

1. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHOENIX,
[March 12, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

The above¹ is soul-stirring. I was teaching one of the boys this morning and came upon it. I thought it so fitted your case at many points that I would have it copied. Please read and reread and come out of Doubting Castle after having killed Giant Despair.

With Love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

I have not written to the Countess². I thought I would await Mrs. Mayo's letter. As you will soon be on the tramp I am not sending the agricultural books. It is right?

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

2. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

Phagan Sud 6 [March 14, 1913]³

CHI. HARILAL,

After many months I have has a letter from you. Every time yu express regret and say you are sorry for not writing regularly. Your repentance has no meaning either for you or for me. Repentance will bear fruit only when it relates to one's failure to do a thing despite one's best effort and when it is followed by greater vigilance in guarding against further failure. Your regret amounts to mere formality. Do children naveto be formal with parents?

As soon as I knew of yur examination [result] from another

¹ An extract from John Bunyan's allegorical work *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

² Presumably Countess Tolstoy

³ In his letter to Harilal Gandhi of January 26, 1913 (p. 449), Gandhiji had discussed Harilal's examination result and asked for the question-papers. Here he repeats the request and adds that the two letters are being posted together. This was, therefore, written shortly after the letter of January 26.

source, I wrote you a letter¹. But it could not be posted until now,. because the diary² containing your address had been misplaced. You will therefore get that letter as well as this one about the same time.

I am not the only one to wait anxiously for a letter from you. Ba keeps on inquiring, and so do Miss Schlesin and the others.

Your mind has not become calm even there. I do not understand what it is that you want. All that I can make out is that you want to live in Ahmedabad and with Chanchi. Perhaps you wrote to the Doctor³ too, about this, You may live as suits you best.

In reply to the second portion of your letter, I shall say only this: “Live in any way that suits you,. [but] strive to realize God anyhow.” I shall not argue.

Our paths may well be different. If our destination is the same, we shall meet there. What would it matter even if we should follow contrary paths? I am not so arrogant as to believe that I am wholly right and others, in the wrong. Of course, I hold on to the idea that I must do what seems to be my duty. Though I know that we do not become equal even if I give you this freedom, because, in following a course opposed to my ideas, you have to depend on me for money. I wish I could release you even from this situation [of dependence] and then argue with you as an equal. But how is this possible? If, impelled by my sense of duty, I have erred in giving up the source of my income, I shall of course have to repent for that. Have I not, however, done an injustice because in doing this I failed to take my sons’ interests into account? My answer is “No” I did consider their interests, too, accordingly to my own lights. Whether my judgement was right or wrong time alone will show to us both.

I observe that England is still on your lips. Please overcome the desire. Your time is not yet.

Send me the question-papers of your examination if you have preserved them.

Manilal is deep in his studies. He is interested in them. I give him an hour and a half every day. Let me know what books you read—for your examination, I mean. Send me some samples of your

¹ *Vide* “Letter to Harilal Gandhi”, 26-1-1913.

² *Vide* “Diary, 1912”, end of 1912.

³ Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

English composition.

Blessings from

BAPU

PS.

Ramdas and Devdas also study fairly well, but they have developed no interest in their studies. Ba is well, more or less. Anandlal has left Phoenix that he may be able to look after Abhechand's business.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 9539

3. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

*Phagan Sud 6 [March 14, 1913]*¹

CHI. JAMNADAS,

The letters you wrote from India have arrived now. They were read with great interest. I know the restrictions you have placed. But in these letters you have given me permission to show them to Chhaganlal and Maganlal. They were also shown to Manilal. I thought it was in his interest that he should read them, so admirable they appeared to be. I shall not show them to anyone else. If any letter of yours contains only personal reflections of an intimate nature, I alone will read it and then destroy it.

Your boils must have disappeared by now. You will continue to have one ailment or another till your blood is completely purified and you have suitable diet as dictated by experience. With effort, this [trouble] can be overcome. This desire [that you should recover] was one of my reasons for wanting you to be with me.

Ginger, according to our rule, need not be avoided, but it is not beneficial either. Its undesirable effects will be immediately observed in those who live on a fruit diet.

"If we must know English we should know it well"—from this we cannot conclude that if we must travel by railway, we should travel first or second. Studying English is not bad in itself, travelling by railway is wholly so; if we must travel, therefore, we should just huddle

¹ Jamnadas Gandhi left South Africa on December 14, 1912 and any letter from him could not have reached Gandhiji before January 15 of the following year at the earliest. In 1913, *Phagan Sud* 6 corresponds to March 14.

ourselves in and mind no discomforts. Moreover, where countless people are forced to put up with hardships, we should submit to them voluntarily—that is, on occasions when it is not immoral to suffer.

All the items of the diet on the Farm may not be suitable in Phoenix. You fell ill because you did not wait long enough for necessary adjustments to be made.

A ship is bound to look after the needs of deck passengers.

I agree that you should not give up milk or curds, but do not give them the chief place. They make us more indolent. Our friend Kotwal is now in India. Cultivate contact with him. He still lives on fruit diet. You may profit by his experience. He is likely to go deep into the matter and discover things which you will not.

While doing honour to Brahmins, one must maintain a reverential attitude and not treat them with contempt, in the same way that we would respect a person born in a noble family even while we pity him. We would, naturally, feel no respect for a prostitute's son. I do not mean, however, that we should support any Brahmins in their wicked ways. If you interrupted your studies to offer some little flour to Brahmin beggars who had no business to go begging, you would only be sacrificing your studies. I would not think that in doing so you had done honour to the Brahmins; I would rather count it as your timidity or want of judgement. Question me again if you have not followed this.

Give up the afternoon nap, forcing yourself if need be. When you feel the urge coming over you, take a bath.

I am not against schools or against education, but against the stamp. This is one ground of objection against government schools.

A second objection is the lack of character in teachers and the fact that pupils have no intimate contact with them. The wasting of time over certain subjects is the third objection, and the fourth that quite often these schools become symbols of our slavery.

The Parsi cap is not the Parsis' but ours, though an adopted one. Our forefathers may have erred in adopting it. The error, however, is not one that need be corrected now. But why should we take the trouble of adopting a fresh one? Putting on a Hungarian or Moghul cap is suggestive, in a way, of pride and conceit—that we are different from others.

I imagine that even after my going [to India] the press¹ will continue as before. There is a possibility that Miss Schlesin and Miss West may go over to India ultimately. Mr. Polak and Mr. Ritch will of course practise and live on in South Africa. About Mr. Kallenbach, nothing is certain. Kotwal, it seems, will remain with me. Manilal, probably, will be where I am. He is going strong with his studies. They will still continue. I cherish the fond notion that no one else can, and will, teach him as quickly and as well as I. Jekibehn keeps well enough. She is, for the present, my only adopted daughter. She is mine more than Dr. Mehta's so that it seems likely she will remain with me.

Do not be eccentric in your dress. The head should be covered, a shirt may be worn, if needed, and so also slippers. These latter, however, only when you go out. At home, keep bare-footed, and outside, too, except when it is very hot or cold. One need not be too particular about these things, but such of them as one has grown used to should be kept up.

All the questions raised in your letters have now been answered. I have no time to write more. I pray that all my hopes in you be realized, that you remain firm in your mind and that God may help you.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5642. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

¹ International Printing Press, Phoenix

4. A PUBLIC EXAMPLE

A question was raised that the election of Mr. Gokhale to represent the non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council in the Viceregal Council was invalid, as he was an “official” drawing remuneration from the public treasury as a member of the Public Services Commission. Mr. Gokhale has, we understand, set the matter at rest, in characteristic fashion, by declining to accept the remuneration to which he would have been entitled. Such things are expected from such a man whose whole life has been one of self-abnegation in the service of the public. We do not congratulate him upon what he would himself regard as a perfectly natural act, but we sincerely congratulate the Motherland upon the possession of so rare-minded a son. Whilst it is true that an incident of this particular character could not occur in South Africa, where members of commissions are statutorily exempted from the disabilities otherwise attaching to the receipt of remuneration for their services in that capacity, Mr. Gokhale’s example is one that might well be followed even in this self-governing Dominion, where, on the contrary, such instances of public morality have been, at least of late years, practically non-existent.

Indian Opinion, 15-3-1913

5. *BRITISH NAVY*

Millions of Englishmen think that British rule is maintained by the strength of the British Navy. Many people in Europe believe this and the idea is impressed upon the minds of all citizens of the British Empire. Associations have been established for this purpose. Newspapers are full of it. A huge association named the Navy League has been formed. Expenditure on the Navy is rising every day. British children are taught from the earliest age that there is nothing at all wrong in this. The British sailor is glorified. The colonies are even asked to pay a share of the expenditure. There was a debate in the Union Parliament last week on this question of contribution, when Mr. Merriman made a very biting and thought-provoking speech. He said in so many words that Europe had gone crazy. It had simply become possessed by the idea of armies. The desire for bigger and bigger armies, it would seem, was a kind of disease. The poor get crushed in consequence, Mr. Merriman believes. He argues, therefore, that South Africa should not join in this craze. Though himself an Englishman, he has not much use for British greatness based on the Navy. His own view is that it is not from their armed strength that the British derive their greatness. He told General Botha and the rest that South Africa should not in any way participate in the British scheme for the [Imperial] Navy. Mr. Merriman holds also that the British Army stationed in South Africa should be withdrawn.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinions, 15-3-1913

6. GENERAL BOTHA'S SUGGESTION

There is no doubt that General Botha is a real farmer. Everyone knows that he holds land running into thousands of acres. But that would not by itself make him a farmer. There is a big company in Natal which owns hundreds of thousands of acres of land; none of the members, however, is a farmer. They only want to make profits through farmers. But General Botha, it seems, lives like a farmer. He himself works on the land, is well informed about matters connected with the land and knows all about the various crops. On horses and sheep he is an expert. Besides, even his speeches touch upon the great importance of agriculture. In his heart of hearts, he seems to be convinced that South Africa's future does not lie in its gold mines. There are some who even believe that the gold mines will be exhausted in a few years, and that Johannesburg and other cities will be reduced to the same condition as some American cities. Be that as it may, General Botha has recently made a speech which is worth noting. He has expressed himself in favour of expropriating the land of the white landlords who do not themselves work on it and transferring it to worthier hands. Of course, other whites will not allow him to take such a step and the idea will not be implemented. Nevertheless, it is valuable in itself. Botha, with his enthusiasm for agriculture, can give it a strong impetus through his influence and authority. We would like to see something of the same spirit among us. We, too, would do well to turn our minds to agriculture.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 15-3-1913

7. WHO IS ENTITLED TO ENTER TRANSVAAL?

During our representative's tour a number of leading people wished to know who can enter the Transvaal. Hence, though this has been stated earlier, we repeat it below.

Only those Indians who hold certificates under the Registration Act of 1908 or 1907 can now enter the Transvaal without an application or other formalities. Apart from showing their certificates on the border and producing evidence that they are their own, there is nothing they have to do.

If, however, anyone is accompanied by a wife, or minor under 16 years, he is required to produce evidence in respect of them. Very often, the officer is high-handed and does not allow one to proceed further. This means one's being kept waiting on the border. It is sometimes even necessary to approach the magistrate. One has to pay lawyers. To save oneself from this harassment one method that is adopted is to flatter the Registrar and take out a permit in advance. But method has had an undesirable consequence: the pressure in that direction has increased. Even a person with excellent evidence is put to difficulties. An alternative way is to put up with the difficulties for the time being and obtain redress through the regular procedure. This may mean inconvenience in the immediate present but things will be smoother afterwards. If all Indians adopt this course, the matter will be put right quite soon. If only some do so, it might take longer. In this connection, a question has also been raised as to what minors and women coming in should do. The Transvaal officers require evidence on the following lines in respect of minors:

(i) A certificate from a first-class magistrate to the effect that the minor holding it is in fact the child of the person represented to be the father.

(ii) The thumb-impression of the minor and the father on the certificate for purposes of identification.

(iii) Evidence as to the child's age. This need not be very precise in every case. When it can be seen from the child's physique that the age is without doubt below 16, no evidence as to age is necessary.

(iv) It should be clearly stated in the magistrate's certificate that he has fully satisfied himself that the child is in fact the son of the

person concerned.

In a genuine case, evidence on these points can be easily secured and a father who wants to take his son with him to the Transvaal would do well to carry such evidence. It should, however, be remembered that those who have not brought any such evidence do not on that account lose their rights. Poor people cannot sometimes get in India evidence that they can in South Africa.

We hear that such certificates are also required from women. It is our emphatic advice, however, that women must not give their thumb-impressions. The Government has no authority to be so rigorous in regard to the identification of women for the simple reason that there is no need for that. There have not been many instances of Indians trying to bring in women who have no genuine rights. About women therefore, we must put up a fight. We believe that in the case of women the marriage certificate would suffice and we know that the right of a woman holding such a certificate can be legally established.

The explanation we have given above relates to the Transvaal. The question, too, was about the Transvaal. But, by and large, it holds for Natal also. We know that there is greater strictness in Natal. The Natal officer has more power. But it should be enough for anyone to have evidence as indicated above. It should also be remembered that we are carrying on a fight against the strictness in Natal. If any Indian, in his selfishness, submits to the high-handedness of an officer there, he will to that extent strengthen the officer's position and weaken the struggle. This is a simple rule: where there are no slaves, there are no slave-drivers. It is only where people seem prepared to submit to slavery that others set themselves up as masters.

Our condition in South Africa is such that vigorous action will bring about an immediate improvement in it. But weakness will reduce it to the lowest level. This is not so in other colonies because conditions there are neither too good nor too bad so that people do not even realize that they are held in fetters. Here, on the contrary, every Indian feels he is a captive in chains.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 15-3-1913

8. *GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XI]*

We have seen that certain things should be avoided altogether. It remains to be shown that there are others which, for quite different reasons, should either be given up or consumed only in limited quantities. Postponing this discussion for the moment, we shall consider what our diet ought to be.

We can divide mankind into three very large categories on the basis of diet. To one class belong the people who, by choice or necessity, eat vegetable products only. This is the largest class. It consists of most persons in India and Europe and considerable numbers in Japan and China. Of these people, a few are vegetarians as a matter of religious principle, but the majority do without meat because they are unable to obtain it, though, if they get it, they eat it with relish. Among these latter are included Italians, Irish and Scottish people and the poor of Russia as well as of China and Japan. Thus, the chief food of Italy is macaroni, of Ireland potato, of Scotland oatmeal and of China and Japan, rice. People of the second category eat a little meat or fish in addition to vegetable products, once or more than once a day. The majority in England comes under this category, as do rich Muslims in India and Hindus who are unorthodox, besides the well-to-do Chinese and Japanese. This division, though quite large, is very much smaller than the first one. The third division consists of primitive tribes inhabiting the Arctic regions, as well as some Negroes who live on flesh alone. Their number is very small and even these, as they come into contact with European travellers, are learning to add vegetables to their diet. The conclusion to be drawn from all this simply is that man can live in all the three ways; what we have to consider, however, is the question as to which diet is the most health-giving.

The structure of the body would seem to indicate that Nature intended man to be a vegetarian. A comparison which other animals reveals that our body structure most closely resembles that of fruit-eating animals, that is, the apes. The diet of the apes is fresh and dry fruit. Their teeth and stomach are similar to ours. The teeth and the stomach of predacious beasts, such as the lion and the tiger, differ in structure from ours. We do not have claws as they have. We have, moreover, something in common with non-carnivorous beasts—the

ox, for instance. We do not, however, possess intestines like theirs and in the same number, for digesting large quantities of grass. From this, many scientists conclude that man is not by nature carnivorous nor is he formed so as to be able to eat every kind of vegetable food. Even from among vegetable products, fruit alone should be his staple diet.

Chemists have shown by experiment that fruits contain all the elements necessary for the maintenance of human life. Fruits such as bananas, oranges, dates, figs, apples, pineapples, almonds, walnuts, peanuts and coconuts contain all the elements necessary for health and energy. These scientists say that this food need not be cooked, and as animals maintain health by eating sun-ripened fruit, so should we. They go so far as to assert that cooking removes certain essential properties of vegetable foods and reduces their nutritional value. The stimulating quality peculiar to vegetable products is partly lost in the process. They even advance the argument that vegetable products which cannot be eaten raw are no diet for us.

If this argument is correct, surely much of the time spent in preparing and eating food be saved and we could finish our meals in a shorter time. Much of the time of our womenfolk and the space taken up by kitchens, etc., in our homes would then be saved and we would be free to attend to many other matters by putting to good use the time and money thus saved.

The idea that all cooking will stop, that women will be set free from the prison-house of the kitchen, that women will themselves desire such freedom—all this will, I am afraid, seem a mere dream and some may ask why at all we should discuss things which are impossible. We are, however, not concerned at the moment with whether everyone can put this into practice. We are only thinking of what is best to do. If we know what is perfect health, we shall achieve a more or less satisfactory level of health. If we know what the ideal diet is, we shall know what we should generally eat.

Many books have been written on this subject in Europe. One even comes across Europeans who experiment with fruit diet. Some of them have recorded their experiences. These men take to a fruit diet not from any religious consideration but purely for the sake of health. There is a German named Just who has written an excellent book¹ in which he has proved, with numerous examples,

¹ Return to Nature

that fruit diet is the best. He has cured many patients merely with the help of fruit diet and fresh air. He even claims that men can get all the nourishment they need from the fruit growing in their own regions.

It will not be out of place if I here describe my own experiment. For the past six months, I have eaten nothing but fruits. I have not taken even milk or curds. My diet has consisted of bananas, peanuts, olive oil, lemon or similar citrus fruit, and dates. I do not claim that the experiment has proved completely successful. Six months is not enough to gauge the results of such a big change, but I can say this at any rate, that when others fell ill I remained well. I have greater physical and mental energy, than before. As regards physical strength, I may not be able, I admit, to lift as heavy weights as I could formerly, but I can work for longer periods at a stretch without fatigue. Of mental work I do much more at present and cope with it all. I have recommended this diet to some patients and the results have been little short of miraculous. I intend to describe these in the chapter on diseases. In fine, then, the experience of others and of myself and what reading and thinking I have done seem to suggest that a fruit-diet is superior to all other kinds of diet.

I do not for a moment expect that anyone reading this will straightaway take to experimenting with fruit diet. What I have will scarcely have any effect on the reader. But, if I am to tell the truth, as I wish to, I think it is my duty to present only my own conclusions, such as they are.

If, however, any reader does plan to experiment with fruit diet. I would advise him not to rush into it but to go slow. After first reading all the chapters, he should draw his own conclusions and then do whatever he wants to with full deliberation.

In the following section we shall consider the diet of the second category. I think the conclusions of that section will be more acceptable and also that, after he has perused it, he will find it easier to understand the present section.

To those who have been following these chapters seriously, my request is that they form their own opinions and that, too, after reading the entire series.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 15-3-1913

9. LORD AMPTHILL'S ADVOCACY

Lord Ampthill moved, the other day, in the House of Lords, for papers regarding the visit of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale to South Africa.¹ We have expressed more than once the gratitude of the Indian community to this noble man for his great and unremitting zeal in our cause. He has never allowed a single opportunity to be missed whenever he could usefully occupy the attention of the House of Lords. And every Indian knows how helpful his Lordship's work has been and how it has encouraged us in the midst of our troubles. His latest effort, a full report of which we publish elsewhere, was based on Mr. Gokhale's visit. Lord Ampthill was not satisfied to allow the visit to pass out of men's minds without tangible results. He was anxious that the good tone produced by the visit should be fully utilized for the purpose of securing legislation or administration of existing laws that might relieve the pressure that is continuously being put upon us. Incidentally, he paid a glowing tribute to Mr. Gokhale's personality and worth. Lord Emmott, who represented the Government, we regret to say, did not rise to the occasion. He missed the excellent and friendly spirit of Lord Ampthill's remarks, and, therefore, returned a chilling reply. He was as secretive as he well could be, and would commit himself to nothing. It is this disposition to over-regard colonial sentiment and disregard Indian sentiment that so exacerbates us and makes us realize, as nothing else does, that we have to depend upon our own resources.

Indian Opinion, 22-3-1913

¹ On February 11, 1913, Ampthill had asked in the House of Lords whether the Imperial Government had received official information in confirmation of Press reports that Gokhale's visit to South Africa had been successful, and if there was hope of an early and satisfactory settlement of the British Indian question. He also moved for Papers. In the course of his speech, Ampthill said that it was an Imperial question "of the first magnitude" and had caused discontent in India which came to a climax at the Indian National Congress of 1911. The Imperial Government, he said, had approved of Gokhale's visit. He further wanted to know what the Government had now done "to acknowledge and encourage and take advantage" of the resulting "spirit of reasonableness and conciliation and goodwill". Lord Emmott, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the course of a "frigid and cautiously official" reply said that Gokhale's visit was unofficial, that his representations to the South African Ministers were "informal" and that he had no Papers to lay before the House. *Indian Opinion*, 22-3-1913.

10 HINDUS AND MAHOMEDANS BEWARE

The whole question was whether a wife, married by Mahomedan custom, was wife within the meaning of the Immigration Act. His Lordship held that the application must be refused as the marriage did not satisfy the requirements of the Immigration Law.

Thus the *Cape Argus* report. Indians of South Africa will never get a clearer or more important judgment to deal with. Hitherto the judgments that have been given affecting the question of marriage have been more or less enigmatic. On the occasion in question, a clear-cut issue was presented. The case was admitted to be a test case and judgment has been given against us Indians.¹ This is not a judgment given against an individual. The Judge was, no doubt, helpless. The Immigration Officer could not be held to blame. He had to administer an Act and he has done so. The meaning of the judgment is that every Hindu and Mahomedan wife is in South Africa illegally, and, therefore, at the mercy of the Government, whose grace alone can enable her to remain in this country. And no one will be blamed but ourselves if the future Indian wives—Hindu, Mahomedan or Parsee—are turned out. This is a state of things which our self-respect forbids us from tolerating. We hope that every Anjuman, every Association, and every Dharma Sabha will send respectful representations to the Government urging that the new Immigration Bill should be altered so as to admit the legality of marriages celebrated according to the recognized Indian religions. This request should be promptly granted, not merely because we are part of the British Empire, but even because of the law of comity of nations.

It is, indeed, a serious question for passive resisters to consider whether they ought not to include in their requirements a redress of this unthought of but intolerable grievance. Anyway, it is a question which demands, on the part of the Indians, sacrifice of their all—their businesses, their money, their ease—which will have been dearly bought at the price of the nullity of their or their brethren's marriages. No consideration should be allowed to come in the way of their taking prompt and energetic action.

Indian Opinion, 22-3-1913

¹ *Vide* the following item

11. ATTACK ON INDIAN RELIGIONS

We have never read or heard of a judgment as important as the one concerning women recently published in the *Cape Times*. A woman named Bai Mariam had been married according to Muslim rites and her husband brought her from India. The Immigration Officer stopped her. The only reason he gave was that her marriage could not be recognized as legal. This was admitted to be a test case. There was only one point at issue, whether or not a marriage solemnized according to the Muslim rites or under any religion other than Christianity was legal. The Judge decided that such a marriage was not legal and that therefore the woman had no right to enter the Cape. She has been ordered to return. This decision means that as from today all Hindu or Muslim wives living in South Africa lose their right to live there. In other words, a Hindu, Muslim or Parsi wife can live in this country only by the grace of the Government. It is quite on the cards that the Government will not permit any more wives to come in or that, if it does, it will be entirely as a matter of favour. We cannot conceive of a more degrading state of affairs.

The remedy is entirely in our hands. Every Anjuman, every Dharma Sabha and every one of the other associations must respectfully submit to the Government that the law should be amended and that marriages solemnized under the rites of Indian religions should be recognized as legal. Any nation that fails to protect the honour of its women, any individual that fails to protect the honour of his wife is considered lower in level than a brute. We know that many battles have been fought to protect the honour of women. And so it would not be too much if we, for the same purpose, embrace poverty.

We cannot offer the advice that this case should be taken to a higher court. What can a court of appeal do? Nor do we think this a case in which we should not approach the Government till a decision has gone against us once again.

It will be nothing extraordinary if right now we sacrifice our wealth, our stocks, our businesses and start the fight. All these things are intended for our happiness. If we lose our honour, what remains of happiness? And if we do not spend what we do not spend what we have earned for our happiness, where shall we find beggars like us?

This is a situation over which even satyagrahis should ponder. It is worth considering whether they ought not to include among their

demands one that might help to ward off this unexpected blow. We hope that in this situation not a single Indian will give in.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 22-3-1913

12. GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE

We can know the Union Government's attitude from a number of instances. Mr. Ibrahim Mahomed Cassim has a thirteen-year-old son named Hassan. There seems to be no reason to doubt his age. Even then Mr. Smith refused him permission to land and informed his lawyer that he had instructions not to permit the entry of any minor without a certificate of birth from India. The boy's father, therefore, has obtained an interdict. The matter will now go to a court. The case is of interest to us only in so far as it reveals the Union Government's attitude towards us. Since it is not the practice in India to get births registered, for hundreds of children it will be impossible to obtain certificates giving precise information. The Union Government is not likely to be unaware of this fact. If, despite this, it has laid down that no one should be permitted to enter without a certificate, it can only mean that it wants to increase the difficulties in our way in order to stop the entry of children altogether. We have already written about women. Children, too, are to be harassed. This can have only one result in the end, namely, that we shall have to leave this country. The remedy lies in our own hands.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 22-3-1913

13. OUR QUESTION IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS¹

A detailed report is now available of the discussion in the House of Lords when Lord Ampthill raised our question once again. This noble gentleman does not miss a single opportunity of advocating our cause. His speeches indicate, moreover, his unremitting zeal on our behalf. Utilizing the opportunity afforded by Mr. Gokhale's visit to this country, Lord Ampthill initiated a discussion on our question. In the course of his speech, he paid a glowing tribute to Mr. Gokhale and criticized the administration of the laws passed here. The only regret is that Lord Emmott, who spoke on behalf of the Government, missed the spirit of Lord Ampthill's remarks and gave a half-hearted reply. The impression that the reader gathers from this is that his Lordship stands in awe of the Colonies and that he disregards Indian interests when the interests of the former are at stake. This is an overbearing attitude, indeed, and it is such behaviour which embitters Indians. We can also realize from Lord Ampthill's speech how very useful is the Committee in England. As we have already pointed out, we have no funds left for that Committee. We have also said that Mr. Gokhale is prepared to shoulder this responsibility. But it is necessary, all the same, that we send him something at least for the maintenance of the Committee. The response to our appeals to Indians has so far been disappointing. We hope those who realize the Committee's value will now bestir themselves a little.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 22-3-1913

¹ Vide also "Lord Ampthill's Advocacy", 22-3-1913.

14. MALAY LOCATION DISPUTE

It happens sometimes that, when two big parties fight, a third party, which is weak, gets the benefit. This is what is likely to happen in the case of the Malay Location. Indians in Johannesburg must be aware that a portion of this Location has been handed over to the Railway. Hitherto, the Town Council used to collect rent from the Location on behalf of the Railway. The latter's intention is to drive us out, in course of time, from the portion it has acquired. Because of this uncertain state of affairs, the improvements which the Town Council wished to effect in the Location could not be proceeded with. It tried hard to arrive at an arrangement with the Town Council and its Railway Committee has proposed a resolution to the effect that the Council should not act [as agents] for the Railway any longer. The Committee wants the Council to go ahead with the improvement already undertaken and also to refuse to collect rent on behalf of the Railway. If the resolution is accepted and if the Indians play their part well, no one will be able to touch the Malay Location. The Indians' part consists in seeing to it that they desist from creating filth. We should not allow ourselves to mar the buildings out of greed for rents, and we should maintain the utmost cleanliness that we possibly can.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 22-3-1913

15. VREDEDORP CASE

In this case Mr. Buckle has given judgment, with costs, in favour of the Chinaman.¹ Mr. Buckle says in the course of the judgement that the Chinaman cannot be said to reside in Vrededorp; he was only an employee of a white. The business belongs to the white, who attends the store in person. It is the white, therefore, who should be treated as a resident. If a contrary meaning were given to the expression “to reside”, a Coloured who happened to be in someone’s house and occupied a chair for five minutes would have to be treated as having resided there. There is no reason to believe [he says] that the framers of the law had intended any such meaning. If the Chinaman had his boarding and lodging in Vrededorp or had his own business there, he would have been liable to prosecution. The Vrededorp law does not forbid the employment of Coloureds as shop assistants. All that follows from this judgment is that a white carrying on business in Vrededorp can employ any number of Coloureds for that purpose. No Coloured, however, can have his home in Vrededorp and live there.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 22-3-1913

¹ The Vrededorp Municipality had sued for the ejectment of Ah Kai, a Chinese, from Stand 495 on the ground that he was an Asiatic and, at the time, not a *bona-fide* servant of a white. Judgment in this case, described by *Indian Opinion*, 22-3-1913, as “an important test case”, was given, with costs, in favour of Ah Kai.

16. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XII]

On the next level and below fruits, comes vegetable diet. This consists of all kinds of vegetables, cereals, pulses, beans, milk, etc. Just as fruit-diet contains all the elements that man needs, so too does vegetarian diet, though the two do not have the same effect. Some of the elements we obtain from food are also to be found in the air; yet we cannot obtain them from air and do without food. Moreover, all vegetable products lose something of their original nature when cooked and are to that extent robbed of value, one would have cooked food and cannot go without vegetables, it has to be considered what it would be best to take.

Among grains, wheat is the best. Man can live on wheat alone. It contains all the nutritive elements in good proportion. Many preparations can be made of it, and it is also easy to digest. Children's foods available in the market also contain a proportion of wheat. In the same category with wheat are millets and maize, from all of the which *rotli*¹ or *roti*² can be prepared, though these cereals cannot compare with wheat. It is important to understand what the best way of taking wheat is. Wheat flour, which we know as mill-flour, is absolutely worthless, devoid of all nutritional value. Dr. Alinson says that a dog he kept exclusively on such a diet succumbed as a result, but another flourished on bread from a different variety of flour. White flour is entirely devoid of bran, which is the source of the taste and energy-giving property of wheat. White bread is in such demand because, eaten with it, other tasty things are most enjoyed. For instance, those who eat cheese derive energy from it but they eat it, and can eat it, only as an adjunct to bread. *Rotli*, too made of such flour is bad; it is tough and offers neither taste nor nutrition. *The best flour is that which is obtained by grinding clean wheat at home* and if in addition, it is ground by hand in a quern, it is considered to be the very best. If, however, one cannot secure a quern, one can purchase at a low cost a handmill to be kept in the home and grind wheat for

¹ Unleavened bread

² *ibid*

personal use. Or one can buy unsifted Boer-meal and use it. The flour should be used as it is, unsifted, The *roti* made of this flour is tasty and nourishing and the flour is more economical to use than *maida*, since, being nutritious, it cannot be consumed in the same quantity as *maida*.

It should be borne in mind that ready-made bread is quite worthless. Whether white or brown, it is adulterated. Moreover, it is prepared from flour fermented with yeast. This is a great drawback. It is the opinion of many experienced people that bread made of such flour is harmful. Then again, during preparation, the loaf is covered with *tandul* or fat; hence it should be unacceptable both to Hindus and Muslims. *To eat shop bread in place of roti prepared at home is nothing but a mark of laziness.*

Another easy and pleasant way of eating wheat is to grind it coarse and make porridge from it. Porridge, if well cooked in water and taken with milk or sugar, tastes delicious and is much superior to other kinds of food.

Rice seems to contain no nutriment and it is doubtful whether man could live on it alone, unless pulses, ghee and milk are added to it. Wheat, on the other hand, cooked in water alone is enough to maintain one in good health.

Vegetables are eaten mainly for their taste. They have a laxative effect and thus help purify the blood. However, they are of the nature of grass, they are difficult to digest and give excessive work to the stomach. Everyone must have noticed that those who are given to consuming vegetables in excessive quantities are of the delicate constitution and are called *pepchidas*¹. They frequently suffer from dyspepsia and are always swallowing medicines for indigestion. That some varieties of vegetables are a form of grass is plain enough to us. Vegetables, therefore, should certainly be eaten but, be it remembered, only in small quantities.

Pulses—beans, *val*,² *tuwar*,³ vetches, tare, lentil—are regarded as good tonic foods. They are difficult to digest as they require much

¹ Gujarati colloquial expression meaning “milksop”

² Varieties of pulses

³ *ibid*

heat in the stomach. The fact that a person who has eaten a quantity of pulses frequently passes wind only means that he has not been able to carry it. It is for this reason that pulses are regarded as causing *vayu* [excess of wind]. One characteristic of pulses is that they keep one going for a fairly long time. A person who has to undertake much physical labour can tolerate pulses more easily and even derive some benefit from them. We, however, who do limited physical work generally cannot afford to eat an excess of pulses. Those who loll in cushioned seats cannot eat the same type or quantity of food as labourers.

A famous writer in England named Dr. Haig has proved with numerous experiments that pulses are a very unwholesome food. They produce an excess of a particular acid in the body which causes many ailments and brings on premature old age. He has given many reasons to explain why this happens, which there is no need to consider here. My personal experience, at any rate, indicates that it is harmful to eat pulses. Those, however, who cannot master their palate may eat them, but with care.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 22-3-1913

*17. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY
TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR¹*

PHOENIX,
NATAL,
March 24, 1913

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE HON'BLE THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN
DEAR SIR,

There are two matters of urgency in which I feel that I should now write asking for information. Being aware of the illness of the Hon'ble the Minister of the Interior from which I hope Mr. Fischer is recovering, I have been reluctant to trouble the Minister acting for Mr. fischer. But as I have been pressed by inquirers I venture to ask for information on the following:

Some considerable time ago the Registrar of Asiatics wrote to me saying that he forwarded to the Hon'ble the Minister the correspondence regarding permits for educated British Indian entrants for the past year, in terms of the provisional settlement. The Registrar has rejected two out of the six names of entrants submitted by me after consultation with passive resisters and the British Indian Association.² I have requested that the names might be restored as it is, I respectfully submit, part of the compromise that the names of entrants should be submitted by those in whose name and for whose sake the settlement was arrived at. I shall therefore be glad to learn that the Hon'ble the Minister has directed the Registrar to include among the entrants the two omitted names.

And may I know whether the proposed Immigration Bill embodying the terms of the provisional settlement will be brought forward during the present session of the parliament?

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

From a photostat of the handwritten draft with corrections in Gandhiji's hand:
S. N. 5746

¹ For the reply to this, *vide* Appendix "Letter from secretary for interior to Gandhiji", 4-4-1913.

² This letter to the Registrar of Asiatics listing the entrants' names is not available.

18. THE MARRIAGE QUESTION¹

We dwelt at some length last week upon the momentous decision given by the Cape Provincial Division of the Supreme Court on the question of the validity of non-Christian marriage among Indians. This week we publish valuable information regarding the action of the Master of the Natal Provincial Division. This officer has questioned the validity of Mahomedan marriage for the purpose of assessing succession duty.² We need not go into the particulars about the difference in the duty chargeable. But the great issue raised by the Master, so far as we are concerned, is that of the validity of marriages performed according to the tenets of the great faith of India. It might be here remarked that this totally unexpected calamity—it is nothing less—has overtaken us not because of any new law but because of the new interpretation that is being placed upon an old law. Ever since the settlement of Indians in South Africa, Indian marriages, celebrated according to Indian religious custom, have been recognized. The issues of such marriages have inherited considerable properties as lawful heirs of their deceased parents. It is the new spirit of the Union breathed upon the officers administering old laws that has brought about the present intolerable situation. Indeed, the logical result of the new interpretation is that even past acts might be impugned and heirs in possession of the inheritances might be dispossessed. Indian society has suddenly been plunged into confusion from which it can extricate itself only by a mighty effort. For, if the policy of the Government, as foreshadowed in the cases we have published from time to time, is continued, they will be able without resorting to new legislation either to exterminate us or to paralyse us as a progressive community, unless we are prepared to offer stubborn opposition.

We may now, perhaps, understand the reason for the very cautious reply³ made by Lord Emmott to Lord Amphill. These cases explain his Lordship's reticence, but they cannot be allowed to excuse

¹ *Vide* also "Hindus and Mahomedans Beware", 22-3-1913 and "Attack on Indian Religions", 22-3-1913.

² In Natal, a Mahomedan had left by his will his entire property to his surviving wife. For assessing the succession duty, the Master of the Provincial Division of the Supreme Court had called for proof apart from the husband's statement and suggested that the parties concerned should get the Supreme Court's ruling on the point. *Indian Opinion*, 29-1-1913.

³ *Vide* 1st footnote of "Lord Amphill's Advocacy", 22-3-1913.

it. If he knew that the Union Government were to remain unbending, and if he had any regard for us, he should have, when Lord Amptill gave him the opportunity, strongly disapproved of the attitude of the local Government.

Indian Opinion, 29-3-1913

19. INDIAN MARRIAGES

Last week we dwelt upon the marriage case in Cape Town. Another case of the same nature, regarding one Bai Janubie, has come to our knowledge. This lady is a widow, whose husband has left her his property by a will. The Master of the Supreme Court, however, refuses to execute the will. He states that Bai Janubie's marriage cannot be recognized as valid. The marriage question, thus, is assuming a serious aspect day by day and we shall find ourselves quite helpless afterwards if we are not vigilant and fail to act in time. The effects will be felt by all Indians. Some people argue, we hear, that there can be no satyagraha in a matter concerning women, for they cannot be asked to go to gaol. We leave aside the question whether or not they can be. Cannot men go to goal for women's honour and their own? There may be no need whatever for women to go to gaol or to be asked to do so. What is needed is that men should be men enough. Satyagraha, moreover, is far off yet. Where is the question of satyagraha in taking counsel together, parting with a little money, holding meetings and sending petitions? If we take cover behind the argument that there can be no satyagraha and sit back with folded hands, we shall only bring ridicule upon ourselves and our womenfolk.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 29-3-1913

20. LICENCE CASE IN ESTCOURT

When licensing officers do not harass us, we find white traders waiting to do so. On the Licensing Officer issuing a licence to Mr. Khamisa Ibrahim, the white traders of the locality appealed to the Licensing Board. Since the members of the Board had expressed views hostile to Indian traders, Mr. Khamisa's lawyer raised an objection against them. This was ruled out and the Board, reversing the decision of the Licensing Officer, rejected Mr. Khamisa's application for a licence. We assume that Mr. Khamisa will take the case further. All such cases should also be forwarded to Lord Ampthill's Committee so that redress may be obtained from the Imperial Government on the issues involved.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 29-3-1913

21. ARE SYRIANS ASIATICS?

The Registrar refused to register a piece of land¹ in Johannesburg in the name of a Syrian, arguing that, since Syria was a state in Asia, Syrians were Asiatics and the Asiatics Law of 1885 should apply to them. The Syrian has thereupon moved the Supreme Court for an order that the land be registered in his name. He has argued as follows:

True, I was born in Asia. But I am a Christian. My skin is white. The framers of the laws of the country could never have intended that the law of 1885 should apply to me, a white Christian from Asia. If it applies to me, it should also apply to white Jews from Asia. But in fact the law has never been applied to white Jews. If, again, the law of 1885 is applicable to me, I should be subject also to the Registration Act of 1907. If it should be held that I am, there would follow a result which could never have been contemplated by the framers of the law.

The Judge before whom the case was heard has reserved judgment, holding that this was an important case, which no doubt it

¹ Two Stands in Wollhuter Township

is. Indians will await the judgment eagerly. If the Judge confines himself to the letter of the law alone, Asiatic Syrians will be placed on par with us, even if they are Christians or whites.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 29-3-1913

22. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XIII]

We shall now consider what vegetables should be avoided. In almost every part of India, it is customary to use chillies together with spices such as coriander seed, black pepper, etc. The practice does not obtain in other parts of the world to the same extent. If we offer any of our spicy dishes to the Negroes here, they also will hesitate to eat them as they do not care for their taste. Many white who are unused to spices are totally unable to eat our pungent food and, if they force themselves to eat it, their digestion suffers and the mouth gets inflamed. I have witnessed this myself in the case of some whites. We may conclude, therefore, that spices are not themselves appetizing but that, having become accustomed to them by long use, we like their smell and taste. We have already recognized, however, that eating anything for the sake of its taste is harmful to health.

