSLIMS

We gave last week translations of Reuter's cables¹ about the Indian [National] Congress. The discussion at the Congress on Lord Morley's Act has made us sorry. The Congress has expressed the view that the special rights which Lord Morley has granted to the Muslims have displeased the Hindus and widened the rift between the Hindus and the Muslims. It is rather risky to comment on the basis of cable reports. It would not be surprising if those who wish to divide the two communities send one-sided reports; all the same, it will not be wrong if we proceed to discuss the matter on the assumption that the Reuter reports are correct.

The first error that we notice is the assumption that Lord Morley's legislation can embitter the relations between the two

¹ According to the cable-report reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 1-1-1910, the President, in the course of his address, said that the grant of excessive representation to the Mahomedans on the new Provincial Councils had caused, as it was intended to cause, an estrangement between the Hindus and the Mahomedans which could not be healed for years to come.

communities. There is no reason why their relations should be embittered because of any laws that Lord Morley may choose to pass.

Let us suppose, however, that the Muslims have received more rights than what were due to them. What does it matter, even if it is so? There is no need to protest to Lord Morley on this account. Even if the Muslims get more than their share, it is to members of our family that we are losing. The Hindus have no reason to get into a panic at this. So long as we believe that a third party can arbitrate between these two great communities, we shall always remain in subjection. The appointment of more Muslims or more Hindus on the Council is no cause for lamentation. We think, there is only one way of removing mutual suspicions, and that is for the Hindus to give in since they are numerically in a majority and educationally more advanced. If they do, it is obvious enough that there will be no cause at any time for a quarrel.

Finally, by such a discussion the Congress has given more importance than necessary to Lord Morley's Council. There is no justification for doing so. The Council is not going to work a miracle for Indians. We shall profit by this Council or any other Councils only when we cultivate mutual trust and solve our problems ourselves instead of complaining to a third party.

Having said this, we should also like to tell our Muslim brethren that they need not be angry with the Congress. It belongs to the Muslims as well as the Hindus. It belongs to every Indian. If the Hindus take up an unreasonable stand at its sessions, the Muslims can criticize them, and *vice versa*. No one can say that the Congress is the exclusive organisation of a particular community.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-1-1910

213. APPOINTMENT OF INDIAN ON EAST AFRICA COUNCIL

We reported last week the honour conferred on Mr. A. M. Jivanji¹. He has been appointed a member of the Legislative Council of East Africa. We are glad to see that our East African brethren's right in this regard has been recognized. Indians are partners in the

¹ A well-known merchant of Karachi and Bombay

British Empire; this fact is being recognized in East Africa and elsewhere. Only the whites of South Africa do not admit it. The appointment of an Indian in a part of Africa itself should serve as an example to them. It should also make the Indians of South Africa and the Transvaal more acutely conscious of their own position. Our countrymen in East Africa have excellent means of safeguarding their rights and increasing their prosperity and they are sure to take advantage of these means. We congratulate Mr. Jivanji, the Bohra community to which he belongs, and the Indians of East Africa on having received this valuable privilege.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 8-1-1910

214. THE TRANSVAAL RAILWAY REGULATIONS

The community should not be misled by the [General] Manager's reply¹ to Mr. Cachalia on this subject. That the Regulations will not be enforced for the present is no consolation to us. What interest can a Government have in regulations which it does not intend to enforce? Mr. Cachalia has sent a reply²; we have to await the result. This is a matter which we certainly cannot afford to drop. We must put up a fight wherever new discriminatory measures are taken against Indians.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 8-1-1910

215. DELAGOA BAY INDIANS

The Delagoa Bay journal, *Guardian*, reports a move to introduce immigration legislation there similar to that in Natal. If Delagoa Bay copies Natal, we can be sure that the copy will be worse than the original. In other words, the law that will be passed there will

¹ The Regulations, the reply dated 30-12-1909 reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910, stated, "are in no sense new nor are they different in any way to those which have been in force since 1905", and they had to be promulgated "in order to comply with Section 4 of the Railways Regulation Act of 1908". An assurance was given at the same time that "the spirit of the Regulations will be observed in future as in the past".

² *Vide* "Letter to General Manager, C.S.A.R.", 4-1-1910

prove much worse than the Natal law. We hope the Delagoa Bay Indians will start taking steps this very day. If they mean business, they can do very effective work, for if, on the one hand, conditions there are somewhat chaotic, on the other, it is also easy to win over the Government. It bears no particular ill-will towards Indians.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 8-1-1910

216 NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

The Natal Government has recently passed a University Act. One of its sections¹ empowers the College authorities to refuse admission at discretion. This will bear hard on Indians and therefore the Natal Indian Congress has addressed a petition to Lord Crewe, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 8-1-1910

217. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

January 12, 1910

MY DEAR WEST,

I have often wished to write a personal letter but I have not been able to.

How are you feeling now in body, mind and soul? Are you more at ease than before? How is the home atmosphere? Does the new arrangement satisfy Mrs. West? Is Devi² now at peace? How are the other people in the settlement?

For me, I am going through many a battle. Circumstances surrounding me just now are not at all congenial. But I think that my mind is at peace. My mind as you know is extremely active—never at rest. I am now trying bold experiments. Ethics of hawking³ only

¹ Section 20, which laid down that “the Council shall have the right to refuse admittance to any applicant, should they consider it to be in the interest of the University”

² West’s sister, who had adopted this Indian name

³ The reference is to the article with this heading; *vide* “Ethics of Hawking”, 15-1-1910.

foreshadows what is coming in my life. The more I observe, the greater is the dissatisfaction with the modern life. I see nothing good in it. Men are good. But they are poor victims making themselves miserable under the false belief that they are doing good. I am aware that there is a fallacy underneath this. I who claim to examine what is around me may be a deluded fool. This risk all of us have to take. The fact is that we are all bound to do what we feel is right. And with me I feel that the modern life is *not* right. The greater the conviction, the bolder my experiments.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

I am disturbed whilst I am writing this. The above however is enough for the time being.

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4413

Courtesy: A. W. West

218. *THE ROYEPPEN BANQUET*

The banquet given¹ to Messrs Royeppen and his companions was more than of passing importance. That nearly forty responsible European men and women were present at the banquet to welcome the passive resisters is in itself an event of great significance. The speeches of Mr. Hosken and the Hon. Mr. Drew² were eloquent and sincere. Both were hopeful of a settlement in the near future. Nearly one hundred Indians sat at the festive table and these represented every class and section. All this shows that passive resisters are not dead but that they are very much "alive". Mr. Cachalia, whose speech is fully reported in our Gujarati columns, reminded Generals Botha and Smuts that if the passive resisters do not now number as many as before, it was the same thing with the Boers during the late War and that peace came when the Boer ranks were thinned to a dangerous point. The whole of Mr. Cachalia's speech was characteristic of the man. It breathed hope, strength and invincible determination to see the fight through.

Mr. Joseph Royeppen's speech was brief and to the point. He

¹ On January 7, 1910

² Editor of *The Friend* of Bloemfontein and M. P. in Orange River Colony; vide "Hosken's Meeting", "Hosken's Meeting", 15-1-1910.

was in the Transvaal to do his duty and he hoped to be able to do it.

The function was a notable success and we congratulate the organisers on their work.

Indian Opinion, 15-1-1910

219. ETHICS OF HAWKING

Messrs Samuel Joseph, David Andrew and Manilal Gandhi, the new recruits who have gone to the Transvaal to join the struggle, have now for some time been going about as fruit or vegetable hawkers. We understand that Mr. Royeppen will presently follow his companions. This hawking is by no means fancy hawking. It has been undertaken in right earnest and in the spirit of *bona fide* hawkers. These young men go from house to house and try to sell their fruit or vegetables, as the case may be, at a small profit which goes to swell the passive resistance funds.

It is necessary to examine the reasons which have induced them to take up hawking. When Mr. Essop Mia and Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeertook to it eighteen months ago, they did so purely to court imprisonment and set an example to the other hawkers. This motive must always be with passive resisters in the Transvaal. But it is not all in the present case. The majority of free Indians throughout South Africa are either hawkers or petty traders. Now, passive resistance is not a weapon merely to defend others but it is a weapon to use for self-defence also. It is a weapon that can be used independently of anybody else and by one individual as effectively as by many. This power flows from the very nature of passive resistance. The force wielded by the soul within is the mightiest among the mighty forces of nature. Physical force is wrongly considered to be used to protect the weak. As a matter of fact, it still further weakens the weak; it makes them dependent upon their so-called defenders or protectors. Soul-force strengthens those on whose behalf it is exerted as well as those who exert it. The Transvaal struggle is intended to teach the majority of Indians the use of this magnificent force so as to make them truly independent men. If passive resistance had been initiated by the hawkers instead of the merchants, the former would today occupy a unique position. As it is, many of them, being cowed down, are no longer in the struggle. This deplorable result is due to a want of real leaders among the hawkers themselves. They would far sooner

listen to and understand one from among themselves than one who may be considered above them. In order to rectify this defect in the wonderful campaign that is now going on in the Transvaal, schoolmasters and clerks are turning their attention to hawking. Moreover, the Government probably intend to starve the new recruits out of the Transvaal. They reply by hawking in order to earn their livelihood in that Colony.

Nor is this all. It is at least debatable whether the profession of a clerk or book-keeper is better or more respectable than that of a hawker. A hawker is an independent man. He has opportunity of studying human nature which a clerk slaving away for a few pounds per month can never have. A hawker is master of his own time. A clerk has practically no time he can call his own. A hawker, if he chooses, has opportunity for expansion of his intellect which a clerk cannot dream of. And what applies to the clerk applies more or less even to schoolmasters who teach for a living and not for the sake of it; and it applies certainly to the legal profession which is beset with temptations which an ordinary man would do well to avoid. These young men, then, can do a great deal to purge the profession of hawking of its grossness and raise it to a higher level. The hawkers are only waiting for one to rise among themselves who would lead the way to a better and purer life. And just as they set a noble example to the professional hawkers, so they do to the clerks and schoolmasters, and, shall we say, lawyers and doctors who are weary of their vocations and who, if they could only see the way, would leave the drudgery of the desks that grinds them body and soul.

Last but not least, it seems to us that, after all, nature has intended man to earn his bread by manual labour—"by the sweat of his brow"—and intended him to dedicate his intellect not towards multiplying his material wants and surrounding himself with enervating and soul-destroying luxuries, but towards uplifting his moral being—towards knowing the will of the Creator—towards serving humanity and thus truly serving himself. If so, the profession of hawking, or, better still, simple agriculture or such other calling, must be the highest method of earning one's livelihood. And do not the millions do so? No doubt many follow nature unconsciously. It remains for those who are endowed with more than the ordinary measure of intellect to copy the millions consciously and use their intellect for uplifting their fellow-labourers. No longer will it then be

possible for the intellectuals in their conceit to look down upon the “hewers of wood and drawers of water”. For, of such is the world made.

We, therefore, congratulate our young friends on their laudable work and hope that even after the struggle is over, they will continue to labour with their hands and feet, so far as their maintenance is concerned, and devote their talent to the service of their country both of birth and origin.

Indian Opinion, 15-1-1910

220. HOSKEN'S MEETING

We publish elsewhere a report of the dinner-party¹ in honour of Mr. Joseph Royeppen and others. It would have been impossible to arrange such a function if they had thought of it three years ago. About 40 Europeans were present, most of them prominent figures. The speeches of Mr. Hosken and Mr. Drew, Editor of *The Transvaal Leader* and member of the Orange Free State Council, were noteworthy. The party was attended by prominent clergymen. Everyone's sympathy was for satyagraha. It is a matter of great satisfaction that so many whites showed the courage to sit for dinner at the same table with Indians. We do not want to suggest that something can be done only if whites mix with us, but the fact that so many whites joined the party when a campaign is on against the Transvaal Government should certainly give us some satisfaction. This is a happy augury. We can realize from it that the struggle is about to come to an early end. But even if that does not appear likely, it is beyond question that the whites' sympathy for us is on the increase. All that now remains for the Indian community to do is to wake up again and for the hawkers to do their duty.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 15-1-1910

221. NATAL'S IMMIGRATION LAW

Lawlessness prevails in the enforcement of this law. Mr. Smith's²

¹ *Vide* “Speech at Dinner to Joseph Royeppen and Others”, 7-1-1910

² Harry Smith, Principal Immigration Restriction Officer

ways are autocratic. Of course, his autocracy needs to be fought; but we must also examine the lawlessness that prevails among us. What tyranny do we not inflict on ourselves? Mr. Smith says¹ that boys come in dressed as women, others, sons take shelter under borrowed parents and women under borrowed husbands. We are of the view that the immigration tyranny can be fought in two ways. While the Government's autocratic methods must be opposed on every occasion, Indians trying to bring in persons surreptitiously must also be opposed likewise. We should admit that we ourselves are evidently the cause of so many of the laws passed against us. They should not be attributed solely to colour prejudice. So long as we do not realize our own fault, we shall not find the right remedy.

It is, moreover, our advice that it is better to adopt the satyagraha way of fighting than fight in courts with lawyers' help. The immigration law, too, can be fought that way.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 15-1-1910

222. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Thursday, January 20, 1910

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Received both your letters. I am not likely to go there for the present. Manilal has been arrested²; he will be released on Friday. Let us see what happens after that. I think it is better for me not to go there so long as arrests continue here.

It will be all right if, as you suggest, you arrange for physical exercise, etc., for Rama³. I did not rebuke you in connection with Mr. Cordes; it seems there was some misunderstanding on your part. And my impression remains the same despite your letter. I had never thought of Rama staying either with him or with Willie⁴ for the whole day. During the day when he is not busy, let him go wherever he pleases. I wish he dines and sleeps with Mr. Cordes. I cannot think that

¹ In reply to a statement of the Indians' grievances which *The Natal Mercury* had forwarded to Smith for his observations. The statement and the reply appeared together in the same issue.

² On 14-1-1910

³ Ramdas, third son of Gandhiji

⁴ Cordes's son

Mr. Cordes has no love for Ramdas. I know Mr. Cordes' drawbacks; none of us are without any.

If you do not know the verse ख्यात शक्रो भगंगो¹, I shall send it to you. The sun has spots. Take it that his heart is not wicked. The rest will follow automatically.

There is still a lot of old history concerning our family. Parmanandbhai² alone knows it in detail.

It is worthwhile to spare time, if possible, from the press work for the children to take exercise.

It is desirable not to give more than a month's credit for *Indian Opinion*. You should only take a limited risk. Let the amount be debited to your account. It will not be deducted from your current allowance. You should never take liability for more than ten subscribers. Even that is perhaps too much. However, whatever liability you have taken upon yourself in the Cape Colony is binding on all, as you did not know the new rule. The new rule is, I believe, very good—at least for the present.

We will have to carry many [fresh] burdens; it is, therefore, better to cut down these. This [not allowing too much credit] seems to be the prevalent practice of newspapers. As people gradually get used to it, they will follow it of their own accord. We pay the licence fee in advance because of compulsion, i.e., physical force. That we shall take the subscriptions in advance will be on the strength of soul-force. That soul-force consists in making *Indian Opinion* interesting and for that the only course open to us is to put in maximum effort. The subscriptions will then come in automatically. I have no time now to dilate upon this.

There is a letter from Veerji in which he says that he intends to open an office in Durban and work there. It will be good to entrust work to him. I am writing a letter³ to Mr. West. Did you read my last letter to him?⁴

Please consider fully before you take the new vow of *brahmacharya*. It will be better to get Santok's consent. Kavi⁵ has

¹ Hkxkadks(vide footnote 2 to "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 27-1-1910

² Parmananddas Ratanji Gandhi, Gandhiji's cousin

³ Not available

⁴ The reference is perhaps to "Letter to A. H. West", 12-1-1910

⁵ Shrimad Rajchandra; vide "Guide to London", [1893-94].

mentioned in his writings a number of conditions for the observance of *brahmacharya* which are worth considering. This is one of the most difficult vows. Even Lord Shiva strayed from the path; so we can succeed only if we are unremittingly mindful of it. But when I think of a married man practising abstinence in regard to his wife, when I think of my own case in particular, I am bewildered. In this connection, my fate has been [singularly favourable]¹. I was saved because I had to endure compulsory separation from Ba. Had we lived together all along since 1900, I can hardly say I would have been saved. I wish you to get all the benefit of my experience.

As I won't be going down there for the present, you may ask me whatever questions you want to.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Jayashankar Vyas's wife has passed away. All of you may please write a letter of condolence to him. I had Chi. Chhaganlal's letter to Mr. Polak in which he has raised the question of household expenditure. Let me know your requirements after the change we have made. What amount will you two brothers get out of the profit this time? According to Chi. Chhaganlal, your requirement will be Rs. 30 a month and Dr. Mehta has already agreed to pay that amount. But we want to take as little as possible from him. Please think this over and let me know. As I am not going there just now, I am dealing with this matter in a letter.

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5182

223. *RECENT DISCHARGES*

The release of about twelve passive resisters in the Transvaal and reported in our columns this week has excited little interest either among the Europeans or the Indians. Two years ago, such an event would have given rise to a demonstration among the Asiatics and created some interest among the Europeans. Imprisonments for conscience' sake and discharges have become common occurrences among the Asiatics. This is a very great gain. We want virtue and

¹ The Photostat is not quite clear here.

courage to be such common things among our countrymen as to occasion no surprise when they are practised. Among the discharged Indians is Mr. Aswat, sometime acting Chairman of the British Indian Association. Mr. Aswat, it will be remembered, was prepared to sacrifice all his goods rather than surrender his self-respect. Most of the resisters are well-tried fighters and have been imprisoned more than once. We congratulate them all on their bravery, and we note with satisfaction that they are ready to go to gaol again as soon as the Government will send them.

Indian Opinion, 22-1-1910

224. SHORTCOMINGS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

We saw in *Hind Swaraj*¹ that it is not so much from British rule that we have to save ourselves as from Western civilization. Clearly, if Englishmen settle down in India as Indians, they will cease to be foreigners. If they cannot bring themselves to do so, it will be our duty to create conditions in which it will be impossible for them to stay on.

The writings of Englishmen themselves often tell us how wicked Western civilization is. There was a storm of protest in England against the alleged high-handedness of the Spanish authorities when Ferrer² was put to death. The letter in the *Daily News* of October 22 which the famous author, Mr. G. K. Chesterton, wrote, pointing out that this was sheer hypocrisy on their part, will bear summarizing even today. Mr. Chesterton says:³

We have been hysterically protesting against what Spain has done, but that is so much hypocrisy and nothing else. It is out of our pride that we take up such an attitude. In fact, we are just as bad as Spain, in certain respects much worse. We have no political executions in England because we have no political rebellions in our country and not because we are a religious people. Wherever we do have rebellions, there we do have executions, much more mean, reckless and savage than the execution of Ferrer. The hanging of the Fenians at Manchester

¹ Vide "*Hind Swaraj*"

² Vide "London", Before 23-10-1909 he worked to spread education among the people of Spain.

³ The translation given here has been collated with the original.

has been admitted by all lawyers to have been in contempt of logic and law. The killing of Scheepers in South Africa is a thing of which even the Imperialists are now ashamed. A few harmless peasants at Denshawai¹ objected to the looting of their property; they were tortured and hanged. When our rulers react with such brutality and baseness to small and ineffectual local risings, how would they behave if confronted with a rising in London itself similar to the one in Spain? We are at peace, not because we do not exploit religion but because we have sunk silently under the domination of our rulers.² If we have no rebellions, we are guilty of crimes worse than the death of Ferrer.³ A private soldier the other day committed⁴ suicide in order to avoid a flogging. This suicide is more hideous than the execution of Ferrer under the pressure of strong emotions in a time of excitement. Yet the incident attracted no attention in England, because we are the one people in Europe who are successfully oppressed.

In view of such shortcomings in the civilization of this people which dazzles us so much, we had better consider whether we should tolerate it in India or banish it while we have still time to do so. It is a civilization which grinds down the masses and in which a few men capture power in the name of the people and abuse it. The people are deceived because it is under cover of their name that these men act.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 22-1-1910

¹ In Egypt, where four Egyptian peasants were executed for the murder of a British officer

² The original has: "not because we have thrown off the domination of the priesthood", and "because we have sunk . . . under the domination of the plutocracy".

³ The original has: "Things far more fundamentally horrible than the death of Ferrer go on quite quietly all the time, because we have forgotten the trick of mutiny."

⁴ The original has: "tried to commit suicide".

225. LETTER TO GENERAL MANAGER, C. S. A. R.¹

[JOHANNESBURG,]

January 25, 1910

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st instant, and you have given me the privilege again of being able to tender my thanks for the courteous tone of your letter and your full reply. This fact embarrasses me in having to express dissatisfaction with the result of our correspondence².

The Committee of my Association accept the situation that the Administration has been compelled to make regulations with respect to practically the whole of the conditions hitherto printed in the Joint Tariff Book. My Committee thankfully accept your assurance that there is no desire on the part of the Railway Board to embitter the feeling in regard to the Asiatic struggle, and that the facilities that have hitherto been afforded to the community represented by my Association for travelling by the fast trains will be retained.

Your sympathetic attitude emboldens me to suggest that the Resolutions may be revised by the Board, and that they may be so framed as to remove the stigma that they undoubtedly put upon the Asiatic communities. My Association will be prepared to co-operate with the Board in the framing of regulations acceptable to the Asiatic sentiment, and with the Administration in their proper carrying out. In my humble opinion, the difficulty will be met, if the Administration receives power to separate classes or races and to reserve compartments for them for reasons that to the Administration may seem sufficient. It will be admitted that a regulation of such a general nature will arm the Administration with sufficient powers to deal with any case, without giving the Asiatic and other Coloured communities to understand that the Railway Regulations are based on the theory that Coloured passengers are not entitled to travel first or second class, and that such travelling on their part is allowed only by way of

¹ Presumably drafted by Gandhiji

² *Vide* "Substance of Letter to Colonial Secretary", 23-12-1909 and "Letter to General Manager, C.S.A.R.", 4-1-1910; *Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910 and 29-1-1910, for letters from the General Manager, C.S.A.R., to the British Indian Association; also "The Transvaal Railway Regulations", 8-1-1910

sufferance. I am sure that that is not the intention of the Railway Board, and that the intention is merely to meet the unfortunate prejudice that exists in the Colony and, therefore, to provide separate accommodation. This intention is entirely carried out by the suggestion I have ventured to make.

I have, etc.,

A. M. KACHALIA¹

CHAIRMAN,

BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Indian Opinion, 29-1-1910

**226. EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO GENERAL MANAGER,
C.S.A.R.**

[After *January 25, 1910*]

Mr. Osman Latief of Potchefstroom was travelling from that Station, together with five other British Indians, four of whom were bound for Delagoa Bay. They were given the ordinary half second class compartment on the train, which hardly accommodates four passengers. The Delagoa passengers had their luggage also with them. Mr. Osman Latief asked the guard or the conductor No. 11 for further accommodation, but the guard or the conductor failed to find any. Mr. Latief pointed out that there were several compartments, in which room could be found for them, but the conductor gave no heed and Mr. Latief had to stand. At Krugersdorp, however, the conductor pointed out another compartment. Mr. Latief declined to avail himself of it, telling him that he would bring the matter to your notice.

Indian Opinion, 29-1-1910

¹ Same as "Cachalia"

² This extract from the letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji and sent over the signature of A. M. Cachalia, was quoted in "Transvaal Notes" in *Indian Opinion*, 29-1-1910.

227. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Thursday [January 27, 1910]¹

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Received your letter. I understand what you say about Mr. Cordes. I also admit that you can see his drawbacks better. But what I want to say is that he is a good man despite those drawbacks. You should think of his merits only. More of this when we meet.

ख्यातः शङ्गे भगालको विधुरपि मलिनो माधवी गोपजातो |

वेश्यापुत्रो वसीष्ठो सरूजमदमयः सर्वभक्ष्यो हुताशनः ||

व्यासो मत्स्योदरीयः सलवण उदधी पाण्डवा जारजाताः |²

I had written to you about this verse. I do not remember the fourth line. There are likely to be some spelling mistakes. I have no time to recollect it. Indra is marked with holes all over his body;³ Vidura is impure; Madhava⁴ is a cowherd; Vasishtha is the son of a prostitute;⁵ the bee lives in the mud;⁶ fire is omnivorous; the ocean is

¹ From the contents, this appears to have been written on the Thursday following the "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 20-1-1910

² The correct and full text of the verse according to the *Subhashitarainabhandagaram* is as follows:

ख्यातः शङ्गे भगालको विधुरपि मलिनो माधवी गोपजाता |

वेश्यापुत्रो वसीष्ठो रतिपतिरतनुः सर्वभक्ष्यो हुताशनः ||

व्यासो मत्स्योदरीयः सलवण उदधी पाण्डवा जारजाताः |

रूद्र प्रेतस्विधारी त्रिभुवनविषये कस्य दोषो न चास्ति

Indra is known to be covered with holes all over the body; even the moon has spots; Madhava was born of a cowherd; Vasishtha was the son of a prostitute; the god of love is bodiless; fire is omnivorous; Vyasa was the son of a fisher-girl; the ocean is full of salt; the Pandavas were born of illegitimate unions; Rudra wears the bones of dead bodies—is there anyone in the three worlds who is without blemish?

³ Shakra, i.e., Indra, King of the gods, enamoured of Ahalya, wife of the seer Gautama, approached her one day in the guise of Gautama when the latter was away. Ahalya yielded. On finding this out, Gautama cursed Indra, "There shall be a thousand holes on your body."

⁴ Lord Krishna

⁵ Vasishtha was born to Urvashi, one of the celestial nymphs who were free to accept love from whomsoever they chose.

⁶ The correct reading is jfrifrjruq% i.e., the God of love is bodiless. He was burnt to ashes by Lord Shiva with the fire emitted from his third eye when the former tried to distract him from his penance. Gandhiji mentions *bhamro* (bee) instead of *kamal* (lotus).

salty; the Pandavas¹ belong to the caste of bastards.² Thus, no one is without blemish. You have done well in letting me know your views.

Please be careful in giving instructions about allowing credit for *Indian Opinion*. We can find some remedy for the difficulties you mention. The best course I can see for the present is that when some subscriber has to be discontinued in view of [our new] rule, it should be done in consultation with Purshottamdas, Thaker and you. A subscriber may be placed on the 'suspense list' if he is found to be worth continuing after a month. You may open a separate account for the suspense list. Please place this suggestion before Mr. Cordes. It is better to put all the names sent by Chi. Chhaganlal on this list.

The introduction of the rule of allowing one month's credit could be physical force (selfishness) as well as soul-force (altruism). To which of the two categories it belongs depends on the motive behind making the rule.

Your idea of not taking anything from charity is very good. In fact, it is not charity. It would, however, be proper for us to regard it as such. But we had better not raise the question under the present circumstances. Do see that the amount you have indicated gets credited.

It is good for you, for the present, to draw £4 [a month]. I had thought of it when I took the decision. I had also taken into consideration Chi. Chhaganlal's prospective visit to England. I had thought about Rajkot, too.

I rejoice to read about your *brahmacharya* vow. Your vow for one year is also good and you have all my blessings for it. You will experience a different strength when you have passed through it.

It is better for Santok not to think of going to India now. I have already communicated to you my views about it.

I felt sad when I read Chi. Chhaganlal's description of the Servants of India Society³. It is a matter for regret that a great man like Prof. Gokhale is engrossed in it. I believe he will come out of it, for he is honest. It is simply an indifferent imitation of the West. Is it

¹ The five sons of Pandu and heroes of the Mahabharata

² King Pandu, unable to beget progeny himself because of the curse of a Rishi, asked his wives Kunti and Madri to have progeny by invoking the gods. Thereupon, Kunti had Yudhishtira through Yama, Bhima through Vayu and Arjuna through Indra, while Madri had Nakula and Sahadeva by the grace of the Ashvini Kumaras.