Let us then examine why people eat spices. They do so, it will be readily admitted, in order to be able to eat more and digest more. Chillies, coriander seed, cummin, etc., produce heat in the stomach and in consequence we seem to feel more hungry. If, however, we imagine from this that the food we have thus consumed is all digested and transformed into pure blood, we shall be sadly mistaken. Many people indulge in over-spicy food. Their stomachs become very weak in the long run and some even get attacks of sprue. A certain man used to eat large amounts of chillies, a habit which he could not overcome, and he died in his youth after a long illness which kept him on bed for six months. It is imperative that we eliminate spices from our diet altogether.

This stricture applies equally to salt. No one will like this idea and some may even be aghast at it, but its truth has, nevertheless, been proved by experience. An association has been started in

England whose creed is that salt is even more injurious than most spices. Our diet supplies salt to us in organic forms, and that is all that we really need. Sea-salt and rock-salt, on the other hand, are superfluous and when consumed are expelled again through perspiration and otherwise. This means that salt has no specific utility for the body. One book goes so far as to say that consumption of salt has a toxic effect on the blood and that one who has abstained from salt for many years and has otherwise kept his body clean has his blood stream so pure that even snake-bite will do him no harm; for the blood of such a person develops a resistance to the venom. We cannot ascertain the truth of this statement but from experience I can at least say that ailments such as cough, piles, asthma, bleeding, etc., respond immediately to a saltless diet. A certain Indian had long suffered from asthma and cough. These were cured by the adoption of a saltless diet together with the use of the usual remedies. I have not come across any undesirable results from giving up salt. I myself gave it up over two years ago and have felt no ill effect; on the contrary, I observe some beneficial effects. I need less water and feel less lethargic. The incident which occasioned my giving up salt was somewhat unusual, too. The person¹ whose ailment was responsible for my doing so has had her illness under control ever since. I am confident, too, that had the patient been able to give salt completely, her malady would have been entirely eradicated. I have observed during numerous experiments that people find it difficult to give up green vegetables and pulses together with the salt but this has to be done. I think these articles prove hard to digest without the addition of salt. This does not mean that salt stimulates digestion; on the contrary, just as chillies merely give the illusion of aiding the digestive process and are found to be harmful in the long run, so it is with salt. It follows, therefore, that those who adopt a saltless diet must give up green vegetables and pulses as well. Anyone can make this experiment and watch the effect on himself. Just as an opium addict who tries to rid himself of his habit feels out of sorts and weak at first, so is the case with one who refrains from salt. One should not, however, lose heart on this account. If the person who gives up salt is patient

¹ Kasturba Gandhi.

enough, he will be rewarded by and by.

The writer has been bold enough to assert that even milk is among the articles to be avoided. One basis for this opinion is his own experience, but that should be kept out of consideration. We entertain so strong a superstition as to the value of milk that it would be a vain effort to combat it. The writer does not expect that his readers will agree with all the opinions he expresses in these articles, nor does he expect either that all those who approve of them will put them into practice; his object is only to present his ideas, leaving it to others to accept whatever they will. There is nothing wrong, therefore, in his writing even about milk. Many doctors have stated that milk is the cause of typhoid. Pamphlets have been published on this subject. Milk gets easily contaminated with airborne germs and those which are inimical to health multiply rapidly in it. We have to take a great deal of trouble to keep it in good condition. In South Africa there are special laws for [the protection of] consumers of milk. Very many recommendations are made for the preservation and storage of milk and cleaning of utensils. It seems reasonable to question whether it is worth while using an article which needs so much care to keep and which, if not so guarded, may do harm.

Moreover, the goodness or otherwise of milk depends on the condition of the cow and what she eats. Doctors cite instances of persons drinking the milk of a tuberculous cow and themselves developing tuberculosis. It is difficult to find a perfectly healthy cow, and the milk of a diseased cow is unwholesome. It is well known that a sick mother's milk makes the baby also sick. When a baby which has not yet been weaned falls ill, *vaid*s treat the mother, so that through her milk the medicine may act on the baby. What is true of woman's milk applies also to cow's milk. In this way, the food and the health of the giver of milk have an intimate bearing on its consumer. Would not the right course be to avoid this milk, the consumption of which demands so much trouble and carries so much risk? The strength-giving property of milk is to be found in other substance as well. Olive oil is a good substitute for milk in many ways. A preparation of sweet almonds made by soaking them in hot water, peeling and grinding them to a fine paste and mixing this thoroughly with water,

will have all the beneficial properties of milk and none of its risks. Finally, let us consider the law of Nature: a calf gives up sucking after a few months and, as soon as its teeth are developed, it turns to food which requires their use; this should be the rule with human beings, too. We are meant to take milk only so long as we are infants. We, too, should, when our teeth are grown, employ them in chewing fresh fruit such as apples and dry fruit such as almonds, or *rotli*. This is not the place to calculate how much money and time can be saved by anyone who has shaken off his slavery to milk, but each one will be able to find out for himself. Milk-products, too, are unnecessary. The acid content of whey is available from lemon and its other nutrients from almonds, etc. As to ghee, thousands of Indians consume oil instead.

Let us now turn for a while to the third type of diet. It is a mixture of vegetarian and non-vegetarian elements. This diet is adopted by a large number of people, of whom many suffer from various ailments and many others are found to be healthy. That we are not meant to be meat-eaters, each one of our organs and the constitution of our bodies make evident. Dr. Kingsford and Dr. Haig have vividly described the ill effects of non-vegetarian diet on the body. They have proved that the acid produced by consumption of pulses is also produced by that of meat. Meat-eating damages the teeth and causes rheumatism. It makes a man more prone to anger, and therefore a sick man. According to our definition of health, one who is quick to get angry cannot be counted a healthy person.

Those who eat the fourth and last type of diet, that is, who subsist exclusively on flesh, need not detain us here. Their state is so vile that the very thought of them should be enough to put us off meat-eating. They are not healthy in any sense of the term. As soon as they come up a little and get some knowledge, they tend to accept a vegetarian diet.

What all this adds up to is that very few people will be found ready for an exclusively fruit diet, but that a diet of dry and fresh fruit, wheat and olive oil is worth a trial, it being possible to maintain sound health on it. Among fruits, bananas occupy the first place. Besides, dates, plums and figs are strength-giving fruits. Fresh grapes improve the blood. Orange, lemons and apples can be mixed with

bananas and eaten with *rotlis*. The addition of olive oil to *rotli* does not impair its taste. Such a diet costs very little trouble or money and does not require salt and chillies, milk or sugar. Plain sugar is an absolutely useless article of food. People who are very fond of sweets lose their teeth early and the sweet food does them no good in any way. Wheat, almonds, peanuts, walnuts, fresh fruits—from every one of these a number of edible preparations can be made.

What we have now to consider is how much food to eat and when; this we shall do in the next chapter.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 29-3-1913

23. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

Phagan Vad 7 [March 29, 1913]¹

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I got your three letters together. You want to have a letter every week but, since I do not have one from you so frequently, I do not know how I can meet your wishes. However, I shall try to write oftener.

After the stipulated period of six months is over, you need not persist in saltless diet. It is not intended that in clinging to it one should sacrifice one's life. We have adopted diet without salt and sugar in the belief that we should be healthier without them. If that does not happen, we are not bound to give up either. For us, a saltless diet is not, like vegetarianism, a matter of ethical principle. When we come to think of it as such, we will not eat salt. About milk, I do feel that way. Speaking for myself, I seem to do very well without salt, sugar, vegetables, pulses, etc.

I am rather unhappy that you cannot have sour lime, etc., there. I can see many defects in your experiments. You are not in the least to blame, though. Not being conversant with the thing, you have not

¹ Judging from the contents this letter appears to have been written after Jamnadas Gandhi left South Africa for India on December 14, 1912.

been able to make any changes, Moreover, you cannot make your own independent experiments. If, therefore, you are still going on with the saltless diet, etc., and if it does not suit you, do please give up the practice.

To enable you to preserve my letters, I shall try to use paper of uniform size when writing to you. Some of the letters may possibly deserve being read a second time. Moreover, as you are very eager to know my views, in case you do not get a letter from me in any week, you can re-read instead the latest ones received in preceding weeks.

Do not hesitate to ask me any questions in any words.

Let it not worry you that you went [to India] against my advice. My only concern in trying to stop you was that you, all by yourself, would not be able to strengthen your ideas. But when I observed your keen desire to serve Khushalbai¹ and Devbhabhi,² the other thought appeared of secondary importance beside this desire. It was therefore all to the good that you went. Moreover, the bitter experience you are getting is also a kind of training for you, for your ideas are noble, all of them, and you aspire to raise yourself up.

Our use of Urdu words like *madari jaban*³ is perfectly in order. If we would preserve Gujarati as simply a branch of Sanskrit, Parsis and Muslims should not be regarded as Gujaratis. This is not possible even if we wish it to be so. Gujarati has, and will continue to have, a number of Urdu and persian words in use. The language used in the *Opinion* must be such as will find favour with both Hindus and Muslims. I making it so, we may use Allah⁴ and *Parameshwar*⁵ both, as occasion may require. If any Englishmen settle in Gujarat, we may even introduce some English words into our language. The English words being taken over at present are just so much ostentation, ignorance of flattery, Behind this borrowing there is no thought of developing the language.

If the Hindus are faced with anything similar to the Turkish War,

¹ Parents of the addressee

² *ibid*

³ Mother tongue

⁴ A Muslim name for God

⁵ A Hindu name for God

they too should raise a row. Italy and the Balkan States are both in the wrong in this war and we do nothing amiss in pointing to the fact of their being so. There is no ill will towards Italy in this. Many of the journal's readers being Muslims, it is our duty to give them as much news of the invasion as possible. We claim the *Opinion* to be a medium of moral education, but how could it serve that purpose if there were no readers? By giving the news about the war, we humour readers in harmless fashion. Moreover, readers ought to keep themselves informed about the war and to that extent the issue involves a moral principle. Finally, though morals and publicity to our hardships are its chief concerns, it is not the intention that the paper should carry no news at all. Maybe, you have more racial discrimination there, but it does affect the masses. Here it is they who are specially affected.

The reason why in the sacred centres of pilgrimage oil is forbidden and ghee is regarded as pure can be explained by the conjecture which I have made. At one time, India was entirely a meat-eating country but, when someone converted the land to vegetarianism, ghee came to be considered specially sacred. And so we use unlimited quantities of ghee in our diet. The more ghee there is in any preparation, the more highly we value it. Can there be a greater instance of ignorance than this! And yet this is what people believe. In consequence, ghee is assigned a high place in holy centres of pilgrimage as well. The reformer must have imagined that if people consumed plenty of ghee they would not miss meat very much. With this object, in England, too, vegetarians take eggs in excess in the absence of meat, and even fall ill. There are hardly any preparations of theirs in which eggs are not used. They have assigned almost a sacred place to eggs.

It would have been very good if you had undertaken to teach the *bania*. You would have been partly cured of your restlessness and the earnings would have been some help.

Do not take my going there as in any way certain. There is a possibility that satyagraha may be revived on issues affecting wives and minors. In that case, I think I shall have to stay on. Should satyagraha be revived, how could you join it now? I do not think it

will be right for you to come away from there. Your purpose in going away was service to your parents. With that as your chief concern, do whatever is best. For this same reason, you cannot go to Baroda or elsewhere to learn weaving.

I knew the verse you have quoted about controlling the palate. My criticism applies all the same. One verse can make no difference. They attached no importance to this subject. Had they done so, there would have been no feeding on delicacies in the *havelis*¹ and other places on every pretext and no gifting of provisions with ghee and jaggery on every sacred occasion, nor the feasting of Brahmins either. These days, even *rishis* and *sadhus* do not master their palate, but are found to have been mastered by it. This is a long story. If we said these things by way of fault-finding, we would incur sin. When, however, our chief object is our own and others' welfare, it is our duty to take into account whatever imperfections we observe even in the most respected personages.

This closes the reply to one of your letters. As to the other letters, I shall try to answer them later, that is, next week, so that I may have something to write to you every week.

Here, so many things happen which it is impossible to write about. I do not have so much time. But some of the things will find their way in as I deal with the questions you have asked.

Manilal is fully engrossed in his studies. I leave him not an hour free, so that it is in vain to expect him to write to you. He may possibly answer your letters. Jeki, too, is busy; but, apart from this, she is disinclined to write letters and does not quite know how to. Do not, therefore, put much hope in her either.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5643. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

¹ Vaishnava temples

24. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Monday [March 31, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your two letters. My cold is a thing of the past. I was living during the damp weather on abnormal food and treating too many patients and having no exercise. The food was mainly monkey-nuts and lemons. There was no physical exercise. I gave myself exercise, I left off monkey-nuts, took hot water and lemons and blanched almonds. The effect was magical: the cough vanished in 48 hours. I have now returned to monkey-nuts, cannot afford almonds and do not want to eat them myself when I cannot share them with the children, nor do I need them now. The boy's cough I have not been able quite to trace the reason for. But they too are better. I agree that we all could do with much less than we eat. It is not possible to force the boys to eat so much and no more. I try to coax them.

Herewith draft reply for Heymann. I think it is better to rest on your last letter and not now agree.

Hope you will get a better price for the mules and wagon.

Did you get the book I sent you? If you are stopping there long, I could send you the other books you mentioned.

Your commission for Dar-es-salaam is receiving attention.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE,

[PS.]

The Free Age Press may reprint the letter. We have nearly 10,000 copies which they may have at the cost price.

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

25. LETTER TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR¹

[PHOENIX,]

April 1, 1913

[To

THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR

CAPE TOWN]

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Justice Searle's decision² regarding the validity of Indian marriages and the statement said to have been made by the Immigration Officer in Natal, to the effect that no boys or girls claiming to be the children of resident Indians would be admitted unless they or their parents produce certificates of birth, have created great consternation among my countrymen. And passive resisters have also felt compelled to examine their own position.

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

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

The practical result of both the cases is almost completely to prevent the entry of wives and minor children of domiciled Indians. In the circumstances, I venture to submit that, apart from other considerations, it is necessary in order to give full effect to the

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

² *Vide* Appendix "Text of Searle's Judgement", 21-6-1913.

provisional settlement¹ to so frame the new Immigration Bill as to restore the position as to wives as it availed before Justice Searle's decision and to revoke the instructions regarding children. May I also suggest that it would be better if the leading members of the community were consulted regarding proof required by the Government as to marriages or the age or sonship of boys. I am sure that the Indian community has every desire to co-operate with the Government in facilitating the examination of relationships of wives and children so as to avoid fraud or deception.²

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

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

¹ For the terms of the settlement, *vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", 22-4-1911.

² To this the following reply dated April 10 was received: "... I am directed by the Minister of the Interior to state that it does not appear that any new principle has thereby been laid down, as from the earliest times, following the introduction of European civilization into South Africa, the law of the land has only recognized as a valid union the marriage, by a recognized Marriage Officer, of one man to one woman, to the exclusion, while it lasted, of any other. A very old established section of the Cape population, and a large one in point of numbers, viz., the Cape Malay community, has always followed the Mahomedan faith and conducted its marriages according to the tenets of that religion; but such unions, unless solemnized by a Marriage Officer, are not recognized under the Marriage Order-in-Council or officially recorded in any way.

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

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

26. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Thursday [April 3, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I was unconsciously addressing you Upper House.¹ I note you are angry. I carried the information to you from here as soon as I could. For Johannesburg will you blame me? And yet you may. Why did I not specially ask Miss Schlesin to do so? Well, I expected her to keep you informed. I shall, I hope, know better next time. Now please get from Miss Schlesin a copy of the letter I have written myself to the Interior.² I have no spare copy with me.

You are hard on Mr. Gokhale. Your defence of Mr. Hosken does your heart the greatest credit. I agree with all you say about him. I wish you would forget in our relations that I am an Indian and you a European. There are undoubtedly moments when those who are the nearest to me do not distract my attention at all. You have given me the privilege of considering you to be one of the nearest.

I am interrupted. More next time.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

¹ In the superscription Gandhiji had begun to write “Upper”, but scored out the letters “Upp” for “Lower”.

² *Vide* “Leter to Minister of Interior”, 1-4-1913.

27. THE STORM SIGNAL

Johannesburg, as was quite proper, has given the storm signal. The mass meeting¹, called by the British Indian Association, was a thorough success. Mr. Cachalia² has given a respectful but firm warning that there are some Indians in South Africa who are prepared to give their all for the sake of their and their country's honour. The meeting passed resolutions which we doubt not would receive Government's earnest attention.

Indeed, it would appear that the meeting has already produced some effect on the mind of the Government. Reuter's report of the Johannesburg meeting is quickly followed up by an inspired explanation of the Searle judgment. The wire³, which we publish in full, is a lame and poor attempt to whittle down the full effect of Justice Searle's judgment. The *bonafides* of Bai Mariam is questioned. The question of polygamy has been quite gratuitously introduced. But the Searle judgment is too clear and too precise to need any explanation. The learned Judge himself said that it was a test case. It was treated as such by both the parties, and the only issue before him was whether marriages solemnized according to the tenets of Islam could be recognized by the Cape courts for the purposes of the immigration law. His Lordship's decision on the point is unequivocal and emphatic. Such marriages are invalid. It is on this that the protest of the Johannesburg meeting is based. The Government may not, they dare not, follow up the case to its logical extent. But the legal possibilities are there. They were clearly brought out by Mr. Ritch⁴ in his speech before the meeting. There are some things which we may not worry over until the actuality stares us in the face; but there are some other things whose possible happening, too, must be avoided at all cost. No Indian husband can rest under the possibility of his wife's status being questioned and all the consequences of

¹ This was held on March 30, 1913; for the resolutions passed at the meeting, vide Appendix "Resolutions at Vrededorp Mass Meeting", 30-3-1913.

² Ahmed Mahomed Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association

³ This is not reproduced here.

⁴ L. W. Ritch, barrister, an active associate of Gandhiji.

the possibility becoming an actuality.

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

Indian Opinion, 5-4-1913

28. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XIV]¹

6. HOW MUCH AND HOW OFTEN TO EAT

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

Doctors differ widely on the question: how much one should eat. "In plenty", says one doctor, and he recommends different amounts of various foods according to their properties. Another

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

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

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

As mentioned above, food should be thoroughly masticated. By this means, we shall be able to extract the utmost nourishment from even a small quantity of food and gain in every way. It has been shown that the faces of one who eats only as much as he can comfortably digest are small, well formed, darkish, sticky, dry and free from bad odour. One whose faeces are not so formed must have eaten excessive and unsuitable food and failed to masticate it and mix it with the saliva in his mouth. Thus, from the appearance of our faeces we can make out if we have eaten too much. He whose tongue is coated on rising, who sleeps uneasily and dreams frequently, must have been eating too much. One who has to get up often at night to pass urine must have taken too much liquid. By such detailed observation, anyone can decide the quantity of food required by him. Many people have offensive breath. Clearly, they have not digested their food. At times, those who over-eat get boils and pimples on the face and in the nostrils. But we do not take these affections seriously. Some get continuous hiccups. Others suffer from flatulence. *The simple meaning of all these ailments is that we have turned our stomach into a commode and that we carry this commode with us wherever we go.* If we could spare the time to think quietly about this matter, we would thoroughly despise our own habits. We would definitely eat less and

put an end to dinners and feasts, would make it a rule never to attend or give community dinners. Our hospitality would take an altogether different form, much to our own relief and that of the guest. As for dinner parties, one would forget the very mention of them. We do not invite people to join us when we clean our teeth or when we drink water. Eating a meal is a similar bodily function. Why do we go fussing all over in performing it? Every time we have a guest, we must not make things unbearable both for him and us. The explanation is that our palate has been spoilt through constant indulgence, so that we trump up one excuse after another for eating something. We feed our guest sumptuously in the hope of being similarly treated at his house. Actually, we seek such occasions so that we can have more opportunities of feasting on rich dishes. If we asked someone with a whole-some body to smell our mouth about an hour after we have indulged in such eating and heard his comments, we would certainly have cause to be ashamed of ourselves. There are even some young gourmets who, in order to be able to enjoy eating, take fruit salt immediately after a meal or vomit out what they have already consumed and then fall to eating the sweets again.

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

Let us now consider how often one should eat. Most people in India eat only twice a day. Those who eat thrice will be found to belong to the labouring classes. People learnt eating four times only when they began to ape English ways. Recently, certain societies have been formed in England and America. Their function is to persuade the public to refrain from taking more than two meals a day. They

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

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

advise us to go without breakfast. The night's sleep serves the purpose of food. At daybreak, therefore, we are ready not for food but for work. They believe that we are ready for food only after two or three hours of work. These men, therefore, eat only twice a day and do not even drink tea, etc., between meals. A well-known doctor called Dewey has written a book on this subject in which he has described in a convincing manner the benefits accruing from fasting, cutting out breakfast, generally eating less, etc. My own experience during the past eight years is that, after the period of youth is past, there is absolutely no need for anyone to eat more than twice a day. Once a person's body is fully grown and further development has stopped, he has no need to eat either much or often.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-4-1913

29. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

April 5, 1913

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I cannot plead guilty this time. I have undertaken nothing new. But I must discharge the burdens already taken on whether I like the thing or not. My work is so well concentrated and divided and regular here that practically even a minute counts. But I hope some day to have some rest from this toil. As to food, I can do no more than I am doing. I simply have not the heart. Anyway I do not suppose anyone here is keeping better health on the whole than I am. Then why grumble? More anon.

You shall have the books.

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

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

30. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Monday [April 7, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your letter. It was Miss. Schlesin's ordinary duty to inform not only you but everyone interested in the movement. But I hope to do better next time.

Ritch is entirely wrong. The feeling cannot be inflamed. I have drawn attention to what is a fact. The idea is certainly to educate the people into knowing how invidious distinctions are drawn. If truth costs the advocacy of Lord Amthill or one greater, we must pay the price. Was I now prepared to sacrifice the goodwill of both Lord Amthill and Mr. Gokhale? In these matters Ritch cannot be followed. I never received the wire you refer to. I see you are getting bitter against Mr. Gokhale. He certainly never considered you to be unworthy and how could he who knew everything consider you to be in any way interested? On the contrary, he used to think of you as the only entirely disinterested European of the inner circle. Now you are showing your morbid sensitiveness which sometimes attacks you when you are at your weakest. Your attack on him in defence of Mr. Hosken was good. But your attack on him in regard to yourself is unworthy of your better self. You have become like Cassius brooding too much. I hope you have not also like him because lean on that account.

I hope your books will leave with this. No, Miss Schlesin now goes nothing for all she is doing. Geever was here to say good-bye. I extended the usual hospitality to him but did not have many words with him. We talked platitudes for a few minutes and I left him alone. He understood the situation. I did not interrupt any of my work. When he left he abruptly asked for 25/10 which I gave as I did not want to enter into discussion with him. He said he would return the money. I do not even know his London address.

The concern that Dr. Mehta and Sorabji show about my health shows what a low opinion they have of me. If they gave me any credit for being a hygienist, they would never show that concern. Now you want to add your quota. Is it not too funny for words? How can I be

[a] hygienist if I do not show good health? I assure you it is not being neglected.

UPPER HOUSE

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

31. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[April 7, 1913]¹

The largest and most important book leaves today. Then there remain:

1. *Rural Hygiene*
2. *The Earth in Connection with Preservation of Contagia*
3. *The Dwelling House*
4. *Hints on Fruit Growing*

These will follow. Do you want the educational books also which I took with me? They are most of them worthless. I have looked into them. But *The Dwelling House*, noted above, you as an architect should study. It is a good book. It will leave tomorrow not today. I am having an extract made from it.

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

¹ Although the text of the note is placed in the source as post-script to the following item, dated April 9, it appears from the contents that it was written on this day, following the letter on pp. 118-9.

32. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR¹

[PHOENIX,]
April 9, 1913

INTERIOR
[CAPE TOWN]

HAVE JUST READ IMMIGRATION BILL. IT IS OPEN TO SERIOUS OBJECTIONS FROM INDIANS STANDPOINT. IT DISTURBS, CONTRARY TO A PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENT, SEVERAL EXISTING RIGHTS. SECTION THREE TAKES AWAY SUPREME COURT'S JURISDICTION HITHERTO POSSESSED. CLAUSE (A), SUB-SECTION 1, SECTION FOUR SEEMS TO TAKE AWAY THE RIGHTS OF EDUCATED INDIANS WHO HAVE PREVIOUSLY ENTERED THE CAPE OR NATAL BY REASON OF THEIR EDUCATION. SAME CLAUSE ALSO CONTEMPLATES THE PROHIBITION OF ENTRY INTO THE FREE STATE, ALTHOUGH THE IMMIGRANT MAY HAVE PASSED THE EDUCATION TEST. SUB-SECTION THREE, SECTION FOUR, MATERIALLY RESTRICTS RIGHTS POSSESSED BY THE NATAL AND THE CAPE INDIANS TO RE-ENTER AT ANY PORT. SUB-SECTION 1, SECTION FIVE, DEPRIVES NATAL INDIANS, NOT STRICTLY DOMICILED BUT OF LONG RESIDENCE THEREIN, OF RIGHTS HITHERTO POSSESSED. PROVISIO SECTION FIVE RESTRICTS THE LEGAL EFFECT OF TRANSVAAL REGISTRATION CERTIFICATES AND NATAL RESIDENTIAL CERTIFICATES. BILL DOES NOT APPEAR TO PROTECT RIGHTS OF INTERMIGRATION TO THE CAPE OR NATAL OF EDUCATED INDIANS UNDER EXISTING LEGISLATION AND SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIANS TO ENTER THE CAPE UNDER THE EXISTING CAPE LAWS. LASTLY SEARLE JUDGMENT REQUIRES AMENDMENT OF THE BILL RECOGNIZING INDIAN MARRIAGES CELEBRATED ACCORDING TO INDIAN RELIGIONS IN ORDER TO PROTECT LAWFUL WIVES AND MINOR CHILDREN. HOPE ABOVE OBJECTIONS WILL MEET THE SYMPATHETIC

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

CONSIDERATION OF THE MINISTER AND THUS REVIVAL OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE AND ALL CONSEQUENT SUFFERINGS MAY BE AVOIDED.¹

GANDHI

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

33. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

PHOENIX,
April 9, 1913

INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN

REFERRING TO MY TELEGRAM² OF TODAY, I JUST OBSERVE THAT SUB-SECTION (G), SECTION FIVE, UNLIKE PREVIOUS BILLS DOES NOT PROTECT WIVES AND MINOR CHILDREN OF EDUCATED ENTRANTS. BILL ALSO NOT CLEAR THAT NO DECLARATIONS WILL BE REQUIRED FROM EDUCATED ENTRANTS INTO THE FREE STATE, ALTHOUGH THEY WILL REMAIN LIABLE TO RESTRICTIONS AS TO TRADE, FARMING AND OWNERSHIP OF LAND. COULD I KNOW WHY WORDS ARE ADDED IN SECOND SCHEDULE TO EXTEND REPEAL ACT 2, 1907, WHICH DON'T APPEAR IN THE LAST BILL?³

GANDHI

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

¹ For the reply from the Minister of the Interior, *vide* Appendix "Telegram from Minister of Interior", 15-4-1913.

² *Vide* the preceding item.

³ For the reply from the Minister of the Interior, *vide* Appendix "Telegram from Minister of Interior", 15-4-1913.

34. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

PHOENIX,
NATAL,
April 9, 1913

DEAR MR. LANE,

The papers have given the information that General Smuts¹ will be in charge of the Immigration Bill whose text I have only just seen. I enclose herewith copy of the telegram² I have addressed to the Government which will show General Smuts how seriously open to objection the Bill is, examined purely from the passive resistance standpoint. You will see that my telegram covers practically the whole ground. You may remember that some of these objections were discussed thoroughly, and General Smuts, so far as I am aware, promised to meet them all. One thing has been omitted from the telegram. In the correspondence between us of last year, I questioned whether declaration would be required from educated entrants under the Free State reservation clause. If it be eligible, the clause will have to be altered so that, whilst the prohibition against the ownership of fixed property, farming, etc., continues, the declaration is dispensed with as regards those who enter under the proposed measure as immigrants into the Union.

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

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

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

² *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", 9-4-1913.

revival of the awful struggle is a certainty.

*I am,
Yours sincerely,*

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

[PS.]

You will see that I have sent a further telegram¹ to the Interior as a new discovery has been just made. In it I have brought out the Free State difficulty.

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

35. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Wednesday [April 9, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I like yours to Dr. F. but not to Mrs. Mayo. Was it dictated? It is cold and prosaic. Both the letters show in what mood you are at present. The best of you is that you can conceal nothing. More when we meet. My letter to Lane and wires to the Government² you will get from Miss Schlesin. The Bill as published is rotten and there seems to be no help from passive resistance.³ I sent off *The Dwelling House* yesterday.

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

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

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

² *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", 9-4-1913 and "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", 9-4-1913.

³ *ibid.*

36. TELEGRAM TO BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

[PHOENIX,
After April 9, 1913]

BIAS¹

JOHANNESBURG

READ BILL UNACCEPTABLE SENT FULL TELEGRAMS² CAPE. HOPE
ALL READY FIGHT.

GANDHI

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

37. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR-GENERAL

21-24, COURT CHAMBERS,
RISSIK STREET,
JOHANNESBURG,
April 10, 1913

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL
PRETORIA
SIR,

I have the honour to enclose herewith, in triplicate, copies of Resolutions³ passed at a Mass Meeting of British Indians held at the Hamidia Islamic Hall, Vrededorp, on the 30th ultimo; and to request that His Excellency will be good enough to have same forwarded to the Hon'ble the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India.

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

Colonial Office Records: 551/39

¹ Telegraphic address of the British Indian Association.

² The reference, apparently, is to the telegrams to the Minister of the Interior dated April 9, 1913; *vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", 9-4-1913.

³ *Vide* Appendix "Resolutions at Vrededorp Mass Meeting", 30-3-1913; also, "The Storm Signal", 5-4-1913.

38. *LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR*

PHOENIX,
April 11, 1913

TO
THE SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR¹
CAPE TOWN

SIR,

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

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

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

I note that your letter seems to suggest that the entrants will be restricted to certain provinces. I beg to point out that the settlement contemplates the ability of educated entrants, under a general Bill governing the whole Union, to enter and settle in any province of the Union subject, nevertheless, to the local disabilities not connected with immigration. It is submitted that it is the essence of the compromise that, as to immigration, new Indian immigrants are not to suffer any

¹ E. M. Gorges

disability not imposed upon any other section or race. This, however, is a matter which is now, I note from your wire, among the other points raised by me, under the consideration of the Government.

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

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

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

39. LETTER TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS

[PHOENIX,]

April 11, 1913

THE REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS

PRETORIA

SIR,

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

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

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

claimants and obviate trouble and delay in future.

*We remain,
Your faithfully,*

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

40. THE NEW BILL

The long-promised Immigration Bill has at last seen the light of day. We might say, at once, that it is disappointing, it is worse than its predecessor, and fails in material respects to give effect to the provisional settlement. Elsewhere will be found a detailed list of the points¹ in which it falls short of the settlement. It is a pity that this is so. The Government have so often declared their intention of carrying out the terms of the settlement that the Bill will come as a rude shock to those who have at all cared to follow that settlement. The Bill confirms the suspicion that the Government only want to give us what they must, that they wish ill even to those who have established rights in the Union, and that, by hook or by crook, they desire to compass our ruin. In carrying out this ruthless policy, they have gone as far as they dare in their precious Bill. If it becomes law in its present form, it will whittle away some of our cherished and existing rights and make our position, insecure as it already is, doubly so. The Bill plays with words regarding the Free State difficulty and is quite on a par with the Immigration Act of the Transvaal in unscrupulous subtlety. The immigration law of the Transvaal, as we have pointed out so often, has created a *legal* racial bar without anyone, save those well versed in the Transvaal laws, knowing it. So it seems to us, does this Bill create a *legal* racial bar without a superficial reader being able to detect it.

Unless the Government yield and amend the Bill materially, passive resistance must revive, and, with it, all the old miseries, sorrows and sufferings. Homes, just re-established, must be broken up. Those passive resisters who have resumed their ordinary vocations, must exchange them for that of becoming once more His Majesty's guests in his gaols in South Africa. We do still hope that the Government will

¹ *Vide* "Its Effect", 12-4-1913.

see their way to grant relief. But, if they do not, we must learn the lesson again of finding pleasure in pain.

Indian Opinion, 12-4-1913

41. THE MARRIAGE IMBROGLIO

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

Mr. Cachalia has received an apparently soothing reply from the Government on the resolutions of the recently held Johannesburg mass meeting. The Government assure Mr. Cachalia and, through him, the community, that they do not intend to disturb the practice that has hitherto existed, in spite of the Searle judgment. We accept the assurance but it is not worth much. In vital matters, assurances which are in conflict with an actual legal position can afford little relief. For the question is not, in the present case, that of introducing a few Indian wives into the Union per year, but it is one of determining the theoretical status of Indian women. In plain language, the Searle judgment reduces their status from that of being honoured and honourable wives of their husbands to one of concubinage. In the eye of the law, now Mrs. Cachalia, Mrs. Naidoo, Mrs. Cama and Mrs. Gandhi are concubines, and their offspring not honoured and beloved sons or daughters of their parents but illegitimate children. What comfort can it be to these husbands that, though the law may consider their dear ones as the lepers of society, the Government will condescend not to do so? So much for the sentiment of the matter, which, to us, is the reality. It often happens that what hurts the sentiment also hurts the matter. At any rate, such is the position in this

¹ These are not given here.

marriage question. The Janubie case¹ illustrates our point. The Government's condescension is of no avail to the poor widow. The Master of the Supreme Court has no discretion to do otherwise than carry out a law which he has to administer. So long as the Searle judgment stands, he must treat Janubie, not as the widow of her husband but as a kept woman, and as such disentitled to remission of succession duty. With all the good-will in the world, the Government can grant no relief, for they cannot direct the Master as they can an Immigration Officer. Hence it is absolutely necessary to amend the law as requested by the great meeting of Johannesburg. The Government have a golden opportunity of granting the necessary relief. They can do so by slightly amending the Immigration Bill they have just published, and it will be the best earnest of their good-will.

Indian Opinion, 12-4-1913

42. ITS EFFECT

The above Bill² fails to carry out the provisional settlement because it takes away, contrary to the settlement, existing rights, i.e.,

(1) Section 3 takes away the Court's jurisdiction, hitherto exercised in terms of existing statutes now to be repealed. (2) Clause (a) sub-section 1 of Section 4 seems to take away rights acquired by educated Indians who may have entered the Cape or Natal by passing the education test.

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

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

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

¹ *Vide* "Janubie Case", 12-4-1913.

² The reference is to the Immigration Bill.

destroy the title to residence created by the certificates.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Indian Opinion, 12-4-1913

43. THE NEW BILL AND THE OLD

There are many points of difference and of similarity between the above Bill and the abortive draft of 1912¹. The structure of the new Bill is very dissimilar to that of the 1912 measure. Section 1 corresponds with sub-sections 1 and 2 of Section 3 of the 1912 Bill, but sub-section 3 of Section 3 is elaborated and extended, both as to scope and methods of administration, in the twelve sub-sections of Section 2 of the new Bill, providing the machinery for appeals to Immigration Boards, which are to have, subject to instructions to be given them by the Minister pursuant to the general terms of the Bill, final jurisdiction except on questions of domicile, and Section 3, excluding the jurisdiction of the courts of law, except in matters of domicile, is entirely new.

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

Sections 5 of the two Bills correspond, except that sub-section (f) confines the exemption to persons domiciled in any Province, persons otherwise resident not being protected. No provision is made for the recognition of non-Christian Indian marriages or for the protection of the children of these marriages. South Africa-born Indians, who have today the right to proceed to the Cape Province unmolested, are deprived of that right by the first proviso of this section, whilst the second proviso enables the authorities to prevent the return to South Africa of any Indian who has been absent from the country for more than three years. This proviso is new. Sections 6 of each Bill, though differing considerably in language, have substantially the same effect in each. Section 7 corresponds substantially with sub-section 2 of Section 28 of the 1912 Bill. Sections 8, 9 and 10 of each substantially correspond. Chapter III of the new Bill corresponds

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

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

Indian Opinion, 12-4-1913

44. JANUBIE CASE

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

¹ *Vide* "The Marriage Imbroglio", 12-4-1913.

² These are not given here.

pretation, which rests with the courts. The Government can permit the entry of our wives by issuing orders to the officers in charge, so that we may be pacified. But it is for the courts to accept our children as legal heirs. If our marriages are treated as legally invalid, the courts will be able to offer us no relief. The difficulty can be solved only through amendment of the law.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 12-4-1913

45. FOR HINDUS

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

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 12-4-1913

46. *REPLY TO THE ASSOCIATION*

Mr. Cachalia has received a reply to the resolutions on the subject of marriages passed at a meeting of the British Indian Association in Johannesburg and communicated to the Government at Cape Town.¹ The Minister for the Interior says in the reply that he fails to understand why the decision of Mr. Justice Searle should have agitated the community so much. The community is not unaware [he says] of the legal position and the Government's view on the subject of marriages. The Government has frequently stated that, whatever the legal position, it does not intend to enforce the law in an oppressive manner. If a woman's marriage has been celebrated according to the rites of Islam or any other religion, if the evidence adduced in support of the marriage is satisfactory and if it is shown that the husband has no other wife in South Africa, she is allowed to land. Officers have been instructed not to depart from the practice that has obtained so far, the Searle judgment notwithstanding. This reply goes to prove the correctness of our inference, based on a Reuter telegram, regarding the effect of the resolutions passed at the meeting of the Association. There is no doubt that the Government has been taken aback by the resolution about satyagraha. It appears from [its] telegram that for the present women will not be subjected to further harassment; but this is not enough to reassure us. We cannot rest in peace so long as the sword of the Searle judgment continues to hang over our heads. If, in fact, the Government did not intend to make any change in the current practice, why did it seek a categorical ruling from Mr. Justice Searle? Why was Bai Mariam detained? Even, according to the Government, Bai Mariam's co-wife is in India. We do not know whether her husband has another wife. It is, however, a sufficient reply to the Government that even if he has another wife, she is in India. Thus, the assurance given to us in the telegram is an after-thought on the part of the Government. If, moreover, we consider the position of Janubie in this context, we shall see that the Government will not be able to intervene in her case. If her marriage is not treated as legally

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Governor-General", 10-4-1913.

valid, she forfeits her right and, until the law is amended, neither the Government nor anyone else is empowered to grant us relief. The Parliament alone can do so. It rests with the Government to move the Parliament for the purpose. Now that the Parliament is in session, and the Immigration Bill is before it, the Government has a golden opportunity of redressing our grievance if it really means to do so. If we are sincere enough, and so is the Association, the Government cannot but be sincere likewise. If we mean what we say, we shall hold meetings everywhere to extend support to the Association's resolutions and, if the Association is sincere, it will not yield an inch whether it receives any support or not.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 12-4-1913

47. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XV]

7. EXERCISE

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

What is this exercise? Nature has so arranged things for us that we can be continuously taking exercise in one way or another. If we

¹ An Indian game

but think calmly enough, we shall see that a majority of people in the world live on agriculture. All members in a farmer's family have some form of exercise. It is only if they work eight, ten or even more hours every day in the fields or elsewhere that they can get their daily bread. They need no separate exercise for the mind. A farmer cannot work without applying his mind. He must be able to test the nature of his soil, must watch changes of weather, must know how to manipulate his plough skilfully and be generally familiar with the movements of the stars, the sun and the moon. However clever a city-dweller may be, every time he goes to a farmer's house, he feels altogether out of his element. The farmer can say how seed should be sown; he is familiar with all the by-ways in the vicinity and knows all the men in the neighbourhood. By looking at the stars he can judge the direction even at night. He can make certain deductions from the voice and speed of birds ; for instance, when certain birds cluster or sing together, he sees in it a sign of the approach of the monsoon or some other similar phenomenon. Thus, the farmer knows enough of astronomy, geography and geology to serve his needs. He has to feed his children and has, therefore, some idea of the duties of man, and, residing as he does in the vast open spaces of this earth, he naturally becomes aware of the greatness of God. Physically, it goes without saying, he is always sturdy. He is his own physician, when ill. Thus, we can see, he does have an educated mind.

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

be able to judge about movements of prices and may be proficient in the art of salesmanship, but this is not enough to exercise fully his mental faculties. In this type of work, the body does perform some movements now and then, but they are too slight to be of any account.

In the West, they have invented games like cricket for such people. Another way is to observe some days in the year as holidays, when more games are played, and to do some light reading by way of mental exercise. This is one method which we may consider. To be sure, spending time in sports does give some exercise to the body, but exercise of this kind does nothing to improve the mind. We can see the truth of this from numerous instances. What proportion of men of high intellectual calibre shall we find among those who regularly play cricket or from among the large number who play football? In India, what do we observe as regards the mental development of the princes who give their time to sports? Again, how many of those with well-developed intellectual powers are sportsmen? Experience shows that highly intellectual men are seldom sportsmen as well. The British nowadays are very much given to sports. Their own poet, Kipling, has described these sportsmen as enemies of the mind, and adds that they will also prove themselves enemies to their country. In India, our intellectuals seem to have found a different way. They provide exercise for their minds but relatively very little or none for their bodies. These people are lost to us. Their bodies are enfeebled by excessive intellectual work. They are continually pursued by some ailment or other and just when they have gained enough experience to be of real use to the country, they pass away. From this we may conclude that neither exercising the brain alone nor the body alone is enough and also that exercise which serves no useful purpose, namely, that derived from sports, has little meaning. Real exercise is that which trains, continuously, both mind and body alike. He alone who takes such exercise can preserve good health. The farmer is the only such person.

Then, what are those to do who are not farmers? The exercise obtained from sports such as cricket leaves much to be desired. We must, therefore, think of a form of exercise something like what the farmer gets. Businessmen and others similarly placed can make a garden round their house and regularly spend two to four hours a day digging there. Hawkers get exercise from their own work itself. If we

are living in a rented room, we should not raise any difficulty about working in another's land, for that would indicate a small mind. We would derive nothing but benefit from working on land, whosoever's it might be. The appearance of our house would be improved and we would have the satisfaction of having looked after another's land. It is necessary to say a few words for those who cannot find an opportunity to work on land or who do not favour such work in any circumstances. Apart from working on land, the best form of exercise is walking. It has been truly described as the king of physical exercises. Our *fakirs* and *sadhus* are very healthy. One reason for this is that they do not use horses, carriages or other vehicles. Their journeys are always performed on foot. There has been a famous American writer named Thoreau¹, who has written a highly thought-provoking book on the subject of walking. According to him, the writings of one who refuses to leave his house on the excuse of lack of time and who undertakes no physical activity, are bound to be anaemic like himself. Speaking of his own experience, he says that when he wrote his best books he was doing his longest walking. He thought nothing of walking four or five hours at a stretch. Just as we cannot work when we are hungry, so it should be with exercise. We do not know how to measure mental work, therefore, we are not able to realize that mental work done unaccompanied by physical exercise will inevitably be dull and ineffectual. Walking results in rapid circulation of blood in all the parts of the body, promotes movements in every organ and strengthens it. One should remember that the arms move during walking. We obtain fresh air by going for a walk and behold the beauties of Nature. One should not take walks always in the same place or in narrow lanes but go out into fields and groves. We will then be able to appreciate in some measure the beauty of Nature. A walk of a mile or two can scarcely be called walking. A walk, to be worth the name, should cover ten or twelve miles. Those who cannot do this regularly can take long walks on Sundays. A certain patient, who used to suffer from indigestion, went one day to an experienced *vaidya*² for some

¹ Henry David Thoreau (1817-62); American philosopher, naturalist and writer; author, among others, of *Walden, or Life in the Woods* and *Excursions*. Vide also "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience", 7-9-1907.

² Physician practising *Ayurveda*, an indigenous system of medicine

pills. The *vaidya* advised him to take short but regular walks. The patient protested that he was too weak. The *vaidya* realized that he was, in fact, a timid man. He thereupon took the patient with him in his carriage. On the way he purposely dropped his whip. The patient, out of politeness, had to get out to pick it up. The *vaidya* immediately drove off. The poor patient had to follow, panting hard for breath. The *vaidya* having made sure that the former had covered a fairly long distance, turned the carriage back, picked him up and told him that, since walking was the only medicine for him, he —the *vaidya*—had forced him to walk even at the risk of appearing cruel. By this time, however, the patient was ravenously hungry and had forgotten all about the whip episode. He thanked the doctor, went home and ate his fill. Those who are not in the habit of walking and suffer from indigestion and its accompanying ills should try the experiment.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 12-4-1913

48. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR¹

April 14, 1913

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th instant, in reply to my telegram² of the 2nd instant, regarding the recent judgment given by Mr. Justice Searle.

I am to submit that it had never, before the judgment of Mr. Justice Searle, become clear to the community that non-Christian marriages not registered in South Africa would not be recognized by the South African Courts. Mr. Justice Wessels' judgment³, delivered sometime ago, went perilously near such a pronouncement, but his judgment turned rather upon the legality or otherwise of bigamous marriages than upon the validity of marriages celebrated according to the rites of the various great Indian faiths. As the Hon'ble the Minister will have noticed, Mr. Justice Searle's decision was not based upon any precedent, but was an original pronouncement upon the Marriage Law, the case before him having been considered a test-case.

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

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

¹ This was signed by A. M. Cachalia.

² This is not available.

³ *Vide* "Mrs. Jussat's Case", 9-3-1912 & "What is a Wife?", 11-5-1912.

⁴ *Vide* "Janubie Case", 12-4-1913.

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

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

Indian Opinion, 19-4-1913

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

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

49. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[PHOENIX,]

April 15, 1913

THE INTERIOR

AM GRATEFUL GOVERNMENT FULL REPLY¹ STOP REGRET
HOWEVER REPLY UNSATISFACTORY. COMMUNITY'S EXPERIENCE
BOARDS HITHERTO MOST UNHAPPY. RIGHT APPROACHING SUP-
REME COURT CHERISHED PRIVILEGE STOP BOTH PREVIOUS BILLS
THEORETICAL RIGHT ENTRY FREE STATE WAS TO BE RECO-
GNIZED. HOWEVER CONVENIENT SUB-SECTION THREE SECTION
FOUR MAY BE IT CONSTITUTES CLEAR DEPARTURE EXISTING LAW
PRACTICE STOP PRESENT NATAL IMMIGRATION ACT GENERALLY
ACCEPTS THREE YEARS RESIDENCE EQUIVALENT DOMICILE.
RETENTION SUCH CLAUSE FOR NATAL CANNOT CONFER
RIGHT NOT HITHERTO EXISTING STOP IN NATAL INDIAN
ABSENTING NO MATTER HOW MANY YEARS CAN LEGALLY
RE-ENTER IF HE CAN ESTABLISH PREVIOUS DOMICILE AS
LIBERALLY DEFINED BY NATAL ACT STOP PROVISIONAL SETTLE-
MENT NEVER CONTEMPLATED THAT EXISTING INDIAN
RIGHTS COULD BE DIMINISHED BY NEW BILL IF EUROPEAN RIGHTS
COULD ALSO BE DIMINISHED STOP MATTER OF FACT VAST
MAJORITY EUROPEANS NOT AFFECTED BY PROVISIO BUT ALMOST
EVERY INDIAN ABSENTING HIMSELF OVER THREE YEARS WILL
ASSUREDLY LOSE RIGHTS RESIDENCE A POSITION WHICH I
SUBMIT IS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE STOP INTER-MIGRATION IS
SUCH A TANGIBLE RIGHT AND CAN SO EASILY BE LEFT
UNDISTURBED PRESENT BILL THAT PROMISES OF MERE
ADMINISTRATIVE LIBERALITY WILL HARDLY SATISFY THOSE
CONCERNED STOP EFFECT SEARLE JUDGMENT CAN BE WHOLLY
COUNTERACTED IN MY OPINION ONLY BY LEGISLATION STOP
IT IS SUBMITTED WIVES AND MINOR CHILDREN EDUCATED
INDIANS SHOULD BE PROTECTED BY CLEAR DEFINITION AS IN
PREVIOUS BILL STOP IF MINISTER RECOGNIZE LEGAL POSSIBILITY
EDUCATED INDIAN ENTERING FREE STATE DECLARATION BY

¹ Vide Appendix "Telegram from Minister of Interior", 29-5-1913.

HIM UPON ENTERING CLEARLY UNNECESSARY AND IF INSISTED UPON WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE IMMIGRANTS DECLARATION NOT REQUIRED FROM OTHER IMMIGRANTS STOP WHILE ADMISSION IN FACT TO FREE STATE UNNECESSARY EXISTENCE RIGHT ENTER UNDER GENERAL BILL REQUIRED FOR RESPECTING THEORY EQUALITY IN POINT IMMIGRATION STOP YOUR REPLY DOES NOT COVER QUESTION EXISTING RIGHTS SOUTH AFRICA BORN INDIANS ENTER CAPE STOP REGRET REFERENCE PASSIVE RESISTANCE HAS BEEN INTERPRETED AS THREAT AND OFFENDED MINISTER NOTHING FURTHER FROM MY DESIRE THAN TO USE THREAT OR GIVE OFFENCE BUT IN MENTIONING POSSIBILITY REVIVAL PASSIVE RESISTANCE I HAVE ONLY MENTIONED WHAT I KNOW IS TRUE I HAD THOUGHT THAT BY THIS TIME GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE SOUTH AFRICA HAD RECOGNIZED THAT PASSIVE RESISTANCE BY UNREPRESENTED COMMUNITY AND OF TYPE PRACTISED BY MY COUNTRYMEN WAS A CLEAN LEGITIMATE METHOD DEMONSTRATING INTENSITY FEELING AND SECURING REDRESS IF IT GIVE OFFENCE EITHER TO GOVERNMENT OR TO PEOPLE SOUTH AFRICA CO-WORKERS AND MYSELF CAN ONLY TAKE THE CONSEQUENCE AND UNDERGO ORDEAL HOWEVER TERRIBLE FOR A CAUSE DEAR TO US AS OUR OWN LIVES AND DEARER STILL IF POSSIBLE.¹

GANDHI

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

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

50. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR

[PHOENIX,]

April 15, 1913

SIR,

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

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

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

I trust that the Government do not expect that these marriages should be solemnized or registered before Marriage Officers in the Union, in order that they might be accepted as valid in the eye of the law here. I gratefully acknowledge the consideration that the Government propose to show by directing Immigration Officers not to disturb the existing practice. But the relief that would be thus afforded would not sufficiently meet the case if only because no administrative

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Minister of Interior", 1-4-1913.

action can deal with the legal consequences that are sure to arise from the Searle judgment.

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

In my humble opinion, the issue raised by the Searle judgment can be effectively dealt with only by amending the marriage laws of the Union so as to legalize marriages celebrated according to the rites¹ of non-Christian religions and performed before non-Christian priests.²

I have etc.,

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

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

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

51. LETTER TO DRUMMOND CHAPLIN

[PHOENIX,]

April 16, 1913

MY DEAR MR. CHAPLIN,

I took the liberty of supplying¹ the long wire² I had to send to the Minister of Interior regarding the Immigration Bill which, I see from your letter to Polak, was duly delivered to you and was engaging your attention. I now take the liberty of sending you copy of the further communications that have passed between the Minister and myself. Among the copies you will see the correspondence regarding the recent judgment delivered by Justice Searle whose effect is to invalidate all Indian marriages. Among the points raised is, therefore, one asking for an amendment of the law of the existing legislation so as to restore the legal status as it was understood to exist before the judgment.³ The other points need not be commented upon by me; they were, as you may recall, discussed⁴ at the Conference held at Mr. Hosken's house during Mr. Gokhale's stay in Johannesburg.

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

I am,

Yours truly,

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

¹ The original has "replying", obviously a typing error.

² *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", 9-4-1913.

³ *Vide* the preceding item.

⁴ The original has "disgust", evidently a typing error.

52. CONVERSATION WITH KASTURBA GANDHI¹

[Before April 19, 1913]²

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

Indian Opinion, 1-10-1913

¹ This is an extract from the column "News of the Struggle", a weekly feature in *Indian Opinion*.

² Gandhiji intimated to Gokhale on April 19 Kasturba's decision to join the struggle, but requested him not to make it public; *vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", 19-4-1913.

53. THE IMMIGRATION BILL

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

¹ The court of trial had ruled that entry of his son's name in his registration certificate did not entitle the former to register. *Vide* "Letter to Members of Asiatic Conference", before 18-11-1910; "Chhotabhai Case", 26-11-1910; "Chhotabhai Case", 28-1-1911 & "Chhotabhai Case", 4-2-1911.

part of his Government, to treat the resident Asiatics with justice and liberality, is to be interpreted.

Indian Opinion, 19-4-1913

54. LORD AMPHILL'S COMMITTEE

The representation, made by Lord Amphill's¹ Committee, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies is a weighty and exhaustive document. It enables one to study, in a connected and compact form, the march of events in South Africa regarding Indian matters. The Committee has shown clearly how the cases cited by it evidence a policy, on the part of the Union Government, of exterminating the resident Indian population. The administration of the immigration laws of South Africa makes Indian residence in it more and more difficult. And the licensing law of Natal, at any rate, steps in where the immigration laws fail to compass our ruin. The Committee's letter will be a difficult document for the local Government to answer. There is one point made by the Committee which will come as a surprise both to the Imperial and the local Governments. The latter have so often stated that South African law does not recognize polygamy. But the Committee has been able to show that it has been recognized even as late as 1907 and that, too, by a statute. Sections 6 and 7 of Act 2, 1907, of Natal provide:

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

Sec. 7. The Protector of Indian Immigrants may, on the application of any Indian immigrants, men and women, who shall have

¹ Arthur Oliver Villiers Russell, Second Baron of Amphill (1869-1936); Governor of Madras, 1899-1906; acted as Viceroy and Governor-General of India in 1904. He took active interest in the Indian struggle in South Africa and was Chairman of South Africa British Indian Committee; wrote the introduction to Doke's biography of Gandhiji, *vide* Appendix "Lord Amphill's Introduction to *M. K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa*" 26-8-1909.

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

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

Indian Opinion, 19-4-1913

55. NATAL INDIANS, BEWARE!

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

Indian Opinion, 19-4-1913

56. SNARE

Like a hunter, the Union Government lays a number of snares for us. Whichever of them catches us, the Government will have its prey. On one side, there are rigorous restrictions on children, on the other, humiliation of women; thirdly, harassment about licences; fourthly, the new Bill; and now, for those in Natal, a net has been cast among the Indian people, with a bait that smells sweet but contains poison inside. The number of fish that take in the bait will be so much of a gain to the Government. According to a notice in the *Gazette* of April 11, those who wish to leave Natal for temporary periods may, if they so desire, apply for such permits for absence. It will be for the officer to decide whether or not to grant a permit. Any Indian going out may have one on payment of £1 if he supplies the information required by the officer. One of the conditions of the permit will be that the person concerned must return within one year. If he does so, he will be allowed to disembark without going through an education test. On the expiry of one year, the permit will lapse. A permit that has been used once cannot be used again, but must be surrendered to the officer. Here, a bait is held out that there will be no education test on return. Before issuing a permit, however, they will have done enough to make the applicant gasp; what more can they put him to, within a year's time? Let us consider the consequences of applying for such a permit. First, the applicant will have to pay, as it were, a fine of £1. He will have to pay this fine every time he leaves. Secondly, the officer will put him to a test on every such occasion. Thirdly, if a great many Indians take out these permits, the Government can argue that the provision for three years' absence in the new Bill is a big concession. What objection, besides, can be raised against the limit of one year? As against these dangers, the advantages of not taking out such a permit are many. Anyone who leaves may remain outside without the least anxiety and, on returning, re-enter by furnishing the [required] evidence. If he keeps the evidence ready before leaving, there will hardly be any difficulty. Another important advantage is that a person not applying for a permit would have done no harm to the community. We hope that not a single Indian will look at this permit.

We also hope that those who read this note will explain it carefully to others and advise them not to walk into the snare. It is the duty of Durban leaders to protest against this notice without losing any time and to tell the Government in strong, clear terms that the community, instead of regarding this notice as having been issued for its benefit, thinks it injurious and insulting to them.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-4-1913

57. NEW BILL

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

to rouse himself and others from such lethargy. If any of them, thinking that it is none of his concern, holds back, he too will go down along with the others.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-4-1913

58. MRS. PANKHURST'S SACRIFICE

All Indians are familiar with the celebrated Mrs. Pankhurst¹ who has been fighting for franchise for British women. This lady has broken all bounds in fighting. She advises women to plunder, to destroy. We are against all these things, but about her courage, there is no doubt whatsoever. She has money, and much ability; she has used these in the service of her chosen cause. She is no longer young. She had never before known suffering and has not been trained to bear it; still, she is ever in the front volunteering to suffer. A short while ago, the house of Mr. Lloyd George, Finance Minister, was burnt down at Mrs. Pankhurst's instigation. She willingly took on herself the entire responsibility for this. She was prosecuted and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. Even in gaol, these ladies are bent on harassing the authorities and so getting themselves released. Accordingly, though Mrs. Pankhurst was offered a variety of delicious dishes in gaol, she refused to touch them and fasted for eight days. She was about to collapse, and was, therefore, released. And now this brave lady is in hospital in a critical condition. This kind of fighting is not satyagraha. A satyagrahi's object is to get into a prison and stay there. He will not even dream of harming others. If, however, we leave aside her mode of fighting and only think of the suffering she has borne, we shall find much to learn from her. Despite numerous difficulties in their way, she and her companions do not yet feel dispirited, nor are they likely to do so. They will struggle on till death. Though a woman, Mrs. Pankhurst is as manly as any man. Indians should emulate all this courage, for the British women being without the franchise is

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

nothing compared to the disabilities we suffer.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-4-1913

59. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XVI]

8. ATTIRE

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

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

Let us first examine the basic purpose of clothes. In the natural state man wears no clothes. Men and women cover only their private parts, the rest of the body remaining bare. This makes their skin tough and strong. Such men and women find it easy to withstand the rigours of the open air. They do not suddenly catch cold. In the chapter on air, we saw that we breathe not only through the nose but also through the countless pores of the skin. By covering ourselves with clothes, we obstruct this most important function of the skin. In cold countries, man had to cover himself with more and more clothes as he grew

more and more lazy. He could no longer bear the cold. In course of time, this became a regular custom. By and by, people came to look upon clothes as a mode of personal adornment, and, ultimately, costumes came to be a means of identifying one's community, etc.

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

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

rovement [in his dress] and safeguard his health.

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

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

We fall into the clutches of many diseases through our feet. The feet of those who wear shoes, etc., become tender. With shoes on, the feet perspire and emit an offensive odour. Anyone sensitive to smell can scarcely bear to stand near such a person when he is removing his shoes and socks, so offensive is the odour of the feet. We call shoes "shields against thorns" or "protectors of the feet", which means that we need wear shoes only when we have to walk among thorns or stir out in extreme heat or cold, and even then, we need cover, not the entire feet, but only the soles; when necessary, therefore, one may put on only sandals. Anyone who suffers from headaches, physical weakness, aching feet, and anyone used to wearing of shoes should try walking barefoot. He will soon discover the advantages of keeping one's feet uncovered, in contact with the earth and free from perspiration. Sandals are an excellent form of footwear and also comparatively cheap. In Africa, they are made by Trappists¹ near Pinetown for anyone who wants them and one can also get them made in Phoenix. The average individual will not have the courage to use sandals only.

¹ Monks of Cistercian order noted for silence and other austerities.

Even such a person should always keep his feet uncovered whenever possible and use sandals when he must cover the soles and can do without shoes.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-4-1913

60. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

PHOENIX,

April 19, 1913

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

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

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

I hope that you will do what you can for the London Committee.² I am going on with the collections as I promised I would. As

¹ *Vide* "Conversation with Kasturba Gandhi," before 19-4-1913.

² South Africa British Indian Committee (SABIC)

soon as I have [a] decent sum by me, it will be passed on to you. We have stopped sending anything to Maud Polak¹ since this month.

It is likely that Maud will discuss with you her conduct regarding her visit to S. A. I wrote² to her saying that she had misled me and that you too had been misled. In spite of the breach of the very personal relation between us, she has continued to do her work on the Committee satisfactorily. She thinks that she is simply the victim of a misunderstanding. I am disinclined to believe it and I have said so to her. I wish I could have saved you the bother of having to revive painful recollections. But I was bound to let you know what had passed between Maud and myself.

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

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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

¹ H. S. L. Polak's sister, was Assistant Honorary Secretary, SABIC

² This letter is not available.

61. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Friday [April 25, 1913]¹

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Manilal has taken out your things. He will pack them and send by goods. He does odd things only in the morning, hence the slow progress of the work.

You will be pleased to know that Devdas and Fakiri ran to the station and back in 35 minutes and Sivpujan in 29.

Gokhale had a nervous breakdown. Beyond the letter you saw he has not written to me, either, as he promised to on the work itself. But why should you even for his sake mislead people? If you feel that he should have written and he has not, you could certainly say you expected a letter but had not received one. You cannot hide behind the shelter of the statement that you belong to the majority and I to the minority.

Do you remember the story of Dr. Primrose in *The Vicar of Wakefield*? He used to give a horse to the guest whom he did not want back. He lost both the horse and the guest and was satisfied. This is a fine illustration of returning good for evil. Geever asked me just when he was to go to the station and I to my work for the money. I asked, I think, exactly two questions. They did not satisfy me. But not to give would have caused delay, waste and irritation. I thought the best thing was to give even from the fund I have and be done with. It was the penalty I paid for having countenanced him at first and then having inflicted him on you. Am I clear? You may pursue the subject still more when we meet.

I may leave here on Monday, though I am not sure. I may stay a day or two and go to the Cape Town.

From Phoenix the resisters will be Mrs. Gandhi, Chhaganlal, Mrs. Chhaganlal, Mrs. Maganlal, Jeki, Hanif, Coopoo, Manilal,

¹ From the reference to Gokhale's nervous breakdown, to which reference is made by Gandhiji in his letter to Gokhale dated April 19, 1913; vide "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", 19-4-1913. The Friday following this date fell on April 25, 1913.

Govind, Ramdas, Sivpujan, Sam and Solomon. I may have omitted a boy's name. The women's names are for your use only. Miss Schlesin knows I think that Mrs. Gandhi and Jeki will join. But I do not think I wrote about the others. I have sketched out an elaborate programme which I have not the time to set forth here.

Hoosen Doud's son has arrived a wreck vomiting blood. Perhaps you would like to write a word of sympathy to him or Doud.

I hope Albret will pardon me for not writing in reply to his advice.

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

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

62. TELEGRAM TO KALREY

[PHOENIX,
April 26, 1913]

KALREY

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

GANDHI

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

¹ This was on April 26.

63. £3 TAX DISAPPOINTMENT

We learn from an authoritative source that, owing to the exigencies of the political situation, the Government do not intend to introduce this session a Bill to repeal the £3 tax required, under Act 17 of 1895, of ex-indentured Indians who remain free in Natal at the expiry of their contracts. The news will come as a shock and a bitter disappointment not only to those immediately affected, but to the entire Indian community, who rightly regard the impost as a tax upon its honour and social integrity. Because General Botha¹ and General Hertzog² are engaged in a party quarrel, the business of the whole country must come to a standstill. General Botha has adopted the attitude that he is fighting his opponent in the interests of the Empire. He does not seem to realize the inconsistency of that attitude with his inability to keep his unwritten pledge to the Hon. Mr. Gokhale to repeal this tax at an early date. It is an open secret that the only reason why no public announcement of the intentions of the Government was made during Mr. Gokhale's visit was because Ministers desired, before definitely committing themselves, to ascertain the feeling of the Natal members. The views of most of these, as is now well known from General Smuts' statement in the House on the Financial Relations Bill, are against the retention of the tax as inequitable and there is, therefore, no valid excuse for the dilatory tactics of the Government beyond a cowardly fear to arouse further antagonism from the Free State reactionaries, who are in no way interested in the question beyond their notorious obsession by [sic] anti-colour mania. We have no doubt that Mr. Gokhale, who is now on his way to England, will have certain home truths to speak to His Majesty's Ministers at the gross manner of the betrayal of his own and the Indian community's hopes. The least the Government can do, to save their face, is to give instructions that the tax and its arrears are not to be demanded, pending the passing of the necessary repealing legislation next session.

Indian Opinion, 26-4-1913

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

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

64. *THAT BILL*

The Immigrants' Restriction Bill is apparently meeting with all-round opposition. The scathing criticism of the *Natal Witness* on the withdrawal of the right of access to the Supreme Court, except in certain rare cases, is highly appropriate. It is not the autocracy of little "tin tsars" that the officials now demand. The people of South Africa are now called upon to hand over their liberties into the keeping of an infallible bureaucracy that is afraid to face the criticism and the scepticism of His Majesty's judges. We do not need to emphasize the glaring audacity of the Government's attempt to impose upon the public—or, rather, the Indian public—Immigration Boards whose decisions are to be unappealable, when there is almost daily record of the havoc wrought to Indian interests by the existing Licensing Boards of Natal and the Cape. We are rapidly reaching, in South Africa, that Government by bureaucracy against which Sir James Rose-Innes recently inveighed so strongly, and it is difficult to believe that people with such splendid traditions of liberty and freedom as the South African Colonists can boast will be content to deliver to a close corporation of unchecked permanent officials the control of their movements into and within the Union.

Indian Opinion, 26-4-1913

65. *NEW BILL*

Perhaps, as we write this note, further news of the Bill is already available. At the moment, it seems quite possible that the Bill may fail for reasons not connected with our struggle. There is a split in General Botha's camp. The supporters of General Hertzog have shown their teeth. They came together at a meeting in Bloemfontein and passed a resolution supporting General Hertzog, so that there is little possibility now of the Orange members supporting General Botha. Even in the Cape, General Hertzog has some members to help him. Likewise, there may be a few here and there in the Transvaal too. It does not, therefore, appear that General Botha will be able to continue in power with the support only of his own party. If he seeks the support of the Unionist Party, not only will it be a humiliation to him, but General Hertzog will grow stronger still, and General Botha will be left with very few supporters among the Boers. Many believe that, in this difficult situation, he may not be able to retain the reins of power in his hands. If this view is correct, there are two possible consequences; one, that General Botha may dissolve the Parliament and order fresh elections, so that a new Parliament will come into being; alternatively, he may accept all the demands of General Hertzog's supporters. In either case, there is little chance of this Parliament being able to do much. The papers also report that General Hertzog's supporters have raised two issues, first, that Mr. Sauer¹, who has always been known as a friend of the Zulus and who champions their cause, has been appointed by General Botha as Minister for Zulu Affairs, and secondly, that he has decided to grant relief to the Indians out of deference to the Imperial Government. Thus, we have also become a cause of friction among them. This is, however, nothing for us to be happy about, for these two reasons just happen to have come in handy. The unthinking Boers are likely to be taken in by them, for there is an element of truth in both of them, which, however, will do good neither to the Zulus nor to us. Mr. Sauer, as Minister, is not

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

going to present the Zulus with cart-loads of wealth nor General Botha to gift away a kingdom to us in order to oblige the Imperial Government. We have seen what it is that he is prepared to give. But the fine words to which General Botha treated the Imperial Government in our case are being deliberately used against him by General Hertzog's supporters. We can, therefore, hope for no advantage to us from all this. Even if General Hertzog comes to power, we shall secure neither more nor less than what we can by our own strength. Satyagraha is equally effective in all circumstances and at all times; such is its invincible and supreme power.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 26-4-1913

66. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XVII]

9. AN INTIMATE CHAPTER

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

There are many things which promote good health, all of them necessary, but the most important is *brahmacharya*¹. We can have good health by means of good air, water and food; but, if we spend all that we earn, we shall be left with nothing on hand. Similarly, if we fritter away the health which we gain, what remains of our capital behind? For both men and women, therefore, *brahmacharya* is an absolute necessity if they are to preserve the wealth of physical well-being; no one need doubt this. He who has conserved his generative fluid is known as *viryan*, a man of strength.

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

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

Let us now take a look-at the strange things that go on around us. Most men and women, whether young or old, are submerged in this infatuation. On such occasions we go utterly mad. Our reason ceases to function, a veil seems to come over our eyes and we are blinded with passion. I have observed men, women and young people of both sexes looking distraught when possessed by passion. My personal experience is no different. Whenever I have been overcome by this state, I have lost all sense. Such is the nature of passion. Thus, for the sake of a grain of pleasure¹, we lose a maund of vitality. When our excitement dies down, we find ourselves in a pitiable state. The following morning our body is heavy, we are ill at ease, and a lethargy sets in. Our mind is out of sorts. In order to set these things right again, or keep them right, we must needs drink milk boiled with spices, swallow iron, take *yakutis*², approach *vaidyas* for strength-giving drugs and look around for foods that will serve as aphrodisiacs. Thus, as the days and years go by, we decline in body and mind and find our intellect gone in old age.

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

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

² Tonic preparations of the *Unani* system of medicine

behave like a dandy. *He who gives up this frame with a smiling face and goes to render his account to the Master is truly a man and she who dies thus is truly a woman.* Such persons alone may claim to have maintained true health.

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

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

How can these ideas be put into practice by men caught up in

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

to see that fruit does not appear too early on a tree. When, on the contrary, we have a celebration on the birth of a child to a child-wife by a child-hus-band, surely we behave with incredible blindness. Of what good is it to India or the world to be swarmed over with worthless creatures, as with ants? Animals are better off than we are inasmuch as the male and the female are brought together only when we intend them to have progeny. Subsequent to the union, the period of pregnancy and the period between the birth and the weaning of the child, when it can fend for itself, should be looked upon as sacred and during this time at least the husband and wife should scrupulously observe *brahma-charya*. But we give no thought whatever to the matter and continue to take our pleasures recklessly. Such is the sickness of our minds—a good example of incurable sickness. It is a disease which brings us to death, and until that time we wander about like insane men. It is the especial duty of married couples that they should not mistake the purpose of marriage, but should understand it aright and come together only while they have no child and desire an heir.

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

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

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

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

In order to conserve virility, fresh air and water, wholesome food as described earlier, and pure thought are indispensable. In this way morals are closely linked with health. A perfectly moral person alone can achieve perfect health. Anyone who, prepared to make a fresh start from the moment that he sees the light, meditates carefully over what has been said so far and puts these suggestions into practice will have direct proof in experience. Even one who has observed *brahmacharya* for some period will notice the increase of mental and physical powers and, having once secured this philosopher's stone, will guard it with care like very life. The slightest lapse and he will

realize what an error he has made. I have committed mistakes even after I had thought over—experienced—the countless benefits of *brahmacharya* and I have known the bitter consequences. I have vivid memories of the exalted state of the mind before a lapse and the pitiable condition after it. But from these mistakes, I have learnt the value of that precious jewel. I do not know if I shall be able to preserve it unbroken. I hope to, with God's help. I can see the good it has done to my mind and body. I, who was married in childhood, was blinded [by lust] in childhood and had children while a mere child, awoke after many years and seem to have realized on awakening that I had been pursuing a disastrous course. If anyone learns from my mistakes and my experience and saves himself, I shall be happy to have written this chapter. The following calculation is also worth making. Many people have said, and I believe it, that I have plenty of energy. My mind is not considered weak—as a matter of fact—some think me obstinate. I have ailments of body and mind ; and yet I am reckoned as fairly healthy in comparison with those with whom I have come into contact. If I have been able to maintain this condition because, after some twenty years of self-indulgence, I woke up, who can say what I would have been if I could have saved those twenty years as well. I am sure, myself, that there would have been no limit to my energy and I would have had so much of it to spend on service to the public or myself that others would have found it an ordeal to equal it. This is the conclusion to be drawn from my all-too-imperfect example. The physical, mental and moral strength of one who has been able to observe unbroken *brahmacharya* must be seen to be believed; it cannot be described.

Anyone reading this chapter will see that, when married persons have been advised to observe *brahmacharya* and widowers to continue in that state, there can be no question of any men or women, married or unmarried, being permitted to gratify their desire anywhere. It is not possible, when dealing with questions of health, to consider the dire effects of casting evil glances at other people's wives or prostitutes. This is a matter for religion and ethics. Here we need only state that those who indulge in such extra-marital relations and have contacts with prostitutes suffer, we find, from such unmentionable diseases as syphilis and rot away because of them. Nature is so merciful to

them that it promptly incapacitates them; they keep slumbering, however, and run from doctor to doctor in search of a cure for their diseases! Where there is no adultery, fifty per cent. of the doctors and *vaidyas* will lose their occupation. These diseases have such a hold on the human race that thoughtful doctors have been driven to observe that, despite all their discoveries, the nations of the world will soon be wiped out if the evil of adultery continues unchecked. The remedies for the diseases in question are so toxic in effect that, even when the diseases themselves seem to be cured, others take root in their stead and pass from generation to generation.

We shall now indicate how married couples may observe *brahmacharya* and so conclude this rather long chapter. A married person cannot observe celibacy merely by following rules regarding diet, air and water. He must also refrain from being alone with his wife. We shall realize on reflection that, except for the purpose of conjugal relations, it is not necessary to be alone with one's wife. At night the husband and the wife must sleep in separate rooms. During the day they should remain fully occupied with useful activity and pure thoughts. They should read such books and meditate over such lives as would strengthen them in their good resolve and should frequently remind themselves that all pleasures lead to suffering. Whenever they feel passion rising in them, they should take a cold bath. This will transform the cosmic fire in their bodies into a benign influence for both men and women and increase their happiness. All this is certainly hard of achievement, but conquering difficulties is what we are born for and. anyone who wishes to acquire good health must conquer this one.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 26-4-1913

67. NOTE TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[P.O. Box 2493]

JOHANNESBURG,

April 26, 1913

1. The architect business should be wound up with the least possible delay at the most in 3 months; the decision should be announced at once.
2. The Mountain View property should be sold without reserve within 3 months.
3. Tolstoy Farm should be kept practically at any cost.
4. The African Building should be the primary occupation.

ON PROP. 1

You are not a competent architect. Study seems to be almost impossible but even if it were practicable, it is not desirable or profitable. The beer-hall business is the best warning that you must subordinate your conscientious scruples to your business. Its continuation means a loss of moral fibre and a reluctant fawning upon people whom you would rather keep at a distance. And after all the fawning and all the abandoning of principles, it is a question whether the business has any money in it. And the business ties you down as nothing else can if you are really to nurse it and give satisfaction to your clients.

ON PROP. 2

Mountain View is a veritable Devil's temptation. It simply absorbs money and energy without any certain prospect of preventing a loss. It is better to lose even £1000 or more than to sink more money and risk losing even that. A wise and cautious man will never fear to abandon a proposition which was wrong in the beginning. Your action just now is like that of a man [who] fearing to let his rotten shares go, buys in attractive-looking ones to recoup himself for the loss on the rotten ones forgetting all the while that the others may prove just as bad. The Mountain View proposition is decidedly a

speculation and an honourable man should never speculate, much less to avoid a loss. The dividing line (if any) between speculation and gambling is very thin indeed. It is a niggardly spirit that fears to lose.

ON PROP. 3

Tolstoy Farm cannot be given up because of the memories connected with it and because in the event of your leaving South Africa for any new enterprise, spiritual or other, you are in a position to look back with satisfaction upon something accomplished in a concrete manner.

ON PROP. 4

The African Building is the cleanest and most reliable asset you possess. It is also the most heavily burdened asset. And if you want to avoid insolvency in case of unforeseen misfortunes, you will be wise to increase the monthly income from it so that you can pay out the bond debt as quickly as possible. It provides steady and healthy occupation according to the ordinary European standard. It will not unduly fetter your movements. There is nothing of a speculative nature about it. The social atmosphere of Pretoria is much purer and calmer than that of Johannesburg. Being on the spot, you have a far greater opportunity of getting a buyer for your lease so as to relieve you from the bond debt and leave you £2000 clear after paying all your other debts. The monthly withdrawal of £25 enables you to live comfortably and meet your ordinary wants.

GENERAL REMARKS

It is necessary to map out the future course in detail and take a solemn vow never to depart from it. Your position does not warrant any help to anybody, whether friends or relatives. It is quite wrong, I feel sure, to send £30 to Mrs. Daniel and equally so to send £12 to Mrs. Mayo annually. Just consider your position by taking a few figures. Add up your monthly expenses thus:

Salaries

Rent

Sundries Household

Rates on Mountain View
Premiums on policies
Rates and premiums and rent on African Building
Personal expenses average
Contributions such as Mrs. Daniel, etc.
Interest on loans

Against that put down your monthly income and you will find that you are running your various businesses at a loss, thus showing that you are an insolvent. You ought to make out this statement not roughly but accurately. Again, make out another list putting down all your assets and all your liabilities and then find out what the assets will fetch today under a forced sale. And if you come to the conclusion that they will not pay your creditors, you are an insolvent. Remember that the forced sale at a current bank rate, a fixed bank deposit, etc., fetches the same amount as an ordinary sale. You have practically not a single asset worth mentioning of this character. The reason is obvious. You have never laid by any money as a prudent worldly man would. Your transactions therefore were of a speculative character. From that original taint not even the African Building or Tolstoy Farm is free. But you cannot abandon these unless you are ready to embrace poverty as you would a brother or sister. My recommendations are therefore intended for you as you are at your ordinary best, not your very best.

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

68. TELEGRAM TO GOOL AND GOOLMAHOMED

[JOHANNESBURG,
After April 26, 1913]

GOOL

7, BUITENCINGEL

ADAM GOOLMAHOMED

8, KLOOF STREET

[CAPE TOWN]

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

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

69. SPEECH AT VREDEDORP¹

[JOHANNESBURG,
April 27, 1913]

Mr. Gandhi, who had come specially from Phoenix, after explaining the nature of the Bill, said that he hoped that the Government would grant their humble request. But, if they did not, they were bound, after exhausting all their resources by way of petition, etc., to take up the well-tried weapon of passive resistance. This would be the third campaign and he had no doubt that it would be the most brilliant of all, though it would involve much greater suffering and would be a protracted ordeal. But, as self-respecting men, they could not shirk it. They must be prepared to risk all for the honour of their womanhood, for the sake of their religions and for the good name of the country of their birth. They wished to deceive neither themselves nor the Government. It was plain to the speaker that, in the impending struggle, they could not count upon hundreds going to gaol, but he knew that what they might lack in numbers

¹ A meeting of the British Indian Association was held at Vrededorp, a suburb of Johannesburg, to consider the Immigration Bill. A. M. Cachalia presided. For the text of his speech, which was later forwarded to the Governor-General, *vide* Appendix "Speech by A. M. Chachalia", 27-4-1913.

would be made up for by the earnestness and; the unconquerable will of the few. Those who could not suffer the hardships of a gaol life might still take their share in the campaign. They could hold meetings, they could collect subscriptions, they could sacrifice their time and look after the families of those who might be imprisoned. Such work, too, was necessary. No country in the world could afford to place all its children at the same time on the field. There was an army of peace. Although they used military terms, they agreed with the soldier only in so far as the latter was a sufferer in his own person. A true passive resister could never be party to injuring others. His motive power was not vengeance. It was hardly possible to expect the whole community to become soldiers in such an army. But, whether they had five hundred or fifty, or five, or even one true passive resister on the field, victory was theirs.

THE RESOLUTION¹

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

Indian Opinion, 3-5-1913

¹ This was unanimously passed.