³ Founded in Poona by G. K. Gokhale in 1905

proper for the servants to have servants? And who are the servants? Why was it necessary to engage them? Why do they have others to cook for them? What do these 'servants' think of religion? Why should there be large buildings in India? Why should not huts be enough? It is like digging up a mountain to kill a mouse. When will the mission undertaken by Prof. Gokhale end? How much money will it cost? What a superstition that only an M.A. or B.A. could become a 'servant' ! It is like the castor-oil plant passing for a mighty tree in a barren land. I do feel that the aims of Phoenix as well as the way of life there surpass those of the Society. There are quarrels amongst us but these are found everywhere. When we begin to make syrup out of sugar, a lot of dirt is seen in it, but we do not regard dirt as syrup. We are preparing here a kind of syrup and dirt is bound to be seen till the syrup is ready. What we are doing here is the real thing, what goes on in Poona is, leaving aside the motive, unreal. The motive is good, but what is being done is bad. I have written this letter in the midst of great pressure of work. The condition of my mind at present is that of ^usfr usfr*¹ . Even Phoenix is ^usfr*. Yet, comparatively, it is better than the pomp and show of Poona. Doctor Mehta has been able to grasp this inner significance. Please do not take this to mean that either Prof. Gokhale or his associates are not worthy of our deep respect. But ours is no blind reverence. According to the standard indicated by me in *Swaraj*², the work of Mr. Gokhale's 'servants' cannot be regarded as proper. It is likely to add to our slavery. If I tried to turn East into West, I also would sigh like Gokhale and lose heart. My present state of mind is such that even if the whole world were against what I have written, I would not be depressed. This I say not out of pride; it is the statement of a fact. We do not aspire to improve India; we want to improve ourselves. That alone can be our aspiration, the rest is all false. He who has not realized his self has not known anything. The servants, knowledge of English has become a camouflage for them. That Chhaganlal could not answer their question about Phoenix only shows his timidity. That was but natural. With a little thought, he could have seen that the position taken by the 'servants' was materialistic and not spiritual. We have to rid ourselves of the fetish of literacy and mundane knowledge.

¹ "Not this, not this" According to *Vedanta, Brahman*, the Absolute, is beyond all concepts and forms.

² *Vide "Hind Swaraj"*

Despite these views of mine, there is nothing wrong in publishing in *Indian Opinion* some portion of the description given by Chhaganlal.¹ We shall learn from it. Let us emulate Ravana's energy² and turn towards the inner spirit.

You may share this letter with whomsoever you choose in Phoenix; then send it to Chi. Chhaganlal, as I shall have no time to write to him. I wanted to leave on this Saturday but now I see that it is not possible. I do not think I shall be able to leave before the 15th of February.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 4926

Courtesy: Radhabehn Chowdhri

228. EXTRACT FROM LETTER³

[January 28, 1910]⁴

Mr. Rustomjee still remains without the food that was medically prescribed for him at Volksrust, and continues to send messages that his complaints on the subject of his health do not receive attention. Mr. Gopal Naidoo, who was discharged today, tells us that he made a long complaint to the medical officer yesterday, whereupon he was transferred to Johannesburg. I shall be inquiring on Monday where he is being kept. Messrs Thambi Naidoo, Aswat and others, some of them heroes in the struggle, are now discharged. I have had a long interview⁵ with the editor of *The Star*; he was entirely sympathetic, and told me that everybody in Johannesburg was heartily sick of the struggle, and was anxious to see it closed. Manilal Gandhi was

¹ This was published in the Gujarati section of *Indian Opinion*, 5-2-1910 and 12-2-1910, under the heading, "Servants of India Society—Examples of Self-sacrifice".

² The demon-king who kidnapped Sita and carried her away to his kingdom in Lanka (Ceylon). He was killed by Rama. Ravana was well-versed in Vedic lore and had performed great penance to propitiate Shiva.

³ This was reproduced in *India* under the caption, "Quotations from the Latest Letter Received in London from Mr. Gandhi".

⁴ Gopal Naidoo and Manilal Gandhi were discharged from the gaol on January 28, 1910.

⁵ Report not available

discharged today, after doing ten days' hard labour. The discharged prisoners continued to complain about the absence of ghee and the insufficiency of rations, in spite of the fact that the Government have added 2 ozs. of beans. All the prisoners have lost in weight. Messrs V. S. Pillay, S. N. Naidoo and Shah¹ were discharged today. Mr. Shah, however, was detained for deportation. I was at the gaol, but was not allowed to see him, nor was he allowed to receive any food. The gaol experience has pulled him down considerably. He was supposed to walk from Diepkloof to Johannesburg, a distance of seven miles, with his bundle. Fortunately, the detective allowed Mr. Shah to use a conveyance which I offered, but, had he been obliged to walk, he would have fainted on the road. His deportation, I feel sure, is totally illegal, he having been voluntarily registered. The Registrar's office has all the identification particulars, and the Registrar could certainly have assured himself whether Mr. Shah was registered or not. This is an illustration of how officials can either place difficulties in the way of the public or remove them. Mr. Joseph Royeppen, B.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), a barrister-at-law of Lincoln's Inn, and a native of South Africa, who returned a few months ago, has just been arrested for not having registered and has been ordered for deportation.

India, 18-2-1910

229. MR. NANALAL SHAH'S SERVICES

Though passive resistance is now confined to a few Asiatics only, the dogged tenacity that the few, whether Chinese or Indians, are showing is most admirable. The struggle is producing true men. We single out Mr. Nanalal Shah from among the resisters who have been recently discharged. Only Messrs Rustumjee and Shah have been privileged to serve nearly a year each without a break. This imprisonment is not a simple matter. They are partially starved. Almost all have lost weight and become much reduced. The food given at the gaol undermines the prisoners' constitutions, especially when they have to go through the course, like Mr. Shah, for a prolonged period.

Mr. Shah, it will be remembered, is an undergraduate of the Bombay University. He is middle-aged and completely grey-headed,

¹ Nanalal V. Shah, *vide* the following item.

having become prematurely old, owing to life's disappointments. It was when the Chairman of the Association was twitting educated Indians about their apathy that Mr. Shah borrowed enough money for his train-fare to Natal and quietly stole away from the Transvaal, only to re-cross and be re-arrested immediately. Since then Mr. Shah has known no rest. And now he bids fair to be imprisoned again for another term of six months. Mr. Shah's body may be broken, but his spirit never will. His service consists in having dedicated such a spirit to the struggle.

Indian Opinion, 29-1-1910

230. TO PASSIVE RESISTERS

It has been suggested that a full list of active passive resisters should be published for the sake of the Indian public, for the sake of the English friends, and for the sake of the Government. As the list cannot be a very long one, it is felt that the resisters should know one another and, as occasion arises, court arrest. They cannot remain out of gaol with any profit to themselves, to the cause or to the country of their adoption. The struggle chiefly means the raising of men who will brave any danger for the sake of principle. We shall, therefore, be pleased to receive and publish the names of those who are prepared to fight unto death.

Indian Opinion, 29-1-1910

231. EDUCATED INDIANS

Mr. Royeppen went round hawking. He is a barrister. If a few days ago anyone had mentioned the possibility of a barrister going round hawking, he would have been laughed at. But satyagraha has made this possible. Mr. Royeppen's act is not only of benefit to himself but it is also a blessing to his family. Had he started practice, he would have earned something from the Indians. It is doubtful, though, whether he could have done it by honest means. It is not likely that he could have earned enough for a man of his professional status. In consequence, Mr. Royeppen would have sunk in debt, his relatives would have been sorely disappointed and in the end everyone would have suffered. Now, Mr. Royeppen will remain poor. If his

family members follow his example, they will be able to maintain themselves and live happily through manual labour.

Will any Indian follow Mr. Royeppen's example? It is difficult to say. Anyone who does so will also be happy. Educated Indians look upon illiterate Indians as so much prey for themselves and we find the latter helpless in this land. Wanting to save themselves from crafty, overbearing and wicked petty officers, they get into the clutches of educated Indians. The uneducated escape from the officers by paying them whatever they demand. If this is a correct picture, what is the duty of educated Indians? Our view of the matter is that they should maintain themselves by taking to the professions of the uneducated. They will by so doing, be of real help to them.¹ Then alone will they get a vivid idea of their sufferings and be able to maintain true honesty.

Let us turn to the educated Indians in the Transvaal. If they had joined the struggle in the right spirit, there would have been a different story to tell. The fight would have been over by now. But instead of doing that, they have gone in for luxuries, money and dissipation. As a result, the uneducated hawkers are beginning to give in and the fight is being prolonged. That the fight is drawing out is not in itself a matter for anxiety, but our hope that the end of the struggle will find the hawkers possessed of a new strength may be belied. If so, their plight will remain as abject as ever. That will deprive the struggle of its real interest.

There is time still. The educated can take to hawking in the manner of Mr. Royeppen. If they do so, they will have no difficulty in getting arrested, since people are now being arrested for hawking. Only, they must show courage. Will they?

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 29-1-1910

¹ *Vide* "Ethics of Hawking", 15-1-1910.

232. JOHANNESBURG

WHITE TRADER'S MEANNESS

A white businessman's firm had stopped dealing with Indians when the satyagraha campaign started. Indian traders resolved thereupon that no one should have business transactions with him till such time as he apologized and paid a fine. It was also stated in the document relating to this resolution that, if any of the Indians who were signatories to the resolution traded with the white before the others did, he would have to pay a heavy fine. The white gentleman is now feeling the pinch. The thought of trade with Indians again tempted him. So he sent a message offering a private apology and a contribution to the funds for the struggle. While the businessmen were about to decide that a private apology should not be accepted, the white went back partly on his offer and sent word that he would only give £ 10 in cash on condition that his name was not disclosed. The Indian businessmen have declined the offer, showing little interest in trade with him. I hope our businessmen will not budge from the stand they have taken.

PARSEE RUSTOMJEE

Mr. Rustomjee having complained against the negligence of the gaol physician and protested to the Governor that he had been having pain in the side, he has been brought over to the Johannesburg Gaol and will be examined by another physician there. He has sent a message that he certainly intends to remain in the fight till the bitter end, whatever the state of his health. I want another fresh Indian, or one who might have beaten a retreat once, to imitate Mr. Rustomjee's spirit. Mr. Rustomjee will complete six months on February 10. He has conveyed his desire not to have too many people at the gaol-gate; he does not want any public reception. He wants to enter the town without any fuss.

ROYEPPEN'S DECISION

Before he was deported, Mr. Royeppen told me that he had decided to live always in poverty and maintain himself by physical labour. Excellent results are likely to follow from this decision if he remains firm in it.

Mr. Royeppen, Mr. David Andrew and Mr. Samuel Joseph were taken to Pretoria by the 12 o'clock train starting from Jeppe station. From there, they will very likely be sent over to Natal.

THAMBI NAIDOO

Mr. N. S. Padiachy, Mr. N. Gopal and Mr. N. S. Pillay were released on Saturday. An Indian of the worth of Mr. Naidoo was released but there was no letter or telegram of congratulations to him. No notice was taken of the release of an Indian of the status of Mr. Aswat. I regard this both as a good and a bad sign. I think we have grown used to the presence of such brave men. Courage and suffering in the service of the motherland no longer occasion surprise. It is a bad sign [however] because the community has failed in its duty of courtesy and does not even show sufficient interest in the satyagraha campaign.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 29-1-1910

233. JOHANNESBURG

[Before *Wednesday, February 2, 1910*]

ATTACK ON INDIAN TRADERS

*The Sunday Times*¹ has made a vigorous attack on Indian traders. The occasion was provided by news-reports of a movement against the Cape Indians. The article says that the Transvaal agitation is petering out, that the Indians have lost heart and that there is need for stricter legislation against them in the Union Parliament. The writer wants every Indian to be hounded out of South Africa. This move should serve as a serious warning to Indian traders. Most of them, and the hawkers after them, have capitulated and thereby brought down the axe on their own feet. They have lost interest in the struggle. The Government will conclude that they do not count and so pass whatever laws it wants to. Once again, I warn the traders and the hawkers. If they want to pursue their vocations in peace, they must put forth all their strength. It will be more than enough if each of them goes to gaol even once.

We have no honesty left among us and so we want to gain our

¹ Of Johannesburg; *vide* "Indian Traders", 5-2-1910.

ends in dishonest ways. But it is quite obvious that such gains are in fact losses. However, the habit dies hard; It will be good if they learn something from this great fight that is being carried on here.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-2-1910

234. EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO GENERAL MANAGER, C.S.A.R.¹

[JOHANNESBURG,]

February 2, 1910

He² was travelling from Vereeniging on Monday by the 5.30 a.m. train, which passes through Germiston. He was accompanied by Mr. M. Vaid, who is Manager at Messrs Suliman Ismail Mia & Co., of Avenue Road, Fordsburg. When they boarded the train, they noticed that two compartments were only partially occupied, but the guard would not let them take their seats in either of these, and they had to stand. There appeared to be no compartments labelled “reserved”. They pleaded more than once with the guard, but he took no notice. It was after the train had left Germiston that the guard told them that they might occupy one of the compartments which had become entirely empty, so that it was only after the train had passed Germiston that they were able to get any seating accommodation.

Indian Opinion, 12-2-1910

235. THE AGA KHAN AND PASSIVE RESISTANCE

His Highness the Aga Khan, who presided at the annual session of the All-India Moslem League held at Delhi, has been speaking in strong terms of the treatment of the Indians in South Africa. His Highness has truly described the state as the Indian martyrdom in South Africa.³ He has declared that, if all other remedies fail, the Imperial Government should be asked to stop indentured emigration from India to Natal. We are inclined to go further than His Highness and to say that it is the duty of the Imperial and the Indian

¹ Presumably drafted by Gandhiji and signed by A. M. Cachalia

² Ismail A. Mulla of Johannesburg, on whose report the letter is based

³ Reuter's report of his speech was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 5-2-1910.

Governments to stop such emigration in any case. Indeed, it is the duty of the Natal Government and, failing that, of the people of South Africa to wash their hands clean of this slavery-tainted labour. The importation is being kept up not for the people of Natal in general, but for the sake of a few monied men. If this polluted stream were stopped, we doubt not that the Indian question would largely solve itself. Meanwhile, we welcome the strong expression of opinion and sympathy from the All India Moslem League, whose importance not even General Smuts can safely ignore.

Indian Opinion, 5-2-1910

236. INDIAN TRADERS

There is among us a story about a lazy man. Once the house in which he lived caught fire. They tried hard to induce the indolent fellow to do something to put out the fire or flee from the house. He paid no heed and so was burnt to death.

That is the state [of mind] of the Indian trader; in fact, of every Indian in South Africa, but especially of the trader. The Cape newspapers are presently carrying on a campaign against the Indian traders. There is a clamour for measures against them through the Union Parliament which would finish them. The demand is supported by the *Advertiser* in Natal and the *Sunday Times* of Johannesburg. One of the newspapers¹ has published a remarkable contribution. We give [elsewhere] a literal translation of it. It is a malicious piece of writing. Comparing the Indian trader to the plague, a correspondent of the journal says that they should be rid of him as they would of the latter. According to its editor, this language is quite justified.

If the Indian traders, like the lazy man in the story, continue in their lethargy in spite of such attacks, they will be burnt to death by the flames of the whites, envy. The white traders will not rest. Indians who are already in possession of their licences should not remain under a false sense of security. Merely sending rejoinders to newspapers will serve little purpose, if not followed up by some action.

First, we must reform ourselves in regard to all those matters on which the report we have translated is right. We must stop bringing in men surreptitiously. Stores must be maintained clean. No one should

¹ *South African News*, 19-1-1910

sleep in rooms where goods are stored.

Even after these reforms are carried out, the whites' prejudice will remain. There is no way other than that of satyagraha to fight it. For satyagraha what is necessary at present is giving support to the Transvaal. The report which we have translated refers to the Cape Indians, but it applies to all. The Transvaal traders, therefore, most of whom have left off [satyagraha], ought to take a warning from this. If, out of selfishness and intoxication of wealth, they sacrifice the interests of the community, they will feel sorry for themselves later. Putting up with small losses now will save them from big losses in future. It will be better of one's own accord to sacrifice a little at present by joining satyagraha than to have to lose everything afterwards. Traders elsewhere may offer moral support and encouragement to those in the Transvaal. The whole of South Africa may help the Transvaal struggle. If they fail in this they will have cause for regret later. So long as there is a single Indian left to continue the fight, victory is certain. But the traders will derive no benefit therefrom, as it will be taken for granted that they are weak. The rulers of South Africa will fear the traders only when they are convinced of the latter's strength.

We invite every Indian trader to take careful note of these observations.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-2-1910

237. ARE INDIANS LIARS?

Our friend *The [Natal] Advertiser* will not give up its sting. While giving judgment in an Indian case, Magistrate Beans accused Indians of telling lies, and the *Advertiser* has commented¹ on this in a lengthy article. It is a contemptuous attack on Indians. We give a summary of this article elsewhere.² Mr. Beans has condemned us in his judgment and eulogized Mr. Smith. That is, of course, the way of the officers. They cannot but sing each other's praises. They do not care if the subjects are ruined in the process. They are only concerned with their pockets.

¹ In its issue dated 24-1-1910

² Vide "Asiatic Question in Natal", *Indian Opinion*, 5-2-1910.

All the same, we must learn our duty even from those who bear us ill-will. Mr. Beans's charge that we tell lies is not to be dismissed out of hand. We should pay heed to it, ignoring the element of exaggeration in it. We must admit that, when we go to courts of law, some of us are only concerned how to win the case at any cost, and not how truth may prevail. In any case it never does, so we think, in courts of law. But there are some in the Indian community who just do a little play acting and make the courts swallow any story that they choose. There is no doubt that this happens. It would be a great boon to the community if this habit disappeared. Before it can disappear from the community as a whole, the leaders must make a beginning. All the efforts of the community depend [for their successful outcome] on uprightness. We, therefore, urge our readers to ponder deeply over the *Advertiser's* article. All of us say that God will protect those who follow truth.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-2-1910

238. PARIS HAVOC

Nature works unceasingly according to her laws, but man violates them constantly. In different ways and at different times, Nature tells man that there is nothing in the world which is not subject to change. It is hardly necessary to give illustrations. As Mr. Malabari¹ says in a poem of his: "They come but to leave." We sing in a *gaza*²: "How many fairy-like creatures there have been, graced with youth, how great the men who left." And yet every extraordinary occurrence startles us and sets us thinking. There has been one such in Paris. The river at Paris rose in such a heavy flood that huge buildings were washed off. A picture gallery³ was in imminent danger. Strongly-built roads, on which millions of pounds had been spent, sagged at places. Men were drowned. Some who escaped drowning were buried alive. Rats, deprived of their food, attacked children. How did this happen? The people of Paris had built the city to last for ever. Nature has given a warning that even the whole of Paris may be destroyed. It certainly would have been, had the floods subsided a day later.

¹ Behramji Malabari (1863-1912), a Parsi journalist, poet and social reformer of Bombay

² A poetic composition of Persian origin

³ The Louvre

Of course, the people of Paris will not realize the futility of rebuilding the palatial structures. It will never occur to them that even these new buildings of theirs will come down again. Engineers, in their conceit, will have more grandiose plans now and pour out money like water, forgetting and making others forget the deluge; such is the obsession of present-day civilization.

Are we to behave in the same way? Shall we copy such wild, thoughtless people? Only those who forget God will engage in such ostentation. The question then arises why we should fight against the Transvaal legislation, why we do not advise everyone to take up the rosary. To anyone who may ask this question, we shall reply that that is the very advice we have given, and give again. What we do not advise is the mere ostentatious bead-telling in the manner of that pious fraud, the crane [in the fable]¹. We realize the meaning of the drama that Nature is enacting, and that is why we appeal to the Transvaal Indians and the Indians of South Africa, with all the strength at our command: "Understand Nature's purposes and ponder over them; all your ostentatious ways will lead you nowhere. Telling beads on the rosary will be no answer to the Government's attack on your manliness and its attempt to enslave you. The servant of God will never consent to be the slave of any man. Do not be afraid of the despotic laws of the Government. You will have no reason for fear if you are not unduly attached to your wealth. If you cling to truth, it will always be with you, it will never forsake you; it cannot be submerged in floods. We advise you not to trust anything that the floods may wash away. We invite you to be firm in truth, which is the sole support for one to cling to. You may enjoy whatever you can, consistently with your loyalty to truth. You will then have no cause for regret. You will not then pursue enjoyments at any cost, for you will know that enjoyments are momentary but that truth is eternal and will abide with you for ever. To live thus is to follow the path of religion. Because the Government in its despotism opposes such an attempt, we call it irreligious. This is the essence of all religions and without it no religion will be true to itself."

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-2-1910

¹ The crane kept standing on one foot on the bank of a river, hoping to convince the fish that he had taken to a life of devotion and austerities, and that they could safely approach him.

239. ROYEPPEN SENTENCED

Mr. Joseph Royeppen, Mr. David Andrew and Mr. Samuel Joseph have been sentenced to three months' imprisonment each. We congratulate them. Mr. Royeppen's imprisonment, we believe, will provoke protests throughout India. His is no ordinary case. There is no doubt that Mr. Royeppen's entry into the struggle has given it a powerful impetus. Every white has been set thinking why Royeppen should have been sent to gaol.

The Tamil community has surpassed all expectations. It is the only one whose members we still find going to gaol. Most members of the other communities have capitulated. Are there any who will follow the example set by Mr. Royeppen and his fellow-satyagrahis?

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-2-1910

240. EXTRACT FROM LETTER¹

[February 5, 1910]²

He is a splendid boy, and has certainly realised my expectations. He became a passive resister in the gaol. Together with other Indians, he shared the same cell with Chinese prisoners, some of whom are the worst criminals to be found in the Transvaal. There was only one bucket of water between all these prisoners, and these Chinese drank from the buckets as dogs from pools. Naturally, Manilal did not like the idea of drinking like the Chinese or even with a cup from water so polluted. So he complained to the Deputy-Governor, who thought that Manilal was cantankerous, and immediately gave him solitary confinement. Manilal took it quite cheerfully, and said to himself that it would give him quiet time for thinking. The next day, however, he wanted to make his position good, and say, too, that he complained not only for himself but for all the Indians. So he insisted on seeing the Governor, who was much more reasonable, stopped solitary confinement, and ordered that a separate bucket of water should be reserved for Indian prisoners. Manilal tells me, too, that he was of very great assistance to Parsee Rustomjee, who has been removed to the

¹ Presumably addressed to L. W. Ritch, London

² Manilal Gandhi's arrest mentioned in the letter took place on 5-2-1910.

Fort. He used to shampoo him every evening. Mr. Rustomjee is no better treated at the Fort. Medical relief has been refused. Manilal recommenced his honourable calling (hawking) today, and challenged arrest. He approached the same constable who arrested him the first time, who, after laughing remonstrance, acceded to his request and arrested him again. When, however, he was brought to the Charge Office, Vernon¹ ordered his discharge. He will, as before, go out hawking every day. I am hoping that this time he is arrested he will be deported like his companions, and be fixed up for six months.

India 25-2-1910

241. EXTRACT FROM LETTER²

[About February 5, 1910]

There is no other remedy for calamity except courage. As to the means, there is no doubt in my mind that they are the same both in the Transvaal and in India. But [Chhaganlal]'s letter³ shows that we shall be able to prepare ourselves only in a place like Phoenix. It is our duty to remain undaunted even while sleeping in a cremation ground; it is, however, likely that a person would die of fear when he tries to sleep there. Thus, India is, for the present, like a cremation ground for us. We ought to—we have to—prepare ourselves here, so that we spread our bed there and sing Mirabai's⁴ *bhajan*⁵, "Bola ma, Bola ma"⁶ and the like. . . I always feel that I shall be strong enough to welcome death in any form and at any time. I wish all may get this strength.

From the Gujarati in *Gandhiji-na Patre* edited by Dahyabhai Patel; also quoted in *Gandhiji-ni Sadhna* by Raojibhai Patel

¹ Superintendent of Police, Johannesburg.

² Probably addressed to Maganlal Gandhi

³ Presumably refers to Chhaganlal Gandhi's letter describing the Servants of India Society. Some portions from the letter were published in *Indian Opinion*, 5-2-1910 and 12-2-1910. Vide "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 27-1-1910

⁴ Queen of Mewar in Rajasthan and a great poet and devotee of Lord Krishna

⁵ Devotional song

⁶ First words of the song, "Do not utter anything except [the name of] Radhakrishna"

242. JOHANNESBURG

Wednesday [February 9, 1910]

SUGGESTION TO SATYAGRAHIS

Most of those still left among the ranks of satyagrahis are Tamil friends. There is little chance of these words of mine reaching them. However, some of them follow Gujarati by having [the articles] read out to them; to these, and to the Indians from Bombay Presidency and elsewhere, I should say that what remains of the battle is both difficult and easy, because only a few soldiers remain. Those who now come forward for imprisonment should not agree to be released on bail; even when they are under-trial prisoners, they should not ask for food to be brought to them from outside; and they must be ready for imprisonment the moment they are served with a warrant. Those whom the Government finds or believes to be weak will be harassed all the more; the cases against them will be adjourned again and again. Those who wish to give the best service and suffer to the utmost should bear this in mind and show their spirit in every way.

VISIT TO PRISONERS

I wanted to visit some of the satyagrahis last Sunday. On inquiry, it was found that those who themselves had been imprisoned once could not visit prisoners. It was, therefore, a problem who should go. In the end, Mr. Harilal Gandhi was visited by Mr. Kallenbach, Mr. Sorabji by Mr. Isaac, Mr. Rustomjee by Miss Schlesin and Mr. Medh by Mr. Cole. The prisoners sent a message that they were all in high spirits.

The rule referred to above is a new way of harassing us. It was not being enforced so far. The Government's object is, of course, to stop all communications among satyagrahis. In that, however, it cannot succeed. Its designs are sure to be frustrated if, in reply to its growing harshness, we show ourselves all the more determined in spirit. What difference does it make to a prisoner whether or not he is visited by others? If our strength must be tested, the severer the test, the more should we welcome it.

AID FROM RANGOON

A cheque for £250 has been received from Rangoon and

according to Dr. Mehta, Secretary of the Transvaal Satyagraha Fund Committee there, there is a possibility of our receiving something more. Going through the particulars of contributions, I find that several Chinese traders have also subscribed. According to a resolution of the Rangoon Committee, this money should be spent only towards the relief of poor satyagrahis or those in distress.

Including this sum, a total amount of £3923-3-4 has been received so far. If this sum of £250 is deducted from this total, the rest represents the amount remitted by Mr. Jehangir B. Petit on behalf of Prof. Gokhale. We have not received detailed information about how this was collected; we are yet to know in what manner, apart from the sum of Rs. 25,000 donated by Mr. Ratan Tata, the remaining amount was raised.

KRUGERSDORP LOCATION

The whites have been giving strange evidence before the Commission that is going into this subject. They say that the presence of Indians in the Location is a source of annoyance to them, that Indians are immoral, that they harass girls, making unseemly gestures at them, and that they corrupt the morals of the Kaffirs. Many such offensive things were said in the course of the evidence. It is imperative for the Indian settlers to offer evidence to counter this. The Krugersdorp Indians must get ready to meet the situation. If, moreover, there is substance in any of these charges, such habits must be corrected. Some Indians do have contacts with Kaffir women. I think such contacts are fraught with grave danger. Indians would do well to avoid them altogether.

HEART-RENDING SCENE

[In an incident which occurred] in Mr. Gandhi's office, Mrs. Amacanoo and Mrs. Packirsamy removed all the ornaments from their persons and vowed not to wear them again till the fight was over. They took off everything, their ear-rings, nose-rings, necklaces, bangles and rings. They took off even their wedding necklaces. This was no ordinary thing to have done. Mrs. Packirsamy removed her ornaments, saying that it was impossible for her to wear them when Packirsamy's eldest son was about to go to gaol and Mr. Packirsamy himself was likely to be arrested soon.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 12-2-1910

243. MUSLIM LEAGUE MEETING

We have commented¹ on His Highness the Aga Khan's speech at the meeting of the All-India Muslim League. The resolutions passed by the League also call for some comment. In our view, the League's resolutions are very strong and should prove encouraging to us.² It appears from these resolutions that Mr. Polak has stirred up storms of protest all over India. The Viceroy and Lord Morley cannot but take notice of these resolutions.

But do we? The League has described the Transvaal Indians as martyrs.³ How many such martyrs are there? Those among Hindus and Muslims who care for India must give serious thought to this. If they put in their best effort, not only will the fight end soon but India's self-respect will also be saved and her honour upheld. It is no light responsibility that the Transvaal Indians bear.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 12-2-1910

244. SPEECH AT CHINESE RECEPTION TO REV. J. J. DOKE⁴

[JOHANNESBURG,

February 14, 1910]

Mr. Gandhi spoke, saying that Mr. Doke's interest in the Asiatics was as old as his stay in South Africa. Both the communities had to deserve the support that was given by the European Committee.

Indian Opinion, 19-2-1910

¹ *Vide* "Aga Khan and Passive Resistance", 5-2-1910.

² *ibid*

⁴ At the Cantonese Club with Quinn presiding; 150 Chinese passive resisters and several prominent Europeans and Indians were present. After Quinn had delivered a speech eulogising Doke's work and the address to him had been read out, Gandhiji addressed the gathering.

245. EVIDENCE BEFORE INQUIRY COMMITTEE¹

KRUGERSDORP,
February 17, 1910

Mr. Gandhi said that the object of making the protest was that his clients challenged the authority of the Commissioner to make any recommendation with reference to the removal of the Location. It was his contention that as his clients had certain legal rights, apart from other rights, the Commission was totally uncalled for as far as the removal of the Location was concerned. His clients had prepared a statement of the valuation of their holdings, and that statement was filed under the protest mentioned.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is not a Commission but a Committee of Inquiry.

MR. GANDHI: I have observed the distinction.

The Chairman asked, was Mr. Gandhi prepared to give a statement with regard to points on which the Committee desired information.

Mr. Gandhi said he placed himself in the hands of the Committee. He was prepared to lead evidence, or if the Committee considered a written statement more satisfactory, he would submit one. It had been his intention to lead some evidence that morning to rebut that given at the last sitting of the Committee.²

Evidence on behalf of the Municipality was then taken.

Mr. James Munsie (Chief Sanitary Inspector) said the buildings in the Location were defective from a structural point of view . . . it was impossible to repair the buildings so as to make them comply with the by-laws. The residents obtained their livelihood chiefly by hawking fruits and vegetables for which there was no proper storage. In case of infectious diseases considerable trouble would be experienced. (To Mr. Seehoff³;) If the Location were under Municipal control only a certain number of residents would be allowed tin houses, and overcrowding would be prevented. In reply to the Chairman Mr. Munsie said the Indians adopted certain methods in connection with their sanitary conveniences, and it was possible that the excess of water they used caused the nuisance.

[Q.] Then this extreme insanitation is not known to you?

No, I do not think it is possible. I find the coolies have been very careful in keeping the surroundings of the buildings clean.

¹ Which was appointed to inquire into the proposed removal of the Asiatic Location in Krugersdorp

² *Vide* "Johannesburg", 9-2-1910 and "Krugersdorp Location Committee", 26-3-1910.

³ The Chairman of the Enquiry Committee

MR. CHAMNEY¹: You have found them careful as far as possible?

Yes.

Mr. Gandhi asked permission to question the witness but the Chairman pointed out the witnesses were not subject to cross-examination. . . . Seeing that witnesses came voluntarily and the Committee had no power to summon them, he felt they should not be subject to cross-examination.

Mr. Gandhi said as a member of the public he might be able to assist the Government and the Committee. He asked through the Chairman whether the Location was not now subject to Municipal control, and whether the Municipal by-laws were not in force there.

MR. MUNSIE : As far as possible it is under Municipal control.

THE CHAIRMAN : Is it recognized as a Municipal Location?

No.

MR. GANDHI: Is it not subject to the public health by-laws of the Municipality?

Yes.

MR. SEEHOFF : The laws of the Corporation are not retrospective?

No.

MR. GANDHI: If the Asiatics say they are quite willing to abide by the reasonable requirements of the Municipality as to structural alterations would not that satisfy the objections raised by the Municipality?

The Chairman pointed out that Mr. Munsie was giving evidence as to the sanitation of the Location, and the question was more for the person who would speak on behalf of the Municipality.

The Star, 17-2-1910

246. DOKE HONOURED

[Before *February 18, 1910*]

Everyone will admit that Mr. Doke has done much for the Indians and the Chinese. Both the communities have expressed their appreciation of his services, and thereby maintained their own good name. The Chinese have presented an address.² The Indians are giving a dinner.³ Mr. Doke has made a thorough study of the satyagraha

¹ Montford Chamney, Registrar of Asiatics

² *Vide* the preceding item.

³ *Vide* "Speech at Banquet to Rev. J. J. Doke", 18-2-1910

campaign. He will spend some time in England. While there, he will meet Lord Crewe and others. They cannot but attach weight to his words. Mr. Doke wields no small measure of influence in Johannesburg.

Many Indians have experienced Mr. Doke's goodness and simplicity. We can never give him too much praise for his work. During the Deputation's absence in England, he worked very hard.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-2-1910

247. *LETTER TO GENERAL MANAGER, C.S.A.R.*¹

[JOHANNESBURG,]

February 18, 1910

SIR,

In accordance with the promise made by Mr. Gandhi and myself at the interview² between us on Saturday last, I beg to enclose herewith draft railway regulations. You will notice that the draft keeps the practice hitherto observed as to the travelling of Asiatics, without making any racial distinctions and thereby offering insult. In my humble opinion, this draft can entirely replace the regulations which have been the subject-matter of this correspondence; but, if it is considered by the Railway Board that these regulations are necessary so far as the Natives are concerned, I venture to suggest that they may be repealed so far as they are applicable to Asiatics.

If the draft herewith submitted is not considered suitable, I shall be glad to receive your objections, and will endeavour to meet any such by framing another draft. In the opinion of my Committee, the matter is rather urgent, and it is felt that the regulations should be amended without waiting for the establishment of the Union Government.

My Committee gratefully appreciates the conciliatory manner in which you have been good enough to carry on this correspondence, and for the assurance given by you that no insult is intended by the publication of the regulations. My Committee hopes that your

¹ This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was signed by A. M. Cachalia.

² Report not available

assurances and the good spirit will be carried out in practice by making the necessary amendment in the regulations.

DRAFT REGULATIONS

1. It shall be lawful for the General Manager to set apart different compartments on trains for different races or classes, and the class or race for which the compartments are so reserved shall be able to travel only in such compartments and no other, and any person travelling in a compartment other than the one reserved for his class shall be deemed to have committed a breach of these regulations.

2. The pointing out by a guard or any other railway official to a passenger of a reserved compartment shall be considered sufficient reservation under the foregoing regulations.

3. It shall be competent for the guard or the conductor or any other railway official to remove passengers from one compartment to another without giving any reason therefor.

4. It shall be competent for the station-master to refuse a first-or second-class ticket to any passenger who may be, in his opinion, not dressed in a decent or cleanly condition.

Indian Opinion, 26-2-1910

248. CROSS-EXAMINATION BEFORE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

KRUGERSDORP,

February 18, 1910

In his evidence before the Committee the Mayor said the present site of the Location was absolutely unsuitable as it adjoined a white centre in Bugershoop, and was quite close to the Government School.

MR. CHAMNEY : Does the Council desire to acquire the ground?

[THE MAYOR :] I cannot speak on behalf of the Council, but the question has never been brought before the Council, and I do not think the Council is very anxious to have the ground. Mr. Gandhi put the question as to whether if the Asiatics carried out the structural alterations the Council required, its objection would fall to the ground.

THE MAYOR : I am of the opinion if the requirements of the Municipality were to be carried out, the place would have to be demolished and rebuilt.

MR. GANDHI : If the Asiatics offered to rebuild, would that meet the objection of Mr. Munsie?

Naturally yes, from the sanitary point of view.

Does not the objection to the site arise from the structural conditions?

No.

The Mayor in conclusion emphasized the point made in the statement that the Council was not liable for any compensation the Indians may be declared entitled to. Several other Indians gave evidence as to the rights they had to certain stands, and the value of the building, and the sitting was adjourned.

The Star, 18-2-1910

249. SPEECH AT BANQUET TO REV. J. J. DOKE

February 18, 1910

The Masonic Hall, Jeppe Street, Johannesburg, was the scene of a brilliant mixed gathering of Europeans, Chinese and Indians on the night of the 18th instant in honour of Rev. J. J. Doke. A vegetarian banquet was given to the reverend gentleman by the British Indian community. Mr. Hosken was in the chair. Mr. Doke was on his right and Mrs. Doke on his left. Mr. Cachalia occupied a seat to the right of Mr. Doke. Mr. Quinn and his Chinese friends were also present. . . .¹

Mr. Gandhi, in the course of his remarks, said that he could not speak of the guest of the evening without the feelings of deepest gratitude; nor could he avoid the personal element. When Mr. Doke and he were comparative strangers, he (the speaker) was picked up by Mr. Doke as he was lying in a precarious condition in an office in Von Brandis Street. When Mr. Doke asked him whether he would go to his house, he did not take many seconds before he replied in the affirmative.² In his house, he was treated with every kindness and consideration. Mr. Gandhi's mother was dead, his widowed sister was 4,000 miles away, his wife 400 miles away. But Mrs. Doke was both mother and sister to him. How could he forget the figure (Mr. Doke) stealing into his room at midnight to see whether his patient was awake or asleep? Speaking of Mr. Doke's Asiatic work, it was not possible to refrain from speaking in praise of the work of the European Committee of which the Chairman (Mr. Hosken) was the President. Mr. Gandhi frankly confessed that passive resistance might have broken down without the magnificent support rendered by the European Committee. Mr. Hosken never stinted himself in rendering assistance wherever and whenever he could. He was ever-obliging. Mr. Doke had made a thorough study of the question. His home was ever open to distressed Asiatics. The speaker hoped that Mr. Doke would find the opportunity of seeing Lord Crewe and Lord Morley and give them

¹ This paragraph is from the report in *Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910. What follows is from its issue dated 5-3-1910.

² *Vide* "My Reward", 22-2-1908.

the benefit of his own experience. He joined in the prayer for every success to Mr. Doke and his family.¹

Indian Opinion, 26-2-1910 and 5-3-1910

250 MR. DOKE

It is well that both the Indian² and the Chinese³ communities have honoured Mr. Doke on his impending departure for America. Mr. Doke has rendered very great and fearless service to the cause of passive resistance. The world will perhaps never know what Mr. Doke and those Europeans who, like him, have espoused the unpopular Asiatic cause have suffered for it.

But, if we may do so, without disparagement of the other members of the European Committee, we should like to say that Mr. Doke has made an accurate study of the whole question. He has read up all the literature there is on the subject. During the absence of the deputation in England, Mr. Doke constantly conferred with leaders and encouraged them, giving them the benefit of his mature experience. Indeed, Mr. Doke had treated the work as part of his mission as a minister of Jesus and has held that he served his own congregation in serving the Asiatic cause. To him it is not a merely political battle, but it is a religious battle—a battle of and for humanity. If there were more like Mr. Doke in our midst, we would probably have no unnatural inequalities between man and man.

Mr. Doke will pass a short time in London. He holds full credentials from the two Asiatic communities. He has been urged to see the Imperial authorities and submit the case to them as it appears to him from his personal experience. If Mr. Doke gets the opportunity of seeing them, we doubt not that he will command a respectful hearing. We congratulate both the communities upon having such an able champion of the cause.

Our good wishes accompany Mr. Doke on his mission in America.

Indian Opinion, 19-2-1910

¹ Gandhiji was followed by Hosken and Doke.

² *Vide* the preceding item.

³ *Vide* "Speech at Chinese Reception to Rev. J. J. Doke", 14-2-1910

251. MR. RUSTOMJEE

Mr. Rustomjee's services during the unique campaign that is going on in the Transvaal are beyond praise. Only two passive resisters have had the privilege of serving imprisonment for an unbroken period of almost a year. Mr. Rustomjee finished exactly one year. The sufferings he had described in his letter¹, published elsewhere in this issue, throw a painfullight on the policy of the Transvaal Government. But Mr. Rustomjee assures the Government that the unnecessary hardship inflicted on him cannot break his spirit.

Mr. Rustomjee, with the concurrence and on the advice of his fellow passive resisters, is having well deserved rest and putting his business, which has naturally suffered greatly during his absence, in order. We hope that Mr. Rustomjee will soon be restored to health and once more grace the Transvaal gaols with his presence unless the struggle ends in the mean time.

Indian Opinion, 19-2-1910

252. IMAM SAHEB

Imam Saheb Abdul Kadir Bawazeer and Mr. Kunke² have been the latest discharges from the Diepkloof gaol. Both are stalwarts in the cause and both have gone to gaol more than once.

Imam Saheb has returned almost a physical wreck, though a tower of strength to the cause. He is the respected Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society and a priest. The Mahomedan community in particular, the whole Indian community in general, suffers in Mr. Bawazeer's sufferings. We congratulate Mr. Bawazeer on his brilliant services and pray for strength to him and his fellow passive resisters.

Indian Opinion, 19-2-1910

¹ *Vide* Appendix II.

² Mahomed Ebrahim Kunke; *vide* the following item.

253. PARSEE RUSTOMJEE

Mr. Rustomjee, the Imam Saheb [Abdul Kadir] Bawazeer and Mr. Mahomed Ebrahim Kunke have been released.

Earlier, we compared Mr. Shah's services to those of Mr. Rustomjee.¹ Both these satyagrahis remained in gaol for a continuous period of one year. Mr. Rustomjee suffered imprisonment for a total period of 14 months and 19 days, of which one full year was spent in gaol at a stretch. We draw attention to his letter² describing what he suffered during this period. We congratulate Mr. Rustomjee and the community on the courage he displayed in the face of all those hardships.

As Mr. Rustomjee was not deported again but was set free in Johannesburg itself, he got an opportunity of going to Durban; this he has made use of on the advice and with the consent of the satyagrahis. The step taken is unexceptionable. We hope that Mr. Rustomjee will put his affairs in order and recoup his health. We want to see both these things done and Mr. Rustomjee lodged in gaol again.

If Mr. Rustomjee spent one full year in gaol, that was because he got an opportunity to do so. The Imam Saheb and Mr. Kunke, too, have utilized fully, and also given to the community the benefit of, the opportunities they got. The Imam Saheb's is a record of which the Hamidia Society and the entire Indian community can well be proud. He is reduced in health and has been suffering from some ailment; ignoring all this, he has courted repeated terms of imprisonment. So long as the community has such brave men, who can say that we shall be defeated?

We congratulate the three satyagrahis and pray to God to preserve them always in the path of virtue.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-2-1910

¹ *Vide* "Mr. Nanalal Shah's Services", 29-1-1910

² *Vide* Appendix II.

254. SPEECH AT DURBAN MEETING

February 20, 1910

A letter was received from Mr. Rustomjee while this meeting was in progress, from which it appears that he has deliberately absented himself. Of course, there is no need to read out the letter itself to the meeting; he only wants to know from those who are assembled here, where that fine spirit has evaporated which prevailed at the meetings in which he and other friends were asked to go to the Transvaal. He also wants to know where those men are who were to accompany him. He says, further, that going through these motions of honouring him is like playing a joke on him and that he is not eager for such honour. He would feel truly honoured [he says] if people went to gaol as he had done. What we are witnessing today on the stage is the action in front of the curtain, but it is the action behind it that will determine whether or not we win. If the gentlemen² who made speeches today urging support for the Transvaal and paying compliments to the satyagrahis were sincere in what they said, the end of the struggle should be at hand. It is a very simple thing to win, if only our leaders cease their play-acting. It depends on us whether our campaign ends in four days or four years. If it is drawing out, the fault lies with us. Every time I went wrong in my conclusion as to the end of the struggle, I found [subsequently] that the error was in my estimate of the community's strength. When I was leaving for this place, Mr. Aswat, Mr. Cachalia and Mr. Bhayat urged me hard to take Dawad Sheth back with me. Everyone is inquiring what he will do now. I have come to take along with me Dawad Sheth, Mr. Shapurji Randeria and anyone else who may come forward. Our own men have been telling the Government that seasoned fighters are falling off and that those who have gone to Natal are not likely to return. If so, the fight will receive a severe set-back. I hope, therefore, that the gentlemen will come forward [again] this time.

Moreover, much has been said here about unity in the

¹ A meeting of the Natal Indian Congress was held on February 20, 1910 to honour Gandhiji and Rustomjee and to pass resolutions of protest against the £3 tax, the system of indenture and the Immigration Law Amendment Bill.

² Among these was Dawad Mahomed, who, as Chairman of the meeting, had spoken before Gandhiji.

community. I wish to point out in this connection that, if there is disunity among us, the fault lies entirely with the leaders of the two communities. If they follow up their speeches about unity with determined action, it can be achieved quite easily. It is an error to suppose that a third party can bring them together. Maintaining unity is the responsibility of those who are directly affected by it.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 26-2-1910

255. LETTER TO COLONIAL SECRETARY¹

[JOHANNESBURG,]

February 23, 1910

SIR,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of a letter² addressed by Mr. Parsee Rustomjee to the Press about the treatment he was subjected to at the Diepkloof Gaol. I beg to append copy of medical certificate issued by his family physician as to the state of his health upon discharge from prison:

FIRST AVENUE,

DURBAN,

February 16, 1910

This is to certify that I have examined Mr Parsee Rustomjee, and, knowing him of old, I now find him very much reduced in weight and size, and that his health has greatly suffered from his late imprisonment, and that it will be some months before he will regain his former self. I find that his heart is affected, but whether it is an organic disease or not, it is difficult to say at once on the first examination. His eyes have also suffered from constant exposure to the sun, and are now in a state of congestion. There is distension of the flanks of the abdominal wall, which appears to me to be due to the distension of the large bowel, and which is also responsible for the constipation he suffers from. He is also subject to delayed and difficult micturition.

(Sgd.) R. M. NANJI, M. R. C. S., etc.

Both the certificate and the letter speak for themselves. My Committee therefore content themselves with drawing the attention of

¹ At Pretoria; presumably drafted by Gandhiji

² *Vide* Appendix II.

the Government to the facts narrated by Mr. Rustomjee, who is one of the most respected members of the Indian community in South Africa, and a vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress, and venture to trust that the civilized Government of the Transvaal will not permit a repetition of sufferings such as have been undergone by Mr. Rustomjee.

Mr. Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer, who has been just discharged from the Diepkloof Prison, has himself suffered very severely. He states that once, when he was extremely feverish and when he was obliged to report himself sick, the medical officer suggested, without even examining him, that he was shirking work; but when Mr. Bawazeer indignantly repudiated the suggestion, his temperature was taken by the officer, and it was found to be 104 degrees. This alarmed the officer and Mr. Bawazeer was placed in the prison hospital. Mr. Bawazeer has lost 22 lbs. in weight, and is so weak that he can walk about only with difficulty.

Mr. Bawazeer reports that most of the passive resisters have lost weight owing to insufficiency of food, and specially owing to want of ghee, and this notwithstanding the allowance of two ounces of haricot beans. It is respectfully submitted that the persistent refusal to restore the use of a fat equivalent in the shape of ghee is interpreted by my community to mean that the Government intend to starve into submission the conscientious objectors to the anti-Asiatic legislation of the Colony. I beg once more to draw attention to the fact that the Native prisoners' dietary allows one ounce of fat per day.

Mr. Bawazeer further reports to the Association that Mr. Joseph Royeppen, a barrister and a Cambridge graduate, was, when he was transferred to the Diepkloof Prison, taken, together with three other Indian prisoners, in a manure cart, and was compelled to walk barefoot and bareheaded for nearly two miles, and that he and his fellow-prisoners were given no breakfast on the day they were transferred. Mr. Royeppen reported the matter to the Governor, who enquired into it and, Mr. Bawazeer thinks, also gave the assurance that the mistakes above referred to would not be repeated. My Committee, however, cannot help remarking that a system under which such grave mistakes are possible must be badly in need of revision.

My Committee hope that the various matters hereby brought to

the notice of the Government will meet with the consideration that they deserves.

I have, etc.,

A. M. CACHALIA

CHAIRMAN, BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Indian Opinion, 5-3-1910

256. *SPEECH AT KATHIAWAD ARYA MANDAL*

[DURBAN,

February 23, 1910]

A meeting of this society was held on the 23rd instant in Beatrice Street, Durban, in order to meet Messrs Parsee Rustomjee, Shah and Shelat. . . .

Mr. Gandhi, who was present, addressed the meeting. Mr. Gandhi explained the struggle and said that he had arrived in Natal to invite those who would to join the struggle. . . .

Indian Opinion, 26-2-1910

257. *CABLE TO S.A.B.I. COMMITTEE¹*

[JOHANNESBURG,]

February 25, 1910

IMAM BAWAZEER, PRIEST, CHAIRMAN HAMIDIA SOCIETY, DISCHARGED, MUCH REDUCED, WEAK. STATES ROYEPPEEN MADE WALK BAREFOOT, BAREHEADED, ON TRANSFER DIEPKLOOF.² RUSTOMJI DISCHARGED, LOOKING REDUCED; HAS WRITTEN PRESS³ MAKING GRAVE CHARGES; EXAMINED ON DISCHARGE, CERTIFICATE STATES HEART, EYE AFFECTED.⁴ OVER THIRTY CHINESE, NEARLY FORTY INDIANS GAOL. MANILAL DEPORTED, RE-CROSSING, SENT TO PRISON⁵ FOR THREE MONTHS WITH HARD LABOUR. ABSENCE GHEE DIET SCALE CONTINUES CAUSE IRRITATION. P. K. NAIDOO RELEASED WEDNESDAY, RE-ARRESTED IMMEDIATELY, SENT TO PRISON FOR THREE MONTHS WITH HARD LABOUR.

India, 4-3-1910; also the south African Blue-book, No. 5.119

¹ Sent to the South Africa British Indian Committee, London, by the Secretary, Transvaal British Indian Association

² *Vide* "Letter to Colonial Secretary", 23-2-1910

³ *ibid*

⁴ *ibid*

258. STARVATION OF PASSIVE RESISTERS

We print elsewhere¹ Mr. Smuts' minute on the complaint of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal on the insufficiency of the revised diet scale for Indian prisoners. The minute is remarkable for the facts it omits and those it almost mis-states. It is an instance of special pleading which seeks to justify the existing unjustifiable scale of rations.

The third paragraph states that the revision was designed to approximate the Indian scale to "Indian free diets by the introduction of ghee and curry powder". There is a suggestion here that no ghee was supplied before revision. But the fact is that at Johannesburg, the Volksrust and several other gaols one ounce of ghee per day was allowed to Indian prisoners besides beans three times a week and meat once a week, and that at the other gaols one ounce of animal fat per day was allowed. In answer chiefly to the complaint that vegetarian passive resisters could not take animal fat and that, therefore, ghee should be substituted, the Government deprived the Indian prisoners throughout the Colony of fat or ghee! In the revised scale, there is no approach to "Indian free diets" because the latter consist of a liberal supply of bread, ghee, dhol, and tea. No Indian eats mealie meal by choice and yet it still remains largely the food of Indian prisoners. We are not aware of any "unbiased Indian adherents" having admitted that the revised scale is an advance on the previously obtaining scale. Indeed, they have all said that no Indian scale could be complete without ghee. From time immemorial, ghee has been considered to be the complement of rice. Its other name literally translated means the complement of rice (*anna poorna*), as rice is notoriously known to be deficient in fat-forming substance. How can deprivation of a material part of the diet be considered by any person to be an advance? Curry powder is purely and simply a spice and in no sense a food as ghee is. The minute makes much of twenty-five medical officers having been consulted as to the revised scale. But it makes no mention of the fact that for the past nine months, Indian prisoners have been chiefly concentrated at Diepkloof and, that, therefore, the other medical officers had not sufficient data for observation. The acting Medical Officer of Health may have failed to find justification for the

¹ Vide "Passive Resistance Prisoners", *Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910.

allegation as to the marked “emaciation and inanition” of passive resisters. But Messrs Rustomjee, Bawazeer, Aswat and Shah testify differently in their own persons. Mr. Rustomjee is undergoing special medical treatment, Mr. Bawazeer can scarcely walk, Mr. Aswat is a cripple and Mr. Shah spits blood. They all bring the news that the absence of ghee is the greatest cause of complaint. What weight can be attached even to a whole army of medical men testifying otherwise when the victims themselves give one an ocular demonstration of the fact of insufficiency of the scale? It is undoubtedly a matter for thankfulness that beans are added to the scale when Indians do not take meat. But the minute takes no note of the fact that, whilst beans are an admirable substitute for meat, they are no substitute for ghee. We cannot, therefore, help saying that the civilized Government of the Transvaal must labour under the charge of wanton cruelty to the passive resisters so long as they callously continue to partially starve them.

Indian Opinion, 26-2-1910

259. THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

The Natal Indian Congress has, at a public meeting called for the purpose, passed a series of resolutions¹ which are important and farreaching in their results. The most notable resolutions, to our mind, were those relating to the stoppage of indenture altogether and the carrying on of the Transvaal struggle. Both these resolutions affirm great principles without in any way involving the self-interest of the movers and seconders of the resolutions. They, therefore, impart to the proceedings a high tone. The resolutions may not produce any great and tangible result in the near future, but they are bound to affect the course of events both in the Transvaal and outside it. It will certainly be admitted that both resolutions are of the highest Imperial importance.

Indian Opinion, 26-2-1910

¹ *Vide* 1st footnote of “Speech at Durban Meeting”, 20-2-1910.

260. INDIAN EDUCATION

It is reported that the age-limit for admission to the Higher-Grade Indian School has been removed. But we understand that the removal of the restriction is not to be gazetted though the restriction was. The reason for this curious phenomenon is obvious. The Government, in order to catch votes, publicly paraded the news. In order not to offend, they now want to suppress the fact of removal of restriction.

Indian parents should, however, not rest content with the proposed change. They should establish their own schools where proper education could be provided.

Indian Opinion, 26-2-1910

261. THE CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE

Dr. Abdurahman, from his seat in the Municipal Council of Capetown,¹ has, given vent to bitter feelings on the vote for an expense of £1,500 at the time of the arrival of the Prince of Wales. The worthy Doctor will be in mourning on the day of the Prince's arrival. He will not sing "God Save the King". And he advises every Coloured man to refrain likewise. The reason for this outburst of anger is natural and justifiable. The partial disfranchisement of the Coloured people in the South Africa Act has gone deep down into the hearts of thousands of Coloured people. For them to take part in the approaching rejoicings would undoubtedly be a mockery and a sham. It would be hypocrisy, pure and simple.