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

70. TELEGRAM TO DRUMMOND CHAPLIN AND OTHERS

[JOHANNESBURG,
After April 27, 1913]¹

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

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

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

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

71. CABLE TO LORD AMPTHILL¹

[JOHANNESBURG,
After April 27, 1913]

MR. GOKHALE SUGGESTS MY CABLING YOU OBJEC-
TIONS BILL. THEY ARE, BILL CONTRAVENES SETTLEMENT,
DISTURBING EXISTING RIGHTS AND IMPOSING DISABILITIES
NOT CONTEMPLATED. REPLACES SUPREME COURT JURIS-
DICTION BY CREATION BOARDS OF ANNUALLY RE-
MOVABLE MEMBERS HAVING FINAL JURISDICTION EXCEPT
CASES DOMICILE, TAKES AWAY RIGHTS EDUCATED INDIANS
ENTER CAPE OR NATAL FROM TRANSVAAL
ON PRESENT EDUCATION TEST. CONTEMPLATES PROHI-
BITION ENTRY FREE STATE NEW EDUCATED IM-
MIGRANTS ALTHOUGH SETTLEMENT PROVIDES THAT UNDER
GENERAL BILL SUCH INDIANS SHALL HAVE EQUAL
RIGHTS WITH OTHERS REGARDING IMMIGRATION. RES-
TRICTS PRESENT RIGHT ENTRY THROUGH ANY PORT
TO ANY PORT SPECIALLY APPOINTED. DEPRIVES NATAL
INDIAN LONG RESIDENCE OF RIGHTS OF DOMICILE
HITHERTO POSSESSED BY IMPORTING STRICTER CAPE
SECTION ON DOMICILE. CONTRARY PRESENT STATUTORY
POSITION MAKES NATAL TRANSVAAL INDIANS WHO MAY
ABSENT FROM THEIR RESPECTIVE PROVINCES LONGER
THAN THREE YEARS PROHIBITED IMMIGRANTS. DEPRIVES
S[OUTH] A[FRICA] BORN INDIAN RIGHT ENTER CAPE.
RECENT JUDGMENT CONTRARY ESTABLISHED PRACTICE
INVALIDATES INDIAN MARRIAGES NOT SOLEMNIZED AC-
CORDING CHRISTIAN RITES OR BEFORE MARRIAGE OFFI-
CERS WHETHER SUCH MARRIAGES PERFORMED INDIA OR
HERE. THUS REDUCING MAJORITY WIVES STATUS CONCU-
BINES. BILL SEEMS DEPRIVE EDUCATED INDIANS WHO
ENTERED UPON EXISTING TEST OF RIGHT RE-ENTRY
UNLESS OTHERWISE DOMICILED. IF BILL NOT AMENDED
ALL THESE PARTICULARS, REVIVAL PASSIVE RESISTANCE
CERTAIN THOUGH CHIEFLY RESIGNED MEET PASSIVE
RESISTERS.

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

¹ The draft does not bear Lord Ampthill's name, but presumably the communi-
cation was addressed to him,

72. INTERVIEW TO “THE STAR”¹

JOHANNESBURG.

On or before *April 28, 1913*]

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

It is perfectly true that there are no local wants of the Indian community in the Free State, and it is also true that no Indian is likely to enter the Free State, but we want the theoretical right of entry preserved in a general way. The reason why the first Bill did not pass was because the Government wanted to introduce legislation to meet those points; last year's Bill provided for it, and we quite recognized that Indians who entered the Free State would be subject to local disabilities, such as the prohibition to hold landed property, to farm and to trade. If we accepted the present Bill, the position of Indians would be infinitely worse than it was even before passive resistance began.

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

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

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

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

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

The Star, 28-4-1913

73. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR-GENERAL

JOHANNESBURG,

April 30, 1913

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

SIR

I have the honour to enclose herewith, in triplicate, copy of the Resolution¹ unanimously passed at an open-air meeting of British Indians held at Vrededorp on the 27th instant under the auspices of my Association, and to request that His Excellency will be good enough to forward same, as also copy of the Chairman's speech² on the occasion, likewise enclosed, to the Hon'ble the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India.

I have, etc.,

A. M. CACHALIA

CHAIRMAN,

BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Colonial Office Records: 551/39

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Vrededorp", 27-4-1913.

² *Vide* Appendix "Speech by A. M. Chachalia", 27-4-1913.

74. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Wednesday [April 30, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Probably you would be expecting an early letter from me. Hence this at 5.45 a.m. before I go down to the field.

Did you write to Hoosen? The sooner you do so the better, if you have not done so already.

I have not been keeping a regular diary, so here is my resolution. I am not to accept any pecuniary assistance from you until I consider that you are not in an insolvent condition. Consider well the propositions¹ I have jotted down and having done so come to a decision quickly. Do not be more than a week over your decision. I feel sure nothing but vows would save you from yourself.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

75. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

May 1, 1913

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Incidents have taken place in the Farm which have agitated me much. Devdas made me weep today as I have not wept for years.¹ I shall tell you all about these things when we meet. They drive me more and more into the jungles of India. This may be counted as a weakness of mine and that it may be proof of coming imbecility. Only something within me tells me that I am more and more being driven to Truth. You know that in my search for it nothing will daunt me.

Your simile is right. But if in the attempt to straighten out the back it breaks, you have to suffer the breaking. Do you nurse a tree whose trunk is rotten though stiff? Or do you cut it off and sometimes even see to it that your trim digs deep enough to tear away the roots. So it is with us. You and I can but break in the pursuit. Better to do that than to sit still, remain drones and parasites. I know that parasites as well as drones have their place in nature but we are parasites and drones out of place. Just examine the last working of your mind. You suggest flying to Norwich, as if a loan would settle everything! The true position is that the loan would follow if you only woke up to a sense of your own duty and began to work at it. No loan is required to wind up your business or to stop the fever at Mountain View.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

76. THE BILL

The Johannesburg mass meeting³ was held none too soon. Its resolution is most timely. The composition of the meeting, the number of delegates who attended from most parts of the Transvaal, and the messages sent to Mr. Fischer must have shown the Minister that he could not hope to satisfy British Indians unless he was prepared to accede to their request for amendment of the Bill in the direction pointed out in Mr. Cachalia's telegram. It is difficult, therefore, to understand Mr. Fischer when he says, at the second reading of his precious measure, that the Bill would pacify the Indian community. Mr. Chaplin, who contributed to the debate in an excellent speech, uttered seasonable warning when he said that the Bill was useless and unacceptable to the Unionist Party unless Mr. Fischer could give a definite assurance that the Indians were satisfied. In spite of the Bill being pushed forward a stage further, we imagine that it will never reach the third reading stage. But it is well for passive resisters to keep themselves in readiness. It is to be hoped that, if the struggle is revived, the impending third campaign will be the purest, the last and the most brilliant of all. We share the belief, with Thoreau, that "one true passive resister is enough to win a victory for right". Right is on our side. It could not be on the side of a Government that has no regard for its sacred pledges. And we have many true passive resisters. We would all fail to satisfy the definition of an ideal passive resister, but we feel sure that the community contains many who would approach the ideal as nearly as is possible for mortals to do. On such rests a great duty.

Indian Opinion, 3-5-1913

77. *THE CAMPAIGN*

RESOLUTION ON SATYAGRAHA

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

PLAN OF CAMPAIGN

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

¹ The reference is to the passive resistance movement of 1909, which was followed by mass arrests of Indians, including Gandhiji.

will regularly spend some of his time working for it, will not avail himself of any of the provisions of the law and will not support the Government in its oppressive measures.

CAPE AND NATAL

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

COMPARISON WITH PREVIOUS CAMPAIGN

It was our experience during the previous campaign that those who did not go to gaol sought to thwart the community's effort and join hands with the authorities. Some others, who did not turn against the community, hid themselves in shame and helped in no other way at all, as they should have done. Difficulties of both these kinds should disappear, thanks to the resolution adopted this time. If anyone, for whatever reason, schemes against the community, he will only be acting as its enemy and, to that extent, as his own. As for those who hid themselves, their absence meant so much loss to the movement. Our cause thus received a set-back. It was, however, not possible for us at that time to fight in any other way. We were all being tried in the furnace. We could not distinguish one from another. It was insulting a man to say that he would not be able to go to gaol and the statement was taken as bringing discredit on him. That was but right. All the stronger for the testing, we have now emerged from the furnace. A man will not be in disgrace for not going to gaol and need not feel ashamed. He has realized, and so has the community, that he lacks the necessary strength. Those who come forward to court imprisonment must not feel proud. They should not think that they are doing something great. We are all limbs of one body. Just because the eye performs the function of seeing, it is not justified in looking down on the leg. The leg should not feel humbled for not being able

to see as the eye does. The leg and the eye, each works according to its nature. The body needs them both. But either of them will call down disgrace on itself if it fails in its natural function. Then the body and the organ will both suffer. This is equally true of those who volunteer to go to gaol and those who do not.

TO THOSE GOING TO GAOL

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

grahi can make no conditions. He stands ready to sacrifice himself, body, mind and possessions and, hence, is not afraid of losing wealth or life. He has entered into a pact with death itself. There is no middle of the road line for him. One who feels thus will help to keep up the fight. He will live on even after death. We trust that those who lack this spirit will not come forward for going to gaol. It is our firm belief that fifty Indians so inclined, or five or even one, will be enough for winning our demands.

TO THOSE WHO MAY NOT GO TO GAOL

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

provide for the families and look after the affairs of those who go to gaol, they must begin the necessary preparation right now. With that end in view, we must find out who are likely to go to gaol and fix up simultaneously the arrangements for helping them. If this is done, we shall have an exciting fight this time, one which will surpass the previous one and which will be recognized as on a higher plane.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 3-5-1913

78. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XVIII]

SOME REMEDIES: 1. AIR

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

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

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

¹ Physician practising the *Unani* system of medicine

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

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

I would request the reader to compare this chapter with the one in Part I devoted to the subject of “air”.¹ The earlier chapter explained the relation between air and good health and it contained a general discussion on air. In this chapter, the therapeutic value of air is considered. Read in conjunction with this chapter, the earlier one will be better understood.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 3-5-1913

79 LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

May 5, 1913

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

My analysis of your position reacted upon me and made me feel that if my remarks were sincere (and they were that absolutely) I could not possibly let you spend on my behalf without being guilty of having participated in a fraud upon yourself, your creditors and in a fraud upon yourself, your creditors and myself. My resolve was a most natural consequence of my discovery long ago made but realized only during our last communion. No matter what others may say, I should defend the position before all that you are today in an insolvent position. To fully grasp the truth is to avert the crisis and make yourself solvent. Your condition is not hopeless or helpless. But every insolvent is not necessarily helpless. If he can enter into a composition with his creditors he can pay 20/- in the pound. But at the moment he has not the money to pay his creditors and is therefore insolvent. Such is undoubtedly your position.

All the same, you are bound to send the £200 to your brother-in-law. Only I wish it would be the final lesson of your life. Your position does not warrant the gift. It is no use calling it a loan nor can

¹ *Vide* “General Knowledge about Health (-I)”, 1-2-1913; “General Knowledge about Health (-V)”, 1-2-1913 & “General Knowledge about Health (-VII)”, 15-2-1913.

it do any good to your brother-in-law. But a promise is a promise and you should send the money. Will you then seriously set to work so that your position becomes sound, i.e., you can confidently say, 'I have no debts I cannot pay on demand without a loss'. To arrive at that stage, I feel that a firm adoption of the propositions suggested by me is necessary. That alone will save [you]. And the very effort will provide you with an occupation which is bound to raise you.

Now for your modifications. I must say I do not like them but you must be the final judge. If that is the utmost you can do, then let that stand. I return the paper. Anyway, please resolve quickly and act promptly.

Please let me know if you have examined your tools. If you find any missing and you want them, please let me know.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

80. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR¹

[JOHANNESBURG,
After May 7, 1913]

I beg to thank you for your letter of the 7th instant, in reply to my telegram² of the 4th idem.

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

I would respectfully point out that my Association has never understood that the Searle judgment dealt with the question of poly-

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

² *Vide* the following item.

gamous marriages. Justice Searle's pronouncement, in the humble opinion of my Committee, is unequivocal "the whole question in the case was whether a wife, married by Mahomedan custom, was a wife within the meaning of the Immigration Act." And what applies to marriages by Mahomedan custom would apply also to marriages by Hindu custom or to marriages by Zoroastrian custom or to marriages consecrated according to the customs of any religion save the Christian, which were not registered before a Marriage Officer. The question of polygamy has, therefore, I respectfully submit, been quite gratuitously introduced.

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

Indian Opinion, 24-5-1913

81. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Thursday [May 8, 1913]¹

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I do not want to keep you in suspense. Had I had the time I would have given you the Devdas incident earlier. Even now I shall be brief. We have all only just returned from Verulam after the Temple-opening ceremony. Devdas ate stolen lemons at Inanda Falls although he had promised not to do such a thing again. When he was faced with the fact, he was inclined to be naughty and sharp. This grieved me much. And his last defence broke me entirely. He said he did not immediately confess his guilt as he was afraid of being hit by me, as if I am in the habit of hitting boys. And so I felt that by way of lesson to

¹ Gandhiji opened the Hindu temple at Verulam, on May 8, 1913, a Thursday.

him I would deposit a few slaps on my cheeks which I did and then felt the grief so much that I wept bitterly. More later.

UPPER HOUSE

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

82. INDIAN WOMEN AS PASSIVE RESISTERS

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

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

SONJA SCHLESIN

HONORARY SECRETARY

We understand that the above telegram was sent after over forty Indian ladies of Johannesburg, professing the Hindu, the Mahomedan

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

and the Christian faiths, had decided upon sending it. Most of them have emphatically declared their intention of braving imprisonment, should the Government decline to grant their prayer. The readers of *Indian Opinion* are aware of the fact that the Honorary Secretary (Miss Sonja Schlesin) is not an Indian but a European. She has made common cause with us now for a long time, by way of protest against the prevailing anti-Asiatic prejudice on the part of the majority of the Europeans of South Africa. She has been the Honorary Secretary of the Indian Women's Association ever since its establishment. Miss Schlesin, whilst she is in love with her work, is not in love with the official position she occupies. She considers that the office should rightly belong to an Indian woman. But she recognizes that her Indian sisters have not that knowledge of the English language and of South African politics which is required in a Secretary of an Association like the one which she has been guiding and serving so long. Miss Schlesin has fitted herself for the task before her by being in Mr. Gandhi's office and, therefore, in close contact with the passive resistance movement since its inception in 1906. Miss Schlesin, like the male European workers in South Africa for the Indian cause, demonstrates the unity of human nature, whether residing in a brown-skinned or a white-skinned body, and also that South Africa is not devoid of disinterested souls.

Indian Opinion, 10-5-1913

83. *THE WOMEN'S RESOLUTION*

The remarkable resolution of the Indian women of Johannesburg on the marriage question, that has been agitating our countrymen for the past few weeks, marks an interesting development of the passive resistance campaign. The resolution has been duly wired¹ to Mr. Fischer, and, if the Minister still persists in ignoring the grievance created by the Searle judgment, he will do so with his eyes open. He may rest assured that Indian women are not dying to go to gaol, nor do the male members of the community contemplate with equanimity the prospect of their women-folk being imprisoned. If, therefore, Indian women become passive resisters, they must have what is, to them at any rate, a very serious grievance. We congratulate our plucky sisters who have dared to fight the Government rather than submit to the insult offered by the Searle judgment. They will cover themselves and the land of their birth, as, indeed, of their adoption, with glory, if they remain true to their resolve to the end.² We know that they fully recognize what their wire means.

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

Indian Opinion, 10-5-1913

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

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

84. *GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XIX]*

2. WATER TREATMENTS

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

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

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

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

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

The good effects of hot water and steam are fairly widely known, but few seem to know the value of cold water. To tell the truth, the beneficial properties of cold water even surpass those of hot water. It may be said that on most people cold water has a stimulating effect. Even the weakest patient can be given cold water treatment. For fever, smallpox, rash and other skin affections, wrapping up with cotton sheets soaked in cold water is highly efficacious. The effect seems almost miraculous and anyone can test it without the slightest risk. In

cases of giddiness or delirium, a piece of cloth soaked in ice-water and placed over the head gives great relief. If one has had no motion, it may be possible to get relief by applying cloth soaked in ice-cold water to the abdomen. Those who have wet dreams often get relief if they sleep every day with a cold wet bandage tied over the lower abdomen. The application of an ice pack stops bleeding in any part of the body. When the nose is bleeding, immediate stoppage is brought about by dashing a lot of very cold water on the head. One suffering from any disease of the nose, or from cold or headache derives great benefit from drawing up water through the nostrils twice a day. One nostril should be closed, water drawn in through the other and then ejected through the first. Water may also be drawn in through both the nostrils and ejected through the mouth. If the nose is otherwise clean and some of the water passes from the nostrils into the stomach, it does no harm. It is an excellent habit to clean the nose by drawing in water through the nostrils. Those who cannot manage this may do so by using a douche, but anyone can master the technique of drawing water up through the nostrils after a few attempts. Everyone should try to learn it since a headache can often be cured instantly by this easy method. If the nose gives out an offensive smell, for that, too, this is an effective remedy. Some persons suffer from a running nose; they will find the method of drawing water in through the nostrils an unfailing remedy for their condition.

Many people are reluctant to take an enema, and some even argue that it causes weakness. This is a wrong notion. There is no better method of immediate relief from constipation. In various conditions, where other remedies are ineffective, an enema provides relief. It empties the bowels completely and prevents accumulation of new poisons in the body. Anyone who suffers from gas, flatulence or any complaint brought about by poor digestion may take two pounds of water by enema, and so have an immediate rest. There is a book on this subject. Its author had tried many remedies, but failed to cure his dyspepsia. He had grown extremely weak and anaemic. With the use of the enema, his appetite improved and, in a short time he was in excellent health. Complaints like jaundice can be immediately cured by means of enemas. If this treatment has to be prolonged, it is advisable to use cold water, as hot water may cause weakness; this,

however, is not to be blamed on the enema as such.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 10-5-1913

85. LETTER TO BHAVANI DAYAL

INDIAN OPINION

EDITOR

H. S. L. POLAK

PHOENIX,

NATAL,

May 12, 1913

DEAR SHRI BHAVANI DAYAL¹,

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

If the Swami³ is invited to the Hindu Conference or if it seeks his support in any way, no sensible Hindu can participate in it.

Bande Mataram from

MOHANDAS

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

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

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

³ The reference appears to be to Swami Shankerananand, who visited South Africa during 1908-10, and was again there at this time.

86. LETTER TO DRUMMOND CHAPLIN

[PHOENIX,
May 14, 1913]

DEAR MR. CHAPLIN,

Mr. Fischer's statement is certainly extraordinary.¹ The Imperial Government could never have seen the full text of the Bill. As before, in my opinion, the Union Government have merely cabled home a summary giving their interpretation of the debatable clauses. If so, they have obtained the Imperial Government's consent under false pretences. Be that as it may, I venture to state that if any of the existing rights as set forth in my letter² are disturbed and if the legal status as to marriage is not restored as it existed before the Searle judgment, passive resistance will undoubtedly revive and this time it is bound to be of a general character, i.e., it cannot be confined to the Transvaal. You may also have noticed that Indian women will actively participate in the struggle if the marriage question is not settled. I trust you do not mind my writing frankly in this matter.

May I thank you and the Unionist leaders for their sympathetic speeches at the second reading and may I hope that the same vigilance will be exercised by you and them during the

¹ Moving the Immigrants' Restriction Bill for the second reading on April 30, Fischer had strongly defended the proposed legislation and the various other measures adopted by the South African Government to control Asiatic influx. *Indian Opinion* reported Fischer to have stated: "... complications had arisen through the coloured population in their midst, and thus they had, perhaps, to be more careful in regard to those who would come in, who were not of that civilization which they had in the country, and not best fitted to promote the best interests of South Africa. . . . With Europeans they in this country could assimilate. With Indians they could not. The large introduction of Indians into this country would give rise to grave economic, moral, social and political evils. . . . It was the intention of South Africa to exclude Asiatics. . . ." On the marriage question, he was reported to have said: "... what was recognized was that the marriage was according to the Roman-Dutch law, and according to the civilization to which South Africans belonged. That they should upset the code of marriage laws of this country was not to be acceded to. . . ."

² Vide "Letter to Secretary for Interior", 15-4-1913.

remaining stages of the Bill? I cannot help feeling that, if the Government will not grant all our demands, the best solution will be to amend the Transvaal law.

*I am,
Yours faithfully,*

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

87. THE SECOND READING

In spite of the unanimous opposition of the Unionist Party, the Immigration Bill has been read a second time without a division. The result would be considered astounding if we did not know the ways of the Botha Ministry. The Right Hon'ble Mr. Fischer has bought his second reading by promising to consider favourably the suggestions made by the Opposition for improving the Bill and by telling the House that he had secured the general approval of the Imperial Government for his measure. We may expect lively debates and drastic amendments during the committee stage. But this may not serve our purpose in the least degree. Nothing but a total acceptance of our demands can satisfy us, and this not because we do not compromise but because there can be no question of compromise on points of existence or honour. Passive Resisters are under a vow not to accept anything in satisfaction of their demands if it disturbs existing rights. By their very constitution they are precluded from bargaining away the rights of others in order to save themselves the sufferings of imprisonment.

From Mr. Fischer's language, it is clear that he wants to egg on the Europeans of South Africa to rise against us, and us to offer passive resistance. Though the majority of the speakers during the debate spoke against his Bill and advised him to placate passive resisters, he gratuitously mentioned that the threat of passive resistance might make the Government to come to "plain terms". We wish they would. We certainly do not want ambiguity. And in pleading for general terms in an Immigration Bill, we do not countenance a subterfuge, as it has been called, but we ask for a continuance of the excellent part

of the British Constitution which requires that, however persistent a bad practice may be, it shall not be incorporated into the law. In Lord Ampthill's words, theory should be sound, though one may fail to carry it out in practice. In theory, there is no such thing as a straight line that can be drawn, but because we draw a line that is only fairly but not quite straight, we are not supposed to have resorted to a subterfuge by having still the true, though theoretical, definition in view. To keep our theory right is to obey the law of our higher nature; to depart from it in practice is to concede the weakness of human nature. If, therefore, the Government wish to depart from the theory of the British Constitution to which they owe their very existence, they are welcome to do so; only, then, they will not have used "plain terms" but they will have avowed their enmity to the origin of their existence. And passive resisters who still cling to the beautiful vision of that Constitution are prepared to fight for making it a reality or die in the attempt.

Indian Opinion, 17-5-1913

88. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XX]

2. WATER TREATMENTS (CONTINUED)

After numerous experiments, a German named Kuhne has discovered that certain water treatments are most effective in a number of ailments. His book on this subject has been translated into many languages. Translations are available in India also. His thesis is that the stomach is the source of all disease. If there is excessive heat in the stomach, it erupts by way of boils on the skin or rheumatism or some such trouble, or as fever, causing the whole body to become hot. There were many before Kuhne to write on water treatments. There is a very old book called *Water treatments*. But no one before Kuhne had laid the same emphasis as he did on the basic identity of diseases. No one had pointed out that all ailments had their origin in the stomach. It is not necessary for us to accept Kuhne's thesis as gospel truth, nor need we go into the details of the matter. But it seems quite certain that, in a large number of cases, Kuhne's diagnosis and

treatment are correct. Thousands have found this by experience. The late magistrate of Durban, Mr. Titan, was struck down by paralysis after an attack of tetanus. Having tried various treatments without success, he was advised by someone to see Kuhne. He went to him, was completely cured and lived in Durban for many years after his return. He always advised people to try Kuhne's treatments. There is a clinic in Natal which gives his treatments. It is near Sweetwaters station. This is only one instance of its popularity; one can find many others.

Kuhne says that the excessive heat in the stomach can be removed by cooling, and for this purpose he advises a bath which will cool the stomach and the adjacent areas of the body. He has invented a special tin bath to make the process easy, but we can do without it. Oval tin tubs of 36 inches, more or less as may suit the patient, are readily available; one of these will do for a Kuhne bath. Three quarters of the tub should be filled with cold water and the patient should be placed in it so that his feet rest outside on a board and the upper part of the trunk also remains above the water-line. Only the portion from the navel to the thigh should be submerged. The patient must be naked in water. If he feels cold, the upper part of his trunk and his feet may be covered with blankets or he or she may wear a shirt or a blouse, keeping it out of the water. This bath should be taken in a room which can let in light, air and sunshine and, in fact, does let them in while the bath is proceeding. After seating himself in the tub, the patient should rub his abdomen, under the water, with a rough towel or get it rubbed by an attendant. This kind of bath can be taken for 5 to 30 minutes or longer. Sometimes the relief is immediate. If the patient is suffering from gas, wind begins to pass or he begins to belch. If he has fever, his temperature is bound to fall by one or two degrees 5 minutes after the bath has commenced. He will have a free motion. An exhausted person will feel refreshed. One suffering from insomnia will feel relaxed and be able to sleep. One who is excessively drowsy becomes alert and lively. The reason why such seemingly opposite effects are produced has already been stated. Lethargy and insomnia are different results produced by the same cause; they are only apparently opposites. Both diarrhoea and constipation are similarly the results of indigestion. Some get diarrhoea while others get constipation. The bath has a highly beneficial effect

on both conditions. Very old cases of piles are cured by this bath treatment in conjunction with correct dieting. If a person feels nausea, he will probably be cured immediately he starts the bath. The weak grow strong with it. Many have been cured of their rheumatism by this means. The bath is also excellent for haemorrhage and useful in cases of blood-poisoning. Anyone having a severe headache will get immediate relief with this bath. Kuhne himself thought that his baths were invaluable even in such terrible diseases as cancer. Pregnant women will have easier deliveries if they take these baths. It is a treatment that can be taken by children, by the young and the aged, by men and women.

There is another way of taking this bath which is unfailingly effective in certain ailments. It is called *the wet sheet pack*, which in Gujarati means “a bandage of wet cloth”. The manner of treatment is as follows: Place a table or low seat, long enough for the patient to lie on full-length, if possible in the open air. Arrange on this four or more blankets according to the weather, so that they hang down on all sides. Spread over them two clean bed-sheets, long and thick, which have been soaked in cold water and wrung out. Place a pillow under the blankets for the head. The patient should then be stripped of all clothing, except a small handkerchief or cloth round his waist which may be retained if desired. He should be laid flat on his back between the sheets arranged as above, the arms hanging down and the [lower] sheet and blankets wrapped round him from both sides, one over the other. The covering at the bottom should be carefully wrapped round his feet. If there is sunshine, a wet cloth should be placed on his head and face, leaving the nose uncovered in all cases. The patient will feel a momentary chill which will be immediately followed by a feeling of relief and comfortable warmth. He may remain in this condition for 5 minutes to an hour or more. By and by, the patient becomes so hot that he perspires. Frequently, he falls asleep at this stage. When he comes out of the wet sheets, he must immediately have a cold bath. This treatment is highly effective in many skin diseases. Eczema, ringworm, pimples, chickenpox, smallpox, simple boils, fever, etc., yield quickly to the “wet sheet pack”. However severe the attack, smallpox can, in most cases, be cured by this treatment. An attack of rash is cured by taking one or two baths. The

technique of taking or arranging this bath is easily learnt and everyone will discover its effectiveness in experience. During the bath, the dirt from the skin is deposited on the wet sheet. The latter should, there-fore, never be used again by the same or another patient until it has been thoroughly washed in boiling water.

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

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 17-5-1913

89. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR¹

[PHOENIX,]

May 19, 1913²

SIR,

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

I observe that the Hon'ble the Minister resents any reference to passive resistance.³ I am sorry but the reference as a statement of facts was inevitable. There was no desire to use any threats. Revival of

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

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

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

passive resistance is no threat but a certainty, should the Government unfortunately find it impossible or be reluctant to carry out the sacred promise made by the predecessor, in office, of the Hon'ble the Minister. The promise was made in the name of the Government and in its name it was repeated last year. Everyone of the points raised by the Association arises out of the terms of the provisional settlement. Moreover, I am constrained to point out that the policy hitherto pursued by the Government in administering the existing legislation affecting the community represented by my Association is wholly at variance with the "desire" expressed in your letter not to treat that community in any but an entirely fair manner! My countrymen consider not only not fair but harsh and unjust the treatment meted to wives who wish to join their husbands in South Africa or minor children who wish to join their parents, or to those, as in Natal, who want to re-enter on the strength of previous residence or to those, as in the Cape, who try to re-enter after the expiry of the period mentioned in their permits of absence or to those who want temporary permits to enter the Transvaal. It may be added that, if the community in the Transvaal has not been altogether extinguished under the combined effect of the Gold Laws and the Townships Act, it has to thank the Supreme Court and not the Government who so ungenerously attempted to read a meaning into the Acts which they did not bear. Even the marriage trouble is due entirely to the deliberately hostile policy of the Government. They could have avoided the ruling of the Court by simply allowing the only wife of the applicant in South Africa to join her husband. It will thus be seen that any pressure that could be put upon the Government by the European community cannot, in my humble opinion, result in greater cruelty being practised upon my community, short of its utter annihilation. And if passive resistance, i.e., self-inflicted suffering of my community, should prompt measures to destroy its existence in South Africa, I doubt not that it will prefer such destruction to a destruction of its honour, its religious sentiments and its self-respect.

I have, [etc.,]

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

90. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR¹

[PHOENIX,]

May 19, 1913

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, in reply to mine of the 14th ultimo² regarding the validity of Indian marriages.

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

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

Indian Opinion, 24-5-1913

¹ This letter was signed by A. M. Cachalia.

² *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", 14-4-1913.

91. THE BILL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Indian Opinion, 24-5-1913

92. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XXI]

3. EARTH CURES

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

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

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

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

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

One should have a tin of earth handy so that it can be used whenever necessary and one does not have to go hunting for it in emergency. In case of scorpion stings, etc., the earlier the mud is applied the better.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 24-5-1913

93. TELEGRAM TO DRUMMOND CHAPLIN AND OTHERS

[PHOENIX,
May 24, 1913]¹

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

MINISTER'S	STATEMENT	INDIANS	DEMAND	LEGAL	RE-
COGNITION	POLYGAMY	WRONG	STOP	INDIANS	DEMAND
ONLY	LEGAL	RECOGNITION	NON-CHRISTIAN	INDIAN	MAR-
RIAGES	CELEBRATED	INDIA	OR	SOUTH	AFRICA
POINTMENT	MARRIAGE	OFFICERS	CAN	ONLY	MEET
FUTURE	MARRIAGES	AND	THEN	ONLY	MARRIAGES
BRATED	SOUTH	AFRICA	STOP	TRANSVAAL	MARRIAGE
LAW	1871	SPECIALLY	RECOGNIZES	ALL	EUROPEAN
CELEBRATED	EUROPE	NO	MATTER	WHAT	FORM
STOP	SIMILAR	PROVISION	FOR	INDIAN	MARRIAGES
CASE	STOP	DRAW	ATTENTION	ALSO	FACT
MENTS	CARRIED	COMMITTEE	DO	NOT	INCLUDE
TECTION	RIGHTS	ENTER	CAPE	OF	INDIANS
AFRICA	UNDER	SECTION	4	SUB-SECTION	'F'
					PARA
					'A'

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

CAPE ACT 30 OF 1906 STOP NOR DO THEY
 SOLVE FREE STATE DIFFICULTY THEORETICAL RIGHT
 STOP SUBMIT THAT IF EXISTING RIGHTS DISTURBED OR
 FREE STATE AND MARRIAGE DIFFICULTY LEFT UNSOLVED
 PASSIVE RESISTANCE CERTAINTY.¹

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

94. TELEGRAM TO MARSHALL CAMPBELL

[PHOENIX,]

May 24, 1913

SENATOR MARSHALL CAMPBELL

CAPE TOWN

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

¹ In reply to this, Patrick Duncan sent the following telegram on May 26:
 "Your telegram. Difficult to see how to avoid recognition polygamous marriages if
 legal recognition granted Indian non-Christian marriages."

WIRE COMMUNICATIONS PHOENIX.

GANDHI

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

95. TELEGRAM TO PATRICK DUNCAN

[PHOENIX,]

May 27, 1913

PATRICK DUNCAN
CAPE TOWN

THANKS WIRE¹ AMENDMENT MAY RECOGNIZE ONLY
ONE WIFE IN LAW AS JUSTICE WESSELS DID JUS-
SAT CASE. AMENDMENT ACCEPTED YESTERDAY BY
MINISTER NOT SUFFICIENT AS IT CONTEMPLATES
REGISTRATION IN ADDITION CELEBRATION ACCORDING
RELIGIOUS RITES STOP THERE IS NO SYSTEM REGIS-
TRATION MARRIAGES INDIA.

GANDHI

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

¹ *Vide* footnote 2 to "Telegram to Drummond Chaplin and Others", 24-5-1913.

96. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[PHOENIX,]

May 27, 1913

INTERIOR

CAPE TOWN

INVITE MINISTERS ATTENTION TRANSVAAL MARRIAGE
LAW 1871 WHICH RECOGNIZES EUROPEAN MARRIAGES
CELEBRATED OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA NO MATTER
UNDER WHAT FORM STOP SIMILAR PROVISION CAN
MEET INDIAN CASE STOP BEG STATE INDIANS DO
NOT DEMAND LEGAL RECOGNITION POLYGAMY. AMEND-
MENTS CARRIED DO NOT APPEAR PROTECT RIGHT
SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIANS ENTER CAPE UNDER
SECTION 4 SUB-SECTION 'F' PARA 'A' CAPE ACT 30
OF 1906 NOR DOES FREE STATE DIFFICULTY THEO-
RETICAL RIGHT APPEAR REMOVED STOP SUBMIT RISK
OFFENDING MINISTER THAT PASSIVE RESISTANCE CERTAINTY
IF QUESTIONS INCLUDED PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENT LEFT UNSOLVED
ACCORDANCE THEREWITH.¹

GANDHI

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

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

97. TELEGRAM TO SIR DAVID HUNTER

[PHOENIX,
May 27, 1913]

SIR DAVID HUNTER
CAPE TOWN

THANKS WIRE¹ AND SYMPATHY [STOP] UNFORTUNATELY
AMENDMENT ACCEPTED NOT ENOUGH AS IT CONTEM-
PLATES REGISTRATION STOP THERE IS NO SYSTEM
REGISTRATION INDIA STOP REGISTRATION CLAUSE TOTALLY
UNNECESSARY AND DOES NOT OCCUR TRANSVAAL LAW
REFERRED TO MY TELEGRAM² OF YESTERDAY STOP
OTHER POINTS ALSO NOT YET MET.

GANDHI

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

¹ This was dated May 26. It read: "Government this day accepted amendment which puts marriage question right. The Bill has now passed second and third readings and I think we may heartily congratulate ourselves upon the concessions obtained by the friends of the Indians."

² This is not available; *vide*, however, "Telegram to Drummond Chaplin and Others", 24-5-1913.

98. TELEGRAM TO SCHREINER AND CAMPBELL

[PHOENIX,
May 27, 1913]

SENATOR SCHREINER
SENATOR MARSHALL CAMPBELL
CAPE TOWN

IMMIGRATION BILLS NOW BEFORE SENATE FAILS
CARRY OUT PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENT OF 1911 AR-
RIVED AT BY GENERAL SMUTS WITH INDIAN COM-
MUNITY STOP IT TAKES AWAY RIGHT SOUTH AFRICA-
BORN INDIANS ENTER CAPE UNDER PARA 'A' SUB-SEC-
TION 'F' —SECTION 4 OF CAPE ACT 30 OF 1906
STOP BILL AS AMENDED YESTERDAY DOES NOT SOLVE
MARRIAGE DIFFICULTY AS IT REQUIRES REGISTRA-
TION MARRIAGES STOP THERE IS NO SYSTEM REGIS-
TRATION INDIA STOP TRANSVAAL MARRIAGE LAW RE-
COGNIZES MARRIAGES EUROPEANS OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA
NO MATTER WHAT FORM [STOP] SIMILAR PROVISION RE-
GARDING INDIAN MARRIAGES WILL MEET CASE STOP
PROVISOMAY BE ADDED EFFECT POLYGAMY WILL
NOT BE RECOGNIZED BY LAW STOP AM NOT
AWARE WHETHER BILL NOW PROTECTS NATAL INDIANS'
RIGHTS RETURN ON PROOF OF THREE YEARS' RESI-
DENCE NATAL STOP SETTLEMENT CONTEMPLATES THAT
THERE SHALL BE NO RACIAL BAR IMMIGRATION BILL
STOP PRESENT BILL SEEMS BREAK THIS CONDITION BY
REQUIRING INDIANS MAKE DECLARATION NOT REQUIRED
FROM OTHERS STOP IF THIS REQUIREMENT IS WAIV-
ED FREE STATE DIFFICULTY MAY BE SOLVED THOUGH
INDIANS SO ENTERING WILL STILL BE LIABLE DIS-
ABILITY HOLD LAND OR TRADE OR FARM STOP
HOPE YOU WILL SEE YOUR WAY EFFECTIVELY
INTERVENE TO HAVE SETTLEMENT CARRIED OUT THUS

PREVENTING REVIVAL PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

GANDHI

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

99. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[PHOENIX,]

May 27, 1913¹

INTERIOR

[CAPE TOWN]

BEG THANK MINISTER FOR CONCILIATORY TONE
MESSAGE STOP HAVE NO DESIRE HURT FEELINGS BY
REFERENCE PASSIVE RESISTANCE STOP YESTERDAY'S
AMENDMENT WILL NOT SOLVE MARRIAGE DIFFICULTY
AS IT CONTEMPLATES REGISTRATION IN ADDITION RELI-
GIOUS CELEBRATION STOP THERE IS NO SYSTEM
REGISTRATION INDIA STOP AMENDMENT AFTER TRANS-
VAAL SECTION QUOTED MY WIRE YESTERDAY WOULD
MEET CASE STOP MARRIAGES RECOGNIZED AS LAWFUL
INDIA SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED HERE SO FAR AS
ONE WIFE IS CONCERNED STOP IT IS TRUE NO
MENTION WAS MADE ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA-BORN
INDIANS BECAUSE OF MY OVERSIGHT OF PARTI-
CULAR SECTION CAPE ACT BUT SETTLEMENT IS BASED
UPON MY LETTER² 22ND APRIL 1911 SPECIALLY
MAINTAINING EXISTING RIGHTS AND GENERAL SMUTS'
REPLY SAME DATE STOP COMMUNITY COULD NEVER
CONTEMPLATE SURRENDER EXISTING RIGHTS STOP MEMBERS
WHO SPOKE DURING DEBATE I FEAR SPOKE
IN IGNORANCE BELIEVING THERE WAS NEW MOVE
INTRODUCE SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIANS CAPE STOP THERE
NEVER HAS BEEN ANY LARGE DESIRE NATAL-BORN
INDIANS ENTER CAPE BUT IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THEY
SHOULD BE DEPRIVED RIGHT POSSESSED BY THEM

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

² *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", 22-4-1911.