It may be questioned whether the sentiments expressed by Dr. Abdurahman are consistent with loyalty. The word "loyalty" is a much-abused term. It would certainly be inconsistent with the loyalty of a coward or a slave. But we hold that a free man—an enlightened and independent man—which we think Dr. Abdurahman is, can consistently with his loyalty to the Crown, which is an ideal, refuse to associate himself with rejoicings which involve the degradation of a whole people who have deserved by common consent a better treatment. In courageously expressing his sentiments, we think that

¹ At its meeting on 21-2-1910; *vide* "Abdurahman's Indignation", 26-2-1910

Dr. Abdurahman has cleared the atmosphere of cant and humbug and has served Truth, the Crown, his people and himself at the same time. Dr. Abdurahman's declaration almost coincides in point of time with the emphatic statement of the Coloured people's meeting at Johannesburg¹ where several speakers said, that, if the authorities became unreasonable, they would take up passive resistance. We congratulate Dr. Abdurahman on his performance and hope that he will have courage to follow out his programme when the time comes.

Indian Opinion, 26-2-1910

262. DOKE HONOURED

We congratulate the Transvaal Indians on the function they organized in honour of Mr. Doke. Rarely does one come across men of Doke's sincerity and influence and readiness to help. He has served the community well indeed. He is prepared to go to gaol if by doing so he can secure our freedom.

The Indians who were present at the function must have seen that such a gathering would have been impossible three years ago. Whites who would formerly have been ashamed to sit with us now come together to honour us and dine with us. We do not want to say that this is something extraordinary; we only want to draw attention to our previous degradation. It is the power of satyagraha which has changed all this. If people exert still greater strength, we can rise much higher. We wish the Indian community takes from this gathering the lesson that there is no help like self-help. We shall grow strong in proportion to the suffering we go through.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 26-2-1910

263. FUNCTIONS IN DURBAN

Functions are being held in Durban following the arrival of Mr. Parsee Rustomjee, Mr. Shah and Mr. Shelat.² In those arranged by the

¹ On 16-2-1910; *vide* "The Struggle of the Coloured Races", *Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910.

² Gandhiji was in Durban about this time.

Congress¹ and the Kathiawad Arya Mandal², flattering compliments were paid to the prisoners. They said [in reply] that they wanted no praise. Speeches and functions are all right as far as they go; but there is no relish in them now. Action alone matters. If the various bodies of Indians were to take a vow of silence and discharge their duties, they would soon achieve their aims. They have only one duty in connection with the fight, namely, to enlist recruits and send them to the front. To achieve this, we should say, those who seek to persuade others must themselves come forward. If the office-bearers of the bodies show themselves sincere, they will be able to persuade others. This is a time to put aside all make-believe and plunge into battle.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 26-2-1910

264. ABDURAHMAN'S INDIGNATION

A proposal was made in the Cape Town Council on Monday to sanction an expenditure of £1,500 for decorations, etc., on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit. Dr. Abdurahman opposed it. He said:

No Coloured man can feel happy, no Coloured man, I hope, will sing "God Save the King" on that day. I know I won't. No Coloured man will see the Prince of Wales coming through the streets on that day and feel happy; for he will know it is the consummation of the robbing him of something he has had for 50 years.

Proceeding, he said that out of 35,000 of the ratepayers—half of whom were Coloured people—they were going to take something to have a day of jubilation and luncheons so that they might be happy.

I, as a Coloured man cannot associate myself with it, and I, as a Coloured man, will look upon it as a day of mourning. No Englishman or Irishman would have stood up here to-day and said it in the temperate way I have, had they been robbed—disgracefully robbed—of something they would have shed their blood for.³

These words of Dr. Abdurahman, though bitter, are justified. The proposal was of course passed, but his words will be remembered

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Durban Meeting", 20-2-1910

² *Vide* "Speech at Kathiawad Arya Mandal", 23-2-1910

³ From a report of the speech in *Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910

for ever. If the other Coloured people were to follow in his footsteps, they would win redress of their grievances soon enough. We see no disloyalty in the Doctor's remarks. True loyalty may be bitter sometimes. It is not loyalty to say "yes" to everything. True loyalty consists in expressing only what is in one's mind and acting accordingly.

We hope that Dr. Abdurahman will be true to his word and will not take part in the celebrations during the visit of the Prince of Wales.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 26-2-1910

265. EDUCATION IN NATAL

The age-limit for [admission to] the Higher-Grade [Indian] School has been abolished. This is a matter for some satisfaction. But there is no reason to believe that there has been any very great victory. The only victory is that the Natal Government has eaten its own words. But we need not for that reason believe that our boys will now grow to be learned men. The duty of Indian parents is rather to start their ownschools¹ as soon as possible. The education imparted in the Higher-Grade [Schools] is not of a kind to inspire any confidence. It is mere parrotlearning, and of patriotism it teaches nothing whatever.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 26-2-1910

266. SPEECH AT DURBAN INDIAN SOCIETY

February 26, 1910

An unusually interesting and representative gathering of Indians was held, under the aegis of the Durban Indians' Society, at their hall, 104, Queen Street, Durban, on Saturday, the 26th ultimo. The hall was packed to its utmost capacity, and the meeting was of a very orderly nature. Deshabandhu Dawad Mahomed was voted to the chair, and amongst those present were Deshabhaktar M. K. Gandhi, Deshabandhus U. M. Shelat and Nanalal Shah, of passive resistance fame. . . . The Secretary, Desh. A. D. Pillay, welcomed the veteran passive resisters. . . .

¹ *Vide* "Indian Education", 26-2-1910

² A brief report was published in *Indian Opinion*, 5-3-1910.

Desh. T. A. Soobramania Achary, who has decided to join the Transvaal Indian struggle, then addressed the gathering in Tamil. . . .

Deshabhaktar M. K. Gandhi and other passive resisters were then garlanded. . .

Deshabhaktar M. K. Gandhi rose to reply amidst loud cheers.

He said that all the speeches had greatly impressed him. He suggested that Mr. Naicker should join the passive resistance struggle. He proceeded to say that the struggle was being carried on as strongly as ever, and feelings of determination were still being manifested. Passive resistance was bound to win, for it was for a noble and righteous cause, and the Indians had resolved to endure it to a finish, though they might be tormented and tortured. The Transvaal Government had resorted to a treacherous measure of attaching buildings, goods, bedsteads, and crockery to recover the fines, but that could not divert the Indians from their line of action, and the resolution of the Boksburg Indians, who preferred to lose all their property, and choose the gaol, was sufficient proof of their earnestness. He read certain letters which he had received from Desh. P. K. Naidoo, which were of public interest; and he referred to the brave stand made by him, although he was repeatedly lodged in gaol. His action, he said, was worth emulating. He further added that the struggle was not confined to the sterner sex alone, but the feebler sex also evinced a great deal of interest. Their action in allowing their husbands to participate in the national struggle, which was also a struggle for equity and justice, bore evidence of the women's valour. These women had also endured untold privations. He then read a telegram¹ received from India with reference to the stoppage of the Indian indentures to Natal, in which it was stated that if the Transvaal and the Natal Governments refrained from ill-treating the Indians, and the indentured Indians themselves received better treatment, then indenture might be resumed. Desh. M. K. Gandhi did not approve of the conditional suspension of the indenture, but he said that complete abolition of indenture to these Colonies was necessary.

Desh. U. M. Shelat then addressed the assembly. Desh. Nanalal Shah followed, and gave a vivid description of the harsh treatment which he received during his gaol experience.

The Natal Mercury, 3-3-1910

267. SPEECH AT DURBAN INDIAN SOCIETY²

[February 26, 1910]

Among others, we heard two excellent speeches today, Mr.

¹ Cable from G. K. Gokhale; *vide* the following item.

² *Vide* the preceding item.

Naicker's being the best of all. It would bring much credit to the Durban Indian Society if members with a spirit such as his were to go to gaol in the Transvaal. Mr. Naicker laid stress on education. I think true education consists in the cultivation of mental and physical faculties. The effort will profit the individual himself and, in the measure that it does so, it will profit the country as a whole. Unfailing devotion to one's duty is the only true education.

Citing the example of Mr. Naidoo in this connection, he [Gandhiji] said:

Everyone will admit that he, more than others, has received true education. He has spared himself no sacrifice. He has acted like Socrates who cheerfully swallowed a draught of poison.

Reading out letters addressed to Mr. Royeppen's old mother and to himself by P. K. Naidoo when going to gaol, he said:

The Colonials especially must emulate Mr. Naidoo's example. Imprisonment in connection with satyagraha makes a man pure, truthful and brave.¹

Reading out the cable from Prof. Gokhale, he said:

This cable has been published in the newspapers here and commented upon. This shows that the issue is coming to the fore everywhere. We must now strengthen the hands of Mr. Gokhale and His Highness the Aga Khan by telling them that we have filled the gaols in the Transvaal.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-3-1910

268. THE INDIAN COUNCIL AND INDENTURED LABOUR

The Hon'ble Professor Gokhale and his colleagues have rendered a service to us and to India generally (as also, we are inclined to think, the Colony) by their having moved the resolution to stop indentured emigration from India to Natal. The resolution seeks to stop indenture by way of penalty for non-redress of the grievances of the free Indian population of South Africa. We wish that Professor Gokhale had or could have taken up the highest standpoint and moved for the stoppage of indenture altogether as being inherently bad and of no real benefit to the indentured men themselves. There is a weakness in the resolution which it would be useless not to

¹ Supplied from the report of the speech in *Indian Opinion*

acknowledge. If indenturing be good for the indentured men themselves, those who wish to indenture should not be prevented from taking advantage of the system for the sake of benefiting the free Indian population of Natal or the sister-colonies. If, on the other hand, it is bad, no redress that may be granted to that population can be allowed to continue a state of things that is immoral or otherwise hurtful.

But we have to be thankful for small mercies in these days of compromise and expediency. Professor Gokhale has taken the lesser step because he knows that he may not carry the Government with him in his condemnation of the system of indenture as such. It is for us here to see to it that we accept no immoral bargains. Whilst we would and should agitate for removal of general grievances and point out that Natal cannot receive the benefit (questionable though it is) of indentured labour from India, we must make it clear that we ask for the stoppage of indentured labour for its own sake and because we consider that it is detrimental to the moral well-being of those who indenture.

Sir James Liege Hulett has been telling a reporter that in his opinion the movement in India is due to the agitation on behalf of the Indian traders. This is perfectly true. But the inference that it will die out because of the so-called relief having been granted during the last session of the local Parliament is quite baseless. We would appeal to Sir J. L. Hulett and his co-planters that they should look at the question from a truly South African standpoint. Is it impossible for them to realise that their interests are not necessarily the Colony's and that the latter demand complete and immediate stoppage of indentured labour? We are not sure that the Colony will be ruined if the tea and sugar industries were to disappear. Indians have benefited the Colony through their cultivation of garden produce. This will be continued by the free Indian population. But the sooner the indentured labour supply is stopped, the better. We would much rather that the Colony stopped this supply of its own motion than that it was done by the Government of India. At the same time, it is necessary that no effort should be spared in India to bring about the much-desired result, whether by way of penalty or otherwise. Entire suspension of artificial emigration from India to Natal will go a long way towards solving many of the difficulties in South Africa.

Indian Opinion, 5-3-1910

269. THE JOHANNESBURG MUNICIPALITY AND COLOURED PEOPLE

The Johannesburg Municipality wishes to have anti-colour or anti-Asiatic legislation passed in a surreptitious manner. An offensive notice appears in an obscure corner of a local newspaper, notifying the intention of the Municipality to promote a private Bill in the forthcoming session of the local Parliament. The Bill, among other things, is intended to take over the Town Regulations that were passed by the late Republican Government just before the declaration of war. These Regulations make it illegal for Coloured persons to walk on foot-paths or live in towns. It is these Regulations in accordance with which the Pretoria Municipality has served notices to quit on all Coloured residents, save Asiatics, in that town and against which the Coloured people recently made such a powerful protest. It will be remembered, too, that the Pretoria Municipality entered into a long tussle with the Government for the purpose of having these Regulations retained for its use. Now the Johannesburg Municipality wishes to copy the Pretoria sister. Mr. Cachalia has, therefore, addressed the following to the Government and lodged a formal protest with the Town Clerk:

My Association has seen the notice in the papers of a private Bill to be submitted to the forthcoming session of Parliament by the Municipal Council of Johannesburg which, among other things, contemplates the application of the Town Regulations Article No. 1256, dated the 18th September, 1899. In the humble opinion of my Association, the object of applying these Regulations to the Municipality seems to be to use the clauses of the Regulations which are restrictive of the liberty of Coloured people. If so, this is an attempt to pass; in an indirect manner, class legislation of a very objectionable type. My Association, therefore, respectfully trust that the Government will oppose the passage of this Bill so far as the application of the aforementioned Town Regulations is concerned.

The clause relating to residents reads as follows:

Coloured persons may not reside in any place abutting on the public street in any town or village but every householder

or owner of an erf may keep in his backyard whatever servants he requires for domestic service.

Indian Opinion, 5-3-1910

270. *THE INDIAN COUNCIL AND INDENTURED LABOUR*

Every Indian should realize the importance of the resolution regarding the stoppage of the immigration of indentured labour, passed by the [Indian Legislative] Council at Calcutta at the instance of the Hon'ble Prof. Gokhale and other Indian members. It is likely to have far-reaching effects, how far-reaching will depend on our work here.

The resolution is to the effect that the emigration of indentured Indians [to Natal] should be stopped [even] if justice was not done to free Indians in the Transvaal or Natal. Sir James Hulett said that we had already been granted relief; an amendment was passed during the last session of Parliament and therefore nothing further was required by way of relief. Being of that opinion he said that the Government of India would take no further action. The Veda Dharma Sabha thanks the Government for what it has done, but we should like to make it plain to all Indians that non-indentured Indians cannot be considered to have been granted any relief till the following matters are satisfactorily settled:

- (1) The £3 tax to be abolished in respect of both men and women;
- (2) Right of appeal to the Supreme Court to be granted in respect of every kind of licence;
- (3) The poll tax of £1 to be abolished;
- (4) Adequate educational facilities to be provided;
- (5) Harassment [of Indians] in administering the Immigration law to stop;
- (6) Harassment through the permit laws to disappear.

This is the least that needs to be done in Natal. Now that there is a Union, an inquiry should be held covering the whole of South Africa. It follows from this that the hardships experienced in the Transvaal should also disappear—not only those connected with the agitation, but also those resulting from the withholding of other

rights—and that hardships concerning licences and immigration in the Cape should be removed. If it comes to bargaining, all these issues can, and ought to, be raised. It is, therefore, the duty of the Indian community to tell the Government in plain terms that the amendments carried out during the last session serve no useful purpose. They have been of no benefit whatever to the Indian community.

The community has also another important duty. Do we really want to enter into a bargain? Prof. Gokhale was right in raising the issue in the manner he did. Had it been done in any other way, there would have been no effect on the Government of India. But we are in an altogether different position. We cannot purchase our rights at the cost of the indentured labourers. We, on our part, should make it plain that the Government must stop the emigration of indentured labourers forthwith, and that, out of consideration for the interests of the labourers themselves, because the system of indenture is fundamentally an evil thing. Since indenture is of no benefit to the labourers themselves, their emigration brings little profit to India. All this deserves careful consideration.

It should be observed that the Indians' interests will be best served by doing this¹. So long as the immigration of indentured labourers into Natal continues, the free Indians will never be left in peace. It should also be remembered that the Union Government is not likely to permit the [continued] import of indentured labour. Mr. Merriman² is quite opposed to it. From every point of view, therefore, it is best that the immigration of indentured Indians should stop.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-3-1910

271. OUR OPPORTUNITY

From the Calcutta proceedings and the questions put in the British Parliament, every Indian will be able to judge what the Transvaal struggle has achieved. It is striking its roots deeper every day. They will go so deep that no one will be able to pull them out. That a struggle like this should be prolonged is no reason for anyone to get panicky. Satyagrahis should welcome it. When the devout Sudhanva was asked to throw himself into a pan of boiling oil to

¹ That is, prohibiting the emigration of indentured labourers forthwith

² John Xavier Merriman, (1841-1926), Prime Minister of the Cape

prove his loyalty to truth, he did so with a smile. That must be the attitude of every satyagrahi. Mr. P. K. Naidoo has provided us a striking example of it.

Our struggle is producing a profound effect on the Coloured people. Dr. Abdurahman has commented on it in his journal at great length and has held up the example of the Indian community to every Coloured person. Some of them have also passed a resolution in Johannesburg to defy the laws of the Government and take to satyagraha.

In the British Parliament, it was stated, in reply to a question, that the Government were in correspondence with the Transvaal Government.

At such a juncture, the Indian community must do a bit of hard thinking and summon up its strength. While the Chinese are again roused, Indians seem to have sunk into lethargy. The Tamil Indians are an exception. We entreat and urge the Gujarati Hindus and Muslims to consider the great significance of the struggle and throw themselves into it whole-heartedly. It is chiefly the leaders who should take up this task. If they show themselves strong, probably everything will be all right. If the community appears to be weak, it is because the leaders are so. If, in spite of the [hopeful] signs referred to above the leaders do not bestir themselves, whom should we blame?

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-3-1910

272. DISGRACEFUL

We gather from *The [Natal] Mercury* that about a hundred Indians have arrived in Durban by the *Kanzler*. All of them want to go to the Transvaal. In accordance with an [official] arrangement, the [Immigration?] Department here issues passes for the Transvaal and thus Indians reach the Transvaal.

Let alone people going to gaol, they have grown so impatient to be in the Transvaal and pursue their selfish ends there that they rush thither like moths rushing into a flame.

Looking at the other side, we find some Indians and Chinese going to gaol in the Transvaal. In Natal, [too,] the Indians have come forward to join the struggle.

In these circumstances, it is quite easy for the Indians to see why the struggle is lengthening out. A satyagrahi is bound to have patience. No matter if a few Indians, lost to all sense of shame, go to the Transvaal and accept slavery, the satyagrahi will fight for their freedom. He will also thereby open their eyes.

Durban Indians can do much in this matter. They can use persuasion and stop the Indians who are impatient to go to the Transvaal. It will be a matter of rejoicing if even one Indian is saved in this way. Those who are unable to court imprisonment can attend to this task. The Congress, the Arya Mandal and other associations can do much in this matter. Will they?

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-3-1910

273. JOHANNESBURG

SATYAGRAHA FUND

Questions are being asked regarding the control of large sums of money received as aid from India. It is the right of every Indian to ask for and obtain an explanation. The money is Mr. Gandhi's charge and is intended to be used only for purposes connected with the satyagraha campaign. A separate account called the passive Resistance Fund Account has been opened and is being operated by Mr. Gandhi. Part of the amount, to wit, the entire sum received from Rangoon and a portion of that received from Bombay, has been donated for the maintenance of indigent satyagrahis and their families. The rest is being used for financing the satyagraha campaign, that is, to meet the expenditure of the British Indian Association office here and in England and the expenditure incurred in India and also to pay off the debts incurred for the satyagraha campaign. Mr. Cachalia and other satyagrahis are being consulted about all this expenditure and accounts of the same are forwarded to Prof. Gokhale and to the Secretary of the Fund, Mr. Petit. Mr. Gandhi has received letters from Prof. Gokhale and Mr. Petit which leave the disbursement of the Fund to his discretion. The letters are reproduced in the English section in full.¹ If it is desired to use the Fund for any other purposes,

¹ Only relevant portions of the letters by Gokhale dated 13-1-1910 and by Petit dated 5-1-1910 were reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 5-3-1910.

permission of the donors will be necessary.

BOKSBURG STORY

The Government has got the Boksburg Indians into its clutches. I wish they remain strong and get out of them. They are being misled by some foolish persons. I should advise such persons to keep their mouths shut. If they can do no good, they should certainly not make matters worse. The former were called back by the Magistrate after they had been taken to prison, and he ordered confiscation of their property in default of payment of fine. As a result, Mr. Moses' house valued at £300 and Moonasamy's valued at £250 were confiscated in lieu of a fine of £2 [each]. I hope that, in spite of this, the Boksburg Indians will refuse to pay the fines and allow their property to be confiscated. No Indian should come forward to bid for miscellaneous articles of property, but someone should bid for the house and secure it. It has been suggested that the losses to be incurred in this process should be made good by the Committee. The suggestion, it would appear, proceeds from some misunderstanding. All satyagrahis have to bear [their own] losses. If the Committee were to pay the fine for anyone who is not awarded imprisonment in lieu of fine, the person concerned could not be considered to have offered satyagraha. If, on a person being fined, his property is confiscated and he is reduced to poverty, the Committee can provide for his maintenance. More than this, the Committee can never do. Several Indians have been reduced to poverty in the course and in consequence of the struggle. What help did they receive? Help is out of the question. Those who have been fined should be proud that, being reduced to poverty, they will now be able to fight with all their strength. There is no question here, be it noted, of putting up with the loss of a house.

Moreover, some persons suggest that the Court's order being unreasonable, an appeal should be preferred. The days for such appeals are over. No one will now be able to hold his own by filing appeals. If, however, the individual concerned is a man of courage, he will not develop cold feet at the prospect of the auctioning of his goods or any other similar measure. This is the last occasion. Only the most courageous should come forward now. This is no time when the others, half-hearted satyagrahis, can hope to hold out. Only a strong man can bear blows from every side. Mr. Rustomjee and Mr. Cachalia have lost their all. Who will come to their aid?

I believe the Indians [concerned] have preferred an appeal in

this matter only with a view to gaining time. The *Gazette* carries a notice regarding the auction of the property the very next Saturday, but in view of the notice of appeal, the auctioning will not be proceeded with. It is my hope, however, that in the end the Indian friends will allow their property to be auctioned.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-3-1910

274. LETTER TO MOULVI AHMED MUKHTIAR

DURBAN,

Friday, March 11, 1910

MOULVI SAHEB AHMED MUKHTIAR,

Received your letter. The Phoenix debt was incurred by me mostly during the struggle. This debt can be paid up from the Satyagraha Fund, for *Indian Opinion* is conducted solely for the service of the community and for carrying on the struggle. The workers working there live in poverty for the sake of the community and Phoenix itself was bought for the community. Whatever activity is carried on there is done for its sake. It therefore regard Phoenix as a public institution. Moreover, the community had actually started a special fund in the Transvaal to pay up the debt that has been or is being paid from the Satyagraha Fund; but it did not succeed. Whatever expenditure has been or is being incurred is accounted for to Professor Gokhale in India.

Perhaps you do not know that all my earnings have been spent on Phoenix.

I am sorry to find that the report of your interview with me as published by you¹ gives for the most part a distorted version of what I had said.²

You are at liberty to publish this letter.

Salaams from

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-3-1910

¹ Not available

² Vide "Letter to M. P. Fancy", 16-3-1910

275. MR. TATHAM ON INDENTURED INDIANS

There seems to be a remarkable unanimity in Natal, save for the interested planters, that the importation of indentured labour should cease. We reproduce this week extracts from Mr. Tatham's speech¹ on the question. We are not concerned with Mr. Tatham's premises, some of which are faulty. We do not share the view that competitive industrialism promotes the greatness of a nation, and that "the civilising influence" of the white man "adds to the sum of human happiness". His strictures on the spread of Mahomedanism betray gross ignorance. With these views, however, as we have said, we are not concerned. But we heartily agree with him that "it would be better that these industries (the sugar and tea) did not exist at all than that they should be supported by a form of labour that was going to bring ruin to the country". We also go further with Mr. Tatham and say, with him, that "these industries will not suffer for want of Asiatic labour". It was to be wished that Mr. Tatham had taken up the higher ground and condemned the system of indenture on merits and because of its inherent evil. Be that, however, as it may, there can be no doubt that the importation of this servile labour into South Africa is doomed. And with it must disappear the eternal Asiatic question.

There seems to be a fear lurking in the minds of some Indians that abolition of the indenture system may worsen the position of the resident Indian population. We would venture to point out to such of our readers as entertain the fear, that they will not better the position of their countrymen by supporting a system they do not like. We desire to live here not on sufferance but as a matter of right and duty.

We must not mistake the references by some of the planter-members of the Natal Legislature to the £3 tax as being unjust so far as the women are concerned for their desire to revolutionise their treatment of the Indian question as a whole. They have repeatedly declared that they want our labour but not our competition in trade or other branches of industry. They do not want to give civil or political equality. As we have often said, civil or political equality is not a matter of gift. We have to create a situation whereunder we can take it. And it must be clear to any commonsense man that such a

¹ At a meeting of the Maritzburg Parliamentary Debating Society on 3-3-1910

state of things is impossible so long as servile labour pours into the Colony from India.

Indian Opinion, 12-3-1910

276. INDENTURED INDIANS

The agitation in India for prohibiting the emigration of indentured Indians has occasioned much discussion here too in the newspapers. Mr. Tatham, a Maritzburg lawyer, stated in a speech the other day that under the Union the import of Indian labour must stop. He holds that the civilization of the West is superior to ours, and that it would not be quite right that the two should mingle with each other. He asserts that we are not good enough to be allowed to associate with them. He ends up with a few unworthy remarks about the Muslim faith, declaring that it would be best if there were no Indians in South Africa.

We need not pay any attention to this argument; it is [of course] necessary to know what it is. However, we must accept the suggestion for stopping the import of indentured labour. Every Indian should understand that the immigration of indentured Indians is neither in the interests of free Indians nor the labourers themselves. It is short-sighted to attach importance to the trade with indentured labourers and the moderate profits some of us make out of the import of foodgrains for them. We do not—we cannot—have much trade with them. We shall not be allowed to import goods for them and, even if all this were possible, the resulting gain should not tempt us. Certainly, no Indian can claim that the indentured labourer is happy. No free Indian will be ready to put himself in his position. The severity with which they are treated, even prisoners never experience. The amount of work they are required to do, prisoners are never made to do. When, at the end of their days of slavery, they are set free, the taint of slavery remains with them for many years. It is certainly not desirable that a single Indian should have to live in this condition.

If the immigration of indentured Indians stops, there will be an immediate improvement in the condition of the Indians now settled in South Africa. Our present plight is entirely due to [the whites'] fear of indentured Indians. Following the arrival of Chinese indentured labourers in the Transvaal, the Cape Chinese found themselves in trouble and a harsh law was passed. The whites labour under the

apprehension that a population of indentured Indians in South Africa will lead to a swelling in the numbers of the community. There is only one way to remove this fear. From every point of view, therefore, the immigration of indentured Indians must stop.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 12-3-1910

277. INDIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

This body has recently ventured on a very commendable undertaking. The suppliers of Nestle's milk, Needle-point cigarettes and Lion matches refuse to trade with Indians, with the result that Indian traders have to depend on the whites for these items and pay fancy prices.

It is obvious that if we had any spirit in us, these three firms could not afford to slight Indians. Even in trade one must maintain one's prestige and dignity. We often neglect to do this, disregarding self-respect where we expect some profit. The Durban Indian Chamber of Commerce wants now to change all this. It has decided to save itself both from the insults of the Nestle's milk-suppliers and the financial loss. This is how it will be done: All the milk needed by Indians will be bought from another firm and a limited liability company will be formed to obtain the necessary supplies; the company will then supply the retail traders. All the retailers will bind themselves not to buy Nestle's milk but to get their supplies only from this company.

Enthusiasm runs so high at the moment that shares to the value of about £1,500 have already been subscribed and the retailers have agreed not to buy Nestle's milk.

This is a most significant step. If it succeeds, the Nestle's people will realize that they cannot afford to insult Indians and the latter will discover that they can stand their ground by relying on their own strength.

Success will depend on the fulfilment of the following conditions:

- (1) Indians must have the necessary enthusiasm and ability for such undertakings.
- (2) The leaders must be honest at least in this field of

business. It will not do for any of them to appropriate the profits themselves to the exclusion of others, or for the company to expect big returns [on the capital].

- (3) There must be unity among Indian traders.
- (4) The small trader will have to be large-hearted.
- (5) And all Indians must have a keen sense of self-respect.

If this one venture succeeds, it will pave the way for many others. We congratulate the Indian Chamber of Commerce and its office-bearers on taking this step, and wish them success in their venture. Success, though, will depend on the work of the office-bearers.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 12-3-1910

278. JOSEPH ROYEPPE AS HAWKER

We once published a photograph of Mr. Joseph Royeppen the barrister. This time we publish a photograph of Mr. Joseph Royeppen the hawker. In view of the services which he has been rendering, we are sure that all readers will be pleased with the present photograph. India's uplift will be brought about by those who suffer and take to manual labour; lawyers and barristers will only put her into fetters.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 12-3-1910

279. JOHANNESBURG

Sunday [March 13, 1910]

NATAL FIGHTERS

The Natal recruits, not having been arrested [at the border], have again entered the Transvaal. At Volksrust, they were met by an officer who told them that he had no orders to arrest them. This was a disappointment to them. They were obliged to buy tickets for Johannesburg, and thus they went ahead.

Mr. Cachalia, Mr. Waja, Mr. David Ernest and Mr. David Marie had gone to Charlestown to join the recruits and get arrested. Mr. Saleh Ibrahim also joined them there. Local Indians had turned up at

the Charlestown, Volksrust and Standerton stations.

On their arrival at Johannesburg, they were received by the Imam Saheb, Mr. Abdool Kadir Bawazeer, early in the morning though it was. He invited them all to lunch. They were then taken to stay with members of their respective communities. An effort is being made to lodge all the satyagrahis in one place.

So far, what has happened is that a large amount has been spent on railway fares. Let us see what comes next. It is expected that all of them will start their hawking rounds from Monday; they will earn their own expenses that way and also get arrested.

“HIND SWARAJ” PROSCRIBED

There has been a cable report from India that Mr. Gandhi's book, *Hind Swaraj*, has been proscribed there. This was not altogether unexpected. Some of the arguments in the book tend against British rule. It seems the Government was afraid that they might give encouragement to the extremists and promote terrorism. Mr. Gandhi intends to publish an English translation¹ of the book and wishes that it should be read by a large number of whites. Money will be needed for the purpose. The book will be offered at cost price. Those who wish to buy a copy should write to Mr. Gandhi or to the Manager, Phoenix. It may take some time to bring out the translation as an independent publication, since it cannot be published in *Indian Opinion*, but it is not likely to cost more than six pence a copy. Every well-wisher of India should help in this venture.

One should consider whether this step of the Government will have any repercussions on the Transvaal agitation. It is bound to have some effect one way or another. The Transvaal struggle betokens an awakening among the Indians. The spirit that Indians have come to develop in the Transvaal and in South Africa is not one which it will be possible to put out. The Government, in its ignorance, cannot help resorting to repression. Mr. Gandhi's part in the agitation and his authorship of the book on *swaraj* cannot remain unconnected. Moreover, the man who is a satyagrahi in the Transvaal agitation will be one in other situations as well. In this way, the book on *swaraj* may either strengthen or weaken [the Transvaal agitation]. Those who are timid will take fright and protest that they have nothing to do with *swaraj*, that they do not want to invite ruin on themselves. Those who

¹ Vide “Preface to *Indian Home Rule*”, 20-3-1910

are bold, who are satyagrahis through and through, will fight with redoubled strength and determination, knowing that the Transvaal campaign holds the key to *swaraj* in India. This will be a test for Mr. Gandhi as also for other Indians.

Generally speaking, those who have been fighting in the Transvaal have no cause to fear anything. The utmost that can happen is that the fate of the book on *swaraj* may have the effect of prolonging the Transvaal campaign. Every Indian can see that there can be no other result. There may be other consequences to Mr. Gandhi personally. He cannot choose but suffer them. One cannot serve one's motherland in any other way or on any other terms.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-3-1910

280. LETTER TO M. P. FANCY

Tuesday, March 16, 1910

SHETH SHRI M. P. FANCY,

You have raised a question in connection with the interview which Moulvi Saheb Ahmed Mukhtiar had with me and which he has published.¹ You tell me that it has been a matter of controversy among some Indians and you therefore feel that I should make a statement whether the 'interview' has been correctly reported or not.

I had not the least intention to do this. The community knows me; and if it does not yet do so, it is not possible for me to introduce myself to it now. An Indian can immediately know the truth of statements attributed to me, whether they were made by me or not. However, in response to your request I make the following reply:

I am sorry to find that, in the 'interview' as published by the Moulvi Saheb, the statements made by me have been twisted. At the end of our meeting he expressed his satisfaction and told me that he had received full explanation and would render every assistance to the struggle. Yet the twist he has given to the interview is likely to harm the struggle.

I explained to him the origin of the Satyagraha Fund. I told him

¹ Not available

about the letter¹ I had written from England to Prof. Gokhale and the one² to Mr. Polak. I informed the Moulvi Saheb that in these letters I had written about the debt I had incurred in connection with *Indian Opinion* on account of the struggle. I explained to him how the funds came in response to those letters. I further told him that in my letter³ to Prof. Gokhale I had intimated to him that the funds would be spent to clear off the debt incurred on account of *Indian Opinion*, to meet the expenditure on the office of the Association as well as the office in England and to maintain the families of poor satyagrahis. I also informed him of Prof. Gokhale's letter approving the expenditure and told him that, though Prof. Gokhale as well as Mr. Petit had left it to me to decide how the funds were disposed of, I had no intention of spending the money solely according to my discretion. I informed him that I consulted Mr. Cachalia and other satyagrahis in the management of the funds, that a separate account had been opened for the fund and that a statement of all the disbursements would be published at the end of the struggle; and that even now Prof. Gokhale was kept posted about how the money was spent.⁴ And the Moulvi Saheb expressed complete satisfaction.

About travelling third class, I told the Moulvi Saheb that I did not for the present advise other Indians to travel third, but so far as I myself was concerned I had decided to travel third for the following reasons:

- (1) The Transvaal Railway Regulations had come into force.
- (2) Money was being spent from the Satyagraha Fund.
- (3) I had become poor and so had other satyagrahis.
- (4) My present state of mind favoured such travelling.
- (5) I shuddered to read the account of the hardships that the Kaffirs had to suffer in the third-class carriages in the Cape and I wanted to experience the same hardships myself.
- (6) When I was arrested in Natal in connection with the Poll Tax, I thought I could serve [the community] better if I lived like a poor Indian.

¹ Vide "Letter to G. K Gokhale", 23-7-1909

² Not available

³ Vide "Letter to G. K Gokhale", 6-12-1909

⁴ Vide "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", 25-4-1910

In spite of this explanation of mine, the Moulvi Saheb thought that it was a mistake on my part, similar to the one I had committed in giving finger-prints, to have begun to travel third. Upon this, I told him that I did not believe that I had committed a mistake in giving finger-prints and that I had taken the right step in travelling third. I, moreover, made it clear to him that I was not always going to travel third. I also argued that it would be very expensive if the large number of Indians who came forward to be arrested travelled first or second.

As regards Swami Shri Shankeranand's¹ views, I told him that I approved of what the Swami said at the Kathiawad Arya Mandal, viz., that those who wanted to stay together as equals should be equally strong. I also liked Swamiji's statement that if, of a group of four comrades, three were armed, the fourth also must arm himself. But while saying this I told him that to me 'arms' meant satyagraha. I said to him that I considered the sword powerless before a satyagrahi. I also said that I was opposed to any person who tried to set one community against another. The Moulvi Saheb expressed his satisfaction at these views also and we parted.

When, therefore, I saw the 'interview' published by him, I felt sorry for the community. What I have given above is a bare summary of the 'interview'. I have given a reply² to the Moulvi Saheb's questions particularly in connection with the money spent on *Indian Opinion*, a copy of which is enclosed herewith.

I am,

a servant of India,

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-3-1910

¹ *Vide* "Swamiji's Speech in the *Mercury*", 2-7-1910

² *Vide* "Letter to Moulvi Ahmed Mukhtiar", 11-3-1910

281. INTERVIEW TO “THE STAR”¹

JOHANNESBURG,
March 17, 1910

The Government have taken steps to arrest the Indians who came into the Transvaal with Mr. Gandhi on Sunday morning. Two were arrested on Monday, six on Tuesday, and two yesterday, and all are under order of deportation and are being taken to Pretoria to-day, from where they will be deported to Natal. All these men are either educated Indians or pre-war residents, and in spite of their right of domicile or of entry by reason of education, they will, if necessary, we understand, return to Natal when the struggle ends.

Mr. Gandhi told our representative this morning that the Indians had come to Johannesburg not to assert their personal rights, but to take part in the struggle. They will return and be re-arrested at Volksrust and imprisoned. The balance will be arrested in a few days. Mr. Gandhi said:

“I do not know why the Government do not arrest me. I freely admit that I am instrumental in bringing these men and introducing them into the Colony, and it has really been suggested that in bringing them into the Colony I am supposed to commit a breach of the Immigration Law in that I aid and abet prohibited immigrants to enter the Colony. Personally I do not consider these Indians to be prohibited immigrants at all. Our struggle principally consists in suffering, and by suffering bringing the desired relief. In Diepkloof prison there are 100 passive resisters, including Chinese, and about 36 are now awaiting deportation.”

The Star, 17-3-1910

¹ A report of this appeared also in *The Natal Mercury*, 18-3-1910, and it was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 19-3-1910.

282. LETTER TO COLONIAL SECRETARY¹

[JOHANNESBURG,
Before *March 19, 1910*]

My Association is informed that four Indians who were last week taken from Pretoria to Lourenco Marques prior to deportation to India were detained at the Lourenco Marques Prison; that each of the men had to pay 5/- to the Prison Authorities; and that the Authorities provided no food whatsoever, nor could the men obtain food if they offered to pay for it. My Association respectfully requests that you will kindly make immediate inquiry into the matter.

Indian Opinion, 19-3-1910.

283. LETTER TO POLICE COMMISSIONER²

[JOHANNESBURG,
Before *March 19, 1910*]

My Association is informed that, when Indian prisoners who are awaiting trial at the Fort are brought down to the Court for the hearing of their cases, no provision is made by the Government for their midday meal while there, and the men have thus to remain without food until 6 p.m. on these days, unless friends supply it from outside. My Association is further informed that the same thing has occurred in regard to men who have been taken to Pretoria prior to deportation, no lunch being provided on the journey.

My Association requests that you will kindly inquire into the matter and have the grievance remedied.

Indian Opinion, 19-3-1910

¹ This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent over the signature of the Acting Chairman, British Indian Association.

² This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent to the Commissioner of Police, Pretoria, over the signature of A. M. Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association.

284. MORE CRUSADERS

Mr. Gandhi took with him to the Transvaal last week¹ quite a respectable number of crusaders. The list we publish in our columns is thoroughly cosmopolitan and representative of most of the important provinces of India. That many colonial-born Indians are coming forward to join the struggle is a healthy sign. Apart from the strength that these recruits give to the struggle, there is no doubt that they themselves benefit very greatly in that they receive true education in the school of suffering. The experience that the young Indians who have proceeded to the Transvaal are now gaining will stand them in good stead in after life. We congratulate the brave men who have deliberately gone to the Transvaal to court trouble. It was a fitting thing that a large and representative gathering of Indians saw them off at the Station².

The Transvaal Government again disappointed the passive resisters. The Immigration Officer would not arrest them at the border. We take it as a splendid certificate of honesty for passive resisters. These men entered that Colony without giving names or signatures or finger-impressions. Their identification, therefore, consisted in their own good faith. The Government know that these resisters have no desire to serve their own ends and remain in the Colony but that they are quite ready to quit the Colony the moment the Indian demands are granted.

Yet this non-arrest at the border means a great deal of waste of money and energy to the Indian community. This is inevitable. The Transvaal Government intend to exhaust our resources. And we must be prepared to meet them. This can be done simply by going forward undaunted without caring for consequences. A passive resister must be satisfied with the right deed.

Indian Opinion, 19-3-1910

¹ On 11-3-1910

² The Durban Station

285. INDIAN VOTERS AT THE CAPE

A correspondent has asked us how the Indian voters should vote at the Union Parliament elections. It is not an easy matter to lay down any rule. But it is safe to say that the Indian question will not be made a party question even if the elections take place on party lines and there is no coalition Government. There will be men belonging to both the parties who would generally sympathise with us. We would, therefore, suggest that the candidates may be asked set questions, and those who answer them favourably may receive the Indian vote, irrespective of party. The Indian voters should also realise that abstention should be practised without fail if no candidate be found in any constituency who would favour the Indian cause. The questions to be asked may be on the working of the Cape Immigration Law, the required amendment of the Dealers' [Licenses] Act, the Transvaal struggle, and the stoppage of indentured labour in Natal. The last two are now properly South African questions and should engage the attention of all the public men of South Africa.

Finally, we would suggest to the Indian voters at the Cape that they should have their own organisation which ought to be able to control the whole of the Indian vote and which should define its policy for the guidance of its members. The candidates will not listen to individual voters, but a body with the whole Indian vote behind it cannot but command attention.

Indian Opinion, 19-3-1910

286. *LETTER TO BRITISH CONSUL*¹

[JOHANNESBURG,]

March 19, 1910

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 61/ 10/M of the 15th instant. My letter² was based on the information contained in a Tamil letter received by a member of the Association here from one of the parties. My Association is very careful as to acceptance of statements made by complainants.

Whilst thanking you for the suggestion that future allegations should be received with the utmost caution, I venture to state that the reply made to you by the Administrator of the Municipality of Lourenco Marques can by no means be accepted as conclusive. Did the Administrator himself see the prisoners? Did anyone from the Consulate see them? Unless these obvious precautions were taken, it can hardly be said that the statements passed to my Association are “wholly inaccurate and devoid of all foundation”. If the inquiry was confined by the Administrator only to the officials in charge of complainants, it is clear that they would be interested in denying the statements, which might incriminate them or at least make them liable to remonstrance from their superiors.

Indian Opinion, 26-3-1910

¹ This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was addressed to the British Consul, Lourenco Marques, by A. M. Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association, in reply to the former's denial of the Lourenco Marques incident; *vide* “Letter to Colonial Secretary”, Before 19-3-1910

² *Vide* “Letter to Colonial Secretary”, Before 19-3-1910

287. PREFACE TO “INDIAN HOME RULE”¹

JOHANNESBURG,
March 20, 1910

It is not without hesitation that the translation of *Hind Swaraj* is submitted to the public. A European friend², with whom I discussed the contents, wanted to see a translation of it and, during our spare moments, I hurriedly dictated and he took it down. It is not a literal translation but it is a faithful rendering of the original. Several English friends have read it, and whilst opinions were being invited as to the advisability of publishing the work, news was received that the original was seized in India.³ This information hastened the decision to publish the translation without a moment's delay. My fellow-workers at the International Printing Press shared my view and, by working overtime—a labour of love,—they have enabled me to place the translation before the public in an unexpectedly short time. The work is being given to the public at what is practically cost price. But, without the financial assistance of the many Indians who promised to buy copies for themselves and for distribution, it might never have seen the light of day.

I am quite aware of the many imperfections in the original. The English rendering, besides sharing these, must naturally exaggerate them, owing to my inability to convey the exact meaning of the original. Some of the friends who have read the translation have objected that the subject-matter has been dealt with in the form of a dialogue. I have no answer to offer to this objection except that the Gujarati language readily lends itself to such treatment and that it is considered the best method of treating difficult subjects. Had I written for English readers in the first instance, the subject would have been handled in a different manner. Moreover, the dialogue, as it has been given, actually took place between several friends, mostly readers of *Indian Opinion*, and myself.

Whilst the views expressed in *Hind Swaraj* are held by me, I

¹ This appeared *Indian Opinion* under the captions: The Publication of “Indian Home Rule”: English Translation of the Gujarati Work: Hind Swaraj: Proscribed by the Indian Government.

² Kallenbach, *vide* Mahadev Desai's Preface to *Hind Swaraj*, 1938.

³ *Vide* “Our Publications”, 7-5-1910

have but endeavoured humbly to follow Tolstoy, Ruskin, Thoreau, Emerson and other writers, besides the masters of Indian philosophy. Tolstoy has been one of my teachers for a number of years. Those who want to see a corroboration of the views submitted in the following chapters will find it in the words of the above-named masters. For ready reference, some of the books are mentioned in the Appendices.¹

I do not know why *Hind Swaraj* has been seized in India. To me, the seizure constitutes further condemnation of the civilization represented by the British Government. There is in the book not a trace of approval of violence in any shape or form. The methods of the British Government are, undoubtedly, severely condemned. To do otherwise would be for me to be a traitor to Truth; to India, and to the Empire to which I own allegiance. My notion of loyalty does not involve acceptance of current rule or government, irrespective of its righteousness or otherwise. Such notion is based upon the belief—not in its present justice or morality but—in a future acceptance by Government of that standard of morality in practice which it at present vaguely and hypocritically believes in, in theory. But I must frankly confess that I am not so much concerned about the stability of the Empire as I am about that of the ancient civilization of India which, in my opinion, represents the best that the world has ever seen. The British Government in India constitutes a struggle between the Modern Civilisation, which is the Kingdom of Satan, and the Ancient Civilisation, which is the Kingdom of God. The one is the God of War, the other is the God of Love. My countrymen impute the evils of modern civilisation to the English people and, therefore, believe that the English people are bad, and not the civilisation they represent. My countrymen, therefore, believe that they should adopt modern civilisation and modern methods of violence to drive out the English. *Hind Swaraj* has been written in order to show that they are following a suicidal policy, and that, if they would but revert to their own glorious civilisation, either the English would adopt the latter and become Indianised or find their occupation in India gone.

It was at first intended to publish the translation as a part of *Indian Opinion*, but the seizure of the original rendered such a course inadvisable. *Indian Opinion* represents the Transvaal Passive Resistance struggle and ventilates the grievances of British Indians in

¹ Vide Appendix I to *Hind Swaraj*

South Africa generally. It was, therefore, thought desirable not to publish through a representative organ views which are held by me personally and which may even be considered dangerous or disloyal. I am naturally anxious not to compromise a great struggle by any action of mine which has noconnection with it. Had I not known that there was a danger of methods of violence becoming popular, even in South Africa, had I not been called upon by hundreds of my countrymen, and not a few English friends, to express my opinion on the Nationalist movement in India, I would even have refrained, for the sake of the struggle, from reducing my views to writing. But, occupying the position I do, it would have been cowardice on my part to postpone publication under the circumstances just referred to.

M. K. GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 2-4-1910

288. *LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS*¹

[JOHANNESBURG,]

March 22, 1910

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter² of the 19th instant in reply to my letter³ of the 23rd ultimo addressed to the Colonial Secretary, on the subject of the treatment of Mr. Parsee Rustomjee and other matters. I beg to thank you for the exhaustive information given to my Association.

As to Mr. Rustomjee's letter⁴ to the Press, he was seen leg-ironed by many Indians, and the matter was reported to my Association on the very day that he was seen in that condition.

As to the Medical Officer's opinion, I venture to draw attention to the fact that the Medical Officer at Volksrust did prescribe a special diet for Mr. Rustomjee. That the language ascribed to the Medical Officer at Diepkloof by Mr. Rustomjee was used by him is beyond question, if a host of passive resisters discharged from Diepkloof are

¹ This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was signed by A. M. Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association.

² Reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 26-3-1910

³ *Vide* "Letter to Colonial Secretary", 23-2-1910

⁴ *Vide* Appendix II.

to be believed. Indeed, most of them have complained of unbecoming language used by that Officer.

It was only at a later period that special instructions were issued that Mr. Rustomjee might be allowed to take exercise. A certificate from the family physician of Mr. Rustomjee has been produced because it became necessary to challenge the opinion of the Prison Medical Officer; and I may state that Mr. Rustomjee is still far from well, and is undergoing treatment.

In my humble opinion, the question of the religious necessity of wearing a cap is one which Mr. Rustomjee is best able to decide. The gravamen of the complaint is, however, not that Mr. Rustomjee's special cap was taken away, but that he was compelled to take it off whenever the Governor and other officers appeared, instead of being allowed to retain the cap, as was done in Volksrust and Houtpoort, where a salaam was accepted as an equivalent.

The loss of weight complained of by Mr. Rustomjee is not during the period of incarceration at Diepkloof alone, but includes the Volksrust gaol also. Mr. Rustomjee was undoubtedly grateful that his obesity was reduced, but reduction took place at very great risk to his general health.

My Association is deeply grateful for the fact that passive resisters are translated to Diepkloof in order that they may be left entirely together. But, if that be so, may I ask that the special provision as to the prisoners at Diepkloof receiving a visitor and being allowed to correspond only after three months may be withdrawn, and that they may be, as in other gaols which are not penal settlements, permitted to correspond every month, and to receive visitors also likewise?

As to the sanitary services of the prison, regard being had to the special prejudices of British Indians in this matter, before passive resistance commenced, Indian prisoners were exempted from sanitary service. It was only after their removal to Diepkloof that this hardship was imposed upon them, and, if it is not the intention of the Government to subject passive resisters to special harassment, the Committee of my Association would once more venture to ask that this requirement may be waived.

In his statement to the Governor of the Gaol at Johannesburg, Mr. Rustomjee undoubtedly expressed his thanks for the better treatment that was accorded to him at the Fort and the consideration

that was invariably shown to him by the Governor himself.

Regarding Mr. Bawazeer, I notice that his complaint is practically admitted by the Government. In his case, the seriousness of the complaint lies in the fact that his disease was ignored and his complaint was pooh-poohed until after the discovery that he had a high temperature.

My Association has once more to report that the passive resisters at Diepkloof continue to send messages through discharged prisoners that they are insufficiently fed, and that the want of ghee is felt as an additional punishment.

My Association is glad that your Department recognise the mistake made about Mr. Joseph Royeppen and his fellow-prisoners having been made to walk bareheaded and barefooted and sent without any breakfast.

In conclusion, I venture to trust that the outstanding points regarding the supply of ghee, the sanitary service and correspondence by and visitors to passive resisters will receive the attention they deserve.

Indian Opinion, 26-3-1910

289. JOHANNESBURG

Wednesday [March 23, 1910]

WRANGLE OVER KRUGERSDORP LOCATION

The Committee on this Location has had its last meeting. Mr. Burger, former [Mining] Commissioner, gave evidence before it. Speaking with contempt and arrogance, he deposed that removal of Indians had already been decided upon before the War, and would have been carried out had the War not broken out in the meantime. Referring to Indians, he always used the word "coolie" in a most offensive manner. The gentleman stated that the Location for Indians was placed where it was because of intervention by the British Government. The Government then could not have done otherwise in view of the London Convention. If it had, the British Resident would have protested. Mr. Burger pointed out that, since these two difficulties no longer existed, the "coolies" must be removed immediately. He could not understand why for removing them an inquiry such as the present one was being held.

About the mosque, too, he was offensive and said that he did not remember what promise he had made when granting the site for it. He would, of course, not care to remember anything relating to “coolies”. He said further, replying to Mr. Seehoff, that if he had made any promise about not shifting the Location, it would have been in writing. The whole of this evidence is worth reading. Its gist is what I have given above. The Location is in immediate danger. Indians must have courage if they want to save it. If they refuse to move, they cannot easily be made to. The Location will be saved if there is unity among the Indians there; otherwise it is as good as lost.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 26-3-1910

290. LETTER TO T. STREENIVAS

JOHANNESBURG,
March 24, 1910

DEAR SIR,

You will pardon my not having written to you earlier in reply to your letter of the 20th January. The fact is that I have not been in Johannesburg. The Tamil Indians here are largely Pillays, Moodleys, Naidoos, Chettys and Padiachys. There are very few Tamil Brahmins. Some of them are Christians having been converted in South Africa, or are sons of Christian parents. These latter are largely sons of indentured Indians. The Christians are a small community, but from a material standpoint somewhat progressive. They have almost entirely adopted Western habits and customs. This, however, does not appear to have affected their love for the Motherland. I do not know whether the information I have given you is what you wanted. If you will kindly write to me further, I shall be pleased to reply to your communications. When the battle is won, as it is bound to be, I have no doubt that its end will have been hastened by the unexampled bravery and self-sacrifice shown by the Tamil portion of the community. When I first landed in South Africa, there was something in them which drew me to them, but I never dreamed that they were capable of the grand pluck and capacity for suffering for the national

cause that they have shown.

I am,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

T. STREENIVAS, ESQ.
BARRISTER-AT-LAW
CRITIC OFFICE
KOMALESWARANPET
MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS

From a photostat of the typewritten original signed by Gandhiji: G.N. 3779

291. DEPORTATIONS

The deportations of Transvaal Indians that are going on must furnish painful reading to any lover of justice. These deportations, when they are to Natal, are not of any very great consequence, except for their future legal effect, which we do not propose to consider at present. But when passive resisters are deported to India, the deportations become a very serious matter. They are of men who have in several cases been voluntarily registered, whose credentials are well known to the Asiatic Department, and who have even served imprisonment already as passive resisters. They savour very much of the process of "hunting out every Asiatic". Our Johannesburg correspondent has often drawn attention to the fact that some of the persons deported are born in South Africa and some of them leave their families behind them. Thanks to the magnificent response from the Motherland, these families are being supported out of the passive resistance fund. Had the timely help not arrived, what would have been the consequence? Starvation would certainly have stared them in the face.

At the risk of repeating what has been often stated in these columns, we may remind our readers that these far-reaching orders take place without any judicial trial. The cases are administratively tried under semi-secrecy. Against these administrative acts, there is no appeal to the Supreme Court. Thus, under a totally un-British procedure, the liberty of a subject is taken away with a stroke of the pen. What is lacking in the law has been supplied by the astute subtlety of an unscrupulous Department. Legally, these deportations

can take place only as far as the Transvaal boundary. The Transvaal Government have, therefore, entered into an understanding with the Portuguese authorities (the neighbouring British Colonies would not or could not enter into such a nefarious contract), whereby passive resisters deported to the boundary of the Portuguese territories are taken up by the Portuguese Government and, without any trial, put on board a steamer going to India.

The question naturally arises: Assuming that the Imperial Government cannot interfere with the course of the law of a self-governing Colony that has received His Majesty's sanction, why do the Imperial Government look with criminal indifference upon the smuggling away of British Indians domiciled in the Transvaal to India through Delagoa Bay? There is no legal justification for it. If, instead of a British Colony, it was a foreign state that had entered into such a compact with the Portuguese Government, it would be a breach of treaty and might even justify a declaration of war. Without the concurrence, then, of the Imperial Government, the Transvaal Government could not have carried out these Indian deportations. The Imperial Government are, therefore, party to the desolation of many an Indian home. The conclusion is irresistible that the Central Government has abdicated its primary function of protecting British subjects against British subjects. It is paralysed before the might of the Transvaal Government. It is unable to shield the weak from oppression by the strong. It exists to strengthen the tyranny of tyrants. This is a tragical conclusion; but it is inevitable.

Let the Imperialists of South Africa ponder well over the facts we have given above, and ask themselves whether the conclusion we have drawn is not warranted by them.

Indian Opinion, 26-3-1910

292. KRUGERSDORP LOCATION COMMITTEE

The evidence of Mr. Burger given before the Location Committee is remarkable for its frankness, callousness and impertinence. We are unable to endorse the congratulations offered by the Committee to Mr. Burger for his so-called valuable evidence. Mr. Burger has forfeited all right to be treated as an unbiased witness owing to the statement made by him that he did not attach sufficient importance to "the coolies", as he contemptuously

termed the respectable Indian merchants who saw him before the war in his official capacity, to remember all that passed between him and them. Mr. Burger was, however, ingenuous enough to tell the Committee that the Republican Government could do nothing, as their action was hampered by the London Convention and the British Agent. But now, adds Mr. Burger, that the Government have a free hand, they should drive away "the coolies" without any fuss. The very Government that protected the Indians during the Republican regime and that insisted on Indian Bazaars abutting public roads, is now to be utilised to drive them to an inaccessible place where they cannot do any business at all.