FOR YEARS STOP MATTER SPECIALLY MENTIONED
HON'BLE GOKHALE STOP APART FROM REMOVAL RACIAL
BAR ESSENCE COMPROMISE IS THAT EXISTING RIGHTS
SHOULD BE MAINTAINED STOP REGARDING FREE STATE
CLAIM THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO LEGAL RACIAL
DISCRIMINATION AGAINST INDIANS AS TO IMMIGRATION
STOP EDUCATED IMMIGRANTS SHOULD THEREFORE NOTBE
LIABLE MAKE DECLARATION SECTION EIGHT CHAPTER
THIRTY-THREE FREE STATE LAW STOP THIS
POINT WAS CLEARLY BROUGHT OUT LAST YEAR'S
CORRESPONDENCE [STOP] WITHOUT SEEING BILL AMENDED FORM
IMPOSSIBLE SAY WHETHER OTHER POINTS SATISFACTORI-
LY MET STOP IF BILL WILL TAKE TIME BEFORE
BEING CONSIDERED BY SENATE AND IF MINISTER DE-
SIRE MY PRESENCE IN ORDER FACILITATE DISCUS-
SION AND ARRIVE AT SETTLEMENT WILL BE
PLEASED COME AND WAIT UPON HIM STOP PRAY
ASSURE MINISTER MY EARNEST DESIRE IS ASSIST GOV-
ERNMENT COME TO LASTING SOLUTION CONSISTENTLY
WITH HONOUR MY COUNTRYMEN.¹

GANDHI

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

¹ In a reply on May 29, *vide* Appendix "Telegram from Minister of Interior", 15-4-1913, the Minister held out no hope that Parliament would alter the provisions of the Bill on the points raised by Gandhiji. That the Government, however, was keen on averting a revival of passive resistance is borne out by the Governor-General's confidential despatch to the Colonial Office; *vide* Appendix "Governor-General's Cable to Colonial Office", 29-5-1913.

100. TELEGRAM TO MORRIS ALEXANDER

[PHOENIX,]

May 29, 1913

ADVOCATE ALEXANDER

PARLIAMENT

CAPE TOWN

THANKS WIRE¹ AM WIRING² SENATOR SCHREINER REGISTRATION
INDIA SUPERFLUOUS AS INDIAN MAR-RIAGES PERFORMED
WITH GREAT SOLEMNITY AND PROLONGED CEREMONIAL.
DURING PROLONGED EXPERIENCE HAVE NOT KNOWN
SINGLE INSTANCE UNDESIRABLE INDIAN WOMEN HAVING
ENTERED SOUTH AFRICA.

GANDHI

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

¹ Dated May 28, it read: "Your wire. Have consulted with Senator Schreiner. Telegraph him what you suggest in absence of registration to prevent immigration of undesirable women. Why cannot Indian Government be petitioned to provide for registration."

² *Vide* the following item.

101. TELEGRAM TO SENATOR SCHREINER

[PHOENIX,]

May 29, 1913

SENATOR SCHREINER
PARLIAMENT
CAPE TOWN

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

GANDHI

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

102. TELEGRAM TO SENATOR SCHREINER

PHOENIX,
May 30, [1913]

SENATOR SCHREINER
CAPE TOWN

THANKS WIRE DID NOT COMMUNICATE EARLIER AS
I HESITATED WORRY YOU UNLESS ABSOLUTELY OB-
LIGED. LETTERS EXCHANGED BETWEEN GEN. SMUTS
MYSELF 22ND APRIL 1911 FORMED BASES PROVISIONAL
SETTLEMENT PUBLISHED 29TH APRIL 1911 "INDIAN OPI-
NION". AM WIRING PARTY HAND YOU COPY PROBABLY
OBTAINABLE "CAPE TIMES". OFFICE INTERIOR HAS FULL
CORRESPONDENCE SEE ALSO IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT BLUE
BOOK NO. C.D. 5579. DATE — MARCH 1911 PARTI-
CULARLY PAGE SEVENTEENTH IN WHICH MR. HAR-
COURT TELEGRAPHED ANY SOLUTION WHICH PREJU-
DICED OR WEAKENED PRESENT POSITION OF INDIANS
CAPE COLONY AND NATAL WOULD NOT BE ACCEP-
TABLE TO HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT. MR. FISCHER
HAS TELEGRAPHED TO ME TAKING UP IMPOSSIBLE
POSITION OF SAYING SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIANS ARE
TO BE DEPRIVED OF RIGHT EXISTING UNDER PRESENT
CAPE ACT OF ENTERING CAPE WITHOUT TEST. AS
TO MARRIAGES THERE IS AMPLE REGISTRATION BY
PRIESTS LIKE KAJEES AND CERTIFICATES FROM HEAD-
MEN OF DIFFERENT CASTES COULD ALWAYS BE PRO-
DUCED. MAGISTRATES INDIA ARE NOT AUTHORIZED OR
OBLIGED GRANT CERTIFICATES SUCH AS YOU MEN-
TION. IN RECENT CASE BOMBAY MAGISTRATE DE-
CLARED INABILITY GRANT SUCH CERTIFICATE FOR ABOVE
REASONS. AMENDMENT SHOULD REQUIRE EVIDENCE
SUCH AS IS OBTAINABLE AND RECOGNIZED IN PLACE
OF CELEBRATION MARRIAGE SUCH IS CLAUSE MARRIAGE

LAW TRANSVAAL 1871 REFERRED BY ME PREVIOUS
TELEGRAM¹.

GANDHI

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

103. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[PHOENIX,]

May 30, 1913

INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN

WHILST I BEG TO THANK MINISTER FOR EX-
HAUSTIVE REPLY², FEEL BOUND RESPECTFULLY TO
POINT OUT THAT AMENDMENTS SO FAR CARRIED DO
NOT SETTLE OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS. AM CONVINCED
THAT THE MARRIAGE AMENDMENT REQUIRING AS IT
DOES THE IMPOSSIBLE CONDITION OF REGISTRATION IS
TOTALLY USELESS. IF THEREFORE GOVERNMENT CANNOT
SEE THEIR WAY TO REMOVE REGISTRATION CLAUSE IT
WOULD CERTAINLY BE MORE HONEST TO WITHDRAW
THE AMENDMENT. AS FOR SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIANS
IF ORIGINAL DRAFT HAD RESPECTED EXISTING RIGHTS NO
QUESTION WOULD HAVE ARISEN AT THE CAPE.
THERE WAS CERTAINLY NO PUBLIC DEMAND FOR A
UNION IMMIGRATION BILL. INDIAN DIFFICULTY COULD BE
MET BY MERE AMENDMENT OF THE TRANSVAAL IM-
MIGRATION LAW. THEN INDIANS COULD NOT RAISE
CAPE, NATAL, FREE STATE POINTS WHICH THEY ARE
BOUND TO DO NOW WHEN CONSIDERING UNION BILL.
BUT IF EUROPEAN PUBLIC OR GOVERNMENT DESIRE
PASSIVE RESISTERS TO SELL EXISTING RIGHTS OF THEIR
BRETHREN FOR GAINING FREEDOM FROM IMPRISONMENT
OR WORSE, THEY MUST RESPECTFULLY DECLINE TO

¹ *Vide* "Telegram to Schreiner and Campbell", 27-5-1913.

² *Vide* Appendix "Telegram from Minister of Interior", 15-4-1913.

ACCEPT A BARGAIN SO DISHONOURABLE TO THEM.
 PRESENT BILL NOT AN ORDINARY BILL WHERE PAR-
 LIAMENT MAY LEGISLATE WITH FREEDOM. GOVERNMENT
 IF THEY WISH TO CARRY OUT TERMS OF THE
 SETTLEMENT CAN ONLY BRING IN A MEASURE CON-
 SISTENT WITH ITS TERMS AND ARE IN MY HUMBLE
 OPINION, IN HONOUR, BOUND TO WITHDRAW IT, IF
 PARLIAMENT WILL NOT ACCEPT IT. I TRUST THAT
 MINISTER WILL EXCUSE THE FRANKNESS WITH WHICH
 I HAVE TAKEN THE LIBERTY TO EXPRESS MY
 SENTIMENTS.

GANDHI

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

104. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

Vaishakh Vad 10 [May 30, 1913]¹

CHI. JAMNADAS²

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

I find no harsh words in your letter.

I don't see how you can join the struggle, since neither Maganlal³ nor anyone else from here can go [to India]. Chhaganlal⁴ or Maganlal will write to you about all these matters. I should certainly like you to be with us. But how can we always get what we want?

I return herewith the relevant part of your letter, with your questions serially numbered, so that I have less to write and yet you

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

² Son of Khushalchand Gandhi, Gandhiji's cousin

³ Addressee's elder brothers

⁴ *ibid.*

could follow [the answers].

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

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

At any rate, God is no dispenser of rewards and punishments, nor is He an active agent. But, if one *atman*² can be conceived after the embodied *atmans* have become free, it is God. He is no material thing, but pure consciousness. This is also the view of the *advaitavadins*³. At no time and in no circumstances do we need a kinglike God. By thinking that we do, we put a limit to the power of the *atman*, which is infinite.

2. The same distorted meanings, and as many of them, have been and are being read in the Bible as in any other holy book. Those who level charges against Tolstoy are ignorant. I do not know the truth about Marie Corelli⁴. But to describe her as a witch is sheer ignorance.

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

If we are attacked by a cow, it must be because we fear cows and other creatures and so the fault is ours. All fear is of the nature of a moral weakness and, so long as we are subject to it, we shall always have to face such misfortunes. While we fear cows, we should take care not to stand in the way of any. If accidentally we find ourselves doing so, we should put up with the injuries. By hitting the cow, we shall do

¹ The question have been supplied from *Mahatma Gandhijina Patro*.

² The Self, not identifiable with any aspect of human individuality

³ Those who hold the view that the *atman*, the Self in man, is not distinct from the *Brahman*, the Absolute

⁴ (1864-1924); celebrated novelist

no service to ourselves or to her.

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

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

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

6. [Did or did not Dharmaraja¹ commit a sin in declaring that Ashvatthama was killed? Why did Lord Krishna advise him to say this?]

The only lesson I draw is that even a Dharmaraja may stumble, so that we too should be on our guard. If we believe that a Shri Krishna in the body advised a Yudhishthira in the body, there is no harm in conceding that Shri Krishna was not perfect. If we look upon Shri Krishna as the Supreme Being, the entire episode will have to be interpreted symbolically. One will then read in it a meaning which accords with one's moral principles. The *shastras*² need not be regarded as infallible. We will never go wrong if, having got hold of the inviolable principles of morality, we interpret the *shastras* in the light of these principles and then are guided by them.

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

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

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

I have no more time now, but this answers one of your letters.

¹ In the battle of Kurukshetra, Yudhishtira, eldest of the Pandava heroes in the *Mahabharata* and known for his absolute truthfulness, was prevailed upon to say within Dronacharya's hearing: "Ashvatthama is killed." Ashvatthama was the name of Dronacharya's son and also that of an elephant. In fact, only the elephant had been slain. Dronacharya, who had proved invincible as leader of the Kaurava host, laid down his arms on hearing that his son was dead.

² Holy books other than those regarded as revelation

You have committed many grammatical mistakes in the letter to Miss Schlesin. I asked Chhaganlal to keep a copy. If he has done so, I shall correct and return it.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

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

105. THE OUTLOOK

It is difficult to state definitely the position that now faces our countrymen under Mr. Fischer's Bill. It must be admitted that some amendments (we refuse to call them concessions) in the right direction have, undoubtedly, been made. But much more must be done if there is to be no revival of passive resistance, and if there is to be even a bare fulfilment of the terms of the provisional settlement of 1911. Not a single existing right can be surrendered. Passive resisters may not—dare not—buy peace and freedom from imprisonment at the cost of the rights of others. And yet the right of South Africa-born Indians to enter the Cape, which they possess today in virtue of the Cape Immigration Act of 1906, is being taken away by the Bill. South Africa-born Indians, i.e., in practice, the Natal-born Indians, are not pining to go to the Cape. They rarely evinced any such desire throughout all these years. But they will certainly not give up on that account the right they possess of being able to enter the Cape. Nor can passive resisters be party to a Bill which deprives them of such a right.

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

intended.

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

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

Indian Opinion, 31-5-1913

106. MUNIEN'S CASE¹

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

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

Indian Opinion, 31-5-1913

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

107. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XXII]

4. FEVER AND ITS REMEDIES

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

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

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

¹ *Vide* "Plague in Johannesburg", 9-4-1904.

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

Much reliance is placed by others on a milk diet during fever, but my experience has been that milk taken in the early stages of fever does actual harm. It is, moreover, difficult to digest. If necessary, it should be given along with wheat coffee or boiled with a little quantity of rice flour and water. But in cases of obstinate or high

fever, it cannot be given even in this form. At such times I have found lime juice mixed in water to be remarkably beneficial. When the patient's tongue has become clear, the banana diet should be started, the banana being prepared in the manner described earlier. If the patient is constipated, rather than a purgative he should be given an enema of hot water mixed with borax to clear his bowels. Olive oil in the diet will thereafter help to keep the intestines clear.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 31-5-1913

108. STATEMENT ON IMMIGRATION BILL¹

[DURBAN,

June 2, 1913]

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

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

rights are jeopardized is clear from a consideration of the following facts:

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

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

The second condition of the settlement appears also to have been broken by the Government in that a declaration is to be required of such Indian immigrants as may possibly be admitted into the Free State, it not being required of European immigrants. The declaration in question will be highly offensive and wantonly irritating, because, in the case of an educated Indian, who alone could enter that Province,

it would be wholly unnecessary. It is merely a statement that the declarant shall not hold landed property, trade, or farm there, disabilities to which he is subject whether he makes the declaration or not. It will be remembered that it was the Free State difficulty that came in the way of a permanent settlement on the two previous occasions.¹ Mr. Fischer cannot now settle the controversy by ignoring it as if it were not of the most vital importance. One can only hope that the Senate will perform its duty as a vigilance chamber and the guardian of unrepresented interests, by insisting upon amendment of the measure, so as to fulfil both the letter and the spirit of the provisional settlement.

The Natal Mercury, 3-6-1913

109. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[DURBAN,
After June 5, 1913]

TO

THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR AND SEVERAL MEMBERS OF
PARLIAMENT

I OBSERVE THAT THE £3 TAX IS TO BE REMOVED ONLY FROM INDIAN WOMEN SHOWING, I PRESUME, THAT THERE IS NO PRESENT INTENTION TO REMOVE IT FROM MEN. THIS WILL CAUSE THE GREATEST SHOCK TO THOUSANDS INDIANS WHO DURING MR. GOKHALE'S VISIT WERE MADE TO BELIEVE THAT THE TAX WOULD BE REMOVED FROM ALL MALES AND FEMALES.² THE MOST RESPONSIBLE MEN IN NATAL MET MR. GOKHALE. I AM NOT AWARE THAT ANY OF THEM DEFENDED THE TAX OR OBJECTED TO ITS REMOVAL. I HOPE THAT EVEN AT THIS LATE

¹ Vide "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", 16-3-1911.

² This was during his visit to South Africa in November 1912. When the legis-lation to repeal £3 tax was being discussed, there was no suggestion to restrict the relief to women.

HOUR GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT WILL SEE THE
WISDOM OF REMOVING THE WHOLE TAX AND RENDER
JUSTICE WHICH IS ALREADY OVERDUE.

M. K. GANDHI

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

110. THE BILL

The correspondence between Mr. Fischer and Mr. Gandhi, published elsewhere,¹ shows clearly that Mr. Fischer had fully intended to deprive us of almost every right that we have been enjoying under the existing Immigration Laws of the different Provinces. The only right that was to be left to us was for those, who are at present physically residing in the respective Provinces, to live confined in their Provinces with little chance of being able to re-enter if they left their Province. Thanks, however, to the stubborn opposition from the Unionist Members and the fear of passive resistance, some slight modifications have been introduced into the measure. We wish that the Unionist Members had retained their firmness to the last. But Mr. Fischer successfully put them off the scent by telling them that the Imperial Government had already approved of the will. But the correspondence makes it clear that, in spite of the amendments, the Bill offers no settlement of the Indian question, that it leaves many big gaps and that, if they are not filled up, passive resistance is sure to revive. Mr. Fischer must consider us to be a perfectly stupid community, if he thinks that, with vested rights taken away, we are going to accept his measure. The threat to withdraw the marriage amendment, if we do not accept his measure, is unworthy of a responsible Minister. Either the amendment is intended to remedy a fault or it is useless. If it is so intended, the attitude of the community cannot affect the necessity of the amendment. But it is perfectly true that the amendment is quite useless and it would be more honest to tell us that our marriages are not to be recognized than

¹ *Vide* letters and telegrams to the Minister and the Secretary for the Interior, 1-4-1913; 9-4-1913; 15-4-1913; 27-5-1913; 27-5-1913 & 30-5-1913.

to mislead us, by an ineffective amendment, into believing that our wishes are being respected. This marriage difficulty, however, is only one of the many defects in the Bill. And, unless the Senate is prepared to adopt heroic measures, the Bill, which is supposed to have been designed to satisfy passive resisters, will simply compel them to revive the struggle, cost what it may.

Indian Opinion, 7-6-1913

111. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XXIII]

5. CONSTIPATION, SPRUE, DYSENTERY, PILES

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

All these patients suffer from lack of appetite, look pale, become weak, have offensive breath and a coated tongue. Some have headaches or develop other ailments. Constipation is so common that hundreds of medicines and powders have been invented for it. Mother Seagle's Syrup, fruit salt, etc., are intended chiefly to cure constipation and thousands come to harm through them, since they are apparently effective. Any ordinary *hakim* or doctor will tell us that the root cause of constipation is indigestion and will also add that constipation will disappear if the causes of indigestion are removed. The more honest among us freely admit that patients want to shake off the disease without shaking off their own bad habits, and hence they are driven to

prescribing powders and decoctions. Advertisements nowadays actually announce that those who take the medicines in question will not need to change their diet or other habits; they will be cured by the medicine alone! Those who have been following these chapters must have realized that such advertisements are fraudulent. The effect produced by a purgative is always bad. Though it may remove constipation, it will, however mild it be, give rise to other poisons in the body. Having taken a purge, if one proceeds to change one's bad habits so that purgatives will not again be necessary, one may perhaps derive some benefit from it. Those, however, who continue with their bad habits are bound to get some other ailment even if they are cured of constipation or sprue.

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

Treatment should begin with a 36-hour fast. During this time and later, mud packs should be applied to the abdomen on retiring and one or two Kuhne baths should be taken daily. The patient should walk at least two hours a day. Anyone following this regimen is bound to benefit. I have actually seen severe cases of diarrhoea, constipation, dysentery, and also of severe and chronic piles, cured in this way. With regard to piles, it is necessary to insist that, as long as mucus or blood is being passed, no food is to be taken. When the patient is in a position to take food, he should have orange juice filtered and added to boiling water. In this way, the worst case of dysentery can be cured in the shortest time without harming the patient. If dysentery is accompanied by severe griping, the abdomen should be fomented with a bottle filled with very hot water or with a heated brick. As in all illnesses, the patient needs fresh air here too.

The following fruits are regarded as especially beneficial in constipation: figs, French plums, muscatel raisins, large grapes, black

grapes, green grapes and oranges. One should not, however, imagine from this that these fruits should be eaten even when one is not hungry. When there is griping or a bad taste in the mouth, even these fruits can be harmful. When food is needed, these fruits will be specially beneficial in constipation, that is all that the statement above should be understood to mean.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 7-6-1913

112. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

PHOENIX,
NATAL,
June 7, 1913

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

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

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

Polak I know has been writing to you regularly. I do not therefore wish to inflict a long letter on you. If you have the time, you will doubtless read this week's *I[ndian] O[pinion]* which reproduces the whole of the correspondence I have carried on with Mr. Fischer. The Unionists put up a spirited fight at first but they weakened in the end. Fischer's information that the Imperial Government had accepted the measure as it stood did the trick. I can hardly believe that they could ever accept the Bill as drafted. If you have followed the debate as printed in the pages of *I. O.*, you will have noticed that your name was very freely used by several speakers and that mostly to the advantage of our cause. Yes, the visit is bound to produce far-reaching results in many ways.

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

Polak has now opened office. I have no anxiety about Ritch's expenses. And Polak will presently find his own. The London Committee remittance has been stopped since March last. So that the only burden is *I. O.* and if the struggle revives, Medh's¹ family will have to be supported. Apart from this, there will be only the incidental current expenditure. Medh's I would rather not beg in South Africa. But the other expenses we either find here or do without. I am collecting steadily the amount to be placed at your disposal for the London Committee which I hope you will reorganize. If there is any deficit in the £600 to be collected for 3 years' existence of the Committee, I have a promise from our friend Rustomjee² that he will find it. I think that if anyone is reliable in S[outh] A[frica], he certainly is. That reminds me of your cap and umbrella which I hope were safely delivered to you.

Kallenbach is here for a few days.

Hoping that this will find you in good health,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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

¹ Surendrarai Medh, a satyagrahi

² Parsee Rustomjee, a leading Indian merchant of Natal and a satyagrahi.

113. STATEMENT ON £3 TAX¹

[DURBAN,
Before *June 11, 1913*]

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

I well remember the great meetings of Indians which Mr. Gokhale addressed at Lord's Ground, Isipingo, and, as the Hon. Marshall Campbell's guest, at Mount Edgecombe.² Fully 10,000 indentured and ex-indentured Indians were present at Mr. Campbell's estate. Over 5,000 were present at Lord's. They were assured that, as Mr. Gokhale had met with no opposition from the Europeans to the removal of the tax, it would very probably be removed at an early date. Subsequently, after his interview with the Ministers, he declared that he had received assurances that the tax would be removed. This

¹ This was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 14-6-1913.

² *Vide* "Diary, 1912"

information was passed on to these thousands of helpless men and women. One man in Verulam had the “effrontery” to believe that the tax had already been repealed, and for that crime was sentenced to be imprisoned with hard labour by the Verulam Magistrate.¹ What will these men think when they hear that, though their women will at last be free, they themselves will have to continue to pay?

The Natal Mercury, 11-6-1913

114. STATEMENT ON IMMIGRATION BILL

DURBAN,

June 13, 1913

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

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

It is a wilful misstatement of facts to say that racial differentiation has been removed by this Bill even in regard to immigration. Indeed, Mr. Fischer’s telegram to me completely bears out my remark. The Free State difficulty has been, since 1911, a racial dif-

¹ *Vide* “Munien’s Case”, 31-5-1913.

² The reference is to his statement in the House of commons on June 11.

ficulty. Mr. Fischer has not surmounted it, and he says distinctly in his telegram that he will meet it by administrative action. If such a proposal could have been accepted in 1911, the Bill of that year would have become law, but it could not be then and it cannot be now.

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

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

As it is, unless the Royal sanction is withheld from the Bill, and fresh assurances given to the community that the terms of the settlement of 1911 will be entirely carried out, and that the marriage difficulty will be removed, passive resistance, this time both by men and women, will be taken up. The Union Government may be, indeed are, indifferent whether it is or is not, but I have faith enough in this sovereign remedy for all the ills that the civic and political life of a community is heir to know that, if we are true to ourselves, it must succeed. The latest proposal of the Government to remove the £3 tax only from women demonstrates beyond doubt their consistently hostile attitude and bad faith towards the Indian community.

The Cape Argus, 13-6-1913

115. THE BILL

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

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

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

But, if some members of the Union Parliament have spoken

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

But we need not feel sore if the Imperial Government have betrayed us and neglected their trust. They are more concerned with pleasing the Union Government who represent an infinitesimal but a boisterous European portion of the Empire, than with pleasing India which, though supposed to be the brightest diadem in the British crown, represents a people who are long suffering and who do not require to be pleased, much less pampered. Our final court of appeal must be ourselves. If we are true to ourselves, no doubt others will be true to us, as soon as they discover the fact, but no sooner.

Indian Opinion, 14-6-1913

116. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XXIV]

6. INFECTIOUS DISEASES: SMALLPOX—I

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

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

did not remain immune against infection for a very long time. It has been concluded, accordingly, that after the lapse of a certain period, it is necessary to repeat vaccination. Nowadays, the rule is to vaccinate the entire population wherever an epidemic breaks out, irrespective of whether the people had been previously vaccinated or not. One thus comes across persons who have been vaccinated five or six times or even oftener.

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

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

of death or disfigurement by smallpox, we die before our time by getting ourselves vaccinated.

I personally feel that in taking this vaccine we are guilty of a sacrilege. Even meat-eaters are forbidden to drink blood, and the flesh and blood of living animals are, I find, prohibited in all circumstances. But here blood is taken from a blameless living creature, is cultured, besides, and then fed to us through our skins. A religious man would rather get smallpox a thousand times or an early death than take such blood.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 14-6-1913

117. TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR-GENERAL

JOHANNESBURG,

June 16, 1913

HIS EXCELLENCY LORD GLADSTONE

[GOVERNOR-GENERAL

PRETORIA]

VIEW PASSAGE IMMIGRATION BILL PARLIAMENT, MY ASSOCIATION WOULD RESPECTFULLY DRAW YOUR EXCELLENCY'S ATTENTION TO FOLLOWING OBJECTIONS BILL FROM STAND-POINT INDIAN COMMUNITY. BILL FAILS TO CARRY OUT THE PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENT IN THAT CONTRARY TO THAT SETTLEMENT IT TAKES AWAY EXISTING RIGHTS. IT RESTRICTS RIGHT APPEAL SUPREME COURT PRESENTLY EXISTING. IT DEPRIVES INDIANS RESIDENT NATAL OF FACILITY PRESENTLY ENJOYED, REENTER THAT PROVINCE AFTER ABSENCE ON STRENGTH OF THREE YEARS PREVIOUS RESIDENCE, WHILE INDENTURED INDIANS WHO HAVE PAID £3 TAX MAY NOT UNDER BILL BE ALLOWED CLAIM RIGHT RESIDENCE THAT PROVINCE. IT TAKES AWAY RIGHT SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIANS ENTER CAPE UNDER ITS EXISTING STATUTE. FREE STATE DIFFICULTY REMAINS AS BEFORE IN THAT DECLARATION REQUIRED FROM EDUCATED INDIAN IMMIGRANT WHICH WOULD

NOT BE REQUIRED FROM ANY OTHER IMMIGRANT AS IMMI-GRANT. MY ASSOCIATION THEREFORE EARNESTLY PRAYS YOUR EXCELLENCY TO WITHHOLD SANCTION BILL, AND SO OBVIATE RECURRENCE PAINFUL STRUGGLE WITH ALL ITS HARDSHIPS, SUFFERING, AND SACRIFICE FOR COMMUNITY REPRESENTED BY MY ASSOCIATION.¹

A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Colonial Office Records: Cd. 6940/13

118. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

PHOENIX,
NATAL,
June 20, 1913

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

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

These are the defects in the Bill:

(1) The Free State difficulty appears to remain and therefore

¹ *Indian Opinion*, 21-6-1913, published an extended version of the communication. Lord Gladstone acknowledged it on June 17 and forwarded a copy to his Ministers. However, in reply to a telegram from Parsee Rustomjee on behalf of the Zoroastrian behalf of the Zoroastrian Anjuman, the Governor-General informed him that he had given his assent to the Bill the previous week.

the racial distinction.

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

I have only just received the amended Bill by Mr. Schreiner's favour. There may be other defects in it. I shall prepare a full statement² to be sent to you next week. I am not explaining the above-mentioned points, as I am anxious to spare you the trouble of having to read a long letter.

Now for your questions.

1. As you will have seen, the Bill has received the Royal assent.
2. Passive resistance will be resumed probably [at] the beginning of the next month.
3. In order to court imprisonment we will enter all the Provinces in disregard of the new Act and will refuse to show certificates or any other papers. Both educated and uneducated Indians will join the struggle.
4. So far as I can judge at present, 100 men and 13 women will start the struggle. As time goes, we may have more.
5. I do not expect to raise much cash but I do not anticipate any difficulty about getting sufficient food and clothing by begging. If we all go to gaol, Kallenbach has undertaken to do the begging himself. He can be thoroughly relied upon to see that no family is starved so long he has life in him. If no funds

¹ The original is illegible here.

² This is not available; *vide*, however, "Letter to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", 28-6-1913.

arrive unasked from India or elsewhere, we shall perform our wanderings on foot, and no money will then be spent on telegrams and cables. Just at present Miss Schlesin does all the public work in Johannesburg but for her maintenance works elsewhere. I am raising a special fund for the London Committee to be placed at your disposal. I am also getting rid of other pecuniary burdens. *Indian Opinion* staff has been brought down to a minimum and they will be thrown on their own resources. Some of my private burdens are being found by Dr. Mehta¹.

6. The struggle is expected to last a year but if we have more men than I anticipate, it may close during the next session of the Union Parliament. We are making provision for an indefinite prolongation.
7. It is difficult to answer what amount will be required to see the community through the crisis. At the lowest calculation made by me, nothing in cash will be required. But as I get cash, I shall use it for ending the struggle quicker and for giving support to families and *Indian Opinion*. Some people from Natal and the Cape will certainly join the struggle.

My prayer to you is: Please do not worry about us, do not beg for funds publicly and do not injure your health for the cause. This prayer is selfish. I am anxious to meet you in the flesh in India, work under you and learn, may I say, at your feet, all I want to and must. In some things I want to be disillusioned if I am in the wrong and I want you to be disillusioned if I am in the right and we do not agree. I shall not misunderstand you if I do not receive any letters from you. But whenever you have time and health, I shall value your letters and advice. They would be a source of comfort.

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

I must write another letter regarding your cable to Polak. He will come if it is at all possible. Funds and his family are the chief considerations. I shall discuss the situation with him tomorrow and

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

leave him to write to you on his return to Durban. He will have a day more than I have for mailing letters.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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

119. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XXV]

6. INFECTIOUS DISEASES [CONTINUED]: SMALLPOX—2

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

1. Taking vaccine from a cow's udder, which in fact belongs to her calf, is itself an act of extreme cruelty to thousands of living creatures. This cruelty is no credit to man's sense of pity and it behoves him, therefore, to forgo any benefit that may accrue from it.
2. No benefit is derived from such vaccine. On the contrary, taking the vaccine causes other infections. The sponsors of this movement are of the opinion that, since vaccination was introduced, the incidence of other diseases has increased.
3. The infection originates in man's blood, so that the germs of other diseases in the person are likely to be present in the culture and in all the samples of the vaccine.
4. Vaccination does not guarantee protection from smallpox. Its inventor, Dr. Jenner, had claimed that vaccination at one spot on one arm would provide life-long immunity. Later, he said

vaccination on both arms would give such immunity. Then it came to vaccination on more than one spot on both arms. When the disease occurred in spite of this, it was said that immunity could not be guaranteed for more than seven years. This period has now been reduced to three years. Thus doctors themselves are far from certain in this regard. In fact, the idea that one who is vaccinated will never get smallpox is entirely untrue. No one can prove that a person who has been vaccinated and has never caught smallpox would have caught the infection if he had not been so vaccinated.

5. Finally, they hold that vaccination is a filthy practice and that it is sheer barbarism to imagine that filth can be removed by filth.

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

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

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

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

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 21-6-1913

120. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

DURBAN,
June 21, 1913

GOKHALE
LONDON

GOING TRANSVAAL TO PRESENT FINAL LETTER TO
MINISTER.¹ IF REPLY SATISFACTORY AND FRESH SETTLE-
MENT MADE, NO PASSIVE RESISTANCE. THE ACT APPEARS
TO CONTAIN FOUR FATAL OBJECTIONS.² NOT VERY
HOPEFUL. FAILING SETTLEMENT, PASSIVE RESISTANCE
STARTING BEGINNING JULY. THEN POLAK CAN IMMEDIATELY
LEAVE. IF POSSIBLE FUNDS TO BE RAISED IN INDIA
MEET EXPENSES OF HIS TRIP WHICH ARE ESTIMATED
FOR ONE YEAR INCLUDING ALLOWANCE FOR FAMILY
STAYING HERE AT ONE THOUSAND POUNDS. IT IS
AT PRESENT IMPOSSIBLE TO RAISE THESE FUNDS
HERE.

GANDHI

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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", 28-6-1913.

² *ibid.*

121. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [—XXVI]

6. INFECTIOUS DISEASES [CONTINUED]: SMALLPOX—3

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

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

The last explanation applies to many diseases but is more likely to be correct in regard to diseases of the smallpox group. The reason why some patients remain weak or suffer from other ailments, after recovery, is to be found not in the original disease but in the remedies employed. Thus, quinine taken for malaria often causes deafness. Some even get a serious complaint known as quininism. Venereal diseases are cured with mercury, etc. The disorders which this gives rise to, as is well known, remain with the patient for ever. Thus medicines not only do not cure the disease but in fact cause new ones. We shall find numerous instances of patients who resort to purgatives

in order to cure constipation and develop piles, etc., in consequence. To understand and remove the basic cause of a disease and, when the latter has disappeared, to obey the laws of Nature is a better tonic than any *bhasma*¹. Metals are processed so as to make them assimilable and turned into powders like *lohabhasma*². But it is wrong to regard these as unfailing remedies. They do indeed seem to have some beneficial properties, but to the extent that they benefit the body, they strengthen the passions. Thus, they are ultimately harmful to one in their total effect. These medicines find greater favour as cures for smallpox. One who has had an attack of this disease rarely contracts it again. As a matter of fact, he often enjoys excellent health after his recovery because all poisons from the body have been drained out.

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

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 28-6-1913

¹ Form of metallic medication in *Ayurveda*

² *Bhasma* with properties of iron

*122. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
MINISTER OF INTERIOR¹*

JOHANNESBURG,

June 28, 1913

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR
PRETORIA

DEAR SIR,

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

The points are:

- (1) According to the definition of the term "domicile", those indentured Indians who arrived after the Indian Immigration Law Amendment Act of 1895 and their descendants appear to become prohibited immigrants.
- (2) The descendants of this class, although born in South Africa, will, if the above interpretation be correct, be unable henceforth to enter the Cape Province.
- (3) Women married in South Africa according to the rites of Indian religions, and going to India, and returning with their husbands will not be on the same footing as those

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

² A detailed comparison of the draft Bill and the Act as gazetted was published in *Indian Opinion*; Vide Appendix "Draft Immigration Regulation Bill and the Act", 28-6-1913.

[married]¹ in India. Nor are the hundreds of women married according to non-Christian faiths provided for by the amendment.

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

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

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

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

As to the last point, in the correspondence that took place between General Smuts and myself, doubt was expressed whether, in spite of the reservation clause, the declaration referred to in Section 8 of Chapter 33 could be required of an Indian who might be permitted to enter that Province under the new Act. What the people of the Free

¹ The original is not legible here.

State want, I hope, is not a humiliating declaration from an Indian immigrant, but his legal disability to hold land, to farm, or to trade. If this be particularly mentioned in the Act itself, they cannot reasonably object to the removal of the clause which requires the declaration.

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

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

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

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

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

*I remain,
Yours faithfully,*

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

¹ This paragraph, in Gandhiji's hand, appears to have been added later.

² This letter was followed by an interview on July 2. Gandhiji reduced the points discussed to writing; *vide* the following item.

123. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR

[JOHANNESBURG,]

July 2, 1913

SIR,

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

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

2. With reference to the indentured Indians who entered Natal under the amending legislation of 1895, as I have already told you, the Natal Courts have held that these indentured men, after they have finished their indentures, are free to settle in Natal and could not be treated as prohibited immigrants if they have not reindentured themselves, and that, after three years' residence without indenture, these people acquire under the Natal Immigration Act full rights of domicile in the same manner as other Indians; such Indians now appear to be affected by the definition of the term "domicile" in the present Act. I have already told you that we have obtained best legal opinion in Natal, which is to the effect that the definition does not

cover such Indians and that their rights will not be affected by the new Act. However, I do not wish to take upon my shoulders the responsibility of advising my countrymen that they may be guided by that opinion alone. It is my sincere desire that any points which I, at least, can foresee should not be left open or not entirely understood. If the Government, however, give the same interpretation to the term “domicile” that our Counsel does, an assurance to that effect settles this point. Let me state it as clearly as I can. We are not seeking to gain any new rights for indentured Indians, but we are anxious that their present rights should be left intact, and these according to the belief of the Indians are that, if an indentured Indian entering into a contract of service after 1895, having become free at the end of his contract, does not re-indenture, lives in the Province for three years, then goes to India and returns, he has a right to re-enter under the present Immigration Law of Natal by reason of his three years’ free residence.

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

4. As to the marriage question, in view of the Searle judgment¹, it is absolutely necessary to legalize Indian marriages celebrated or to be celebrated within the Union. This can be done by amending the new Act by removing the words “outside the Union” from the marriage clause of the Act, or by amending the Marriage Laws of the different Provinces authorizing the Government to appoint Marriage Officers for different denominations whose certificates as to the celebration of marriages according to the rites of the respective religions of the parties would be recognized as proper

¹ *Vide* Appendix “Text of the Searle Judgement”, 21-6-1913.

proof of marriage.

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

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

I think that I have now exhausted all the points we discussed. If you think that there is anything omitted or that I should supplement this letter, kindly let me know. It is clear to me that the solution of this difficulty is very easy because, with the exception of the marriage difficulty, all the points can be settled without an Act of Parliament.

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

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

I am sending this letter per Mr. Pragji Desai¹, who will be at your disposal to carry any communications you may wish to send me, and, if you require me at the telephone, you have only to ring up 1635, and I shall be at the telephone from wherever I may be.

Indian Opinion, 13-9-1913

124. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

Jeth Vad 14, 1969 [July 2, 1913]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

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

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

God exists, and yet does not. He does not, in any literal sense. The *atman* that has attained *moksha* is God and therefore omniscient. The true meaning of *bhakti*² is search for the *atman*. When the *atman* realizes itself, *bhakti* is transformed into *jnana*.

¹ Pragji Khandubhai Desai, a satyagrahi.

² Devotion

Narsimha [Mehta]¹ and others gave themselves to such devoted search of the *atman*.

Krishna, Rama and others were divine incarnations, but we, too, can be like them when immense *punya*² has accrued to us. The *atmans* about to attain *moksha* are so many divine incarnations. We need not believe in their perfection while yet alive.

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

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

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

¹ Poet-saint of Gujarat

² Accumulated merit

one who is in quest of the *atman* will have the right principle spring to his lips at the right time.

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

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

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

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

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

Mahatma Gandhijina Patro

125. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR

[JOHANNESBURG,]

July [4], 1913

DEAR MR. GORGES,

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

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

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

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

I remain,

Yours truly,

E. M. GORGES, ESQ.

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

126. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [—XXVII]

7. OTHER INFECTIOUS DISEASES

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

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

1. On getting fever or at the very first signs of it, take a wet sheet pack.
2. A thick mud pack should be applied to the swollen glands.
3. The patient should be given no food whatever.
4. If he feels very thirsty, cold lime juice and water

should be administered.

5. The patient should lie in a place open to plenty of fresh air.

6. Except for one person, no one should be allowed to go near him.

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

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

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

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

¹ Literally, deadly fever

measures are easier to take and more effective than remedies for cure, and it will be wise to employ these as shown above.

Cholera appears horrible when there is an actual case but, in fact, it is a much less serious disease than the plague. Wet sheet packs cannot be used here because the patient suffers from cramps, especially in the thighs. It may be of some benefit in this condition to apply mud packs to the abdomen, but where there are cramps it is necessary to foment the spot with hot water bottles. The patient's feet should be rubbed with mustard oil. No food, of course, must be given. The patient's friends should see that, instead of his getting scared out of his wits, his courage is kept up. If he has frequent motions, he should not be made to leave bed for the purpose, but he should be provided with a shallow pan without sharp edges in which he may pass stools. If these measures are taken without delay, there will be little risk for the patient. During an epidemic of cholera, there are effective measures with which to protect oneself against it. The disease usually appears in summer. People suddenly start eating unripe or rotten fruit. We are not as a rule accustomed to eat fruit, but many kinds ripen in this season and are cheap, so that they are eaten in large quantities. This is in addition to the usual food, with the result that the harmful effect of such fruit follows immediately. Even as it is, we frequently suffer from stomach-ache and such other complaints. When the stomach can stand the strain no longer, we get cholera. Others' physical condition is similar to ours and hence they also get an attack. No special precautions are taken regarding the patient's stools and the germs from these pollute the atmosphere. Water also is bad during the hot weather. With everything going dry, water becomes dirty and infected and is drunk without being filtered or boiled. Under such conditions, is it any wonder that diseases occur? It is only because Nature has provided us with a tough physique that we survive at all. Otherwise, looking at our conduct and habits, we deserve a very early end indeed.