One thing is clear from Mr. Burger's evidence. A site for the mosque was granted by the Government with due deliberation. Mr. Burger is unable to swear that he did not promise the Indian deputation that waited on him that the Location might be treated as permanent.

Indian Opinion, 26-3-1910

293. DEPORTATION—ITS MEANING

A large number of Indians in South Africa are developing a spirit of patriotism. If they can render some service to the Motherland without any effort, they certainly want to do so; but they find themselves helpless before the claims of self-interest. There are very few Indians who pay sufficient attention to the manner in which the Transvaal campaign is proceeding at the moment. Being engrossed in their own affairs, they are ignorant of what atrocities are committed on their own brethren, and why. There are also some who think that, since most of those who go in for self-sacrifice are Tamils, no notice need be taken of them.

We draw the attention of such Indians to the following considerations. Those who find themselves in agreement with them are requested to bring them to the notice of other Indians.

For some time past, Indian satyagrahis are being deported to India. Several brave Tamils have been so deported. Some of them were born in South Africa. The families of some are left in the Transvaal without any means of support. It is impossible to say what would have happened to them, had no aid been received from India.

The Indians who are deported are not tried in a court of law, but

only in private. There is no provision for appeal to the Supreme Court against an order so made. However, there is no great difficulty so long as men are deported only to Natal, for the Indians concerned can immediately return from Natal and go to gaol.

It is the practice of deporting to India that calls for urgent attention. The Transvaal Government has legal authority only to put a person across its own border. How, then, can it carry anyone to India? Not being in a position to achieve its mean object through a British colony, the Transvaal Government has entered into an arrangement with the Portuguese Government and executes its barbarous plan with its help. It is clear, however, that the Transvaal Government is not competent to enter into such an agreement. No such step can be taken without the consent of the Imperial Government. If any other State had entered into an agreement of this kind with the Portuguese authorities that might have led to war. This means that the Imperial Government is unable to prevent its own subjects from oppressing their fellow-subjects, that it is afraid of the Transvaal. This also implies that the authority of the Imperial Government is used to perpetuate the tyranny of the tyrant, is used to help the tyrant.

What should we do in such a situation? If Indians have any spirit in them, those who have capitulated out of timidity should rouse themselves again. We shall obtain no justice by going to courts of law. We must fight on, relying on our own strength. As the Transvaal Government's repression grows, we must display correspondingly greater strength, endurance and firmness. We desire that a large number of Indians should join the struggle.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 26-3-1910

294. PARSEE RUSTOMJEE

The Transvaal Government has sent a long reply¹ regarding Mr. Rustomjee; Mr. Cachalia has written² again. The matter has [also] been raised in the House of Commons. All this is to the good. The officials stopped at nothing in their effort to break Mr. Rustomjee's spirit.

¹ *Vide* Letter from the Director of Prisons to the Chairman, British Indian Association, 19-3-1910, reproduced in *Indian Opinions*, 26-3-1910.

² *Vide* "Letter to Director of Prisons", 22-3-1910

They are suffering the consequence now. However brave a face they may put on in public, they appear to have received quite a severe reprimand over this affair.

In the same letter, the Government has referred to the complaint in regard to the Imam Saheb. It had to admit the justice of the complaint. The sufferings of these two will help the prisoners who follow. Such is the mysterious law of God. We must learn to submit to that law. Any man who puts himself to suffering will diminish the value of that suffering if he himself enjoys its fruits. For his self-sacrifice to be perfect, he must go on suffering as long as his breath holds out and he must leave the fruits of his suffering to be enjoyed by those who come after. We wish such goodness and such strength to Mr. Rustomjee and the Imam Saheb.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 26-3-1910

295. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

JOHANNESBURG,

Phagan Vadi 4, Samvat 1966

[*March 29, 1910*]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have received your letter.

I can appreciate your inability to come here without respected Khushalbhai's¹ permission. It is your duty to act according to his wishes.

You can assist the objectives of our struggle here even if you remain there. Now that [*Hind*] *Swaraj* has been proscribed, I see that a strenuous fight will have to be put up there too. To do that you must build your character. Do you know the fundamental principles of our religion? You will, perhaps, say that you are able to recite the whole of the *Gita* and also know its meaning and wonder why I am asking you about fundamental principles. Knowing the fundamentals, as I interpret it, means putting them into practice. The first attribute of the

¹ Gandhiji's cousin, addressee's father; Gandhiji had asked the addressee to go to South Africa; *vide* "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", 3-10-1909

divine heritage is 'fearlessness'. I hope you remember that verse¹. Have you attained to the state of 'fearlessness' to any extent? Will you do what is right fearlessly, even at the cost of your life? Practise fearlessness and try to attain that state till you succeed. You will be able to do a lot if you achieve that. In this context you should remember the lives of Prahlad², Sudhanva³, and others. Please do not think that all these are legends. There have been many Indians in the past who have done such deeds and that is why we memorize the stories of their lives. We should not think that Prahlad and Sudhanva, Harishchandra⁴ and Shravana⁵ do not exist in India even today. We shall meet them when we deserve. They are not to be found in the chawls of Bombay. You cannot expect a wheat crop from rocky soil. I shall not write more. Do ponder over the attributes of the divine heritage again. Read this letter bearing in mind those attributes and then try to act accordingly. Do read afresh the chapters on Satyagraha in [*Hind*] *Swaraj* and ponder over them. Do ask me any questions when you feel like doing so. You may live in Bombay but be quite sure that Bombay is a veritable hell, absolutely useless.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4925 Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

¹ *The Bhagavat Gita*, XVI, 1-3

² Son of demon-King Hiranyakashipu, he was a great devotee of Vishnu and came out unscathed from many ordeals.

³ *Vide* "Message to Tamil Brethren", 25-2-1909 & "Who Can go to Gaol?", 5-6-1909.

⁴ King of Ayodhya who suffered great hardships and, while in the service of a *chandala* (out-caste), he was even ready to kill his wife Taramati for the sake of truth.

⁵ A devoted son, who carried his blind parents to various places of pilgrimage in baskets put in slings attached to the two ends of a pole. While fetching water from a river, he was killed by King Dasharatha, who mistook the sound of the water filling the pitcher for an elephant drinking.

296. *LETTER TO GENERAL MANAGER, C. S. A. R.*¹

[JOHANNESBURG,]

March 31, 1910

SIR,

The following incident has been reported to my Association by Mr. Ismail Adam of Pretoria, Merchant. He holds a first-class return-ticket from Park to Pretoria, which is numbered 9271. He was travelling last evening by the 8.10 p.m. train to Pretoria. He boarded the train, his ticket was clipped, and, as there was no room in the reserved compartment, he entered the next compartment, which was occupied by four Europeans, who did not object to Mr. Ismail Adam's presence in the compartment. The conductor, however, seeing him in that compartment, asked him why he was there, to which Mr. Ismail Adam replied that he would gladly go to any other compartment if he could find a seat. The conductor then said that he would have to change. Mr. Ismail Adam, thinking that this meant change to another train, asked why. The conductor thereupon seems to have become angry, and told him that he would have to get down at Doornfontein, and there, whilst the train was in motion but had slowed down, he pulled Mr. Ismail Adam out of the train on to the platform.

In the opinion of my Association, this seems to be one of the worst cases that have been brought to its notice. My Association will be glad to be assured that you will be pleased to take prompt action in the matter. Mr. Ismail Adam's address in Pretoria is 63, Queen Street.

Whilst my Association draws attention to this incident as a matter of public duty and in the interests of the community represented by it, there is no knowing whether Mr. Ismail Adam will not take independent steps. That the conductor should not mind even risking the lives of passengers in taking them down from a train in motion seems to show an extraordinary state of affairs.

Indian Opinion, 9-4-1910

¹ This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent over the signature of the Chairman, British Indian Association.

297. WAR AGAINST COLOUR

The Johannesburg Municipality is being goaded into removing every Indian and Native employee, no matter how faithful his services may be and no matter what their length. That the Municipality or any other Department may not take a fresh supply of Coloured or Asiatic servants is a position against which not much can be said, but a summary dismissal of those who are already in its employ can do credit neither to the Municipality nor to those who force its hands. As the *South African News* very properly puts it:

Replace the black man at the bottom by the white, take away as suggested the farms farmed by Natives and give them to white occupiers. Do this and what is to happen to the replaced Natives? That will be a harder problem to settle than that of the poor whites, but so long as the Natives' opportunities are not taken away from them, there need be no problem to solve. Segregate, repress or turn the Native into permanent unemployed and the madness known as sitting on the safety-valve will have begun.

There can be no doubt that a ruthless removal of Asiatic and more especially Native servants will only end in disaster, but it behoves British Indians and other Asiatics, as also the Natives, to learn the needful lesson from the present activity against Asiatic and Coloured races. The latter must not rely upon the white Colonists finding work for them or giving it to them. They will have to find independent means of earning a livelihood, and once a few leaders set themselves towards solving the problem, it will be found exceedingly easy.

Indian Opinion, 2-4-1910

298. DUTY OF NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

From cable-reports from India, we learn that a Bill for prohibiting indentured labour has been passed in the Viceroy's Legislative Council. The Viceroy has said that the law will be brought into effect only after full negotiations with the Government of Natal. This suggests that the Viceroy, left to himself, will not stop indentured labour if Indians remain inactive. If they do their duty, the system is bound to end; but we observe that some Indians think that the prohibition of indenture will be a disadvantage. Disadvantage to whom? If one thinks it is a disadvantage to those who offer themselves for indenture that they should be saved from slavery, there is no more to be said. Who else will stand to lose? As for free Indians, we think the immigration of indentured labourers is a great disadvantage to them. Those free Indians who live by their labour do not get employment, or, if they do, it is on a very low wage. Both the indentured labourers and other Indians are humiliated because the continued immigration of the former leads to increased resentment against us.

If indenture is prohibited, Indians can hope for an immediate improvement in their status. Once slavery has disappeared, it will be possible to get the laws about passes, etc., repealed, and there will be fewer attacks on traders. No doubt, even afterwards the struggle will have to be continued, but it can be continued with greater determination and better hope [of success]. When only free Indians are left in South Africa, the community will be in a position to do a great many things. Thus, from every point of view, the interests of Indians will be best served by the stopping of indenture.

It must be borne in mind that even if Indians were to give up the agitation for the prohibition of indentured labour, the Union Parliament will certainly prohibit it on its own. Indians would then look small and would lose the credit which they have a chance of earning today.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-4-1910

299. TERRIBLE CIVILIZATION OF THE WEST

An English journal called *The New Age* has published a cartoon on this subject, which we reproduce in this issue. It shows an army on the march. Behind, there is a grotesque figure, that of a general. On the body of this terrible form are hanging a gun emitting smoke in every direction and swords dripping with blood, and on its head a cannon. There is the drawing of a skull on a badge hanging on one side. On the arm, moreover, there is a cross. (This cross is the emblem of a batch which looks after the wounded.) In the mouth, held in the teeth, there is a dagger dripping with blood. On the shoulder is seen a belt studded with live cartridges. The drawing is entitled "March of Civilization". No one who reads this description of the cartoon can help becoming grave. On reflection, we cannot help feeling that Western civilization is as cruel as, perhaps more cruel than, the terrible expression on the face of the man in the cartoon. The sight which fills one with the utmost indignation is that of the cross in the midst of weapons dripping with blood. Here the hypocrisy of the new civilization reaches its climax. In former times, too, there used to be bloody wars, but they were free from the hypocrisy of modern civilization. While drawing our readers' attention to this cartoon, we want to give them at the same time a glimpse of the divine light of satyagraha. On one side, look at the picture of civilization drawn above, a civilization grown as terrible as a wolf through its hunger for wealth and its greedy pursuit of worldly pleasures. On the other, look at the figure of a satyagrahi who, out of his loyalty to truth, to his nature as a spiritual being and out of a desire to obey God's command, submits to the suffering inflicted by wicked men, with fortitude in his breast, with a smile on his face and without a single tear in his eyes. Of the two pictures, towards which will the reader feel attracted? We are sure it is the vision of the satyagrahi which will touch the heart of mankind, and that the effect will grow deeper as his sufferings increase. Is there anyone who, looking at this cartoon alone, does not feel in his heart that satyagraha is the only way in which mankind can attain freedom and strength? We admit, of course, that to be shot dead or hanged when trying to shoot another does test one's fortitude; but dying in the attempt to kill another does not require even a hundredth part of the fortitude and courage implicit in the suffering that a satyagrahi goes through, in the slow, prolonged

torture that he calmly endures in facing a bullet without firing one in return. No one wields a sword strong enough to bear down the force of satyagraha; on the contrary, a man brandishing a sword of steel has to give ground when confronted by a sword sharper than his. That is the reason why the story of a satyagrahi is read with a feeling of reverence. One who is not strong enough to practise satyagraha is naturally tempted to resort to brute force, which is, in comparison, quite easy to employ. There are some desperate Indians who, in their mad obsession with *swaraj* for India, seem to imagine that satyagraha is bound to be followed by resort to brute force—that is, that satyagraha is but one step in the effort to key oneself up to the fanaticism of violence. It would not be wrong to compare persons holding such views to the frog in the well who sought to conceive the ocean [as a big, big well]. The truth of the matter is that the man who cannot cultivate to its utmost limit the capacity for endurance required in satyagraha turns in his impatience to brute force and, growing desperate, takes a blind leap in an effort to end his suffering quickly. Such a man has never been a satyagrahi. He does not want to understand what satyagraha means.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-4-1910

300. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Phagan Vadi 7 [Samvat 1966]

[April 2, 1910]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Your letter to hand. I return it to you so that you can understand my reply to it.

I shall try to answer the questions you have raised. But even then you may not understand thoroughly. You will perhaps find the explanations you have sought from [*Hind*] *Swaraj* itself if you read it afresh once or twice.

There is no doubt that we shall have to go back to the extent to which we have imbibed [modern] civilization. This part of the task is the most difficult one, but it will have to be done. When we take a wrong path there is no alternative but to go back. We have got to free ourselves from attachment to the things we are enjoying. For this it is

necessary that we begin to feel disgust for them. Whatever means and instruments appear to us to be beneficial are not going to be given up. Only he who realizes that there is more harm than the apparent benefit from a particular thing will give it up. I personally feel that no benefit has been derived from our being able to send letters quickly. When we give up railways and such other means we shall not bother ourselves about writing letters. A thing which is really free from fault may be used to a certain extent. We who are engulfed in this civilization may avail ourselves of postal and other facilities as long as we are so engulfed. If we make use of these things with knowledge and understanding we shall not go crazy over them, and instead of increasing our preoccupations we shall gradually reduce them. He who will understand this will not be tempted to take the post or the railway to the villages which do not have these. You and I should not remain passive and increase the use of steamers and other evil means for fear that these things cannot be abolished forthwith and that all the people will not give them up. Even if one man reduces or stops their use, others will learn to do so. He who believes that it is good to do so will go on doing so irrespective of others. This is the only way of spreading the truth; there is no other in the world.

It is very difficult to get rid of our fondness for Parliament. It was no doubt barbarous when people tore off the skin, burned persons alive and cut off their ears or nose; but the tyranny of Parliament is much greater than that of Chengiz Khan, Tamerlane and others. Hence it is that we are caught in its meshes. Modern tyranny is a trap of temptation and therefore does greater mischief. One can withstand the atrocities committed by one individual as such; but it is difficult to cope with the tyranny perpetrated upon a people in the name of the people. It seems to have happened in the past that some rulers were like King Foolishman while others turned out to be wise. Had Edward alone been our ruler it would not have been so objectionable; but every Englishman is ruling over you and me. Please ponder over the meaning of this statement. I do not refer here to people's fondness for this world. The common man in India at least believes that the Parliament is a hoax. Even an extraordinarily intelligent man, caught in the meshes of this civilization, loses his sanity in Parliament.

By saying that mercy cannot have any effect on the Pindaris you have denied the very existence of the soul or its [essential]

attribute. Lord Patanjali¹ has emphasized the greatness of mercy, etc., in such a way that we feel delighted even while thinking of those virtues. The real fact is that fear has taken deep root in us and consequently truth, mercy and such other virtues do not develop. And then we think that mercy has no effect on cruel people. If we show mercy to the person who shows mercy to us it is no mercy; it is only the return for mercy.

We should be considered weak if someone protects us free of charge or even if we pay him for doing so. If we have to seek outside help to be free from the menace of the Pindaris, etc., we are unfit for *swaraj*. If we would subdue them with physical force, we shall have to develop that force in ourselves. We shall not then have to pay blackmail or tribute. A woman seeks her husband's protection as a matter of right; but she is considered an *abala* (weak) after all.

Swaraj is for those who understand it. You and I can enjoy it even today. All the others will have to learn to do likewise. What is secured for us by others is not *swaraj* but *pararaj*, i.e., foreign rule, whether they be Indians or Englishmen.

In calling the cow-protection societies cow-killing societies, I have but stated the truth; for their object is to rescue the cow or protect her by bringing pressure on Mussalmans.

To rescue the cow by paying money is no protection of the cow; it is a way to teach the butcher to be deceitful. If we try to coerce the Mussalmans they will slaughter more cows. But if we persuade them or offer satyagraha against them they will protect her. No cow-protection society is necessary for doing this. That body should be for teaching Hinduism to the Hindus. It is better to kill an ox by a single blow of the sword than to kill it by starving it, by pricking it, by over-working it and thus torturing it.

It would be very confusing to take the examples of Shri Ramachandra and others literally. I have never imagined the possibility of a Ravana in the physical form of a man with ten heads and twenty arms. But to imagine that he was a huge passionate senseless animal and that he was killed by Shri Ramachandra representing the divine essence may appeal to the intellect. Tulsidasji²

¹ The sage who systematized the Yoga darshana (philosophy)

² The great Hindi poet-saint, author of *Ramacharitamansa*, a Hindi version of the *Ramayana*

has described Ramachandraji as the forces of the Sun who is the destroyer of pride, infatuation, and the darkness of the night of excessive attachment. Do you think we shall have the least desire left in us to destroy anybody when we are rid of all pride, infatuation and attachment? If you say 'no', how could Ramchandraji who was free from pride, infatuation and attachment and who was an ocean of mercy destroy Ravana? However, let us first attain his stage, like Lakshmana¹ give up sleep and observe *brahmacharya* for fourteen years and then see where physical force could be used.

I want to say that everything is achieved by humility². The example you gave of the Transvaal is quite appropriate. It is not enough merely to profess orally to have the above sentiment; it should stand the test when the occasion comes. Think of the numberless adversities Harishchandra had to face before his [devotion to] truth was proved. Think of the suffering Sudhanva had to undergo before his *bhakti* (devotion) was proved to be genuine. We may not consider these as mere legends. It may be that the names and forms were different; but they who have composed these stories have given their own experiences through them. Even in the Transvaal the babblings of persons like me are being put to the test. Also bear in mind that many who were regarded as satyagrahis have proved to be insincere demagogues. Who, then, should be regarded as true satyagrahis? Of course, they who possess virtues like compassion, etc. Nowhere has it been said that suffering may not have to be undergone. And what does suffering after all mean? It is the mind, says the *Gita*, which is the cause of our bondage as well as of our freedom.³ Sudhanva was thrown into boiling oil. The person who got him thrown into it thought that he was inflicting suffering on Sudhanva; but for the latter it was a grand opportunity to show the intensity of his devotion.

It will never happen that all are equally rich or equally poor at the same time. But if we consider the good and evil aspects [of the various professions] it seems that the world is sustained by farmers. Farmers are of course poor. If a lawyer would boast of his altruism or spirituality, let him earn his livelihood through physical labour and carry on his legal practice without charging anything for it. You will

¹ Brother of Shri Ramachandra; he accompanied him to the forest.

² Literally, bowing at the feet

³ मन एव मनुष्याणां कारणं बन्धमोक्षयोः This sentence, though generally attributed to the *Gita*, is from the *Brahmabindu Upanished*.

not easily realize that the lawyer is lazy. Just as a sensuous man, even when exhausted by indulging in passions, remains engrossed in sensual pleasures, so a lawyer, even when he is exhausted, goes on straining his nerves to the breaking point in his practice in the hope of getting wealth and attaining to greatness and later on passing a life of luxury and comfort. This is his objective. I am conscious that there is a little exaggeration in this; but, what I have said above is true for the most part.

What service will an army of doctors render to the country? What great things are they going to achieve by dissecting dead bodies, by killing animals, and by cramming worthless dicta for five or seven years? What will the country gain by the ability to cure physical diseases? That will simply increase our attachment to the body. We can formulate a plan for preventing the growth of disease even without the knowledge of medical science. This does not mean that there should be no doctors or physicians at all. They will always be with us. The point is that many a young man who gives an undue importance to this profession and wastes hundreds of rupees and several years qualifying for it, ought not to do so. We must know that we are not, nor are we going to be, benefited in the least by allopathic doctors.

I hope I have replied to all your questions. Please do not carry unnecessarily on your head the burden of emancipating India. Emancipate your own self. Even that burden is very great. Apply everything to yourself. Nobility of soul consists in realizing that you are yourself India. In your emancipation is the emancipation of India. All else is make-believe. If you feel interested, do persevere. You and I need not worry about others. If we bother about others, we shall forget our own task and lose everything. Please ponder over this from the point of view of altruism, not of selfishness. If you want to ask anything more, please do.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati *Gandhiji-ni Sadhana* by Raojibhai Patel, and *Mahatma Gandhiji-na Patro*, edited by Dahyabhai Patel

301. FROM "TRANSVAAL NOTES"¹

Monday [April 4, 1910]

Messrs David Solomon, Moonsamy Chellan, Moonsamy Paul, John Edward, Dhobi Samy and Chillia have now been deported. On the 2nd instant were arrested Messrs Govindsamy N. Pillay, Kanabathe N. Pillay, Ellary Moonsamy, Maduray Muthoo, John Lazarus, Moonsamy, Chinasamy and Govindsamy. Of these, two are youngsters, and they were all engaged at a European cigar factory. These are very typical cases; Mr. David Solomon and his three companions were serving as waiters at the Trocadero. So that, literally, bread had been taken out of their mouths. Most of these men are voluntarily registered, but the fact is that the Government intend to crush the Tamil community, and so they are hunting them out from every nook and corner, and these men, instead of being immediately sentenced, are driven from pillar to post, undergo all kinds of administrative inquiry, and then, if the Government can possibly arrange it, they are deported to India.

Whilst on this question of deportation, I have just heard that steamer after steamer refuses to take these deportees. I trust that the information is true. The remedy certainly lies with the shippers in India. If they would make it known to the different steamship companies that, if they become party to the nefarious design of the Transvaal Government, they will not receive Indian patronage, they will certainly decline to take these unlawfully deported Indians.

Indian Opinion, 9-4-1910

302. JOHANNESBURG

Monday [April 4, 1910]

OTHER ARRESTS

Dhobi Samy and Mr. Chillia were arrested along with Mr. David Solomon, Mr. Moonsamy Chellan, Mr. Moonsamy Paul and Mr. John Edward. All of them have been ordered to be deported.

Besides these, on Saturday, April 2, were arrested Messrs

¹ *Vide* "Johannesburg", 11-4-1910

Govindsamy Naran Pillay, Kanabathe Naran Pillay, Ellary Moonsamy, Madurai Muthoo, Moonsamy, K. Chinasamy and Govindsamy. Two of them are just youngsters. They were all employed in a cigar factory owned by a white.

From what I have heard, it appears that all these persons were arrested at the instance of an Indian. They were, of course, ready for arrest. But it is surprising how any Indian could have the courage to contrive their arrest. It would have been a different matter if, with their knowledge and consent, the arrests had been contrived in order to put life into the movement. As it is, their arrests were the result of a personal grudge. Of course, the movement has stood to gain by the action of those Indians.

These are very remarkable cases. Most of them had taken out voluntary registers, which they subsequently burned. Four of them were serving as waiters at the Trocadero. They have let go their jobs. The last seven had been long employed in a cigar factory. They, too, let go their jobs. Some of them used to earn as much as eight to ten pounds a month. Such self-sacrifice is rare to come across. It should be noted that all of them are Tamils, and that they show no sign of nervousness when they are taken away. Some of them have mothers, and some children. With such brave Indians among us, the fight can have only one issue. This sacrifice of the Tamil community will surely find a place in, history the world over.

I very much wish that other Indian communities make at least a fraction of such sacrifice.

HARASSMENT ON RAILWAYS

Mr. Ismail Adam is a Pretoria merchant. He was travelling in a first-class compartment from Park to Pretoria. He was made to get down while the train was in motion. Mr. Cachalia has addressed a letter to the Manager in connection with this incident. Below is a translation:¹

The General Manager has stated in reply that an immediate inquiry will be held. Railway officials have already called on Mr. Ismail Adam. I gather that the latter intends taking steps on his own also.

¹ *Vide* "Letter to General Manager, C.S.A.R.", 31-3-1910

FAKIRA AND DHARMOO NAICKER

They were discharged on Friday¹. Mr. Fakira is one of the few Gujaratis who have remained staunch satyagrahis. He has served six or seven terms of imprisonment, taking no thought of himself. Mr. Cachalia went [to the prison] to receive him and Mr. Naicker. Mr. Fakira reports that all satyagrahis are cheerful.

PRISONERS VISITED

On Sunday, Mr. Kallenbach went to Diepkloof to visit [the prisoners]. He saw Mr. Sorabji, whom he found in good health. Mr. Sorabji has sent the message that the satyagrahis are maintaining an unflinching spirit. Mr. Kallenbach spent nearly an hour with him.

SATYAGRAHIS IN DELAGOA BAY

There was a letter from Mr. Chokalingam Pillay from Delagoa Bay, saying that eighteen Indians had not been put on ship till the moment of writing. He adds that there has been a change for the better in their diet, thanks to his agitation.

WHITE SATYAGRAHIS

The practice of satyagraha by the Indian community has made it quite fashionable. A stringent law has been passed in the Orange River Colony, compelling British children to learn Dutch. The Director of Education there has resigned in protest against the law. The British have taken the thing very much to heart. A member of the Colony's Parliament advises the British not to submit to that law or recognize it in any manner whatsoever. A controversy is going on over the issue, which is being fanned by the newspapers here.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-4-1910

¹ In fact, on the 2nd which was a Saturday; vide "Transvaal Notes", *Indian Opinion*, 9-4-1910.

303. LETTER TO LEO TOLSTOY¹

JOHANNESBURG,
TRANSSVAAL,
SOUTH AFRICA,
April 4, 1910

DEAR SIR,

You will recollect my having carried on correspondence with you whilst I was temporarily in London.² As a humble follower of yours, I send you herewith a booklet³ which I have written. It is my own translation of a Gujarati writing. Curiously enough, the original writing has been confiscated by the Government of India. I, therefore, hastened the above publication of the translation. I am most anxious not to worry you, but, if your health permits it and if you can find the time to go through the booklet, needless to say I shall value very highly your criticism of the writing. I am sending also a few copies of your *Letter to a Hindoo*⁴, which you authorised me to publish. It has been translated in one of the Indian languages also.

I am,
Your obedient servant,
M. K. GANDHI

COUNT LEO TOLSTOY
YASNAYA POLYANA
RUSSIA

From a block of the typewritten original signed by Gandhiji published in *Mahatma*, Vol. I, by D. G. Tendulkar

¹ For Tolstoy's reply, *vide* Appendix III.

² *Vide* "Letter to Leo Tolstoy", 1-10-1909 & ; 10-11-1909.