We shall now consider the precautions to be taken during an epidemic of cholera. It is very important to keep the diet light and moderate. Good fruit may certainly be eaten but it should be carefully examined. We should never, out of miserliness or because of their

tastefulness, eat mangoes or any other fruits which are rotten in parts. Fresh air is essential. *Drinking water must always be boiled* and filtered through a thick and clean piece of *khadi*¹. Excreta of patients must be burned and the place covered with dry earth. If it became a regular practice with every person to sprinkle ashes over the excreta after using the latrine, the danger would be greatly reduced. To tell the truth, this should be a permanent rule. Cats dig a hole into which they pass stools and then cover it up with earth. It is only we who neglect to do this, thinking it to be a kind of pollution or feeling squeamish about doing it, and so fall victims to disease. If ashes are not available, dry earth should be used. If in lumps, the earth should first be broken up and made into dust.

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

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

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-7-1913

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

127. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

Box 6522,
*Thursday [July 10, 1913]*¹

MY DEAR MILLIE,

So Henry is on the waters on his way to London.² Such is the uncertainty of the life of those who are associated with me. It was very brave of you to have permitted Henry without a murmur to separate from you. I need hardly say that you will as before unreservedly fall back upon me for your wants. You will not leave me to anticipate your wants, will you?

There is no reply yet from General Smuts. I am expecting one every day. The strike has dislocated many things.³

How are you all getting on? I am not likely to leave here, if at all, before Monday next.

With love to you all,

Yours,
Brother

[PS.]

The Bazaar was a social success but not a financial success that it might have been.

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

¹ H.S.L. Polak left for London on July 10, 1913 to assist Gokhale in representing South African Indians' case. From the contents it is evident that the letter was written on this day, a Thursday.

² *Vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", 12-7-1913 and "General Knowledge about Health (XXXII)", 9-8-1913

³ *ibid.*

128. RIOT IN JOHANNESBURG

HISTORY OF STRIKE

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

The flames spread to Johannesburg. Friday saw the worst. Life and property were in danger. The Government requisitioned the entire police force of South Africa. Meanwhile bloodshed continued. There was blood in the workers' eyes. They carried red flags and were bedecked with red tassels. They intimidated the men working the

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

trams. The authorities showed wisdom and stopped the trams. The leader was a woman named Mrs. Fitzgerald. Accompanied by a gang of 50 people, she threatened the shopkeepers and made them close down the shops. Trade came to a standstill in Johannesburg. People were in panic and began to store food grains, etc. The cost of a bag of coal went up to ten shillings.

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

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

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

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

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

At the special request of the Government and in order not to excite public feeling, both the leading newspapers have refrained from

commenting on this epic strike and apportioning blame.

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

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 12-7-1913

129. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XXVIII]

8. CONFINEMENT

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

The subject of confinement has been made too much of. Deli-

very is nothing very dangerous for a woman whose body is healthy. Among villagers, a confinement is regarded as a very ordinary occurrence. Pregnant women perform their usual tasks right up to the last and suffer no harm during child-birth. There have been cases of *Bharwad*¹ women resuming normal work immediately after giving birth to a child. Animals, we know, suffer no pain.

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

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

¹ A Community of shepherds in Gujarat

According to this view, then, the first step to be taken in the care of a pregnant woman is for her husband to stop all sexual intercourse with her. Many responsibilities are to devolve upon her during the nine months of pregnancy. It should be realized that the future conduct of the child will depend to a great extent upon that of the mother during this period. If the mother is affectionate, so will the child be. If she is bad-tempered, the child too will be bad-tempered. It is quite important, therefore, that the mother should maintain a very pure state of mind during these nine months. She should be engaged in virtuous deeds, avoid anger, be particularly compassionate and generous, be free from anxiety and fear, not allow carnal thoughts even to enter her mind, not waste time in useless gossiping, and never tell an untruth. If a woman observes all these rules, the child to be born to her cannot but grow to be an illustrious person.

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

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

It is the husband's duty not to agitate the wife by starting quarrels with her during this period. She should be kept happy and

relaxed. If she has to carry too heavy a burden of domestic work, the husband should try to lighten it. It is essential for her to have a short walk in the open air every day. During pregnancy, it should be seen to it that no medicine of any kind is swallowed by the mother.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 12-7-1913

130. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

“MOUNTAIN VIEW”,

[JOHANNESBURG,]

July 12, 1913

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I hope you duly received the cable¹ I sent you. As there was no certainty about a settlement being arrived at and as your wires were imperative, it was thought best to send Polak to you. There is up to the time of writing no definite information from General Smuts. In reply to a personal letter², his secretary telegraphs saying owing to the crisis General Smuts has no time to go into the points raised by me. There are internal dissensions too in the Cabinet.

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

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

¹ *Vide* “Cable to G. K. Gokhale”, 21-6-1913.

² This is not available.

to me for the time being.

But if the raising of the money means any mental [strain]¹ or trouble to you, may I beseech you not to trouble about the funds. I shall manage somehow or other till his return. In my cablegrams I felt bound to place before you my position. But the cablegrams need not worry you at all. All I care for is, selfishly, to see you alive for some years at least. And nothing would grieve me more than to find that our troubles hastened your departure from this earth. Nor is it at all necessary in the event of the struggle reviving, for you to go to India in August or before your health is restored. I have spoken to the passive resisters and they have all asked me to tell you that they are not frightened by the prospect of prolongation of the struggle. I personally feel that but for a Cabinet crisis and but for strikes, the struggle, if it is revived, will be sharp and swift.

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

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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

¹ The original is damaged here.

131. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

July 13, 1913

MY DEAR MILLIE,

Herewith a cheque for £12.

I had a wonderful meeting last night. Manilal insists on observing the same penance vow that I am. His fast too therefore starts from today. And yet I know that in spite of all that, there may be no change of heart. But I must continue to trust and believe. I take it that you will bank all the monies that may be received there and send me the deposit slips. Is Solomon keeping the books?

Of course you may come down during the fast week too. And if Voysey offers to come during the week, let him come. West will attend to him.

With love,

BROTHER

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

132. IMMIGRATION LAWS

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

Every person who enters or is found within the Union will, if required, have to appear before an [immigration] officer and satisfy such officer that he is not a prohibited immigrant either in respect of the Union or in respect of any particular province. The officer may require every such person to give a declaration in the form prescribed under the regulations and to produce documentary or other evidence relative to his claim to enter or remain. The person must submit to any examination or test. If he is suspected of being afflicted with any disease [which would render him a prohibited immigrant], the officer may also require him to submit to a medical examination. Every such declaration will be exempt from stamp duty. After such test, every person whom the officer considers not to be a prohibited immigrant will be free [to enter or remain,] but if any person fails to undergo the test as above or, having given it fails to

¹ For an analysis of the Regulations and the related documents, *vide* Appendix “Immigration Act Regulations”, 26-7-1913.

satisfy the officer that he is not a prohibited immigrant, he will not be permitted to land and will be informed in writing that he may, if he chooses, appeal to an immigration board. If the person is on board a ship, such notice [of appeal] will have to be given immediately; otherwise, within three days of the receipt of written intimation from the officer.

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

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-7-1913

133. NEW IMMIGRATION ACT

ITS OBJECTIONABLE FEATURES

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

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

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-7-1913

134. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XXIX]

9. CARE OF CHILDREN

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

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

should wait for a day or two. The specific cause of the trouble should be removed and the child will recover. Flying into a panic and giving medicines will definitely harm the baby's health.

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

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

When the baby has grown up, that is, has learnt to walk, it may be dressed in a shirt, etc. Shoes are quite superfluous. An infant does not have to walk among thorns. If, therefore, it remains barefoot, the child's feet will be toughened and there will be no obstacle to the circulation of blood which might otherwise be constricted because of the shoes. It is both vulgar and cruel to dress up a child, for the sake

of show, with silken clothes, or dresses padded with cotton, narrow pyjama, a cap on head and ornaments round the neck. To imagine that we can improve upon the appearance that Nature has given the child is sheer vanity and ignorance.

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

When we consider all this, it becomes clear how very delicate is the responsibility the parents carry. Man's primary duty is to teach children purity of conduct so that they may bring credit to themselves and the parents. We observe of trees and their fruits that only plantains can come from a plantain tree and that an excellent tree alone produces good fruit. A fine animal has fine offspring. Man falsifies this rule. Parents with a reputation for purity have children of impure conduct and apparently healthy parents have unhealthy offspring. The chief or rather the only reason for this is that, though not worthy to be parents, we frequently become such merely in consequence of self-indulgence. How then can we be mindful of children's interests? But it is incumbent on right-minded parents to bring up their children in the best possible manner. To be able to do this, both father and mother must have received true education. Parents who have not done so should, if they realize their error, leave their children in the charge of other well-educated and virtuous persons. It is vain to hope that children will learn good behaviour at school. There is only one way of teaching good behaviour and that is to give the child an opportunity

¹ A Gujarati saying

to live constantly in that kind of atmosphere. If there is one sort of training at home and another at school, the children can never improve. It follows from this that there are no fixed times when a child is to receive its education. Its education commences at its birth and from that very moment begins its physical, mental and spiritual or religious training. Its training in language starts the moment it begins to prattle. Instruction in letters also it can have from its parents, as it plays. In olden days, this was what usually happened. Now, it has become the custom to send children to schools. If parents would do their duty by their children, there would be no limit to the heights the latter could reach. But, if we regard children merely as toys, fondle them excessively, spoil them out of a mistaken notion of affection with sweets and rich clothes right from their childhood, allow them to do as they please, if we are greedy for money ourselves and teach this greed to children, are engrossed in pleasures and set that example before children, are lazy ourselves and make them lazy, are dirty and teach them dirty ways, tell lies and teach them lies, then is it any wonder that our progeny grow up to be feeble, immoral, lying, lustful, selfish and greedy? Thoughtful parents need carefully to ponder over these remarks. India's future, a good half of it, lies in the hands of parents.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-7-1913

135. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

[PHOENIX,]

*Ashad Vad 1 [July 19, 1913]*¹

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I got your two letters together. I advise you to marry because I do not credit you with spiritual strength of a high order. By obstinately refusing to marry, you will cause extreme pain to your parents, and still more to your prospective father-in-law. You can do all this, but for that you require higher knowledge. When you have achieved it, you will ask me no questions, nor will your parents or anyone else take your words amiss. You cannot say with certainty that your present state of mind will last for ever. When Lord Buddha had an indirect knowledge of the truth, he went away, abandoning his wife as she slept, and causing much grief to his parents. Yet, the world has admired his action. At present, your ideas rest on your faith in me. I have, therefore, given you advice in keeping with your state. You may, however, remember my condition. I have told you that you will have to marry. All the same, if you have no sexual union with your wife, this cannot but conduce to the welfare of both of you. It will also be an excellent example to others. It is more difficult to observe unbroken *brahmacharya* in marriage than without marrying. You will be able to observe it only if you are strongly impressed with its great virtue. This will happen only if you have earned extraordinary *punya* in your previous lives. If you have the strength, you should do this. You should respectfully tell your parents of your views and your father-in-law through them. You may tell them: "I desire to observe inviolate *brahmacharya* and feel that it will be better for me not to marry. If you understand my ideas, kindly help me. If you think this to be mere childishness in me, I will obey you and marry. But I shall have no union with my wife. I shall try to persuade her also to observe *brahmacharya* and seek her cooperation in my effort. We shall not

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

share the same bed. I shall look after her in all other ways and bear her pure love.” If you can speak these words with knowledge they will have effect and, having announced this, you will find it extremely difficult to seek union with the lady, notwithstanding the fact that you two are married. You will see that this course will keep you free from the difficulties of looking after children, etc., which you have been thinking of.

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

You have correctly explained why unwholesome food produces an immediate effect on persons like us. When Lord Buddha ate the flesh he received as alms, his body fell dead. If, through ignorance or oversight, eggs have been used in Mrs. Besant’s¹ food, she vomits it.

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

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

Don’t suppose that no one has ever thought about milk. I am sure there must be quite a few who go without milk. But as I said once,² the giving up of meat-eating in India at the instance of some great man was a change of such far-reaching importance that we do not find anyone to have thought or written about milk. This, however, is due to our ignorance. We have not read everything and seen

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

² *Vide* “Letter to Jamnadas Gandhi”, 29-3-1913.

everyone. The best test is this: “Does the thing appeal to reason, leaving aside the question whether or not it was considered in the past?” Moreover, nobody has said or believed that it is a sin to do without milk. Swami Ramatirth’s¹ teaching appeared to me very gross in many places. Some of it also seemed morally unsound. His ideas about travel are much too rough and ready. Malbari² has better ideas. There is no need whatever for a religious leader from India to go preaching to America. *Karmayoga*³ imposes limits on us and to cross them would be *moha*⁴ and *mamata*⁵ on one’s part.

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

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

Printing presses and newspapers are also evils. Knowing this, we should not venture upon new ones. What I have written in *Hind Swaraj*⁶ on this still holds good.

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

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

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

¹ (1873-1906); Hindu religious thinker, philosopher and poet

² Behramji Mervanji Malbari (1854-1912); poet, journalist and social reformer

³ The concept of doing one’s duty disinterestedly and in a spirit of worship, no one type of service being intrinsically superior to another

⁴ Self-delusion

⁵ Sense of “I” and “mine”

⁶ *Vide* “Hind Swaraj”, 22-11-1909.

136. LETTER TO UMIASHANKAR MEHTA

*Ashadha Vad, 2 [July, 20, 1913]*¹

CHI. UMIASHANKAR,²

I have your letter. It is not certain when I shall be going. There may or may not be a settlement. I have written to Jayashankar to look for an escort. But I see that Jayashankar does not intend to contribute a single pie towards the expense of their Journey. If you would care to meet the expense of sending them I shall send them. I do not think your contributing half the expense will be enough. You may pay half their school expenses. I do not remember the exact month, but it should be twelve months since they came. If that is so, it would be £36 for food and £2 for 10 books every six months, that is, £38 in all. Out of this amount you send £19. It does not matter if you cannot send the money immediately; but keep it in mind and try to send it early. Shanti's health is very good. But he has not grown much in size.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 1631. Courtesy: Gunavant Umiashankar Mehta

¹ From the contents and the dateline, this appears to have been written four days before the letter to the addressee (C. W. 1628) written on *Ashadha Vad 6*, the date of which has been inferred July 24, 1913.

² Son of Dr. Pranjivandas's brother.

137. LETTER TO BHAVANI DAYAL

[PHOENIX,]

Ashadh Krishna 5 [July 23, 1913]

DEAR SHRI BHAVANI DAYAL,

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

The correspondence with the Minister of the Interior has not come to an end. However, I had a telegram from Pretoria which says that the Government could not attend to any other matter so long as the strike¹ trouble was there. When that is over, I shall go to Johannesburg. We shall know then whether the struggle will continue or a settlement will be arrived at. I am unable to advise whether Swami Mangalanand Puri should come here to preach or to court imprisonment.

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

Bande Mataram from

MOHANDAS

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

¹ The reference is to the strike in the Johannesburg gold mine area; *vide* "Riot in Johannesburg", 12-7-1913.

138. LETTER TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS

[PHOENIX,
After July 23, 1913]

THE REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS

PRETORIA

SIR,

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

With reference to your letter of the 23rd July last, as per the telephonic message sent to you when I was recently in Johannesburg, I have now traced the correspondence I had with Mr. Lane. I beg to refer you to my letter to him of the 11th April 1912 and the official reply dated the 8th May of the same year.¹ Reading the two together, I venture to submit that my interpretation that the permit is to be indefinitely renewed (naturally during the minister's pleasure) is not unwarranted. It always has been my intention as it is now also to ask for a permanent certificate. But I was waiting for the new legislation to be passed. Unfortunately although the legislation has been passed, there remain outstanding questions yet to be settled. If they are satisfactorily settled, I shall hope to make my due submission regarding this lad. Meanwhile, may I ask for further extension of the permit? I observe that you have suggested in your letter to Bhayat of the 26th ultimo that Mr. Bhayat should deposit £10 for the extension to be issued to the boy. I presume however that the powers given to you under Act 36 of 1908 remain unimpaired. If you agree with my interpretation, a deposit is not required. In view of my submission, I hope that you could waive the undertaking required by you in that letter.

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

I have, etc.,

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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", 11-4-1912.

139. LETTER TO UMIASHANKAR MEHTA

*Ashadha Vad, 6 [July 24, 1913]*¹

CHI. UMIASHANKAR,

I have your letter. I have sent a cheque to Chi. Jayashankar. I have decided to send the children since Bhai Joshi will be accompanying them. He will be leaving tomorrow (Friday). Chi. Jayashankar has flatly refused to pay the expenses, so I have given instructions that the money should be put to my account.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 1628. Courtesy: Gunavant Umiashankar Mehta

140. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Thursday [July 24, 1913]

When will that incomparable time come when I shall be free from bondage outward and internal! When shall I go along the path of the good, having burst the bonds of all associations?

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I propose in my letters to send you translation of one verse per day from the hymn I explained during the fasting week. Let the verse you receive be your chief thought during the day and may it be also your guide.

I have your letter. I was delighted to find you fared so well. I

¹ From the contents and from *Ashadha Vad 6* in the dateline which was a Thurs-day.

was somewhat afraid. The portion you gave yourself was very moderate. I am just now extra cautious, so much [so] that I am very hungry tonight. I had only four tomatoes boiled with the skin off and a pineapple with a few monkey-nuts. I had besides a spoonful of the pawpaw vegetable and a lemon squash. I worked a little in the garden too. Manilal is much better today. He takes two meals. He feels very hungry. He eats well. He worked at the office today and was not so morose as yesterday. I cannot describe to you how I miss my bed companion.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

141. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Friday [July 25, 1913]

Having become detached from the qualities of matter, I should consider the body as given to me only for the sake of self-control. There should never be any thought about anything else. There should be not the slightest trace of attachment to bodily pleasures.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Such is the second verse. I am quite aware of my limitations in translating. I can neither give you the music of the language nor the full spirit of the thought. These you must fill in from your imagination.

I have a letter from Mr. Gokhale in which he apologizes again for not writing to you.

Manilal has given full day's work today. The strain had told on

Mrs. Gandhi. She is now in bed. Did I tell you that Jeki had become saltless? She is that for 8 days as a trial.

Hope you have seen Strukey (?), also the people who were to be seen about the Farm. You should try to pay a visit to the Farm before you return.

You ought to give yourself some time every evening for some uplifting reading.

I am still feeling weak and have not the courage to walk even to the station and back tomorrow, at 11 a.m. I could do it about 7 or 8. But I may feel better tomorrow. I had a fair meal today 6 bananas, pawpaw vegetable, orange and date jam and spoonfuls olive oil, also 2 oz. monkey-nuts.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

142. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XXX]

10. ACCIDENTS: DROWNING

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

We shall begin with the treatment to be given to one who may have fallen into water. In England, a philanthropic association has been established to render assistance in such emergencies. It has issued some valuable suggestions. The following note is chiefly based on these, with some modifications and additions. It is said that a person can live for hardly five minutes after he stops breathing. That means that, when a drowning man is taken out of the water, there is little life left in him. Immediate measures have to be taken to keep life going—to bring the drowning person back to consciousness. Two things must especially be attended to in such a case. One is to make the victim resume normal breathing by giving artificial respiration and the second is to give him warmth. When thinking of remedies, it has to be kept in mind that immediate treatment has to be given, if needed, at places like river banks where no equipment is available. It is possible to render treatment to a drowning man only if there are two or three other persons present. These must possess presence of mind, courage and promptness. If they themselves fall into a panic, nothing can be done. If each of the two or three men wants to follow his own method or starts advising the others, there is little hope for the victim. They must immediately recognize the most capable among the themselves and follow his instructions at once.

As soon as the victim is taken out of the water, his wet clothes should be removed. His body should be wiped with any cloth the companions may have. A hand should then be placed on his forehead and he should be gently turned over for a minute. A hand should be pressed against his chest and dirt and water removed from his mouth.

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

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

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 26-7-1913

143. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Monday morning [July 28, 1913]

When the ignorance that deflects true vision is removed and when a knowledge that the body is totally different from the soul is acquired, the seeker will remove all obstacles to true knowledge of the soul and begin to centre on the soul.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

According to our contract I have omitted the Sunday letter for want of train service.

Manilal, Raojibhai, Maganbhai, Ramdas and the new boy Gokuldas walked to Inanda Falls yesterday. Manilal has gone back to one meal only now.

Parsee Rustomjee is here for a few days. Jalbhai has rejoined his father. You will fix up the oil when you return.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

144. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Monday night [July 28, 1913]

Steadfastness of the soul shall last to the end of one's earthly existence. And it shall not be capable of being disturbed by afflictions from without or within, no matter of what nature.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Your two letters before me. Your start was certainly extremely encouraging. I hope that in spite of the temporary outburst of anger, you have been able to continue the progress. May you have strength to carry out your resolutions. I envy you your walks. I do not think I have yet regained my strength. It is an effort to rise up the hill.

Manilal is now almost normal. He seems to have picked up strength.

With love,

Upper House

[PS.]

If the Farm cannot be sold, the security you have offered seems all right.

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

145. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

DURBAN,
July 29, 1913

GOKHALE
LONDON

INDUSTRIAL CRISIS BLOCKS PROGRESS NEGOTIATIONS SETTLEMENT.

GANDHI

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

146. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Tuesday night [July 29, 1913]¹

Even the religious discipline must be only with a view to gaining self-control. In a full knowledge of the soul, one must abide by the precepts of the Prophet (Jin). And even these fade away as the soul rises higher in the acquisition of self-knowledge.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Naturally there was no letter from you today as you could have none from me. Friend Rustomjee is still here. He causes me no trouble and takes very little of my time. He does not want to go to Durban until the two boys have quietened down.

Praying for the continuation of your progress, with love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Do not forget to bring the oil please.

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

147. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Wednesday [July 30, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your two letters in one cover. Have written to both B. Alexander and Mrs. N. Kallenbach.

Your statement of figures is somewhat rosy. But if the loan can be raised and the office fixed up as you suggest and Mountain View safely let on a lease subject to the right to you to sell and cancel the lease if necessary, you may come out all right. I certainly think that the £500 for the material on the Farm should be somewhere included in your figures. It is as well. The money need not be paid now, especially while the struggle is considered probable. But the matter should be kept in view.

Have you been able to fix up John of the Farm? And what of D. Pollock?

My advice still will be to let the Farm go if there is a buyer for the full value.

Manilal is regaining himself. He works out his hours. He eats very well. I am eating well, take a long time over my meal and am not satisfied. I am very weak. The after-effect has been the worst with me. The ringing noises in the ears were there before but they are very persistent. I am not capable of great physical effort. But I think I shall slowly regain my strength. The mental capacity is still great. The mind seems never to be fatigued. It is an effort now to get up at 4.30 a.m. Today I got up at 5.45 a.m.

Jeki works away nicely and cheerfully. Did I tell you that Manilal had reverted to one meal? Raojibhai, Maganlal, Ramdas, Devdas, Dahya, Sivpujan and Revashankar also have one meal. Mrs. Gandhi is still bed-ridden. She is purely fruitarian. It is hard for her.

Here is the 6th verse.

There shall be freedom from indulgence in the passions rising from the five senses and there shall be no attachment to the working

of the senses. The soul must move without being limited by the bondage of place, time and matter, subject only to the working out, without attachment, of its own previous actions.

Of course you will not hurry to come here so long as you are enjoying peace there and attending to and winding up your affairs in the spirit of the above lines, with sufficient detachment.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

148. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Thursday night [July 31, 1913]

He is angry with anger, he has sense of respect for his own humility, he is the seer of the false show about him but untouched by it and he is avaricious of avarice itself.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You are certainly keeping up the momentum. Am glad you have taken up spiritual reading. It is proper food for the soul.

Have you heard from or about Albrecht?

I am too much disturbed to say more.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

149. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

August 1, 1913

There shall be no anger even against one who does us serious harm and there shall be no pride even though an emperor should bow the knee before us; there shall be no self-delusion even though the body may perish and no ambition though we may command the wealth of a Croesus ¹.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Yes, you need not come away leaving work that may be progressing under you. I am glad you had a heart-to-heart chat with Mrs. Binion. I know that when we meet again, you will have a great deal of your experiences to give me.

We may take it that the loan will not be an easy matter. If Gordon can take over the Mountain View property as a business proposition, your troubles are practically solved. He can hang on to it and therefore he can have nothing to lose. Did you mention it to him? He may do it in order to free you for your spiritual growth. The knowing friends may reserve you for work they will not or cannot do. It is true they may say yours will be purely an experiment. Why not? We make experiments in mundane business. So we may in spiritual matters.

If you are staying long, how about your food? The best thing would be for you to buy sufficient meal and bake bread and biscuits yourself. You [need] not go in for the thing wholesale. The wheat you have there you may bring with you when you come. As you are falling in love with your solitude and as you light the stove regularly, it is no trouble to bake once or twice a week. We have made here banana flour and almond coffee. As Mrs. Gandhi is a fruitarian, you may expect all these delicate complications.

¹ The last king of Lydia, 560-546 B.C., reputed to be the wealthiest man of his age

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

150. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[JOHANNESBURG,
August 1, 1913]

MY DEAR HENRY,

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

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

¹ The reference is to a trust, created by Gandhiji in 1901, of gifts and ornaments presented to him; *vide* "Letter to parsee Rustomjee", 18-10-1901.

With love to all,

Yours sincerely,
BHAI¹

[PS.]

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

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

151. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XXXI]

11. ACCIDENTS: BURNS

When any person's clothing or something else about him catches fire, we get into a panic, which is like branding a man who has already sustained burns²—instead of being helpful to the victim, we make things worse for him. It is everyone's duty therefore to know what remedies to apply to a man who has suffered burns.

The person whose clothes catch fire should also not become terrified but, if it is the loose end of a garment, should promptly rub it with the hand. If the entire clothing has caught fire, he should roll on the ground or, if there is a carpet or similar thick cloth within reach, he should wrap himself in it. If water is available, it should be thrown on the flames. As soon as the fire is extinguished, he should be examined for burns. If there are any, the cloth is likely to stick to those parts. This should not be pulled off. The remaining clothing should be cut round with a pair of scissors and the part that has stuck to the skin left in place. Great care should be taken not to tear the skin. Leaving the victim in this condition, one should collect clean earth forthwith and mix it with cold water to make a poultice and this should be tied over the burns so that the victim will suffer the minimum of pain. If cloth is sticking to the burns, it may safely be left

¹ "Brother"; this was how associates addressed Gandhiji.

² A Gujarati saying

under the bandage. As soon as the mud dries, the poultice should be changed. There is no need to be afraid of using cold water.

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

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

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

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-8-1913

152. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

[JOHANNESBURG,]

*Shravana Sud 6 [August 7, 1913]*¹

CHI. JAMNADAS,

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

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

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

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

When I am there, the Press will continue to work as usual. Mr. Polak will carry on his practice. Miss Schlesin is already fixed up elsewhere. Mr. Kallenbach will very likely accompany me. Miss West

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

will stay on in Phoenix for the time being. Manilal will go with me.

We need not assume that all our *shastras* have been written after careful thinking and from knowledge. Charvaka's¹ is also *ashastra*. If by the term *shastra* we mean that alone which contains perfect knowledge, then, of course, we can say that all *shastras* have been written from knowledge. From this point of view, any *shastra* which mentions human sacrifice, etc., should be taken to be mere ignorance. The idea may have been interpolated in the genuine *shastras* at some later time. One who wants to realize the *atman* need not go in for such research. It is the concern of the historian; we, on the other hand, should look for the essence, the spirit, of every text or utterance. Why should we put ourselves to the bother of reading sense in their nonsense in the belief that all *shastras* are *shastras* [in fact]?

In India, as elsewhere, knowledge and ignorance go hand in hand and so we find obnoxious practices, like offering sacrifices to Kali², followed in the name of religion. We may not concern ourselves at present about stopping them either. Our first concern is that we should realize the *atman*. When we have learnt that lesson and mastered it, we shall be able to solve all others with little effort. If Vibhishana³ went over to Shri Ramachandra with no selfish motive, what he did was perfectly right. Who would conceal from God the fault of even a blood brother? One is, moreover, justified in seeking God's help to undo a brother's evil.

It is not possible to cling to the literal meaning of the verse you have quoted from the *Bhagavata*⁴. Krishna alone knows the meaning of His sport. He may, submitting to the urge of desire, pursue love, but we creatures of flesh and blood cannot do likewise. The freedom He may have by virtue of his Godhead, we cannot possibly take. Apart from this, the author of the *Bhagavata* wrote what he did about Krishna within the limits of his own knowledge. No one knows the

¹ A philosopher who propounded materialism

² The Mother Goddess in her destructive form

³ Younger brother of Ravana in the *Ramayana*, who urged his brother to return Sita and make peace with Rama

⁴ One of the 18 *Puranas*, sacred narrative poems in Sanskrit, part history and part legend; it depicts the love of Radha and Krishna as symbolical of the love of the human soul for God.

real Krishna.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

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

153. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XXXII]

12. ACCIDENTS: SNAKE-BITE

Men have always feared snakes. There are countless superstitions, too, connected with the serpent. We are afraid even to mention its name. At night we refer to it as “the big creature”. Among Hindus, the snake is an object of worship. *Nagpanchami*¹ is regarded especially as the day of snake worship. There is a popular belief that the earth is supported on the head of the serpent *Sheshnag*. God also is held to be *Sheshshayi*, i.e., lying on *Sheshnag*. God Shiva is said to wear a snake as a garland. “*Sheshnag* with his thousand mouths could not describe this”; in saying this we attribute intelligence and knowledge to the serpent. There is a similar idea in Christianity also. “Be wise as the serpent”, so runs a saying in English. The serpent *karkotak* conferred a boon upon Nala² by biting him, thereby making him so ugly and deformed through its poison, that none would look upon him with evil intent as he wandered in the forests. The serpent also stands, in the Bible, for the Devil. It was he who tempted Eve.

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

It is more difficult to say without thinking why the snake has been credited with intelligence. Modern scientists aver that it has none. According to them, a snake should be killed at sight. Government statistics show that in India 20,000 people perish annually from

¹ Fifth day of the bright half of *Bhadrapad*

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

snake-bite. I think the figure must be higher. The Government offers a reward for every poisonous snake killed; it is doubtful, however, if the offer has served any useful purpose. This confirms the general experience that the snake does not bite without cause. It bites only if attacked or teased. Does this possibly indicate intelligence, or, if not that, harmlessness? It uses its fangs in its own defence. Man also uses teeth for that purpose often enough. To attempt to make India or any other place entirely free of snakes is like trying to wrestle with the air. Snakes can be prevented from coming to a particular spot. Killing the ones found entering the place will prevent others. They will come to realize that going to the place is like walking into the jaws of death. But this can be done only for a limited area. The attempt cannot be made over a vast country like India. To seek, therefore, to kill and extirpate the snakes entirely in this way from the country amounts to throwing money down the drain.

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

St. Francis was a great *Yogi* in Europe. He used to wander in the forests among reptiles, etc., but they never harmed him. On the contrary, they were friends with him. Thousands of *Jogis*¹ and fakirs live in the forests of India. They move fearlessly among tigers, wolves, snakes, etc., and one never hears of their coming to any harm on that account. It might be argued that there must be casualties even among them through snake-bites, or predatory animals; this is very likely. We know, though, that in comparison with the great number of reptiles, etc., the *jogis* and fakirs are so few that if these deadly creatures, were set on destroying them, not one of them would survive. We are told—and we believe it to be true—that these *jogis* and fakirs keep no weapons with which to withstand these beasts. This proves that some dreaded beasts are friendly to or, at any rate, do not touch some *Jogis*

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

and fakirs. I personally feel that when we rid ourselves of all enmity towards any living creatures, the latter also cease to regard us with hate. Compassion or love is man's greatest excellence. Without this he cannot cultivate love of God. We come to realize in all the religions, more or less clearly, that compassion is the root of the higher life.

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

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

Even modern research-workers admit that a man who is healthy, whose blood is not overheated and whose food is wholesome, will not be affected by snake venom. On the other hand, if a man's blood is overheated with intoxicants, spices, or hot foods, snake venom spreads through his body in no time and he succumbs to it quickly. All this has been experimentally established by medical experts. One of them has gone so far as to declare that the blood of a person who discards salt and lives exclusively on fruits becomes so pure that it is able to combat poison of any kind. It is not possible to confirm from experi-

ence how far this last statement is true. Moreover, having abstained from salt, etc., for a year or two, one is not justified in believing that the blood which had lost its quality through a life-time's abuse had regained it because of wholesome living for a year or two.

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

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

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

A handkerchief should be bound tightly just above the spot where one has been bitten by the snake. This can be tightened by

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

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

his body or he should be warmed with the help of flannel pieces wrung out in hot water.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-8-1913

154. LETTER TO IMMIGRATION OFFICER

[JOHANNESBURG,
August 10, 1913]

THE IMMIGRATION OFFICER,
PRETORIA

SIR,

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

I have the honour to remain,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

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

¹ On August 15, the Registrar of Asiatics wired Gandhiji, asking by whom and at which place Purshotam's certificate was taken. *Vide* "An Effect of the New Act", 16-8-1913 and also "Letter to Registrar of Asiatics", after 1-9-1913.

155. TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR

[JOHANNESBURG,]

August 11, 1913

WROTE MR. LANE LAST WEEK.¹ I OBSERVE HE IS ON LEAVE.
COULD YOU PLEASE ASCERTAIN AND WIRE WHETHER GENERAL
SMUTS COULD NOW DEAL WITH MY PROPOSALS. WILL WAIT
ON HIM IF REQUIRED. WIRE PHOENIX.²

GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 13-9-1913

156. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHOENIX

Thursday [August] 15 [1913]¹

He shall be naked, he shall be shorn, he shall be unwashed, he shall not have to wash his mouth; he shall neither ornament his hair nor any other part of his body and he shall have gained complete mastery over himself and have been free from every form of bondage.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

It is now nearly 5 a.m. It has been intensely cold and windy these two days and we have been obliged to sleep inside the room. I have a cable saying Polak is leaving on the 30th August and reaching here on the 28th Sept. I am delighted. If there is a settlement, he will

¹ The letter referred to is not available.

² To this the following reply was received: "Yours yesterday. Your proposals are receiving Minister's careful consideration and he hopes to let you know a little later what his views are, as he wishes first to consult his colleagues. I will advise you in due course whether necessary for you to come here." For the letter which followed this, *vide* Appendix "Letter from E. M. Gorges", (19-8-1913).

be here just when we are ready to leave. And the cable from Dr. Mehta says: "I do not agree with you. Terrible outrage has been done, damaging to all. I do not approve of your action." This has reference probably to hair-cutting or to all the penances and vows.² We shall see. He cannot understand. He is too much in the world. Hope the fire generated by the fast continues.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

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

157. AN EFFECT OF THE NEW ACT

We understand that an Indian named Purshotam Mavji, a British Indian, duly registered in terms of Act 36 of 1908 (Transvaal), was deprived of his registration certificate whilst he was on his way to India and was told by the officer who took the certificate from him that it would be restored to him if he returned within one year of the date of his departure from the Transvaal. We do hope that our information is not correct or that, if it is correct, it is merely an error committed by an overzealous officer. But if the Act is interpreted by the Government to mean that the rights acquired under the Registration Act of the Transvaal are adversely affected, it would be one more grievance against the Government and a further justification for a revival of the struggle.

Indian Opinion, 16-8-1913

158. THE LATE SIR ADAMJEE PEERBHAI

We learn through Reuter's cables with regret that Sir Adamjee Peerbhai, a great philanthropist of Bombay, is no more. He was a wealthy merchant who knew how to use his money. He was best known to many as the owner of a famous sanatorium in Bombay. But his charities were not confined to a particular project or persons. They were most catholic. Sir Adamjee's son, Mr. Cureembhai, it will be remembered, paid a visit to Natal some years ago. Ever since that time, a link was established between the Indians of South Africa and the late Sir Adamjee, who always took a kindly interest in all South African Indians who visited him. We sympathise with the deceased's family in their loss.

Indian Opinion, 16-8-1913

159. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XXXIII]

13. ACCIDENTS: SCORPION AND OTHER STINGS

We have a saying, “May none suffer the agony of a scorpion sting”, so unbearable it is. As a matter of fact, it is far more painful than snake-bite and yet we dread the latter more, for it is likely to prove fatal. A scorpion sting rarely causes death. Dr. Moore says that one whose blood is pure suffers less pain.

The remedies for this and similar stings are simple. A cut should be made at the spot with a sharp knife or with the special instrument used for snake-bite, and some blood allowed to escape. The cut should then be sucked and the poison spat out. A bandage should be tied a little above the spot, to prevent the poison from spreading, and a large mud poultice applied. With the latter, much of the pain will probably subside at once.

Some books recommend the frequent application of a compress soaked in equal parts of water and vinegar or washing of the area with salt water. If the affected part can be held in the solution, it should be. But the mud poultice is by far the most effective remedy, as anyone unfortunate enough to be stung by a scorpion can test for himself. It must be remembered that the poultice should be as large as possible. The use of two seers of earth for the purpose will not be excessive. If a finger has been stung, it will not be too much to extend the poultice as far as the elbow. If the mud is placed in a long vessel and the arm buried in it, the pain is immediately relieved. Even for the stings of centipedes, bees, etc., the remedies are the same.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 16-8-1913

160. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XXXIV]

CONCLUSION

These chapters on the subject of health have been appearing for the past few months. They have now come to an end. If I get time, I plan to publish, as a sort of supplement, the qualities and uses of a number of simple materials. The present series, however, ends with the preceding chapter. Before I take leave of my readers, I feel it will not be out of place if we once again examine the purpose of these chapters.

I have repeatedly asked myself why I wrote them. I am not a *vaidya*. My knowledge of the subject is but superficial. Is it not likely that my suggestions have been made after inadequate thought or observation? In truth, both study and observation are bound to be incomplete, a process without end. Every day new facts are observed and new ideas emerge. Why, then, this effort? Thus has my mind been perplexed.

And yet, medical science is itself based on inconclusive experiments. Most of it is quackery, as I have shown. With so much of it about, if these chapters are also reckoned as such, no great harm will be done ! They have been written from a worthy motive. The intention is not to recommend what medicines to take after the onset of a disease. The more immediate purpose, rather, has been to show how sickness may be averted. A little thought will show that the steps for prevention of diseases are easy enough. No specialized knowledge is necessary for this. The difficulty lies in taking to that way of life. I have felt it proper to write on certain diseases, but only in order to show that most ailments have a common origin and, as a result, the treatment also should be common to them all. Moreover, despite all precautions, the diseases mentioned in these chapters do occasionally occur. Some remedies for these, one finds, are known to all. If my experience is added to these, nothing is likely to be lost.

The main question, however, still remains to be considered. Why is good health necessary? We behave as if no such necessity exists. To

be sure, rather than build a stout and healthy body and give it over to the enjoyment of luxuries, regard the body as the only thing worth preserving and be puffed up with pride to see it strong, it will be better to have it rotting with leprosy.

All religions have looked upon this body as a place where one may meet and recognize God. It is called the House of the Lord. It has been leased to us, all the rent we have to pay being praises of the Master. Another condition in the rent note is that we must not misuse it. It should be kept clean and pure inside and out and returned to the Master in due course in the same condition in which it came to us. If all the conditions are duly fulfilled, the Master will reward us at the end of our tenure and will make us his heirs.

All living creatures have bodies alike in their design, in that they have organs for hearing, sight, smell and pleasure. But the human body has been described in prose and verse as a *ratnachintamani*. The term signifies a jewel which secures to one anything one may wish for. In an animal body, the soul cannot attain to the highest knowledge and cultivate devotion to God. Without these, there can be no freedom for the soul and, so long as the soul has not attained freedom, there can be no true happiness and no ending to our real suffering. This body is of some service only if it is well used, that is, made the abode of God, otherwise, it is a filthy mass of bones, flesh and blood, and the breath and water that exude from it are full of poison. Of all the excreta coming out of the innumerable openings in the body, there is nothing that we would wish to retain. One is nauseated at the very thought or sight or touch of them. It is only with the greatest difficulty that we can prevent them from being infested with worms. By means of the body, we practise a thousand things which we would do better to avoid, cunning, self-indulgence, deceit, stealing, adultery, etc. Its desires are endless.¹ Even when they are all gratified, it is so like a glass bangle that it has less strength to resist a blow than has a broken vessel. It is destroyed in an instant.