³ *Hind Swaraj* or *Indian Home Rule*

⁴ Gandhiji's Gujarati rendering of the letter appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 25-12-1909 and 1-1-1910. It was also issued as a booklet.

304. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS¹

[JOHANNESBURG,]

April 4, 1910

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter² No. 1459/10 of the 1st instant regarding the treatment of passive resistance prisoners. My Association has no desire to ask for passive resisters any other treatment than that to which their classification entitles them; but the complaint of my Association is that, if the Government do not wish to impose additional hardships on these prisoners, they may not be sent to a penal settlement, where, my Association imagines, hardened criminals are sent, and where they are deprived of facilities allowed in all other prisons.

With reference to the restoration of ghee to the diet-scale, my Association does not ask for it in connection with passive resistance prisoners only, but regarding all Indian prisoners, because the deprivation places them in a position more unfortunate than that of the Natives, who are allowed one ounce of fat per day.

Indian Opinion, 9-4-1910

305. LETTER TO UMIASHANKAR MEHTA

Phagan Vad 11, 1966 [April 6, 1910]

CHI. UMIASHANKAR,

It is well that you wrote to me. But I had never meant that you should not voice any criticism of Phoenix. You have got to see and point out any real shortcoming. We do not wish to conceal faults. Now I am investigating into the matter you have mentioned.

Chi Jayashankar³ has done a wise thing if he has abandoned the idea of a second marriage. I had spoken emphatically.

How is business there? Have you been able to sell some of the clothes you had taken?

¹ This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was signed by A. M. Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association.

² This was in reply to "Letter to Director of Prisons", 22-3-1910, and was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 9-4-1910.

³ Addressee's brother

How is your health?

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 1630. Courtesy: Gunawant Umia- shankar

306. *LETTER TO THE PRESS*¹

April 8, 1910

SIR,

I have read the report of the unfortunate Indian disturbance that took place yesterday.² It is entirely an error to suppose that it has anything to do with the passive resistance struggle that is going on. The fight took place among the members of a particular clan which is known for its martial spirit. The members had mutual quarrels among themselves, into which I need not go, and they thought that they would settle their differences by duelling. It is remarkable that, although the police, according to the reports, knew that the fight was about to take place, they were unable to take sufficient precautions to prevent it.

Indian Opinion, 16-4-1910

307. *NEVER MIND*

The letter³ from the great Tolstoy which was published in this journal was reproduced in *Gujarat* of Nadiad⁴. A notice under the new Press law has been served on the journal, that it is to be prosecuted for this. Our readers probably remember the letter from Tolstoy. To all who have not read it, our advice is that they read it immediately. It is not a little surprising that, though it does not contain a single sentence which can promote violence, the person who reproduced it is being prosecuted. This betrays sheer madness on the part of the officers.

¹ This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent over the signature of A. M. Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association.

² This refers to a row between two hostile camps of the Kanamias; *vide* "Johannesburg", 11-4-1910

³ *Letter to a Hindoo*; *vide* 1st footnote of "Preface to Leo Tolstoy's "Letter to a Hindoo", 19-11-1909.

⁴ A town in Gujarat

They are in a panic and in that state of mind they are not able to judge what is permissible and what is not. Our only regret is that, though ours is the primary responsibility for publishing this letter, nothing is done to us and it is the editor of *Gujarat* who is in danger. We hope that the editor and the manager of *Gujarat* will do their duty fearlessly and not retrace a single step.

India is being severely tested now. For the repressive laws that have been passed and the suppression of writings, the primary responsibility lies with the terrorists but the matter does not rest there. Indiscriminate suppression of newspapers by the Government will not ensure peace. We think this kind of suppression will not lead to peace but will on the contrary increase the unrest. Those who have no bitterness in their minds will also be embittered now.

In fact, Tolstoy's letter was intended to calm the people's minds, to make them see their own faults instead of others. True, the letter gave a vivid account of the harm done by British rule. That thought cannot be erased by suppressing writings. The people's eyes have opened and will not close again.

In this connection, we want to address a few words to our readers. We think they ought not to remain quiet. We certainly will not. It is not possible for us to look on helplessly when someone has come into trouble for reproducing what was published by us. But a newspaper does not mean only its editor and management; the vast majority of those connected with it are its readers. Will our readers be intimidated by these developments or will they do their duty? That is what remains to be seen. Everyone who reads an issue should try to get someone else to read it. The chief object of a newspaper is to ensure the propagation of the views expressed and to see that they are acted upon. This cannot be done without the co-operation of its readers.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-4-1910

APPENDIX I

LORD AMPHILL'S INTRODUCTION TO "M. K. GANDHI : AN INDIAN PATRIOT IN SOUTH AFRICA"

The writer of this book is not known to me personally, but there is a bond of sympathy between him and me in the sentiments which we share in regard to the cause of which he is so courageous and devoted an advocate.

I commend his book to all who are willing to take my word that it is worth reading. I respectfully suggest that others who attach no value to my opinion would do well to avail themselves of the information afforded by this book in regard to the question of which few, unfortunately, in this country have any knowledge, but which is nevertheless an Imperial question of the highest importance.

Mr. Doke does not pretend to give more than a short biography and character sketch of Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the leader of the Indian community in the Transvaal, but the importance of the book is due to the facts that men and matters are inseparably connected in all human affairs, and that the proper comprehension of political affairs in particular ever depends on a knowledge of the character and motives of those who direct them.

Although I am not in a position to criticise I do not doubt that in these pages the facts are accurately recorded, and I have sufficient reason to believe that the appreciation is just.

The subject of the sketch, Mr. Gandhi, has been denounced in this country, even by responsible persons, as an ordinary agitator; his acts have been misrepresented as mere vulgar defiance of the law; there have not even been wanting suggestion that his motives are those of self-interest and pecuniary profit.

A perusal of these pages ought to dispel any such notions from the mind of any fair man who has been misled into entertaining them. And with a better knowledge of the man there must come a better knowledge of the matter.

The Indian community in the Transvaal are struggling for the maintenance of a right and the removal of a degradation. Can we as Englishmen find fault with them for that? The only method of protest, except that of violence and disorder, which is open to them, who have neither votes nor representation, is that of passive resistance. Can we find fault with for that? They are not selfishly resisting a tax or insidiously striving for new political privileges; they are merely trying to regain that which has been taken from them—the honour of their community. Let him who blames them say what he would do in similar circumstances. Is there one of us who, out of respect for the law, would submit meekly and without protest to deprivation of rights and social degradation?

The Colonial Government can remove both grievances without sacrificing an

ounce of principle or losing a grain of dignity. Will the Colonial Government do so for the sake of the Empire at this moment of reconciliation, union, and new hope for the future? That is the question to which we are anxiously expecting an answer at the present moment—the question whether or not the Indians, who have their homes in the Transvaal and who have assisted as a community in the development of South Africa, who are British citizens and subjects of His Majesty the King, are to have any lot or share in the general rejoicing over the Union of South Africa.

The Colonial Government has but to repeal an Act, which has served its purpose, which is now useless and unworkable, and which they themselves declare to be a dead letter, and to make slight amendment of another Act, so as to remove the explicit racial distinction imposed by these laws and in practice admit a maximum of six Indians annually to the Colony, on the old principle of right, and the question would be settled. The Indians would then have no further reason for persisting in a struggle which for them means suffering and ruin while for the Colony it means a scandal and disgrace. This does not imply that they have no further grievances. They would still labour under the disabilities imposed by the late Transvaal Republic—the incapacity to acquire the franchise and to own land, and the liability to segregation in Locations.

It is not realised in this country that in the Transvaal, during the past three years, Indians have for the first time been deprived of a right which they have enjoyed, at any rate in theory, and still enjoy in every other part of the Empire, viz., the legal right of migration on the same terms as other civilized subjects of His Majesty. That is the simple but startling fact, and if this were understood, as it ought to be understood, surely there would be protest from men of all parties in both Houses of Parliament who have so solemnly expressed their disapproval and regret at the establishment of a “colour bar” under the new Constitution for South Africa. Undoubtedly this disfranchisement, under a Liberal administration, of men on account of their colour, this deprivation of an elementary right of British citizenship on racial grounds, constitutes a reactionary step in Imperial Government almost without parallel, and perhaps there never has been so great or momentous a departure from the principles on which the Empire has been built up and by which we have been wont to justify its existence; the principles of that true Liberalism which has hitherto belonged to Englishmen of all parties. But the violation of the political ethics of our race is even greater in the case of the “colour bar” which has been established in the Transvaal than in that of the new South African Constitution. If the Houses of Parliament and the Press cannot see this and do not think it worth while to take account of so momentous a reaction, it would seem that our genius for the government of an Empire has commenced its decline.

What is to be the result in India if it should finally be proved that we cannot protect British subjects under the British Flag, and that we are powerless to abide by the pledges of our Sovereign and our statesmen? Those who know about India will have no doubt as to the consequences. And what if India—irritated, mortified and humiliated—should become an unwilling and refractory partner in the great Imperial

concern? Surely it would be the beginning of the end of the Empire.

These, briefly, are the reasons why this question of “the British Indians in the Transvaal” is a great Imperial question and not one of mere internal administration of a self-governing Colony in which the Mother Country has neither right nor reason to interfere.

It is a matter which touches the honour of our race and affects the unity of the Empire as a whole; it therefore concerns every part of the Empire. Moreover, it is certain that any departure from principle, which may be sanctioned or ignored at the heart of the Empire, will operate as a mischievous example to other places inside and out, and then only by some rude shock to the whole system will the arrest of moral decay be possible.

The matter therefore concerns all who would “think Imperially”, and it needs more “clear thinking” than it has hitherto received.

The question must be decided, not by methods of temporary expediency in which practice ignores theory, but on the fundamental principles of the ethics of our race. Theory can be modified in practice to suit the exigencies of time and place, but if theory is cast to the winds, there is no means of steering practice.

There is still hope that the danger may be realised and averted, for as I write I hear that negotiations for a settlement of the British Indian question in the Transvaal are still proceeding. I have no more earnest hope than that Mr. Gandhi and his fellow countrymen may see the accomplishment of that end, for which they have struggled so bravely and sacrificed so much, before this book is published.

AMPTHILL

MILTON ERNEST HALL,
BEDFORD,

26th August, 1909

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

APPENDIX II

STATEMENT MADE ON BEHALF OF NATAL DELEGATES

August 12, 1909

I and my co-delegates have to thank Your Lordship for receiving us here today. The reason why we have come is to lay before you some of the very serious grievances we labour under in the Colony of Natal.

A statement which has been sent to you deals slightly with three of the most important cases, which have been referred to in the statement.

The British Indian population of Natal is a very large one—more than that of the other Colonies combined together; the *vested rights* and *interests* are also very large. As regards the grievance of the Licensing Act of 1897, the manner in which the

Licensing Officers have been using their discretion in refusing British Indian licenses has caused great consternation amongst our mercantile community. It is therefore a matter of life and death to us, as we do not know who will be the next unfortunate trader to be deprived of his license, no matter how long he may have been established. This spells, practically, ruination, some of the most glaring instances of which have been stated in the statement.

Mr. Chamberlain, who was then the Colonial Secretary, had to enter a very strong protest against its very one-sided administration. This protest has also been slightly cited in the statement. This attitude has been followed by all his successors at the Colonial Office. The reasons given for refusal of some of the British Indian licenses by the Licensing Officers were (1) “to satisfy the popular feeling”—i.e., the European trade rivals (for whose sake our long-acquired interests are sacrificed); and (2) on account of extreme prejudice, which would not hold good in courts of equity.

Some of the European traders complain of us competing unfairly in business, which is not only incorrect, but in all civilised countries competition is considered as very healthy. Considerable misunderstanding exists upon the question of how we live and feed. Our business premises are open to inspection, and compare favourably with premises of the Europeans.

We are burdened with such restricting laws that our fate hangs practically on a balance, especially those who possess vested interests in the Colony.

The British Indian merchants buy land, erect business premises thereon, pay rates and taxes, custom dues, etc. The small shopkeepers purchase their stock from local European merchants.

The refusal to transfer British Indian licenses to other of the same standing is very unjust. Not only are Licensing Officers satisfied so far, but they go even further and refuse transfers between relatives and even sons or partners.

Natal is our adopted country, and many of us have children who have never seen India. We feel very much for their future because our own is not safeguarded, although in the past we have helped to push forward the trade of the Colony.

I may mention we are not laying great stress on the political franchise, although we have it in India in a different manner. For instance, your humble speaker was a Municipal Councillor in India, and was also a member of the local board, chairman of the school board, and was also elected to vote for the election of a member to the Legislative Council, Government of Bombay, on behalf of the Municipality.

Our interest in public concerns has been evidenced on numerous occasions. We furnished Stretcher-Bearer Corps during the Boer War and during the latest Native rebellions. Moreover, when necessary, we have been ready to help financially or otherwise with any public work. During the late Boer War a relief fund was opened by several Municipalities, advantage of which was taken by large numbers of whites, even non-British subjects. All the Indian refugees were kept by our community. In Maritzburg, Mr. Amod Bayat, one of my co-delegates, and a few others upkept them

and also helped others, while in Durban we never requested any help from the relief fund, which was publicly praised by the then Mayor of Durban, Mr. Nicol, C.M.G.

In spite of all protests made by the Colonial Office and the request for fair treatment made by us, no redress has yet been granted.

It is not our profession to agitate, as we are born traders, and what we only ask for is justice, which if denied now, it will be difficult for us what to say to the people.

We are a recognised loyal and law-abiding people, and we wish for an amendment in the Dealers' Licenses Act, No. 18 of 1897, for which the community will be grateful to Your Lordship.

With reference to the Indentured Immigration Act, 1895, before the introduction of Indian labour Natal was in a state of bankruptcy, but after their arrival things began to prosper and the country was placed on a sound financial basis. The chief and nearly all the industries of the Colony rely on this kind of labour for their very existence. A reference thereto has been made in the statement. After the expiration of the indenture, and after having given the best part of their lives to the welfare of the Colony, they are allowed to settle there, on the annual payment of £3, irrespective of sex and age. The age limit for boys and girls is 14. The treatment meted to them is in some cases horrible, as the case which occurred of Armitage, who cut out a portion of his Indian's ear and openly admitted doing so in the courts of law.

What we wish done in this connection has been mentioned in the statement.

The education of Indian children has been ridiculously restricted recently by the Natal Government. No child can now attend any Government School who has completed the age of 13. This is a deliberate way in which education—which is sorely needed for the benefit of both the country and the community—is hampered. It is our duty, therefore, to protest against such curtailing of education.

The Immigration Restriction Act is also one of the injustices. No father, mother, brother, or sister of Indian birth can join a person who may have established himself, and even children of over certain age limit cannot join their parents who can upkeep them, and their presence cannot but be considered as beneficial.

There are many more injustices, but we have related a few only of the most heartrending cases. I and my co-delegates again thank Your Lordship for giving us this patient interview and a patient hearing.

Your Lordship is doubtless aware of the pressing circumstances under which we are labouring in Natal, and humbly hope that you will be kind enough to give us a message to convey to our people.

After the introduction, Mr. Abdul Caadir, on behalf of the Natal delegates, thanked His Lordship for kindly consenting to grant them an interview.

A cablegram received from a mass meeting held in Natal was also read to His Lordship, which was in support of the deputation.

At the close of the interview Mr. Abdul Caadir stated that he had been a member of the Natal community for over 25 years, and that from his experiences he

feared that no justice to British Indians in Natal was to be expected from the Union.

M. C. ANGLIA

India Office Records : 179/09

APPENDIX III

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN AMPHILL, CREWE AND SMUTS

(1) LORD AMPHILL'S LETTER TO GENERAL SMUTS

August 10, 1909

DEAR GENERAL SMUTS,

I went to see Mr. Gandhi yesterday afternoon and spoke to him in accordance with your suggestions, but without saying that they came from you. I found him as clear, convincing, and unyielding from his point of view as you are from yours, and after two hours of argument, in which we discussed the question from every standpoint, practical, legal and ethical, I came away in despair of any compromise.

Mr. Gandhi is contending for a principle which he regards as essential and, so far as I can judge, he is no more likely to abandon a cause which he considers vital and just than any of us are likely to abandon our life-long principles of politics or religion. Indeed it seems to me that he is less likely to do so, for there are few of us who would sacrifice everything in order to secure a theoretical and unavailable right. It is impossible not to admire the man, for it is evident that he recognises no court of appeal except that of his own conscience.

Now, I hope you will not think it presumptuous on my part to offer you a suggestion. Why should you not do that which you are prepared to do without making any bargain with the passive resisters? Would you not "take the wind out of their sails" if you gave them, at any rate in effect, what they are asking for, namely, the repeal of Act 2 of 1907 and the admission by law of a maximum of six Indians annually as permanent residents? If it is right to do this, why not do it anyhow whether the passive resisters profess themselves contented or not? You would silence the criticism of outsiders and you would be giving the Imperial Government an effective answer to complaints in India.

May I venture a step further and suggest a means by which the limited admission of Indians could be provided for in the law without maintaining the "colour bar".

Enclosed is a copy of the amendment of the Immigrants' Restriction Act which was sometime back proposed to you by Mr. Gandhi. I have added a proviso at the end which seems to me to meet the case and of which I venture to beg your consideration.

You will see that it avoids making an invidious distinction between Asiatics and other immigrants and, incidentally, gives you power which might possibly be useful in future circumstances, and so far as I can judge, it would fully effect your purpose.

What distresses me and makes me anxious from the Imperial standpoint is this : thus far Indians have enjoyed the theoretical right of entry to any part of the British Empire. It is only in the Transvaal, during the past few years, that the theoretical right has been taken away as well as limited in practice. The perpetuation and possible extension of this disability seems to me to be fraught with grave peril to British influence and reputation in India and that is why I am so persistent in this cause.

*Believe me,
Yours sincerely,*

Colonial Office Records : 291/141

(2) LORD AMPHILL'S LETTER TO LORD CREWE

August 11, 1909

DEAR LORD CREWE,

Please forgive me if that which I am writing seems to you an intrusion and also for sending you a typed letter. It is too hot to write with any ease.

I had long talks with General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi yesterday and found to my bitter disappointment that there is no possible compromise between the views which they respectively hold on the abstract question of "right". You are so familiar with the views of both parties that I need not explain this any further, but in order that you may know what I am doing, I send you the enclosed copy of a letter which I have just written to General Smuts. The suggestions which I made therein are my own; that is, that they are not made by way of mediation between Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts, for such mediation only belongs to you.

I venture to hope that they may not seem unworthy of consideration now that you are bringing your negotiations to a head.

My great anxiety that there should be a settlement of the difficulty is my excuse for intruding my ideas upon you.

The final "denouement" that I should like to see is that, on the occasion of the third reading of the South Africa Bill in the House of Commons, Colonel Seely should announce on your behalf that the Transvaal Government have decided spontaneously on an act of generosity which would enable the Indians to participate in the rejoicing over the South Africa Union.

Would not this be greatly to the credit of your Government and would it not be worthwhile to avoid the reproach, that, under a Liberal Government, Indians in the Transvaal have been deprived of a right which they enjoy, at any rate, theoretically,

in every other part of the British Empire?

I do not wish to say a word myself or to appear in the matter at all if you can bring this about.

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
AMPTHILL

Colonial Office Records : 291/141

(3) LORD CREWE'S LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL

CONFIDENTIAL

COLONIAL OFFICE,
August 11, 1909

MY DEAR AMPHILL,

I also have seen General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi, and I am afraid that the divergence in principle which you mention certainly exists, though the difficulty may not be insuperable.

Assuming, as one fairly may, that the repeal of Act 2 of 1907 would form part of any settlement, the controversy narrows itself down to the form by which the admission of six just men is to be secured. Assuming, again, that to secure a settlement they must be introduced as residents, not under a licence liable to revocation, it appears that legislation would be required for this purpose. Such legislation might provide expressly for executive power to admit a limited number of persons, notwithstanding any existing law to the contrary; or it might proceed, as your suggestion does, through the education test. It strikes me, however, as I told Mr. Gandhi that it is not quite logical to stand by the principle of admission under an education test, and then to say (as your last proviso does) that Government may exclude any man in spite of his having satisfied that test; and I confess I should like to feel convinced that the Indian community would accept such a solution, and not use the wide general permission accorded under your clause as a basis for further claims.

Whether General Smuts could be got to agree to it, or something like it, I cannot say. I am expecting to hear from him.

Yours sincerely,
CREWE

Colonial Office Records : 291/141

(4) LORD AMPHILL'S LETTER TO LORD CREWE

R. SECRET

August 12, 1909

DEAR LORD CREWE,

Just a line to thank you for having replied so kindly and speedily, and with your own hand, to my letter of two days ago.

I am afraid that I cannot tell you whether the Indian community would accept

the solution which I propose to the extent of undertaking to refrain from further demand. I would not put that question to Mr. Gandhi as I am not in the position of an authorized mediator. My impression, however, is that the community as a whole would be [only] too glad to accept it as means of retiring without dishonour from a hopeless contest. But men like Mr. Gandhi will continue the struggle until their last breath for that which they regard as justice and right.

The failure, however, to satisfy a small band of stalwarts need not, I venture to think, deter you from giving contentment to the great majority. The Transvaal Government can put an end to the disagreeables of 'passive resistance' at any moment by refraining from prosecuting the leaders who are all well known. I think, therefore, that, if you were to *impose* the settlement I suggest without making a bargain with Mr. Gandhi, he would accept a situation which would enable him to cease from active [contest] without disavowing his principles. I should certainly urge him to do so and should decline to assist in the furtherance of any further dema[nd]. Indeed, I have told him already that it is worse than useless to ask for m[ore] until time and circumstance have al[tered] the view of South African Colonists.

Yours sincerely,

AMPTHILL

Colonial Office Records : 291/141

APPENDIX IV

NATAL DELEGATES' LETTER TO VICEROY

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL,
4, VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, S. W.
August 27, 1909

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY OF INDIA

MY LORD,

We took the liberty of sending through Your Lordship's Private Secretary, a preliminary copy of a statement setting out some of the grievances of our fellow-country-men in Natal, by the last mail. We now beg to transmit 12 copies of the statement as submitted to the Secretaries of State for the Colonies and India and of the statement read to the Colonial Secretary.

We appeal to Your Excellency to give the same the favourable consideration of Your Excellency in Committee and to take such action as the urgently calls for.

The British Indians form a very important portion of the inhabitants of Natal; have very large interests in that Colony and are drawn from all parts of India. They number over 100,000, of whom 60,000 are indentured labourers imported by the Natal Government, and it is an acknowledged fact that the prosperity of Natal depends largely if not entirely, on this labour she receives from India.

As will appear from the statement, we are being crushed out of existence in Natal in a threefold manner. Our trade is slowly being taken from us by means of the unjust and tyrannical administration of a Licensing Law, which leaves in the hands of a Licensing Officer and his employers—who are themselves our trade rivals—unlimited powers in regard to the granting or refusal of trading licenses, old or new, without any check from the judicial tribunals of the Colony. Indian labourers are worked and treated almost as slaves for the material profit of Natal, but as soon as they have finished their services with the Natal planters or mine-owners to whom they are allotted, they and their wives and their children are subjected to a special exorbitant annual tax, with a view to preventing them from settling in the Colony as freemen and earning an honest livelihood, and our future progress is almost entirely prevented, by the deprivation of even ordinary facilities for giving a suitable education to our youths.

Unless, therefore, the Government of India as our protector and guardian, takes up our case, and insists on some measure of bare justice being meted out to us by the authorities in Natal, it is only a question of time when we will be slowly starved out of the Colony. There is a tangible remedy at the disposal of the Indian Government and that is, to stop the supply of indentured labour that annually flows into it, unless the Colony will deal justly by the Indian traders and the Indian labourers. This is no new remedy. Lord Curzon accepted the proposal that was made some years ago by us and he even sent a dispatch to the Natal Ministers intimating the taking of action unless redress was granted. We do not know what was the result of those negotiations. But instead of any redress being vouchsafed to us, our condition ever since that time has become much worse, owing to the stringency of the measures stated above and their almost remorseless enforcement. Our means of subsistence are every day curtailed and our very existence in the Colony, in the enjoyment even of the elementary rights of British citizenship, is imperilled.

We therefore pray that Your Excellency in Council would be pleased to take such action and if necessary invite the intervention of the Imperial Government to that end, as might secure to us relief from the oppressive and unjust treatment of the Natal authorities.

We remain,

Your Excellency's obedient servants,

India Office Records : 179/254

APPENDIX V

LORD AMPHILL'S LETTERS TO GANDHIJI AND LORD CREWE

(1) LORD AMPHILL'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

PERSONAL & PRIVATE

August 31, 1909

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I have received your letter of yesterday and I should anyhow have written to you this morning.

I have not seen the statement by Reuter's agent to which you refer, but I will search the newspapers and add a line to this letter if it should be necessary. Meanwhile, I will tell you that which I should anyhow have written to you this morning.

Yesterday morning, I received a letter from General Smuts which he had written hastily on the eve of his departure. He said that he was sorry not to be able to see me again and told me very briefly that he had made certain proposals to Lord Crewe. I gather that these proposals are that Act 2 of 1907 should be repealed and that permanent certificates of residence should be granted annually to a limited number of educated Indian immigrants, but, I fear from what he says that General Smuts is not going to meet us on the question of "right". I went to London yesterday and at once sought an interview with Lord Crewe in the House of Lords, suggesting to him that the moment had arrived when I might invite him to make a statement. Lord Crewe had not yet read the communication which had been addressed to him by General Smuts and he objected to making any statement in Parliament (and as I think quite justifiably) on the grounds that it would not do to anticipate any announcement which General Smuts might have to make on his arrival in South Africa. I admitted that this was quite fair but I pointed out that you were waiting for an answer, that your time was precious and that it would not be fair to keep you waiting in this country. Lord Crewe then said that he would ask you to come and see him or some member of his department on his behalf and I agreed that he could not do better. We then proceeded to discuss the whole question and I argued the question of "right". Lord Crewe seemed to be impressed by my assertion that Indians have always enjoyed the right of entry, at any rate in theory, in every part of the Empire until they were deprived of it in the Transvaal. He is very anxious that you should be satisfied and his general attitude was more sympathetic than it has been before. If, therefore, you see him personally, you will have a very good opportunity of making your position clear. It will be for you to decide whether you are bound to continue passive resistance for the sake of the theoretical right, but, personally, I hope that you will not feel so bound, as I am anxious for the sake of your community that the struggle should cease and because I think you have already done enough for the sake

of honour. You will be gaining something very substantial in the repeal of Act 2 of 1907 and you can make it quite clear that your opinions on the question of right remain unaltered even though you feel justified in giving up a quixotic struggle.

This is all the advice I can give you at present but we must consult again after you have seen Lord Crewe or his representative.

I hope you have seen the introduction which I have written to Mr. Doke's book, for I venture to think that it places on record that I am entirely with you on the question of "right".¹

Yours very faithfully,

AMPTHILL

From a photostat of the typewritten original : S. N. 5036

(2) LORD AMPTHILL'S LETTER TO LORD CREWE

August 30, 1909

DEAR LORD CREWE,

I have just received a note from General Smuts, written hastily on the eve of his departure, to tell me that he has agreed upon a settlement of the British Indian question with you. He does not tell me precisely what it is but I gather that the settle[ment] falls short of that which I proposed.

Would it be convenient to you make a statement in the House of lord on Wednesday?

If so, may I put a brief question to you before 4.30 on Wednesday, that is to say, "by private notice" and without speeches?

I do not want to press you if it is still inconvenient to make a public announcement, but I think that it would be well to let Mr. Gandhi depart as soon as possible. He is only waiting to know the result of the negotiation, I believe.