Such a state is quite natural for the body. Anything that can be used for the highest purpose is also capable of being misused.

¹ The original Gujarati saying literally means: "That little pot must needs have thirteen things."

Otherwise, it would be impossible to know or estimate its value. We can measure the value of sunlight because we experience the darkness that follows the sun's absence. In that same sun, without which we cannot live, resides the power to turn us to ashes. A king can be both magnanimous and wicked.

God is striving for mastery over the body, and so is Satan engaged in a desperate struggle for it. When it is under the control of God, it is like a jewel. When it passes into the control of the Devil, it is a pit of filth. If engrossed in pleasure, gorging itself the whole day with all variety of putrifying food, exuding evil odours, with limbs employed in thieving, the tongue uttering unworthy words and taking in unwholesome things, the ears hearing, the eyes seeing and the nose smelling what they ought not to, the body is worse than hell. Everyone recognizes hell for what it is. But though we use the body as if it were hell, we go on pretending that it is heaven. Such is our hypocrisy in regard to the body. Knowing a latrine for what it is, we shall know its right use. If a splendid hall, however, comes to be used as a lavatory, the result is bound to be evil. Therefore, if the body be in the Devil's control, it would be far better to desire its destruction, rather than its well-being.

In these chapters on health, an effort has been made to bring home the truth that the body can remain in health only by obeying the laws of God. It can never be healthy if the Devil. Where there is real health, there alone is true happiness possible, and in order to achieve real health we must conquer the palate. If we succeed in this, all other organs will be automatically under our control and one who has this body under control can subdue the world because such a one becomes God's heir, a part of Him. Rama is not in the *Ramayana*, nor Krishna in the *Gita*. *Khuda* is not in the Koran, nor Christ in the Bible. They all live and have their being in the purity of human conduct, which springs from morality. Morality consists in truth, which is the same as *Shiva*¹. You may know it by whatever name you please. That one may have a glimpse, if only occasional, of this truth in these chapters on health has been the underlying purpose of this effort.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 16-8-1913

¹ God of austerity and self-mastery in the Hindu trinity

161. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

August 16, 1913

He is equidispensed towards friend and foe; he is equiminded whether he is respected or insulted; he is the same whether he lives or dies and is of the purest mind when he is released from the bondage of the world.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

This I am writing at the Press whilst the preparations for printing are going on. I expect to hear from you about Hoosen and Jalbhai. If an opportunity occurs you will not fail to sell either Mountain View or Tolstoy Farm. I wish you could now let the mules and the wagon go. I suppose you have already paid many times 4/- to make up the £2-10 which you would have lost if the mules had gone a fortnight ago. When you run short of your supply of provisions, you will not fail to bake I know. What about the oil bill? If you let me have it, I shall send you cheque.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

162. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

IN THE TRAIN, ON WAY TO PHOENIX,

[After August 16 1913]¹

CHI. MANILAL,

I hope you have taken with you the *I[ndian] O[pinion]* file. You should be very much on your guard against laziness.

See that you get up not later than four in the morning, even if you have to force yourself to do it. Being none too fit, I am rather weak in this matter; you should not take my consequent irregularity on this account as an example to be followed.

Make it a regular practice to complete the appointed work for each day. Do everything after careful thinking and with understanding. When asked by Mr. Ritch, you should have given whatever reply you wanted to. Now, however, when you are yourself again and have settled down to regular work, you should pay him a visit one evening and spend an hour or two with him. It would be better not to go before the middle of next week.

Also, be regular with the exercises in Arithmetic. Among the hours we counted, one for these exercises....²

... and it will also be possible to include it in the table of contents of the Chapters on Health.

Write to me every day without fail, even on Sundays, and let me know whatever you want to say.

Always take pleasure and keen interest in being of service to others. Last evening, it should have immediately occurred to you to carry the lantern. When the guests arrive, they should be immediately received and welcomed with due regard. Protect yourself against heat and cold, but don't feel miserable.

There is a leather bag of ours there, the one which Kallenbach

¹ The last instalment of articles on health referred to in the letter was published in *Indian Opinion*, 16-8-1913.

² Here two pages of the letter are missing.

had taken away. There are some baskets also. Keep them all. They will be useful to us.

Since there is some wheat in stock, it should be ground into flour and used for making bread. Afterwards, it will be better to order flour. The bread made of it is generally good.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 101 Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

163. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Monday [August 18, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I am glad the loan is about to be paid up. The calmer you are in all your dealings, the better you will be and feel. This is a truism but it is well to see it repeated by a friend in black and white. For according to yesterday's verse, you have to stare lions and tigers in the face in lonely mountains unmoved. That day may be far off but a beginning must be made and the face set forwards. Dickson is friendly to an extent only. He has to serve not two but three masters ... you, the company and himself. The order of service is, of course, the reverse. If he can serve you after serving himself and the company, he will certainly do so, equally certainly not otherwise. Let us realize this fully and act accordingly. We must not expect the impossible from him.

The Doke memorial service¹ may bring me to Johannesburg on Sunday. I am awaiting a reply from Smuts too. I take it you are taking an active part in alleviating the grief of the family. You will sign no documents regarding the loan or anything else.

Of course it would be monstrous if you thanked [me] for

¹ For Rev J.J. Doke; vide "The Late Mr. Joseph J. Doke", 23-8-1913.

anything done there. Either it is your home equally with mine or it is not. Love does not must not speak, never thank.

Mrs. Gandhi is getting on but slowly. She becomes in the same proportion that I can become impersonal and therefore purely gentle towards her, no matter how she behaves. If I consider her my own specially and then become hot, she too becomes heated and both of us suffer. How true that we are all in the same boat. One man springs a leak and if we sit with folded hands, all must sink. Another who knows repairs it and even the mad one who sprang the leak is saved! Why not? Both did according to their lights.

Here is the 12th verse:

He does not wince even whilst he is going through severe austerities; he is not pleased because he has delicate dishes spread before him; he believes that a particle of dust and the riches of the gods are all transformations of the same matter.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

It was very cold here too during last week.

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

164. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHOENIX,

Wednesday morning, August 20, 1913

Thus having gained victory over impediments to the building up of character, he shall enter upon a stage where one's acts are of the purest; and then having thus gone up step by step, he arrives at a state in which there is contemplation of the Highest and Purest.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You must have received the news from Miss Schlesin of my intended departure for Johannesburg on Friday, reaching there early on Sunday morning. I can ill afford to come just now. Mrs. Gandhi is so bad and she is helpless and entirely reliant on me for everything just now. But I fancy that I ought to attend the memorial service. If Mrs. Gandhi is very bad by Friday, I might be obliged to cancel my departure. And if she is not well, I would like to return on Monday. If she is well I would stay and force the pace with General Smuts from whom I have now a wire saying my proposals are under consideration by the Cabinet.¹ Thus you see one has to be at the mercy of fate even regarding one's immediate movements. But as Carpenter has pointed out, we make emphatic arrangements about the future. The more ignorant we are, the surer we become!

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

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

¹ *Vide* also "Telegram to Secretary for Interior", 11-8-1913 and "Letter from E. M. Gorges", 19-8-1913.

165. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHOENIX,

*August 21, [1913]*¹

Having crossed the great ocean of illusion, he shall rest where there is no darkness and having become entirely free from desires and being centred in Self, he shall attain the pure knowledge.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Am preparing to come. Manilal will probably go with me and if I have to return to Phoenix immediately he will stay there till I return. Dahya also comes with me. So you see I am not pressing anyone to keep his boys with me. Hanif is in Durban on his way to Mombasa. What a tragedy! Mrs. Gandhi seems to be somewhat better.

I am glad you find in Grimmer a good man. The firmer you are in your ideals, the more you will naturally impress people who should be impressed. But it is a long discipline of which we dare not be weary. Yes, you may have to mix with and live among stinking men. Better therefore to make a virtue of necessity by travelling 3rd. But of course I had suggested your travelling 2nd, as you had your 2nd excursion [ticket]. That you phoned to Gordon having gone earlier is nothing. But the whole thing is nothing. I simply pointed out how a poor man would have less acted.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

¹ From the contents

166. THE LATE MR. JOSEPH J. DOKE¹

Mr. Doke is no more! The thought is terrible. He who was seen only the other day by a host of friends, when he set out on his journey) to the North-western border of Rhodesia, close to the Congo border, full of hope and buoyancy, has gone to his reward. And he quitted this mortal frame without any of his relations by his side. Even his son Clement, who accompanied him, was sent home. But in a death like this is summed up Mr. Doke's life. He claimed no exclusive relationship with anybody. To him every human being was truly a friend and brother. He, therefore, died surrounded by newly-made friends. His life preached the gospel of work. He died in harness, doing his duty. His life preached love to his fellowmen. He died whilst finding further fields for his loving activity. And as he loved, so is his death today mourned by not only his European congregation, not only by Englishmen, but also by many of his Native, Chinese and Indian friends. In a place where even men of religion are not free from the local prejudice against colour, Mr. Doke was among the few who know no distinction of race, colour or creed. Though dead, Mr. Doke lives through his work of love and charity in the hearts of all who had the privilege of coming in contact with him.

Mr. Doke's energy was inexhaustible. He was a man of many activities. In his own department—that of preaching—he was eloquent and earnest. He said nothing he did not mean. He advised no rules of conduct for which he was not himself prepared to die. His preaching, therefore, was effective. He was an able writer. He wrote a memoir of his own grandfather. He contributed to magazines. He wrote *An Indian Patriot in South Africa*—a popular history of the story of Indian passive resistance. Lord Ampthill wrote a very flattering introduction to it. To Mr. Doke it was purely a labour of love. He believed in the Indian cause and the book was one of the many ways in which he helped it. Only a short time ago was published his book, *The Secret City*—a romance of the Karoo. It is a wonderful piece of imaginative work. The book has already passed through the second

¹ This was published as "A Memoir specially written for *Indian Opinion*".

edition and has been translated into Dutch. He was so impressed with the Indian campaign of passive resistance that he was engaged in writing an elaborate treatise on passive resistance as a rule of conduct. For writing it, he had specially studied a number of books bearing on the subject.

He was an artist of no mean order. Some of his paintings are worth treasuring. His irrepressible humour can be traced in many cartoons he drew for a New Zealand paper.

Mr. Doke had a frail body but a mind of adamant. His jaws showed the determination of the owner. He feared no man because he feared God so. He believed in his own religion with a burning passion, but he respected all the other great faiths of the world. He detested lip Christianity, but he considered that final salvation was possible only through heart Christianity.

His special work for Indians during practically the whole of his stay in Johannesburg is too well known to the readers to need recapitulation here. But it is not known to many that he came to the Indian cause uninvited. He was ever a seeker, ever a friend of the weak and oppressed. As soon, therefore, as he came to Johannesburg, he set about finding out the problems that engaged people's attention. He found the Indian problem to be one of them, and immediately sought out the leaders, learnt the position from them, studied the other side of the question and, finding the Indian cause to be wholly just, allied himself to it with a rare zeal and devotion. He risked loss of popularity among his congregation. But that was no deterrent to him. When the Editor of this journal was in India, Mr. Doke's was the guiding hand, and never did a week pass during a period of nearly six months, but Mr. Doke sent his ably-written and well-informed leading articles. He guided, too, the deliberations of the British Indian Association, jointly with Mr. Kallenbach, at a most critical period of its history. When he went to America in connection with his Church, a grateful community held a banquet in Mr. Doke's honour at which Mr. Hosken presided. Mr. Doke's words then uttered still ring in the ears of those who heard him. It may truly be said of Mr. Doke that he lived well and he died well. He is mourned by many more than the members of his family, and may that thought comfort and sustain them in a loss which is just

as much that of those who had learnt to love Mr. Doke as of the members of his family.

The late Rev. Joseph J. Doke was born at Chudleigh, Devonshire, on the 5th November, 1861. He was the younger, by some two and a half years, of a family of two. His father was the Baptist Minister of Chudleigh. His brother, the late Mr. William H. Doke, died as a missionary at the end of 1882 on African soil.

The late Rev. Doke had very little schooling, owing to delicate health. At the age of 16 he lost his mother. At the age of 17, on the resignation of his father from the pastorate, he became pastor. At the age of 20 he came to South Africa, where he was in Cape Town for a short time. Later, he was sent by the South African Baptist Union to open up a new cause in Great Reinet. Here he met and married Miss Biggs, in 1886. Shortly after, he returned to Chudleigh. From Chudleigh Mr. Doke was called to the pastorate of the City Road Baptist Church, Bristol, where, with the exception of a visit to Egypt, Palestine and India, he remained until 1894. In 1894, Mr. Doke removed with his family to New Zealand. Here he was Minister of the Oxford Terrace Baptist Church, Christchurch, for a period of seven and a half years, returning to England in 1902. In addition to the duties connected with his pastorate, Mr. Doke conducted a class for Chinese, which was greatly appreciated and which is still being continued by his successors.

Towards the end of 1903, Mr. Doke received a call to the Grahamstown Baptist Church, and took up his work in South Africa again. After four years in Grahamstown, he came to the Rand as Minister of the Central Baptist Church. He remained Minister of this Church until his death. All his life, more especially since the death of his brother, Mr. Doke's ambition was for missionary work, but owing to his health and family circumstances, the way was not clear, until, just at the end of his life, it seemed to open up. Together with his son, Clement, he decided to visit a lonely mission station in North-western Rhodesia close to the Congo border, and on the 2nd July they set out on this trip, which was to take about six weeks. Mr. Doke was also entrusted by the South African Baptist Mission Society to visit a mission station near Umtali, they taking advantage of his

being in Rhodesia to secure particulars which they wanted. Mr. Doke enjoyed the trip to the 'Ndla District immensely, and maintained good health throughout. He suffered, however, from footsoreness—the distance to be traversed was some 350 miles—and he travelled most of the way by “machilla”—a hammock slung on a pole and carried by two natives—, but despite this he was in the best of spirits and had the greatest hope for the success of his mission. Through an interpreter he spoke at numerous villages, and he did a great deal of writing and took many photographs with a view to lecturing on his return. On the 4th August, Broken Hill was reached, and on the 7th August, Mr. Doke parted from his son at Bulawayo, the latter being called home by business duties. Mr. Doke then proceeded to Umtali, after a few days' waiting at Bulawayo, reaching the end of his train journey on the morning of the 9th instant. Here the Rev. Woodhouse met him and the greater part of the day was spent in the discussion of missionary matters. In the afternoon the party proceeded to the residence of Mr. Webber—a friend—just outside the town, where, owing to Mr. Doke's feeling too unwell, they remained for the night. The next morning, Mr. Doke was up before sunrise, feeling very ill, and all thought of going to the mission station then was abandoned. Mr. Doke complained of severe pains in the back and had to take to his bed again. The usual remedies for fever were applied, but, as there seemed to be no temperature, it was concluded that the malady was not fever, and a doctor was sent for, who at once ordered him to the Umtali Hospital, whither he was conveyed by “machilla”. Here he was under the best doctors and nursing supervision possible. On the 12th a telegram was sent to Mr. Doke's family, saying that he had a slight attack of pleurisy, but that there was nothing serious and no one was to come. On Friday evening, the 15th, a further telegram was received by Mrs. Doke saying that Mr. Doke was seriously ill with enteric. Mrs. Doke at once made preparations to leave by Saturday night's train, but on the morning of that day a telegram was received that Mr. Doke had passed away at 7 o'clock the previous evening. Owing to the great distance, the remains were not conveyed to Johannesburg, but the funeral took place at Umtali at four o'clock on Sunday last, a service being held at the Baptist Church, Johannesburg, at the same hour.

During his sojourn on the Rand, Mr. Doke was prominently connected with many religious organizations.

Besides the widow, the deceased has left three sons: Willy, Clement, and Comber, and one daughter, Olive. The eldest boy, Willy, is training in America as a medical missionary.

Indian Opinion, 23-8-1913

167. THE LATE MR. DOKE

In the death of Mr. Joseph J. Doke, the Indian community of South Africa has lost one of its truest friends. This is not the place to recount Mr. Doke's general public work, great and substantial as it was. But, paying our humble tribute to the memory of the deceased, we cannot help contemplating Mr. Doke's noble work for us. When Mr. Doke came to the cause, he threw himself into it heart and soul and never relaxed his efforts in our behalf. It was usual with Mr. Doke to gain complete mastery over the subject he handled. He, therefore, became one of the best informed men on the subject in South Africa. He loved passive resisters as they were his own congregation. The poorest Indian had free access to this pious Englishman. His pen and his eloquence were continually used by him during the troublous times through which the community has passed. He missed no opportunity of visiting passive resistance prisoners in gaol. And at a critical period in the history of the community and this journal, he magnanimously and at no small inconvenience to himself, took charge of our editorial department, and those who came in contact with him during that period know how cautious, how painstaking, how gentle and how forbearing he was. It is such a noble soul whose withdrawal from this transitory world we, the Indian community, mourn in common with his family and his congregation. We tender our respectful sympathy to Mrs. Doke and family.

Indian Opinion, 23-8-1913

This great and altruistic man has given up his earthly life. The writer's pen shakes in his hand even in writing this sentence, and various are the thoughts surging in his mind. As a human being, Mr. Doke was full of nobility; as an Englishman, his conduct was such that, had all Englishmen been like him, there would be no bitterness between them and the Indians. As a priest, he was a man of faith in God and, although he was very zealous in his religion, he never vilified other religions. Not only that, but he did his best to understand the importance of other religions. However, it is for his excellent services to the Indian community of South Africa that it will for ever cherish the name of Mr. Doke. In 1907, when preparations for the satyagraha campaign were in full swing, Mr. Doke had recently come to the Transvaal from New Zealand. He began taking a keen interest in the Indian problem from the very day he arrived, and continued to help till he died. With the exception of one or two, no other Englishman, and hardly any Indian, had such clear grasp of our problem as Mr. Doke. He had gone through all the documents and laws having a bearing on it and equipped himself to meet anyone or, the subject. He never concealed his sympathy for the Indians. In his house, every Indian, whether rich or poor, was given the same consideration. One of his many hopes was to see a satisfactory solution to our problem, and for achieving this he was ever ready for any sacrifice. Who will not grieve over the loss of such a friend and well-wisher? We had learnt to look upon Mr. Doke as our shield. That shield is now gone. Our duty is clear. After the death of a friend, we must not forget his kith and kin. We must show our sympathy for them. But the most important duty is to live up to Mr. Doke's ideas of us. Mr. Doke believed that we were true satyagrahis, that we were ready to sacrifice our lives for the sake of our honour and our religion, that we would not wish ill of anyone who might injure us but, leaving justice in the hands of God, would love even those who bore us ill-will and fight them with the sword of love. Maybe all of us cannot be so good or behave so well but we can all make an effort. Even if a few of us

succeed, we shall have honoured his memory aright and God will send us another Doke. It is not as if one becomes a saint on meeting a saint; it is rather that on becoming a saint one finds a saint.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-8-1913

169. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR

JOHANNESBURG,

August 24, 1913

I thank you for your letter¹ of the 19th instant.

I have come to Johannesburg in order to attend the Doke Memorial Service and shall be here for a few days. If, therefore, General Smuts desires my presence in Pretoria, I would be pleased to come down. I submit the following for General Smuts' consideration regarding the points dealt with in your letter.

As to South Africa-born Indians, it is perfectly true that I did not raise, in the correspondence of 1912, this point. It had entirely escaped me until a friend drew my attention to it. But I assured the friend that no difficulty need be anticipated as the correspondence setting forth the provisional settlement of 1911 protected all existing rights of British Indians. I freely admit that I do not lay claim to a full knowledge of all such rights possessed by my countrymen throughout the Union or even the Transvaal. The fact that very few South Africa-born Indians availed themselves of the right was used by me to show that the Government had no occasion to fear a sudden influx into the Cape of South Africa-born Indians if the right was retained. From the Indian standpoint, I wanted to emphasize the fact that we were fighting for the sentiment, viz., that the liberal and reasonable view, taken by the old Cape Legislature, should be left untouched. And I fear that I must press that view again on General Smuts' attention. I have already submitted that the Cape members laid stress on this point because the Right Hon'ble Mr. Fischer fostered, I submit, without a knowledge of

¹ Vide Appendix "Letter from E. M. Gorges", 19-8-1913.

the facts, the view that there was a large influx of South Africa-born Indians into the Cape. I observe that your letter seems to suggest that I am asking for a breaking of the Provincial boundary altogether. Though this would be a legitimate desire, I have not asked for it as I know that it is no part of the provisional settlement.

As to the second point, I am glad that the Government interpretation agrees with that of the Indian community.

As to the Free State difficulty, the point raised by me has not been understood. I do not ask, for the sake of asking, that the attention of intending immigrants should be drawn to the disability. But I have submitted that the wording of the Act seems not to require the declaration in question at the Free State border. If such is also the Government interpretation of the Act, the Free State difficulty could be solved without any statutory alteration. In order to allay anxiety on the part of the Free Staters, I suggested that the disability in the Free State might be notified on the general declaration to be made at the first port of entry at the coast. I need hardly say that I have assumed the legal possibility of an Indian being permitted under the new Act to enter the Free State.

As to the fourth point, the question of the legality of the marriages already solemnized in South Africa of the resident Indian population, as also of the marriages hereafter to be solemnized within the Union, is of vast practical importance. A definite assurance that legislation will be introduced next session is necessary to settle this very thorny problem. Regarding the plurality of wives, I have not asked for a general recognition of polygamy. All I contend is that, in continuation of the practice hitherto followed, existing plural wives of domiciled residents should be allowed to enter. And this was the assurance given in the letter quoted by me in my correspondence with you.¹ The number of such wives could be easily ascertained at the present moment, and the toleration may be restricted only to the number so ascertained.

I observe that cases have already arisen in Natal out of the new Act. I cannot help remarking that the marriage case is inconsistent with the assurance contained in your letter under reply. For Kulsam-

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", 4-7-1913.

bibi is admittedly the only wife in South Africa of her husband. I would respectfully suggest that the case be withdrawn and the lady set free. The other cases are regarding domicile. The Government contention seems to be that, even where there is no dispute as to facts or the *bona fides* of the holder of a certificate of domicile, his right should be impugned if he has been long absent from the Province of domicile. If such is the Government interpretation of the new Act, *existing and acquired* rights are threatened. And in the event of a decision unfavourable to the Indian community, a position will be created that would be totally intolerable and inconsistent with the provisional settlement as also the declaration of the Right Hon'ble General Botha and other members of the ministry that there is no desire to harass the resident Indian population. I, therefore, venture also to suggest that these cases may be withdrawn. I have assumed that you are fully aware of these cases. They are reported in the current issue of *Indian Opinion*.

May I ask for an early reply?¹

Indian Opinion, 13-9-1913

¹ To this communication Gandhiji received the following reply on September 10: "Am directed by Minister reply your letter 24th August. As to first point, regrets he can add nothing to statements already made in my letter 19th idem. Second point calls for no further action. As regards third point, there is no difficulty, as any declaration made would be on entry into Union and not at Free State Border. With regard to marriage question, cannot give any assurance that a marriage law will be introduced next session on lines asked by you which would apparently alter whole basis of existing law in South Africa. Your reference to an assurance given to you that plural wives would be admitted not understood as I can find nothing in communications from this Department to that effect. Should you please elucidate? Regarding appeal cases at Durban, those you refer to are apparently still *sub judice* and Minister would consequently not be able to interfere."

170. SPEECH AT MEMORIAL SERVICE¹

[JOHANNESBURG,
August 24, 1913]

Mr. Gandhi said that the Indian community revered Mr. Doke's memory for the great work done by him for them. He was one of its truest friends. It could not be said of every man that death was swallowed up in victory and that death had no sting. But it could undoubtedly be said of Mr. Doke. A death like Mr. Doke's really called for no mourning. Mr. Doke's was a life of perfect self-surrender. He had dedicated his all to his Maker. He would now rise with a glorified and better body for the service of his Maker. But it required men like Mr. Doke not to mourn. For him (the speaker) with whom probably the soul was crushed in the care for the body, he needed a friend in the flesh. He therefore mourned for a true friend and wise counsellor. Mr. Gandhi here recalled the assault committed on him² by a countryman which he said was delivered in order to redress a wrong which his assailant thought, rightly or wrongly, he had done to the community and which, in the assailant's opinion, could only be redressed by an assault. Mr. Gandhi proceeded:

When I was lying in the office of a friend in a helpless condition there stood over me Mr. Doke, and his words ring in my memory today, as they were so appealing to me that afternoon. They were something like these: "Would you rather go to hospital, or would you rather be carried to my home? I am sure that Mrs. Doke and my family will welcome you, and we shall do all we can in order to relieve your pain." I had no hesitation in making my choice, and I shall never regret the choice I made. I remember the evening when, at my request, the whole family sang to me the beautiful hymn, "Lead, Kindly Light". That tune will never die from my memory; it will never fade out. It is as fresh to me to-night as it was soothing to my nerves on that great evening when I saw myself surrounded by people who were no longer strangers. During the night, whether it was 12 or 1 or 2 o'clock, I could see peeping through the door, that had been

¹ A memorial service was held at 7.30 p.m. for Rev. J. J. Doke at Grahamstown Baptist Church, Johannesburg, of which he was pastor. Gandhiji, who had specially arrived from Phoenix to attend the service, paid a tribute to the deceased.

² *Vide* "My Reward", 22-2-1908.

purposely left open, Mr. Doke's face, just glancing in occasionally to ascertain whether I was suffering or whether I needed anything. The whole family were at my disposal in order to nourish me, in order to serve me, in order to soothe me, although I was a stranger to them and had never done a single service to them.

Mr. Gandhi added that he was certainly proud to have had such a friend. Mr. Doke had always been willing to help those who needed his help, and those who needed his help had not to go to him. He went to them. The speaker also recalled to instance Mr. Doke's fervent faith in his own religion and his (Mr. Doke's) efforts to convert him to Christianity. Mr. Gandhi told him that he, as a Hindu, believed that the fullness of Christianity could only be found in its interpretation in the light and by the aid of Hinduism. But Mr. Doke was not satisfied. He missed no occasion to bring home to him (the speaker) the truth as he (Mr. Doke) knew it and which brought him and his so much inward peace. Mr. Doke's was not modernized and civilized Christianity. He practised the original. Mr. Doke believed in practising as he preached. The speaker thought the deceased was quite capable, like the martyrs of old, of being burnt at the stake for the sake of his convictions. The binding tie between them was the belief they shared in the doctrine preached by Jesus of non-resistance to evil-a doctrine that was smothered nowadays in a multiplicity of exceptions. With Mr. Doke hatred was to be conquered by love, vice by the fullest exercise of virtue. Mr. Gandhi wished that Mr. Doke's mantle would descend to his children and that the thought that Mrs. Doke had such a noble husband, whose memory was revered by so many men and so many races, would sustain and comfort her.

Indian Opinion, 30-8-1913

171. INDIA'S GRAND OLD MAN

Our readers hardly need a reminder that India's G.O.M. celebrates his eighty-ninth birthday on Thursday next, the 4th September. We again have the pleasure of expressing our good wishes to India's greatest son. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has done more than one man's share of public work and is now enjoying rest from his labours. The memory of his strenuous life in the interests of his countrymen is a constant spur to our small efforts. Such lives make a nation rich—not in material possession—but in all that goes to make national honour and faithfulness to duty. For those who may wish to send messages of congratulations and who may not know his cable address we may state that messages addressed "Dadabhai Naoroji, Versova, Bombay", will find him. We present with this issue a special supplement, giving the portrait of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

Indian Opinion, 30-8-1913

172. MORE FRIENDS GONE

The fates seem to have decreed that South Africa should lose, in quick succession, some of its best men. Following on the heels of the news of Mr. Doke's death, comes the shocking news of the death of Dr. Ross, that well-known Presbyterian Minister on the Rand who relinquished his ministry only last year and the death of the popular Editor of *The Natal Mercury*, Mr. Milligan. Dr. Ross's was an influential personality. We say nothing about him as a public man of Johannesburg. But we cannot help recalling with gratefulness the fact that Dr. Ross had made himself acquainted with the Transvaal Indian struggle and that he had joined Mr. Hosken's Committee¹. He was often present at Indian functions and never hesitated, in unequivocal language, to show his sympathy towards us. We know that, when passive resistance was at its height, he even carried on personal correspondence with General Smuts, urging him to grant the demands of passive resisters.

With Mr. Milligan's services to the Indian cause Indians are quite familiar. He carried out the best traditions of the *Mercury* and worthily filled the chair that used to be occupied by the late Sir John Robinson² and the late Mr. Ramsay Collins—no easy task. Only the other week, we had the pleasure to reproduce a trenchant leading article written in his paper by the deceased regarding the arbitrary action of immigration officials. His pen was ever ready to be used for any just cause.

In the passing away of such men, South Africa is undoubtedly the poorer. And the loss will be difficult to make up. We tender our sympathy to the families of the deceased.

Indian Opinion, 30-8-1913

¹ Committee of European sympathizers of the Indian cause led by William Hosken, M.L.A. It had "pledged itself to support the British Indians in their struggle" and to secure justice for them; *vide* "Interview with Natal Mercury", 5-1-1909 & "Letter to the Press", 5-11-1909.

² (1839-1903); Prime Minister and Colonial Secretary of Natal, 1893-7

173. IMPORTANT JUDGMENT ABOUT MARRIAGE

An Indian woman named Bai Manchhi was stopped by the Immigration Officer when entering [the Cape Colony] with her husband. The latter, Bhagwan Bhikha by name, obtained an interdict to enable her to land. Since their marriage in India was not recognized, the counsel advised marriage with the woman here. On the counsel writing to the magistrate, the latter expressed his inability to register the marriage on the ground that the woman was a prohibited immigrant. The husband thereupon went in appeal, which Mr. Justice Gardiner decided in his favour last week. The judge has held that under the law anyone's marriage can be registered. The parties must only prove that they are both eligible to get married under the law in force here. At the time of marriage, whether one is a prohibited immigrant or not is an irrelevant question. Accordingly, the magistrate has been ordered to register the marriage without raising any such issue, provided there is no other ground for objection. As a result of this judgment, if any Indian brings out his wife and she is stopped by the Immigration Officer, they can get married after landing. Whether, after the marriage, she can stay on or not is a different question, which the judgment referred to above does not decide. It is also a separate question, and a big one, whether or not one should go through a marriage in this manner. If a man, having married a woman once, declares that he has not and so marries her again, his action will prove him to be a man without honour and, therefore, a coward. The poor people must have patience and assure themselves that the problem will solve itself in due course. If they fail to get relief meanwhile, the honourable course for them is to leave their wives in India.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 30-8-1913

174. LETTER TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS

[JOHANNESBURG,
After September 1, 1913]

THE REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS
PRETORIA

SIR,

[Re:] *Purshotam Mavji 17162*

With reference to your telegram herein of the 15th ultimo in reply to my letter of the tenth¹ ultimo, I regret the delay that has been caused in dealing with it. Before replying I had to make inquiries and I find that the information, given to me was misleading. Purshotam Mavji having left for India, it is difficult to ascertain what actually happened. But it is now surmised that Purshotam Mavji referred not to a Transvaal certificate but to a Natal one.

I have, etc.,

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

¹ The original has "15th tenth", evidently a slip. *Vide* also "Letter to Immigration Officer", 10-8-1913.

*175. LETTER TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY
FOR INTERIOR*

[JOHANNESBURG,]

September 3, 1913

As I informed you through the telephone, today, I am leaving for Phoenix tomorrow. But, before I leave, I would like to draw General Smuts' attention to the eagerness and impatience with which many of my co-workers are looking forward to some final answer. Indeed, I have even been blamed for writing the first letter. Their impatience is natural. All our activity is at a standstill. Several have been obliged to refuse offers of handsome employment owing to the suspense. I hope, therefore, that among the many important matters that engage General Smuts' attention, this will find its proper place. If nothing definite is vouchsafed by Tuesday next,—the day given by you—may Mr. Gorges' letter be taken as the final answer? I would also like to mention that, if the negotiations now going on prove abortive, the struggle will be revived on a wider issue. Several most important items have been omitted from my correspondence for the purpose¹ of securing a settlement and in order to show that we are not pining for a revival of the struggle.

I hope that General Smuts will appreciate the spirit in which this letter has been written.

Indian Opinion, 13-9-1913

¹ The original has "purchase".

176. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

ON THE TRAIN,
Thursday [September 4, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You *must* be firmer with yourself. You often speak and give opinions on the spur of the moment. That is called being impulsive. And you are impulsive very much so. Now the last hymn we sang was: "Take my life", etc. I know that neither you nor I have given our life or anything *completely* to God. But is it our earnest longing to do so? If it is, our impulsiveness must go. I can give you scores of instances where you would have spoken otherwise if you had thought before speaking. Do you know that you harmed Manilal by suggesting that you would surrender your ticket if he wanted to go or was going as far as Germiston. The ticket is untransferable. That is one thing. I had to say that there was no occasion for him to go whereas he might have thought differently and therefore he might consider my judgment to be harsh. This is the last illustration of what I want to say: 'Think before you speak and look before you leap' (as in the case of the proposed lease in Pretoria). You have need to examine yourself much more than you are doing though you are doing a great deal, it is not enough. I shall save the 2/6 for the bed. I know there will be no need. I saved 6 d. by not buying tomatoes on the spur of the moment. Medh did not stock my basket with tomatoes. He had sent his messenger. Manilal did not pluck your nice tomatoes. The flesh wanted to spend 6 d. the spirit resolutely declined to yield and triumphed. I am none the worse for having not had them. I did not act on the spur of the moment. This does not mean that I never act or speak hastily. But you must not copy me in my weaknesses.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Please hand [over] the enclosure to Manilal at the first opportunity.

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

177. THE DEBATE IN THE LORDS

We have now the full text of the debate initiated by Lord Amptill in the House of Lords on the Immigration Act of the Union.¹ The debate is memorable for more than one reason. Most weighty contributions were made to it by an ex-Governor of Madras and one-time acting Viceroy of India in the person of Lord Amptill, by an ex-Governor of Bombay in the person of Lord Sydenham² who has only just returned from India and who, therefore, knows the pulse of India on this question, and by an ex-Viceroy of India in the person of Lord Curzon. All these noblemen spoke fervently in our behalf and admitted the full justice of our demands. They did not satisfy themselves with general statements but each of them showed a mastery of details of the question which one is not accustomed to in such debates. Of Lord Amptill's great pains, care and attention we have now known for a number of years. His Lordship has made our question his own. But it is most consoling and refreshing to find Lords Curzon and Sydenham also possessing a wonderful grasp of the subject. Their interest in our question is a happy augury for the future and it considerably strengthens Lord Amptill's hands in his advocacy of a cause he has found to be just and of such Imperial importance as to warrant, in the midst of his many other activities, his constant and personal attention.

The debate shows, too, that Lord Crewe had no case. The attitude of *non possumus* that he took up is dangerous in the extreme. We venture to think that the doctrine of non-interference by the Imperial authority with the domestic affairs of self-governing Colonies is being carried too far and is reaching a point that endangers the very stability of the Empire. It is a mockery to describe self-governing Colonies as part of the British Dominions if they are to

¹ His speech was published in *Indian Opinion*, 20-9-1913 and its four subsequent issues.

² George Sydenham Clarke (1848-1933); British soldier and administrator, an authority on military matters; Governor of Bombay, 1907-13

be so independent that they may defy Imperial traditions and Imperial considerations. They cannot, for any length of time and with safety to the Empire to which they pretend to belong, always take and never give. As has been pointed out by the great English newspapers which we have already quoted, the Union Government were ready enough to fall back upon Imperial troops in the hour of their need.¹ May they not be expected to show equal readiness to help the Imperial Government out of a serious situation facing them in their Government of the Indian Empire by doing a simple act of justice? India will certainly demand and have a satisfactory answer some day.

Indian Opinion, 6-9-1913

¹ *Vide* "Riot in Johannesburg", 12-7-1913,

178. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

September 6, 1913

15

There, all the evil-producing acts are destroyed, the very seed of incessant births and rebirths is burnt up, and the soul shines all light, all power, all purity and the knower of everything.

16

There, only the natural actions are performed automatically without touching the soul which lives out the life in the present body and after leaving it ceases to be liable to put on more bodies.

17

There, all the bondage of matter is loosened in thought, speech and body. That state is one of supreme bliss and completely free from bondage.

18

There, untouched by anything, the soul sits spotless and steadfast. It is the essence of life incomparable, indescribable; it is in its natural state.

19

It is a state attained by previous effort. It is the highest and it is the abode of the Perfect. The soul is there all knowledge and absorbed in divine contemplation.

20

Even thought-perfect soul, although it realized this state, could not describe it. How can anyone else describe it? It is only to be

known fully by self-realization.

21

My mind is fixed upon that state. I am incapable of reaching it in my present state but it is my sole ideal. Rajchandra, the author, is determined by God's grace to attain it.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Here are the balance of the verses. You may take them down one by one or together. But contemplate them well.

Hoosen I found a little better.¹ He now wants some of the books Daniel has sent. I am forwarding them.

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Please tell Manilal I am not writing separately. The verses are my letter to him.

19²

[September 7, 1913]

My house is high, my sons are respected by good men, I have inexhaustible wealth, I have a beautiful wife, I am young thus reasons man steeped in ignorance and considers this universe to be indestructible and allows himself to be imprisoned in it. But those who are far-seeing renounce the world, knowing it to be transitory.

20

O my soul! live joyously on fruits, roots and leaves. Let mother earth cover you; let us go to the forest where we do not have to meet

¹ Haji Hoosen Dawad Mahomed who had been ailing, passed away on September 22, 1913; vide "The Late Mr. Hoosen Dawad", 24-9-1913 and "The Late Mr. Hoosen Dawad", 1-10-1913.

² The numbering of verses here is evidently duplicated; vide "Letter to Hermann Kallenbach", 6-9-1913

people who know not discrimination, who being diseased with money fever, utter thoughtless words and where we do not even hear such people's names.

September 9, 1913

34

There is fear of disease in enjoyments, there is danger of destruction in having a family, there is danger from kings in having riches, there is danger of ignominy in trying to be respected, there is danger of creating enemies in showing one's physical power, there is danger of disfigurement in having beauty, there is danger of disputation in discussing scriptures, there is danger from the evil-minded in being endowed with high qualities, there is danger of death in having the body thus is everything a cause of fear. Only complete renunciation is free from fear.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your two letters. I am glad that realization of weakness now does not make you despondent but nerves¹ you for the struggle that is to come. I find that if we have trust in the Supreme, every difficulty we face shows its own way out of it. 'One step enough for me' was not spoken by an inexperienced man.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

¹ The source has "ennerves".

179. TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR

[DURBAN,]

September 10, 1913

THANKS FOR WIRE.¹ FEAR REPLY MAKES REVIVAL
STRUGGLE IMPERATIVE NOTWITHSTANDING EVERY EFFORT
MINIMIZE POINTS OF DIFFERENCES. REGARDING POLYGA-
MOUS MARRIAGES REFER ASSOCIATION LETTER 5TH JULY
1911 AND INTERIOR MINISTER REPLY 10TH
SAME MONTH.²

Indian Opinion, 13-9-1913

180. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

September 10, 1913

What is there not surrounded by its enemy? Birth is swallowed up by death, beautiful youth by old age, contentment by desire for wealth, the happiness of calmness by the blandishments of a clever woman, high qualities by the jealousy of the jealous, the forest beauty by snakes and adversity by instability. (That is, a man loses his tranquility in adversity which should otherwise be for him a beneficent school of experience).

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

These verses require pondering over again and again. They are

¹ Vide 3rd footnote to "Letter to Secretary for Interior", 24-8-1913.