Yours sincerely,

AMPTHILL

[Lord Crewe's Note]

I have seen Lord Ampthill, and explained why no question should be put at present.

C[REWE]

Colonial Office Records : 291/141

¹ For Lord Ampthill's introduction amplifying his stand on this question, *vide* Appendix XVIII.

APPENDIX VI

LORD AMPHILL'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

PRIVATE

September 11, 1909

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I am afraid that you cannot have explained sufficiently your reason for asking for a further interview with Lord Morley or you could not have received so discouraging a reply.

Apparently, you said that you wished to "re-state your position"; if so, it was hardly a persuasive manner of asking Lord Morley to give you more of his time. I think that you ought to have explained the question of "right" in the light of the latest developments and in view of the movement in India, so that Lord Morley might have seen that you have something new to tell him and that you were able to throw fresh light on the situation. Even now I think that you would do well to write such a letter in order that your reasons for refusing to regard General Smuts' proposals as a satisfactory settlement may be recorded in advance. Otherwise, you will again be accused of using each concession as an occasion for making fresh demands. Lord Morley does not understand the question and you ought not to neglect to let him have a clear and simple explanation in writing; something to which you will be able to point and refer later on as the definite statement of your case. Could you not draft such a letter and let me see it before you sent it off?

Lord Crewe must be away from London or you would surely have had a reply to your letter. I hope that ere this reaches you it will have arrived.

Yours very faithfully,

AMPTHILL

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.

From a photostat of the typewritten original : S. N. 5065

APPENDIX VII

LORD CREWE'S MINUTE

[LONDON,]

Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Habib came to see me today. I informed them of the result of our conversations with Mr. Smuts, and of the two concessions which he was prepared to make, (a) the repeal of Act 2 of 1907, and (b) the admission of 6 educated Asiatics each year as permanent residents. Mr. Gandhi admitted that these changes would mark a real step in advance, and so far as their practical effect was concerned, he would be ready to accept them. But it was not possible to abandon the position which

he and his friends had taken up, and for which great sufferings had been undergone, that of the necessity of being equal before the law, even though the equality were only theoretical. So that even the granting of these concessions would not make him to cease from agitating for such equality. He added that the plan suggested in Lord Ampthill's letter and encl[osure] to Mr. Smuts of 10 Aug. 1909, would be accepted, though it had been reluctantly agreed to by some, such as Mr. Gokhale. I said that one reason, in addition to dislike of the fictitious character of the proposed admission, which might actuate T[rans]v[aal] Ministers in rejecting this proposal, was the probability that, if the exclusion remained purely administrative, there would be perpetual agitation to increase the number. Mr. Gandhi said he did not mind how difficult an increase were made, if only theoretical equality were maintained, and that as a matter of fact if 6 were admitted, this side of the question would be regarded as closed, though Indians would work for reforms in other matters. I then asked whether, assuming that TV Ministers would not go beyond what they had offered, the Indians would or would not prefer that the whole question should stand over till Union. Mr. Gandhi said that, as he read the Act, Asiatics being excluded from TV under the general Immigration law, and not by differential treatment, would not for this purpose come under the Union. I pointed out that there was nothing to prevent the Union from adopting a general Immigration law, which, while in fact excluding, might establish theoretical equality, if statesmen were so minded. Mr. Gandhi said that at any rate there would be months of intervening agitation.

The conversation ended by Mr. Gandhi asking me to telegraph to the TV Govt. that, though he admitted the practical advances involved in Mr. Smuts' suggestions, yet he must still hold out for theoretical equality.

The impression left on my mind is that, in spite of this, the TV Govt. would do well to make the two concessions, thus removing all practical hardship, and putting themselves right with a considerable section of public opinion.

A telegram can accordingly be drafted, giving the substance of Mr. Gandhi's statement, and adding the substance of the last preceding paragraph.

C[REWE]

16. IX

Colonial Office Records : 291/41

APPENDIX VIII

LORD AMPHILL'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

September 17, 1909

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Your letter of yesterday which I have just received has cheered me up. I was beginning to be rather despondent about the whole situation, prejudiced as it is by the intense preoccupation of the Government in the critical fortunes of their party at the present moment. It is indeed satisfactory that Lord Crewe should have actually promised to telegraph to General Smuts pressing him to accept our amendment. I have been in correspondence with Sir George Farrar and have arranged to see him when I return from Scotland, so you will see that I have not lost sight of the necessity of squaring the opposition. If you can now get an interview with Lord Morley and enlist his sympathy in the same manner as you did that of Lord Crewe, I think you will have done all that is possible and that you will be able to leave this country feeling that no stone which could be of any avail has been unturned. If you are leaving shortly, I am afraid that I shall have no opportunity of seeing you again, which is a matter of great regret to me. I am obliged at last to take a short holiday while it is still possible and I go up to Scotland for a fortnight, tomorrow. I shall be somewhat out of reach so that you must not be surprised if there is delay about answering your communications.

Meanwhile, I bid you and Mr. Hajee Habib "farewell" with every good wish, and I trust that, when we next meet, it will be to rejoice over an honourable and notable success.

Yours very faithfully,

AMPTHILL

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.

From a photostat of the typewritten original : S. N. 5081

APPENDIX IX

M. C. ANGLIA'S LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL,
4, VICTORIA STREET,
[LONDON,] S. W.
September 20, 1909

TO
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
COLONIAL OFFICE
[LONDON,] S. W.
SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, in reply to the Natal Indian deputation that recently waited on the Earl of Crewe and subsequently on Colonel Seely.

On behalf of my colleagues and myself, I venture to express our regret and disappointment over the substance of the reply. We fully appreciate and are grateful for the sympathy expressed by Lord Crewe, but we miss any assurance on the part of His Lordship that further friendly and firm representations will be made direct to the Colonial Government in connection with the existing grievances. May we point out once again that these grievances bear harshly on the community at the present moment, and that they are not such as to admit of delayed redress. The trading community approaches the ensuing year with fear and trembling, because that is the time when the Licensing Officers will be applying the pruning knife vigorously to the Indian licenses. Similar apprehension is felt by the poor Indians, who will be called upon to pay the annual £3 tax for themselves, their wives and their major children, while the education of Indian boys is now being sorely neglected.

It is perhaps not realised that the Licensing Law being of a general nature, does not fall within amendment that was secured at the instance of His Majesty's Government in the South Africa Bill, placing the control and administration of matters specially and differentially affecting Asiatics in the Union Government. The Licensing Law is applicable to all, irrespective of race. It is, in the opinion of the deputation, capable of being amended by the present Natal Parliament, and will be when it is converted into a provincial legislature.

The deputation also regretfully notice the absence of any reply to its [*sic*] humble submission that the supply of indentured labour to Natal may be stopped, unless the serious grievances are redressed.

The deputation therefore respectfully venture to draw Lord Crewe's attention to the desperate nature of the Natal Indian case and request His Lordship to urge upon the

Natal Government the desirability of granting relief.

I have the honour to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

M. C. ANGLIA

Colonial Office Records : 179/255

APPENDIX X

TOLSTOY'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

YASNAYA POLYANA,

October 7, 1909

M. K. GANDHI

TRANSVAAL

I have just received your most interesting letter, which has given me great pleasure. God help our dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal.

That same struggle of the tender against the harsh, of meekness and love against pride and violence, is every year making itself more and more felt here among us also, especially in one of the very sharpest of the conflicts of the religious law with the worldly laws—in refusals of military service. Such refusals are becoming ever more and more frequent.

The letter to a Hindoo was written by me, and the translation is a very good one. The title of the book about Krishna shall be sent you from Moscow. As to the word 'reincarnation', I should not myself like to omit it, for, in my opinion, belief in reincarnation can never be as firm as belief in the soul's immortality and in God's justice and love. You may, however, do as you like about omitting it. If I can assist your publication, I shall be very glad. The translation into and circulation of my letter in the Hindoo language can only be a pleasure to me.

A competition, i.e., an offer of a monetary inducement in connection with a religious matter would, I think, be out of place.

I greet you fraternally, and am glad to have intercourse with you.

LEO TOLSTOY

From a photostat of the handwritten original signed by Tolstoy : S. N. 5152b

APPENDIX XI

LORD AMPHILL'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

October 4, 1909

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I have to thank you for your two letters of the 21st and 22nd September respectively which duly reached me while I was tramping across the mountains in Scotland. In the former, you kindly sent me a copy of the reply which you have received from Lord Morley. I regard it as very satisfactory that you should have secured Lord Morley's admission that his sympathies are with you on abstract and general grounds. That is an admission which ought to be valuable to you hereafter and of which I advise you to take careful note.

In the second letter, you refer to the question which I have on the notice paper of the House of Lords. This is nothing new; it is the question of which I gave notice very soon after your arrival in this country and which I have kept on the notice paper to be ready against any emergency and to remind the Government that the question may be raised at any moment. I have, as you know, asked Lord Crewe on several occasions whether he is yet in a position to answer it or not.

I am now anxiously waiting to hear whether you have any further news for me.

Yours very faithfully,

AMPHILL

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.

From a photostat of the typewritten original : S. N. 5109

APPENDIX XII

GUJARATI MEETING IN LONDON

EXTRACT FROM *Indian Opinion* REPORT

A letter was received by Mr. Jethalal Parikh, Bar-at-law, and other Gujaratis from the Secretary of the Gujarati Literary Parishad, Mr. Balvantrai Thakore, requesting encouragement to the third session of the Parishad to be held at Rajkot in Kathiawar. A meeting of Gujaratis was accordingly held on October 5 in Westminster Palace Hotel under the Chairmanship of Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggee. . . .

Sir Muncherjee, on being proposed to the chair, said : “. . . I took keen interest in Gujarati when I was young. I translated into Gujarati an account of Queen Victoria's travels. . . . This is sufficient evidence that I know a little Gujarati. Hence, I agreed to take the chair.

A body named Gujarati Sahitya Parishad been in existence the past few years. It meets every year. There is no intrusion of politics into the activities of this body.

Its main object is the preservation and development of Gujarati. If anyone asks why this should be necessary, the answer is that the Indian languages are in some danger. Not that there has been an attack by an enemy; but, these days, an attitude of indifference to our languages and to other things of our country is in the air. All the men and women are taking to the study of English. That is, of course, in the fitness of things. People are naturally eager to learn a language that is the language of administration and commerce. But that does not justify one in giving up one's own language. Many of us learn French, German, etc. How, then, can we give up a language that Nature has made our own? It would not be in the least proper to ridicule that language. And yet, no one will deny such indifference is prevailing in India. I remember that, when I was a child, there were young men who would not talk Gujarati even in their homes. I can give the names of some of these. And a few of them went to such lengths in imitating the British that even the Ayahs they engaged would be from North India, so that the children might talk only Hindustani, whenever necessary, as the British did. All this happened because of half-baked education. We come across fewer such instances now. For the past many years, I have been settled here (in England), but I have not given up the use of my own language. If anyone writes to me in Gujarati, I reply in Gujarati. . . . It occurs to me, as I use the phrase 'Reception Committee', that we must find a Gujarati equivalent for it, but in the draft of the Parishad constitution which we have received they have used the English phrase and so I, too, use the same. We can see from this that we have lost control over our own language. . . ."

FIRST RESOLUTION

Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi moved the following resolution :²

Seconding it, Mr. Nusserwanji said :

I have pleasure in seconding this resolution. The first Gujarati newspaper was started by a Parsi. *Gnanprakash* was started by a Parsi. Mr. Kabraji, who started *Stri-bodh*, was a Parsi. It was a Parsi who started writing humorous pieces. *Kautuksangraha* was also started by a Parsi. Parsis have also translated numerous books from English. Bacon's *Essays* were translated by a Parsi. Munchersha, who wrote a book on Gujarati grammar, was a Parsi. The first dictionary was also compiled by Parsi. Drama was introduced in Gujarati by a Parsi. Parsis have thus done valuable work indeed for the progress of our language; it is a matter of regret, however, that they do not take the same pains now.

SECOND RESOLUTION

Mr. Edulji Khodi next moved the following resolution :

"This meeting welcomes the efforts being made for the progress of the various languages of India and believes that the progress of entire India depends upon such

² Here followed the resolution and Gandhiji's speech; *vide* "Speech at Gujarati Meeting", 5-10-1909.

efforts.”

Speaking on the resolution, Mr. Khodi, who has been a well-known writer since his young days, said :

Really speaking, Gujarati is the language of the Parsis : . . . Parsis in rural areas speak much better Gujarati than those in cities Parsi writing is quite interesting, but not correct in expression as the Hindus’ . . . I have been able to see from this that we can contribute to the development of Gujarati. Though Manekbai is a Parsi, her paper was lucid enough. . . .

Mr. Jorawarsinghji of Bhavnagar, Mr. Khaparde of Nagpur and Mr. Hajee Habib and Mr. Anglia of South Africa also spoke on this resolution.

Mr. Hajee Habib said :

The efforts being made to preserve our mother tongue must be welcomed. . . . I am proud that I was born in Gujarat. . . .

THIRD RESOLUTION

Dr. Ghadiali moved the third resolution as follows :

“If an Association which would function entirely through Gujarati is established to promote the development of Gujarati, the Gujaratis present here would be happy to join it.” Three persons opposing the resolution, it was carried by a majority vote.

Mr. Parikh then proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was carried, and the meeting terminated at 6.30 p.m.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 6-11-1909 & 13-11-1909

APPENDIX XIII

DISPATCH IN “SOUTH AFRICA”

Another Indian invention exploded! A few weeks ago, London was being dosed with cablegrams from the agitating Asiatics in this part of South Africa, alleging that a poor young Indian had died as a result of his treatment while serving a short sentence for deliberate defiance of the ordinary laws of the Colony. Whatever the effect of this yarn upon the credulous section of the British public, such statements as this could not go without an official inquiry. Major Dixon, the Magistrate appointed to report on the circumstances concerning the treatment of Nagappen, who died shortly after discharge from prison, says that Nagappen was passed as fit by a medical officer. It is not, he says, clear whether the deceased had two blankets in the camp, and there is nothing to warrant the opinion that sleeping on coir mattresses would have an injurious effect. Though no rice was supplied, there was an ample supply of water. The allegation that deceased was assaulted he finds to be groundless, as also allegations regarding Nagappen’s sickness in camp, he having left camp in an apparently healthy condition. The allegations of two Indian

witnesses are, he holds, entirely refuted. Deceased had a right to leave camp at any time on payment of a proportionate part of his fine. The Commissioner, having inquired into prison conditions, suggests two or three small improvements, but these have no bearing on the case. The result of all this fuss and invention on the part of the Asiatics has been to show that their compatriot was healthier when in custody and on his discharge than when he returned to his old manner of life.

Indian Opinion, 16-10-1909

APPENDIX XIV

LETTERS FROM COLONIAL OFFICE AND LORD AMPTHILL

(1) LETTER FROM COLONIAL OFFICE TO GANDHIJI

DOWNING STREET,

November 3, 1909

SIR,

I am directed by the Earl of Crewe to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th ultimo further respecting the proposals referred to in the letter from this Department of the 4th ultimo as a possible basis of legislation with regard to the British Indian controversy in the Transvaal.

I am to inform you that the proposals in question were those put before you by His Lordship on the 16th of September as having been made by Mr. Smuts, *viz.*, the repeal of Act 2 of 1907 and the admission of six educated Asiatics each year on certificates of permanent right of residence, which would involve, in your own view, a real step in advance and would, so far as their practical effect is concerned, provide a solution of the present difficulty. They were not, nor were they connected with, those made by yourself, and involving a theoretical claim for which His Lordship is not able to hold out any hope of obtaining recognition. Indeed, at the interview on the 16th of September, His Lordship explained to you that Mr. Smuts was unable to accept the claim that Asiatics should be placed in a position of equality with Europeans in respect of right of entry of otherwise. His Lordship cannot, therefore, admit that at the interview he undertook, as stated by you, to place your proposal before Mr. Smuts for his acceptance. His Lordship understood you to desire that he should telegraph to the Transvaal Government that, though you admitted the practical advance involved in Mr. Smuts' suggestions, yet you could not consent to abandon your claim for theoretical equality, and this has been done.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

FRANCIS G. S. HOPWOOD

From a photostat of the typewritten original : S. N. 5157

(2) LORD AMPHILL'S LETTER TO GANDHI

CONFIDENTIAL

41, FATON SQUARE, S.W.,

November 5, 1909

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

The contents of your letter of the 4th inst. are a rude shock to me. The letter from the Colonial Office shows either that you were entirely mistaken in the impression which you derived from your interview with Lord Crewe, or else that Lord Crewe's recollection of what he said to you is at fault.

In the former case much time has been needlessly wasted; in the latter case there is remedy, for it is a question of Lord Crewe's word against yours. In these circumstances, I see no objection to your proposed reply which is, at any rate, dignified and restrained. I should say more myself if I were in your position and quite sure of my ground.

We will talk the matter over if possible on Monday.

Yours very faithfully,

AMPTHILL

From a photostat of the handwritten original : S. N. 5163

APPENDIX XV

COLONIAL OFFICE MINUTE

[LONDON,

November 15, 16, 1909]

This contains little or nothing that is new—it is substantially what Mr. Gandhi has been saying everywhere (e.g. *Times* 13 Nov. meeting at Westminster Palace Hotel) and is all summed up in his statement that legal equality in respect of entry though never a man enter is what the British Indians want. (c. f. 36631)

If is a strong case and well stated and when the Union Government is well launched, I think we shall have to make an effort to get an immigration law on the lines of Natal and Australia and the Governor-General should be instructed accordingly before the time comes. But, for the moment, we must take the concessions which Transvaal offers (answer to telegram on 36631 not yet in).

Lord Crewe should see this before tomorrow afternoon.

Sd. H. L.

We are still without an answer from the Transvaal Government, but hope to get it before the Debate tomorrow. I understand that Lord Ampthill only prefers to raise the question after negotiations.

Sd.

Colonial Office Records : 291/141

APPENDIX XVI
COLONIAL OFFICE MINUTE

[LONDON,
November 9, 1909]

See today *Times* p. 5, headed "Failure of the Negotiations"—we must get Tr[ansvaal] to say what they mean to do. I submit draft for consideration.

This is a very strong letter indeed. If Mr. Gandhi means what he says, *viz.*, that there is no justification for home rule in India—he does not quite, but almost, says this in so many words. We cannot dispute the rightness of his claim to equality before the law, it is indeed a fundamental principle, we only refuse to press for the recognition of the principle about which we feel no doubt, because we have no power to enforce our views on those who have the settlement of the question in their hands. When a colony is given responsible Government, the settlement of such questions necessarily passes into the hands of the Colonial Government and Parliament and though the Transvaal Government have shown readiness to meet us on points of detail, they have on the point of principle shown a tenacity (due, no doubt, to the historical abhorrence of equality of white and Coloured shown by the Dutch) quite equal to that of the Indians. If they will not accept our principle, the Empire being what it is, we cannot dragoon them.

Possibly an answer somewhat on these lines might be desirable for publication.

Sd. H. L.

In using the phrase "Colour bar", Mr. Gandhi has an eye to the Debates in Parliament on the South Africa Bill, and the position of His Majesty's Government is the same in both the cases, *viz.*, that they have been obliged to accept the local view which is strongly held.

The statement in Mr. Gandhi's telegram to Mr. Polak (in the *Times* summary of the position) is no doubt based upon Lord Crewe's interview and our letter of 3rd Novemeber.

We might await an answer to the telegram before replying to the letter.

Sd. HWJ

The telegram should go at once—the reply may give us some answer to the letter. In any event, the true answer can only be found in describing in detail the sympathetic action of the Home Government, at the same time referring to the present policy of South Africa historically and not with animus.

Sd.

[TELEGRAM]

Gandhi has published statement in press stating *inter alia* that Transvaal Government have agreed to repeal Act of 1907 but desire to insert clause in Immigration Law limiting annual number of Asiatic immigrants. A question will be addressed to me next week in House of Lords. Please therefore ask Ministers to let me next week in House of Lords. Please therefore ask Ministers to let me have reply to my telegram of 10 October No. 1.

CREWE

Colonial Office Records : 291/142

APPENDIX XVII

*ACCOUNT OF THE EXPENSES OF THE TRANSVAAL BRITISH INDIAN
DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND*

JUNE 21ST 1909 TO NOVEMBER 1909

	£	s	d
Passage to and from London	218	14	5
Cables, wires, etc., S.A., India, and local	36	11	11
Railway, tram, cabs, etc.	9	2	1
Gratuities	8	11	6
Typist	40	19	0
Stationery	31	1	0
Hotel bills	156	12	10
Dinners and luncheons, etc.	38	2	8
Sundries	10	0	11
	£548	16	4

	£	s	d
Less contribution from Natal Delegation on joint expense	31	16	10
Ditto Dr. Mehta	11	17	8
Ditto Mr. Abdul Kadir	2	0	0
	£ 45	14	6

Balance £503 1 10

Indian Opinion, 25-12-1909

APPENDIX XVIII

PARSEE RUSTOMJEE'S LETTER TO THE JOHANNESBURG PRESS

JOHANNESBURG,
February 12, 1910

SIR,

I was sentenced on the 11th day of February, 1909, at Volksrust to six months' imprisonment with hard labour for having dared to assert my right as an old resident of the Transvaal to re-enter. I finished my sentence on the 10th August last. I was deported the same day. I recrossed the border on the same day, and was sentenced to another term of six months on the 11th August last, and was discharged yesterday. I was removed from Volksrust to Houtpoort, and from Houtpoort to Diepkloof on the 7th October last. From Houtpoort to Johannesburg I was only handcuffed, but from Johannesburg to Diepkloof not only was I handcuffed but my leg, together with that of another fellow prisoner, was heavily ironed.

At Volksrust and Houtpoort I was medically examined, and considered weak enough to receive an extra blanket and special food—that is bread and milk. I am only 48 years, though the medical officers have taken me to be 55.

At the first two gaols I was allowed, for religious reasons, to retain my sacred thread and my own cap, which I was permitted to wear, whether in the presence of the Governor and other officers, or at the time of taking meals.

At Diepkloof, the next morning, the medical officer came to examine all the prisoners. There were several fellow passive resisters. The doctor started by saying to us, "What the devil are you here for?" One of us said, "for conscience' sake." The medical officer retorted, "Your conscience be damned." He then ordered that we should all be at the same time entirely undressed. This was objected to. For an Indian this is a very painful ordeal, but, as we feared violence, we all did as we were told. When my turn came to be examined, I reported that I was put upon the sick list at both Volksrust and Houtpoort, and that I had special food allowed, but the medical officer simply said, "There is nothing the matter with you. You are too fat." I had only ordinary food allowed, but an extra blanket had been allowed to me the previous evening by the head warder. I was immediately given hard work in the shape of stone breaking. I was not allowed to rest at all, and was expected to keep the hammer going continuously. The third day the work proved too much for me, and I complained, but the warder in charge said that he could do nothing, that I had to report myself as sick, but that, until he received other instructions, he was bound to see to it that I did my work without interruption. I, therefore, continued it, and several times fit as if I were finished. Subsequently, I was examined by the doctor, who told me that there was a little soreness in my sides owing to the work, but that there was nothing in it, and that I would be all right when I had thrown off superfluous fat. I had to continue the work, which resulted in my health becoming worse. I reported again to the Governor, who ordered a re-examination, but that resulted in my being deprived even of the extra blanket that had been allowed, the doctor remarking that I had simply to work harder to become all right. This state of things continued for nearly a fortnight, I becoming

worse and worse day by day, until, at last, I became restless at night and could not sleep at all. My fellow prisoners used to shampoo me and try to warm me. I, therefore, reported to the hospital orderly, and he restored the blanket that was taken away from me, and gave me some pills. Throughout all this time the work to which I was put was never interrupted. After I had been in this gaol for over a fortnight the Governor came and ordered me to leave my special cap. I told him that I had received special permission to retain it, and that the matter was decided even by the Natal Law Courts. The Governor said that the order formerly given was given in mistake, and that the Director had written to him saying that I could not retain the cap. I was, therefore, reluctantly obliged to give it up. My religious feeling was thereby hurt. The ordinary cap that I was given I was ordered to take off on the slightest pretext by most of the warders. I was subjected generally to much harassment by the medical officer, the Deputy-Governor, and most of the warders at Diepkloof. I continually complained about sickness, but my complaints were unheeded, sometimes they were jeered at. My eyesight was very much affected, and one of my eyes still remains in a bad condition. When I complained to the medical officer about my eye, he said that I should, on being discharged, spend from £10 to £20, and be operated upon. Every time I complained to the medical officer he made flippant remarks. The Deputy-Governor disregarded the complaints almost entirely. It was only the Governor who took any interest at all in me or, for that matter, in other prisoners. When I had finished all but about twenty days of my imprisonment I was obliged to again complain about absence of medical treatment to the Deputy-Governor, as a result of which I was removed to the gaol at Johannesburg, after which time I received greater attention. The work given to me there was less exacting, being light store work and tailoring. The Governor and the warders were kind, and listened to all I had to say. My health considerably improved during the time. I have lost 73 lbs. in weight throughout my imprisonment, now extending over fourteen months, with a brief interruption after my first incarceration.

It is my opinion that the passive resisters were removed to Diepkloof in order to break their spirit and resolution. Diepkloof is a penal settlement, and the prisoners there, unlike the prisoners in the other gaols of the Transvaal, are deprived of the privilege of receiving monthly visitors, and of writing and receiving monthly letters, these privileges being allowed only after the expiration of three months, and as most passive resisters can get only three months with hard labour, they never enjoy the privilege of receiving a visitor or of receiving or writing a letter. The food has been so selected as to partially starve Asiatic prisoners. Whereas native prisoners get 1 oz. of fat per day, Indian prisoners for three months have no fat allowed at all. This change was made when Indians complained that they could not take the ordinary animal fat that was given. They asked for ghee, which was allowed in the Johannesburg Gaol, and in reply there was a complete stopping of fat or its substitute. The result has been disastrous to many Indian prisoners. At Diepkloof the prisoners were compelled to carry slop-pails. This work is most repugnant to most Indians, but the majority of us consider that, as passive resisters, we should not object to doing any work no matter how offensive it may be, so long as we are physically able to perform it. One among us, however, made it a matter of conscience

and for that reason suffered 33 days' solitary confinement and half rations for the greater part of this period. I say nothing as to minor matters, such as constant insults by warders both European and Native. Most of the warders, contrary to regulations, insist upon Indian prisoners addressing them as Sir, &c.

I do not know why this time the Government have left me alone and not deported me. The almost complete ruin that has overtaken my business requires my presence in Natal for the time being. My health, too, demands attention. But I venture to assure the Government that there are some Indians at least left, including myself, who will not be broken, no matter what hardships they are subjected to, and I shall soon have the privilege of affording the Government an opportunity of sending me to Diepkloof or any other place they choose.

I am, &c.,

PARSEE RUSTOMJEE JEEVANJEE

Colonial Office Records: C.D. 5363

APPENDIX XIX

TOLSTOY'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

YASNAYA POLYANA,

May 8, 1910

DEAR FRIEND,

I just received your letter and your book *Indian Home Rule*.

I read your book with great interest because I think that the question you treat in it—the passive resistance—is a question of the greatest importance not only for India but for the whole humanity.

I could not find your former letters, but came across your biography by J. Doss³ which too interested me much deeply and gave me the possibility to know and understand you better.

I am at present not quite well and therefore abstain from writing to you all what I have to say about your book and all your work which I appreciate very much. but I will do it as soon as I will feel better.

Your friend and brother.

Mahatma, Vol. I

³ In fact, by Rev. J. J. Doke; *vide* "Letter to Lord Ampthill", 10-11-1909