² To this Gorges replied on September 19: "I was somewhat at a loss to understand what assurance you were referring to; hence my enquiry. Looking now at the past correspondence on this subject, I fear that the very wide interpretation you are seeking to apply to the Immigration Officer's letter of 10th August, 1911, is not one which was ever contemplated or one which would be accepted by the Minister"

results of experience double distilled.

I saw reference in your letter to business talk. But you should not hesitate to write about it when you are thinking about [it]. To me it is an index to one's mental state. I know what friend Rustomjee is when the first thing in the morning he talks about what there should be in his store and how his sons should behave towards him. If he were to suppress the talk, he would want to appear to be otherwise than he is. You should therefore cease to talk business when you cease to think it. For the time being, therefore, I expect you to discuss all your business with me. There is no wire from Pretoria yet. It is now 4.45 a.m. and the boys are preparing to walk to Durban. They will witness the football match and return in the evening.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

181. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

September 11, 1913

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

So the struggle is to start.¹ I have sent you a wire today. You should see Chaplin² and suggest his writing to Smuts. See also Hosken. Draw attention to Gokhale's doing and Lord Ampthill's [and] Lord Curzon's advocacy, etc³. We start on Monday or Tuesday. Further news tomorrow. You should clear post on Sunday morning and Saturday evening, the latter if you are in town.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

¹ The reference is to the impending Indian struggle; vide "Letter to Secretary for interior", 11-9-1913.

² Drummond Chaplin, Member of Parliament

³ *Vide* also "Lord Ampthill's Advocacy", 22-3-1913.

182. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR¹

110, FIELD STREET,

DURBAN,

September 11, 1913

THE SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR

PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st ultimo in reply to mine of the 15th idem regarding the regulations framed under the Immigrants' Restriction Act.

On behalf of the Anjuman, I respectfully submit that most of the objections raised by my Anjuman are to principles and not to details. Lapse of time will certainly fail to affect principles. That certificates of identity whose applicability is limited to a period of one year would be of infinitely less value than the permanent certificates that were issued under the old Natal Act is a fact of which the value will not be affected either way by lapse of time. Nor will the fact of the imposition of the fee of £1 for even interprovincial visiting permits be affected by time. In the humble opinion of my committee, the objections raised on its behalf merit early and favourable consideration.

With reference to the appointment of Immigration Officers as members of Appeal Boards, their inclusion is open to serious objection in spite of their not deciding all the individual cases themselves in the first instance. They are the officials who are responsible to the Government for administering the Act in accordance with their instructions and they are the officials who will, my committee presumes, issue instructions to their subordinates. They, therefore, could not be considered unbiased judges applying their minds without preconceived ideas to cases before them. My committee, therefore, strongly urges that the appointment of these officials should be cancelled in order to give the public interested in the proceedings of the Appeal

¹ An office copy of this letter is found in the Sangrahalaya papers and it is presumed that this was drafted by Gandhiji.

Boards a sense of security and to inspire that public with confidence in the decision of these Boards.

I have, etc.,

CHAIRMAN,

ZOROASTRIAN ANJUMAN

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5858

183. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR¹

[JOHANNESBURG,

September 12, 1913]

SIR,

On behalf of the British Indian Association, I have the honour to submit, for the information of the Hon'ble the Minister, that, after having read your telegram² of September 9, addressed to Mr. Gandhi, it has been most reluctantly and with the utmost regret decided to revive passive resistance, owing to the inability or unwillingness of the Government to concede the points submitted by Mr. Gandhi in his letters to you, which my Association has seen.

I venture shortly to explain the position that unfortunately faces the community represented by my Association.

Ever since the British occupation, the position of the Indians residing in this Province has admittedly grown worse than it was during the Republican regime. In 1906 it culminated in the Bill of that year, which not only summed up the black past but foreshadowed a blacker future, and which, though then vetoed; was repassed almost as the first Act of the Responsible Government, and became known as Act 2 of 1907³. As the measure was considered by the community to

¹ This was published in *Indian Opinion*, 20-9-1913, under the caption "The Indian Demands".

² *Vide* footnote 3 to "Letter to Secretary for Interior", 24-8-1913

³ The Transvaal Asiatic Law Amendment Act, also known as the Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act.

be humiliating, and as the circumstances surrounding it showed a policy deliberately hostile to an honourable existence of the community in the Transvaal, my countrymen solemnly decided in the month of September, 1906 to adopt passive resistance.¹ As is well known, over 3,500 imprisonments were suffered by my countrymen during the struggle, over 100 deportations to India took place, and even two deaths occurred, owing to the suffering gone through during the crisis. Several families were rendered homeless, and they had to be supported from public funds. Then came the provisional settlement of 1911, which the Indians thought not only promised them what they had been suffering for but also meant an attitude of friendliness towards them such that, almost complete prohibition of Indian immigration being obtained, the resident Indian population would be free from the state of uncertainty it had lived in and might look forward to a steady improvement in its status, as a permanent element of the new nation that was forming in South Africa. Moreover, the inauguration of the Union gave it some hope, though it filled it equally with misgivings and threw on the passive resisters a responsibility for the whole of the Union instead of for the Transvaal only.

But the community was soon disillusioned. The administration of existing laws specially affecting it grew steadily harsher. The Cape Licensing Act, the Natal Licensing Act, the Gold and the Township Laws of the Transvaal and the existing Immigration Laws of the Provinces began to be administered as they never had been before. What has been termed the “northern,” spirit began to pervade the administration in Natal and the Cape. Thus the spirit of the settlement certainly began to be broken as soon as it was effected.

The abortive Bill of 1912 showed that even the letter would be broken. The original draft contained serious flaws and was in conflict with the two principles of the settlement—the removal of the racial bar and the maintenance of existing rights throughout the Union. I must admit in fairness that, so soon as the defects were pointed out, there was a willingness on the part of the Minister to remodel his objectionable clauses. But that Bill fell through, and fresh assurances were issued to the community that the settlement would be carried out.

¹ *Vide* “The Mass Meeting”, 11-9-1906.

Then came the memorable visit of the Hon'ble. Mr. Gokhale. High hopes were again raised. The position was made perfectly clear. And declarations were made by responsible statesmen inducing the expectation that a satisfactory Bill would be passed during the ensuing session, and that the iniquitous and admittedly unjust tax of £3 on certain ex-indentured men and women would be withdrawn. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale declared at public meetings that he had every confidence that the tax would be abolished both for men and women.

But the last session dashed all hope to the ground. The Draft Immigration Bill broke almost every condition of the settlement of 1911, and it showed that the community was to expect nothing from the Government, who would have carried the Bill as it was, could they have done so. That the Act itself is a great improvement on the original Bill is due entirely to the unexpected opposition that the Government met from all quarters of both Houses of Parliament. The attempt of the Government to remit the £3 tax only on women showed also that they, at any rate, were not prepared to remove it from men.

Notwithstanding such gloomy indications of the hostile spirit of the Government, Mr. Gandhi was authorized to enter into negotiations for a settlement by submitting proposals which, if accepted, would have just, but only just, sufficed to fulfil the letter of the provisional settlement of 1911 above referred to. The community had hoped that, if even such a settlement were effected, the terrible passive resistance could be avoided, and that other grievances could be pressed on the attention of the Government by means involving less personal sacrifice and suffering by the community.

But the Government evidently thought otherwise. They have not only rejected most of Mr. Gandhi's proposals, but they are showing by their administration of the new Act in Natal and by their having passed regulations under the Act, some of which are harsh and unjust, that it is their desire not only to keep out new immigrants, but also to keep out domiciled residents who, before the new Act, found no difficulty in re-entering, and to put obstacles in the way of wives of domiciled Indians entering the respective Provinces.

In the circumstances, there is now no course left open to the community but to take up passive resistance again, which now

naturally will not be confined to this Province alone, and which, on this occasion, will be taken up by women as well as men. The leaders of the community fully realize their responsibility in the matter. They know also what they and their countrymen will have to suffer. But they feel that, as an unrepresented and voiceless community which has been so much misunderstood in the past and which is labouring under a curious but strong race prejudice, it can only defend its honour and status by a process of sacrifice and self-suffering.

Passive resistance has been recognized by the Government as a legitimate means of securing redress. It is, therefore, hardly necessary to assure the Government that the community has no desire to defy the laws of the land, to which it will submit by bearing the penalties provided for a breach of the obligations thereunder which the community cannot discharge consistently with its honour and self-respect.

In conclusion, I beg to state that the struggle will be continued so long as:

- (1) a racial bar disfigures the Immigration Act;
- (2) the rights existing prior to the passing of the Act are not restored and maintained;
- (3) the £3 tax upon ex-indentured men, women, and children is not removed;
- (4) the status of women married in South Africa is not secured;
- (5) generally, so long as a spirit of generosity and justice does not pervade the administration of the existing laws referred to herein.

And it is respectfully submitted that a smooth and just working of the laws is not possible until the Government consult the leaders of the community in the different Provinces.

[I have, etc.,]

A. M. CACHALIA

CHAIRMAN,

BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Rand Daily Mail, 15-9-1913

184. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[Phoenix, *September 12, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your letter. It is strange you did not receive my letter on Monday. I gave it to Sorabji to post. But the careless boy evidently never posted it or posted it too late.

If I receive a reply tomorrow that Cachalia's letter has gone, I shall send the resisters from here on Monday. They will reach Volksrust on Tuesday. You should leave Monday night by the mail train so that you are at the station when the Kaffir Mail reaches Volksrust on Tuesday evening. You should simply watch as a spectator. They are not to speak in English. One of them only will speak in that tongue, interpret for the others. They will not give finger-prints. If the police arrest them, they must ask for shelter at the police station. If the police do not arrest them, you should, there and then, buy tickets for them and proceed to Johannesburg. I then suggest their being housed at Mountain View. If strangers don't come, it might be well to make Mountain View the headquarters. But you are to be the judge, not I, of this thing. If they are to go to Mountain View, you may buy nothing but leave instructions for purchases so that you have full stock at once. No more than Boer meal and a little *dholl* and rice will be required and fruit and nuts of course. If they are arrested, you should attend court, send full wire to me from Volksrust as also full letter. If they are imprisoned you should immediately see the gaol doctor and the jailor and tell them of religious and health foods they may take and may not take. But you should also say that they will not complain if they do not get what they want. Mrs. Gandhi will be purely fruitarian. Jeki and others will not touch bread. Some of them will be able to take only one meal. The names and further details later. It is well that you will be free from your business even if passive resistance is to start. Your whole time will be wanted for the struggle. You should read my letter to be

signed by Cachalia most carefully.¹

Yours

UPPER HOUSE

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

185. NO SETTLEMENT

We reported earlier that negotiations for a settlement were going on between the Government and Mr. Gandhi. We have now to announce that they have failed and that satyagraha will be revived. In this, too, there must be some divine purpose. So far as we can judge, the revival of the struggle is to our advantage. Had there been a settlement, it would have barely fulfilled the letter of the terms of the 1911 settlement. The object of the settlement would have been defeated, for the settlement would have been honoured only in the letter. The rights of Indians born in South Africa to enter the Cape would have been safeguarded. The marriage problem would have been solved and, in theory, the colour bar would have disappeared. Even this would have been all right, though it was not likely to have satisfied the community. Now the Government has placed us under an obligation by not granting even that much. The real object of our fight must be to kill the monster of racial prejudice in the heart of the Government and the local whites. We feel the presence of this monster in the Government's administration of the Gold Law in the Transvaal and the new immigrant law, in its insistence on the collection of the £3 tax from poor, miserable, helpless Indians, and in its attitude towards our women.

The best cure for all this lies, not in securing the repeal or amendment of the respective laws, but in rooting out the evil from the heart. There is only one way to kill the monster and that is to offer ourselves as a sacrifice. There is no life except through death. Death

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", 12-9-1913.

alone can raise us. It is the only effective means of persuasion. It is a seal which leaves a permanent imprint. We will not conquer the whites by hating them. We can gain no victory by killing them. We may kill a white in the body, but the monster inside will survive and multiply. A tree will grow the larger when a branch is cut. It will be destroyed only if it is pulled out by the roots. In the same way, we are not concerned with the body of any white, but only with the evil in his heart. The only effective way of bringing about a change in his attitude is satyagraha. It is a divine law that even the most hard-hearted man will melt if he sees his enemy suffering in innocence. The satyagrahi volunteers to suffer in this way. There is another remedy, but it is not likely to be adopted. For the prejudice in the heart of the whites against us, we are partly responsible. We have several defects. We tell lies and follow wrong courses. We give false evidence. We are dirty in our ways. We can overcome the whites' prejudice only if we give up these bad habits. But this is not likely to happen. The Indian who is full of faults will not read writings of this kind. Nor can those who do make him see reason. Satyagrahis should die for his sake as well. Their death will be an education for these our brethren, whom ignorance has made blind. It has always been the way of this world that the fruit of one's death is reaped by others. Not to seek gain through one's death is in itself a gain. This difficult saying needs to be pondered over. It is the great secret by which one can gain true life. Those alone who join satyagraha in this spirit will win in this great fight that is beginning. We entreat those who cannot join the fight not to oppose it, but to give whatever help they can. They should think of the community's interest. If they can do or say nothing good, let them stay quiet. If they are weak, let them admit their weakness rather than weaken others. In this way we can help one another. The campaign this time has no programme or plan of action. The plan will unfold itself as we proceed. This is a fight for bringing about a change in the Government's hostile attitude to us. The obnoxious £3 tax must go at any cost. That is a debt we owe to the defenceless Indians, and to Mr. Gokhale.

The Government, breaking a promise made to him, has broken a promise made to us. We hope that many Indians will utilize this golden opportunity and that God will give the requisite strength and

faith to those who join the fight.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-9-1913

186. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX],

[September 15, 1913]¹

DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I am dictating this to Ramdas as I am eating. I have your two letters. When you meet the train tomorrow you will not at once identify yourself but simply watch as a spectator. I am sending special foodstuff for Mrs. Gandhi. Until she is in jail she will use the food I have prepared. When she is sentenced you should take charge of her food and after you have received permission to give her special food you should take charge of the food. After the sentence and after you have made arrange²ments you should give it to the gaoler. So far as possible you would arrange for her to receive the food from the Government. She is only fruitarian, for health and religious reasons and she can take olive oil, bananas, plums, dried figs, almonds, tomatoes, grapes, oranges, lemons, banana flour, apples. You will stay there until everything is fixed up and either come here or return to Johannesburg according to the exigencies of the struggle and of your own personal affairs.

About your business, we shall talk later or I shall write later on.

Yours,

FOR BAPU,
CHHAGANLAL

¹ The addressee was to meet the train with the satyagrahis on Tuesday; vide "General Knowledge about Health (XXIX)", 19-7-1913. From the reference to "tomorrow" it is evident the letter was written on Monday which was September 15, 1913.

² The letter up to here is apparently in Ramdas Gandhi's hand, the remaining half being identifiably written by Chhaganlal Gandhi. The word split here ("arrange-") marks the end of the first page of the letter

[PS.]

The party includes Mr. Rustomjee Parsee.

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

187. LETTER TO KASHI GANDHI AND SANTOK GANDHI

[September 15, 1913]¹

CHI. KASHI² AND SANTOK³,

Today is Friday and I have finished my writing work. So I have some free time. Jeki⁴ wants to know whether the children will be able to live without you. Parents fondly imagine that their children would not be able to live without them. To uphold their conceit, parents believe that their children will be fretting restlessly in their absence. They do not realize that all the people about them get deprived of their parents and still none of them pines away to death. To children, those who love them at the moment are their parents. Rukhi laughed and frisked about as soon as the train moved out. Radha cried a little after the train had left but when I told her of a prize for her, after about five minutes, she also started talking to others. Krishna and Keshu were not even aware that anything had happened. They were shouting and running all the way back. All of them lifted up one another and played among themselves. When they reached home, they asked for the finest dishes to be served. I even had to tell Krishna and Keshu, "See now, your parents have gone to jail and so, though you are children, you ought to exercise some self-control." They, then, felt a little abashed. These two do not call to mind anyone even for a moment. Rukhi and Radha are real ladies. I gave them the salt cakes

¹ A party of 16 Satyagrahis, led by Kasturba and including Kashi and Santok left Durban on September 15, 1913 to cross over into the Transvaal and thereby court arrest. The Satyagrahis were arrested on the 22nd and on the 23rd, were sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment each. Gandhiji seems to have written the letter after seeing the Satyagrahis off at the Durban railway station.

² Wife of Chhaganlal Gandhi

³ Wife of Maganlal Gandhi

⁴ Jayakunvar Doctor

which I have preserved specially for them. All that Rukhi wants is to be served vegetables. Whatever vegetable is served to her, she likes it as if it were her mother and her father. Children are not born with infatuations of any kind. They forget the infatuation of their previous existence, too. Thus, they are unconsciously like saints who are free from all desires. Grown-up people consciously become *sannyasis*. Even otherwise, children and *sannyasis* are alike in their state of mind. I do not wish from this to draw the conclusion that parents should abandon their children. But they should give up their fond attachment and stop believing in what does not exist. They should not shower so much affection on the children that the latter would pine away in their absence, nor should they believe that the children would suffer when separated from them. But children are born as a result of our sin and are dependent on us and therefore we ought to have compassion and love for them. When there are others to look after the children and it becomes necessary for us to leave them for the sake of some other duty, we should not yield to blind love, nor suffer. The children will get along quite well without us. That we may not do without them is another matter. Even so, we have never heard of any mother who has pined away to death at the loss of her only son. Shravan's parents¹ burnt themselves to death. They were helpless and the significance of that story is quite different.

I meant to write to you quite a worldly letter, but have written one with a deeper meaning. So, read it attentively. Show it to Chhaganlal, Raojibhai, Maganlal and Jeki. If Ba wants to read it, I have no objection but I fear she might not be able to draw the right lesson from it and might unnecessarily be distressed.

You know how well I love both of you. I had wanted to tell you many things here but could get no free time. Today the bag of thoughts unfolded itself.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 33098

¹ The story of Shravana and his parents occurs in the first canto, named *Balakanda* of Valmiki's *Ramayana*.

188. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[DURBAN,]

Wednesday September 17, 1913

CHI. MANILAL,

...¹ Ba and others boarded the train with great courage on Monday....² Besides *tamas*, there are the qualities of *rajas* and *sattva*. The first keeps a man blind, ignorant and lethargic. The second makes him rash, daring and energetic in worldly pursuits. The quality of *rajas* predominates among the nations of Europe. Most of our activities are also of a like nature. Those endowed with the quality of *sattva* are tranquil, self-collected and discriminating. They do not bother themselves with the affairs of the world, but keep their minds fixed on God. This *sattvic* disposition has been rightly described as “soothfastness”. “Soothfast” means calm. With “ness”, the word becomes a noun and means peace. Only when the mind is peaceful can one realize God, and the state of mind in which such realization becomes possible is the *sattvic* state. God, as transcending the three qualities, has no activity, good or otherwise, but [through] *maya*³ He exists as *chaitanya*⁴. He is beyond the three qualities. When, however, He does engage Himself in some activity, such as instructing Arjuna, the impulse behind it is a *sattvic* one and, since activity as such is a mode of qualification, He [Krishna] is described as [God] in his *sattva*-qualified aspect. Keep your mind very steady.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Jivannu Parodh

¹ There is indication of some omissions here in the source.

² Mental propensities derived from one's physiological equipment.

³ A Vedantic concept, seeking to explain phenomenal existence

⁴ Principle of life and consciousness

189. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX],

[September 17/18, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You are carrying out your resolution to do your very best, as you have said in your rail-post letter from Johannesburg. But it causes no surprise as I have never doubted your ability to rise to the occasion. In some cases I impertinently consider that I know your merits and demerits more than you do. And it ought to be so, seeing that I am the Upper House your better half. Only please do stop me when I go too far in piling on the agony. You know my way. I do not consider co-workers I hope including myself, when we are moving towards an ideal as we are in this connection.

On no account should the officers know the names of the passive resisters who, I now think [should] even decline to sign their names in Gujarati before being sentenced. Of course, you will be conducting your office from Volksrust whilst the passive resisters are awaiting their fate.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

I am wiring *post restante*. You will instruct the Telegraph office where the wires may be delivered.

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

190. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Thursday [September 18, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your letters and wire. What a relief you are there. The party should not give any further information to the authorities and they should not give even Indian signatures certainly not finger-impressions or other means of identification, until they are sentenced to be imprisoned and then, too, if they are satisfied that they will have to fill in the full term of imprisonment. I had intended to leave here on Saturday.

Now unless you all those at Johannesburg think otherwise, I do not propose to leave here until the trial is known.¹ Meanwhile you should devote your leisure to study. I take it you are keeping Johannesburg well-informed. I am wiring to you just now.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

¹ The trial came off on September 23.

191. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

[DURBAN,]

*Bhadarva Vad 3 [September 18, 1913]*¹

CHI. HARILAL,

You have not kept your promise about writing to me. You gave such a promise more than once and you have broken it every time.

I am very unhappy that your health has gone down. I always thought it would. I even warned you. You know that, though you went with my consent, I did not want you to go. Even now, your way of life and your ideas do not appeal to me. Personally, I feel that the education you are having is of the wrong kind. You have harmed Chanchi's interests and now you are harming those of the children. Still, I regard you as friend, with due affection, so that I do not wish to order you. I want to bring you round only by appealing to you. I do not wish to exploit your filial piety to make you do anything. There is no anger in this. I do this as a matter of duty. Still I must advise you to shake off this craze for examinations. If you pass, it won't impress me much. If you fail, you will feel very unhappy. However, take the course you think is best. If you give up the thought of examinations and if, when you get this letter, the struggle here is continuing, come over here along with Chanchi, both of you prepared for imprisonment.² Chanchi has otherwise no right to come now. If the struggle ends soon, I shall go there immediately and we shall have a good hug and a talk.

There is only one remedy for your dyspepsia—a daily walk of 15 miles. By way of diet, you should have solid food, according to

¹ The arrests referred to in the letter took place on Tuesday, September 16. This letter was written on the following Thursday.

² Gokhale, however, detained Harilal and cabled Gandhiji on December 26, saying: "Your son Harilal saw me Bombay, told me you had asked him return South Africa immediately rejoin struggle. I have taken on myself responsibility asking him remain India and continue studies. Forgive my intervention."

appetite, which you can chew. If you have read the chapters on health,¹ the experiments described there will help you to get rid of [the complaint] altogether. It is not surprising that you have lost your mental powers. The education there is useless because it is ill-conceived. Since you have never reflected over the mental vacuity of thousands of educated people, what can I say and to whom am I to say it? What have your studies been that you should acquire strength of mind through them? Where the aim is merely to pass an examination, the result is bound to be unhappy. As far back as thirty years ago, Mr. Ranade² used to discuss this problem. Just think of the condition of the ordinary B.A. What can you do if, after passing a big examination, you find yourself a physical or mental wreck? Have you had a careful look at things round you?

Ba, Ramdas, Kashi³, Santok⁴, Chhaganlal, Kuppu, Govindoo⁵, Revashankar⁶, Shivpujan, Raojibhai⁷, Maganbhai⁸, Sam, Rustomjee Sheth, Solomon⁹ and others have set out to get imprisoned. They were arrested at Volksrust on Tuesday. I am writing this letter on the morning of Thursday. There has been no telegram yet about what happened yesterday.¹⁰ Devdas is in Phoenix. He has acquired great efficiency. I get up at 3.30 a.m. and Devdas at 4.30 a.m. At 5, studies and other activities begin. He has filled out a little. Of course, changes do occur in this schedule. For the present, the boys who have remained behind go without salt on all days except Sunday. They propose to continue the practice as long as the satyagraha lasts.

¹ *Vide* "General Knowledge about Health (XII)", 22-3-1913, and "General Knowledge About Health" 5-4-1913 & 12-4-1913.

² Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901); judge of the Bombay High Court, social reformer, economist and politician

³ Wife of Chhaganlal Gandhi

⁴ Wife of Maganlal Gandhi

⁵ A compositor in the Phoenix Press

⁶ Son of Rambhabai and Ratanshi Sodha.

⁷ Raojibhai Manibhai Patel, a life-long associate of Gandhiji

⁸ Maganbhai Patel, a teacher in Phoenix School

⁹ Solomon Royeppen, nephew of Joseph Royeppen, who was one of the educated Indians admitted to the Transvaal in 1912

¹⁰ The trial came off on September 23 and all the 16 satyagrahis were sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour.

Maganlal and Miss West¹ will look after the children. I shall leave for Johannesburg on Saturday.² People at Johannesburg will then try to get arrested. I shall get arrested last. I have thought out a way of getting arrested, one which will require a little especial courage. I am constantly praying to God to grant me that. Manilal is in Johannesburg. He has now subjected himself to strict vows and is going through a course of penitence. He will court arrest in Johannesburg. Jeki³ has accompanied Ba to get arrested. She, too, has changed her way of life altogether. Medh and Desai are also in Johannesburg. Jamnadas is impatient to be in gaol. I shall most probably wire to him to come over. I have not made up my mind, though. Please remember that you have not sent me your examination papers, which I had asked for. I am trying to make arrangements for the maintenance of Gangabhabhi. For the present, my desire to go over there has come to nothing.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

My wish is that whatever steps you take should be without reference to me or my views.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 9540

¹ Miss Ada West, sister of A. H. West, manager of International Printing Press

² In fact, Gandhiji left Durban on Thursday, September, 25.

³ Jayakunvar, daughter of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

192. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[DURBAN,]

*Thursday [September 18, 1913]*¹

CHI, MANILAL,

I have your letters. Today too I don't have time to write much. Ba and others have been arrested in Volksrust. They were to attend court yesterday.² I am, however, waiting for a telegram to know what happened. I wanted to pass on the news to you, but I haven't got any so far. The more disappointed you are, the more miserable I shall be. I have not budged from the promise I made to you. I have made no great change. It cannot make me unhappy, surely, to cultivate inward serenity. I do not suffer by being bound by vows; rather, I feel happy. It is ignorance on your part to be concerned on this account. I can be unhappy only if you misbehave. Whether I am happy or otherwise depends on how you behave. By thinking about what I do, you cannot remove my suffering. You can make me happy if you think of your duty.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 107 Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

¹ Mrs. Gandhi's arrest referred to in the letter took place on Tuesday, September 16.

² Actually, the trial came off on September 23.

193. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Friday [September 19, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I hope you have been receiving my letters regularly there. As I have already said, you would ask the resisters to demand being sent to gaol as awaiting-trial prisoners, if the proceedings are delayed. Do the merchants find the food there or do we have to pay for it?

You are yourself controlling your purse there, I hope. I shall want an account of every penny you spend. How do you pass the spare time there? Do all the merchants of Volksrust get *I.O.*? You should look up Chergan Dhobi who is living on the boundary line. He was, during the late struggle, the most hospitable of all. I believe he once vacated his own house in order to find shelter for resisters. Have you heard further about the lease in Pretoria? I have been thinking over the trap.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Polak lands at Cape Town on Saturday. You may read the letters (herewith) which are in English.

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

194. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Friday afternoon [September 19, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I may send you more men in advance of me. Three may leave Pietermaritzburg today. In that event, they will wire you names and train of departure. It might be as well, if they place a trap at your disposal to meet these men at Charlestown and have a chat with them before they reach Volksrust. They may leave with me also. I take it you have made arrangements for delivery of wires to you promptly. If you want me to make other arrangements, please give me the address to which I should send your letters and wires.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Indian Opinion is being sent to the gaoler. 3 copies will be sent to Mr. Badat so that all may get copies to read. If Mr. Badat is not a subscriber, you should collect one subscription from him at least. Perhaps you want the enclosed embossed envelope.

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

195. MR. CACHALIA'S LETTER¹

The irrevocable step has been taken. The British world knows, through the magnificent agency of Reuter, that the handful of Indians in South Africa have declared passive resistance—that this microscopic minority of men have pitted themselves against a mighty Government, against a European population comparatively overwhelming in numbers and enjoying the privileges which cannot belong to Indians in this sub-continent, perhaps, for generations. Indeed, this time, passive resistance is not merely against the Government and the Europeans of South Africa, but it is equally against the Imperial Government. Lord Ampthill, in his great speech in the House of Lords, has made it clear that, had the Imperial Government done their duty, the course of legislation would have been different; had they been only neutral, the Immigration Act would probably have not been passed. We may not, therefore, expect any assistance from them unless, by passive resistance, we open their eyes and they begin to see clearly how criminally they neglected their trust.

Mr. Cachalia has made it perfectly clear why the great and awful step has been taken—a step that may mean ruin to hundreds of our countrymen. He states definitely the demands of the community. He asks for (1) removal of the racial bar from the Immigration Act, (2) the restoration of rights that existed prior to the legislation, (3) a generous and just administration of the existing laws throughout the Union affecting Indians, (4) the removal of the £3 tax, and finally (5) a spirit of friendliness towards the community in place of one of hostility which one notices in all their acts concerning Indians. And this is what Lord Ampthill asked in his speech just referred to.

Let us examine each point as briefly as possible. We notice that *The Natal Mercury*, in its otherwise admirable leaderette on the situation, falls foul of the objection to the racial bar. We feel sure that our usually well-informed contemporary has in this instance secured the service of a leader-writer who is not yet *au fait* with the question.

¹ Vide "Letter to Secretary for Interior", 12-9-1913.

That the racial bar should be removed has been common cause since 1910. Indeed, the Union Government have defended—and the Imperial Government have approved of—the measure, contending that there is no racial bar in it. Nor does its removal in this case involve racial equality in every other case. To remove the racial bar merely means a reversion to the state that existed in 1906. It refers to racial equality in law for purposes of immigration. Even when this equality is granted, as it must be sooner or later, there will still remain racial inequality in respect of many other laws in all the provinces. That, in spite of the Government's protestations, racial inequality is to be found in the Act has been clearly shown by Lord Amptill. The Act requires from an Indian immigrant an unnecessary and insulting declaration which it does not from a European immigrant. The declaration is merely an admission of the legal disabilities imposed on the Indians of the Free State. Without the admission the disabilities, as had been admitted by the Government, will remain. The retention of this racial bar is due merely to the unreasoning obstinacy of the Free State Members of the Union Parliament. The Government do not wish to offend these, their supporters. Otherwise, removal of the racial bar means nothing to the Government and it may not add a single Indian resident to the Free State population. As a matter of fact, removal of the racial bar is one of the items of existing rights. It has been separated from other such rights because the struggle hinged, prior to 1911, only round the racial bar question.

The existing rights attacked by the new Act are. for instance, the right of South Africa-born Indians to enter the Cape under the now-repealed Cape Act by reason merely of their birth, the right that existed, or was assumed to exist, of the wife of resident Indians married in South Africa according to non-Christian rites, to be regarded as legally married; the right of Natal Indians to absent themselves for any length of time from Natal and to return if they were proved to be *bona fide* holders of certificates of domicile. We do not touch upon minor existing rights which may or may not have been taken away by the Act.

The £3 tax is the sorest question from many points of view. It is a burden imposed upon a most helpless class and it is a tax which was universally condemned during Mr. Gokhale's stay last year in South

Africa and, as Lord Amptill most emphatically states, “the Ministers in South Africa definitely promised Mr. Gokhale that this £3 poll-tax should be removed and Ministers told the Governor-General that they had given him this promise”. We hold that a promise given to Mr. Gokhale is a promise given to the Indian community. It, therefore, becomes our sacred duty to offer passive resistance until the tax is repealed.

Indians cannot be expected to sit still if the administration of the existing laws is made harsher day by day. Formerly Indian wives were admitted without fuss and without much questioning. Now the Government have instructed Immigration Officers to demand closest proof, and then, too, there are all kinds of quibbles raised. Kulsambibi's case is the latest. There never has been any justification offered for such harshness of procedure in admitting Indian wives. There has been no charge brought against us of having attempted to bring in women of questionable character or of our women having offered any competition. Then, take the unreasonable deposit of £25 required from men who want to prove their domicile as against £10 which used to be demanded before. Visiting passes which used to be issued fairly liberally are now being granted in a most niggardly spirit. We know of cases in which sons have been refused permits to visit their parents and business people to visit other provinces to collect their debts. It is no easy matter for an Indian creditor to secure a permit to visit the Transvaal for the purpose of collecting his book-debts. The tendency of the administration is to wipe out the resident Indian population by making its life in South Africa as intolerable as possible. The administration of the Gold Law and the Townships Act in the Transvaal and of the trade licensing laws in Natal and the Cape has been simply scandalous. Mr. Cachalia, therefore, insists that this method of administering the laws affecting us must be changed.

And none of the reforms Mr. Cachalia desires can possibly be attained unless the Government and the Europeans of South Africa adopt a less hostile and more reasonable attitude. If the former continue to frown upon us and the latter continue to pass resolutions demanding our destruction by a process of compulsory civic starvation, we must meet them by showing that we are capable of dying for our honour and an honourable existence in South Africa, not by

fighting them bodily, but by a process of voluntary suffering which at once purifies and dignifies.

Indian Opinion, 20-9-1913

196. HOW TO DO IT

Passive resistance, this time, will be comparatively an easy matter, as it will extend to all the Provinces of the Union,—not that the sufferings will be less; indeed, they are likely to be greater, but to court imprisonment will be easier. Hitherto, passive resisters have challenged arrest by crossing the Transvaal border. That is how the present struggle, too, has been commenced. We may, on this question of the crossing of the border, at once say that this method of resistance does not mean that we are asking for a breaking of the provincial boundaries. On the contrary, as soon as the reason for the struggle ceases, those who will have crossed the borders of different Provinces will return to the Province of their domicile. Passive resisters are not fighting—Dare not fight—for personal and individual rights.

But the crossing is an expensive business. Those who feel inclined to take an active part in the campaign can, in a quiet and dignified manner, court arrest by hawking or trading without licences, or, if they have their licences, without showing them. They should, in each case, inform the police or the courts that it is not their intention thus to break the law but that, until there is a settlement with the Government, they propose not to assist the authorities in carrying out the laws of the land which have no moral or natural but only an artificial basis. This is not a struggle of a day. Each one can think out for himself how he can best court arrest. Time and experience will show the right way if we have the will to suffer for the sake of our own and our country's honour.

Indian Opinion, 20-9-1913

197. HOW TO ORGANIZE THE STRUGGLE

This third campaign will embrace the whole of South Africa. We believe, therefore, that going to gaol will be an easy matter. It does not mean that this time the sufferings in gaol will be less. They may even be more. Only, it will not be difficult, as it was before, to find ways of going to gaol. So far, people courted imprisonment by entering the Transvaal. There is no need to do that this time. If, in every town and every province, a few Indians at least take intelligent interest in the fight, they will be able to participate in it in some measure, however small, and help it. The easiest way is for the hawkers. Those who are hawkers by profession, as also those who are not, can get arrested by hawking without licences. For this, the imprisonment will be only for a short term. It will involve no risk of goods being auctioned. Moreover, they can pause and rest when tired. If we can have such a movement in every town, we shall have put up a big fight. It will agitate the whole of South Africa and compel the most serious attention from those in power. Even those who hold licences can act in this manner. The police demand licences from time to time. If, having them, we do not produce them, it will be their duty to arrest us. Store-keepers and even their assistants can do this and so get arrested. As we think of it, we see that this is the easiest way and the simplest. It will involve comparatively little of suffering, the initiative will always be with us and we shall be able to have rest whenever we want. The hawkers and store-keepers should remember that their interests are deeply involved in the struggle. Both the Government and the whites feel sore over trade more than anything else. If we were not to engage in trade, we would provoke much less envy. Trade is our very life here. One should always remember that our sufferings will diminish in the measure in which we command increased respect. We hope, therefore, that the business community will utilize this excellent opportunity which will cost them so little. We need hardly say that even one single Indian in a town can put up such a fight. If there is any such hero, he should send us his name before going to gaol. Those who get arrested by crossing the border must bear in mind that they will not thereby acquire any

rights for themselves. Satyagraha is not meant for acquiring rights for oneself. Selfishness and satyagraha can never go together.

HOW TO HELP IN OTHER WAYS

We have seen above that it is only by going to gaol that we can best help the struggle. But we know that all Indians do not have the pluck for this. We need them to consider what such Indians should do. We give below the ideas that occur to us.

1. One may look after the business of those who go to gaol and care for their families or see to the maintenance of their dependants.
2. This time we are not going to ask for money from India. At the same time, we are left at present with very little money; it is up to everyone to send contributions to the satyagraha fund.
3. Those who cannot afford to give money, may send foodgrains.
4. In every town of every province, meetings should be held and resolutions passed approving of Mr. Cachalia's letter¹ and these resolutions should be dispatched, by telegram or post, both to the local and the Imperial Governments.
5. Telegrams welcoming the fight should be sent to the [British Indian] Association.
6. Wherever meetings cannot be held, telegrams and letters should be sent to the Government on behalf of public bodies.
7. The matter should be discussed with the whites of one's town and they should be kept well-informed through issues of *Indian Opinion* having a bearing on the struggle.
8. Shaking off lethargy, every Indian must acquaint himself with the aims of the campaign and the nature of the issues involved.
9. Issues of *Indian Opinion* pertaining to the struggle should be procured and sent to different places in India and England.
10. One should help in the collection of funds for the London Committee.
11. Every Indian should set apart some time for the fight and engage himself during that period in some work or other connected

¹ Vide "Letter to Secretary for Interior", 12-9-1913.

with it.

Most of these things may be done by every Indian and by every organization. Every individual and every association must undertake as many of them as possible. What can be done right now is to hold meetings at every place, pass resolutions and send them to both Governments.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 20-9-1913

198. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

VOLKSRUST,

[September 20, 1913]¹

MY DEAR CHHAGANLAL²,

You will be free on Sunday and Monday. If you are you should canvass Volksrust for *I.O.* sub[scribers]. See the Editor of the *Reporter* newspaper there or Mr. Kallenbach may see him. We must educate the Europeans. See leading article in the current issue. You may forward the copy to Miss Schlesin.³ This information she may give the Press but not show this very copy.

M. K. GANDHI

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence, Vol. II, p. 502
Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ The letter was written at the bottom of another to the Chief Immigration Officer, which carries the date September 20, 1913 in Herman Kallenbach's hand. For the text of the letter signed by the addressee who was at this time the spokesman for the passive resisters in Volksrust, *vide* "The Resisters at Volksrust", 24-9-1913.

² Cousin of Gandhiji and a founder-member of the Phoenix Settlement; editor of Gujarati section of *India Opinion* after 1908.

³ Sonja Schlesin, Secretary, Transvaal Indian Women's Association

199. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Saturday [September 20, 1913]¹

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have wired saying I was sending instructions. Here is the draft letter.² This will be in your hands on Sunday. Please let Chhaganlal copy it and sign and deliver immediately. I have kept a copy for *Indian Opinion*, which will be printed for the Wednesday issue. Please send me full information by wire, so that I may give it in *Indian Opinion*. If they do not reply or reply evasively, you may board the train without taking any tickets. If they detain you next morning strong men should walk out of Sandfontein only seven miles I think and the ladies unless they wish to walk should be in a trolley to be hired with Mr. Rustumjee in charge. You may there entrain. If they arrest there, splendid. Then they must keep all in custody. If they do not, simply pass the night out on the Veld. You will have sufficient provisions and proceed early morning on your wagon journey. It will be simply splendid and romantic. You, I know, will love it. But the others too will fall in with it. So you will continue until you reach Johannesburg, always trying the train whenever you can.

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Am sending this Box 8, Care Badat so that you may get it even on Sunday.

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

¹ This appears to be the "Saturday letter" written to the addressee

² Vide "The Resisters at Volksrust", 24-9-1913.

200. LETTER TO "THE NATAL MERCURY"¹

[DURBAN,]

September 21, 1913

SIR,

There is evidence in the special article from Pretoria on the Indian position which you published in your issue of Saturday last that its writer has been in the know. It will, therefore, be accepted by the public as a weighty pronouncement on behalf of the Government. You will, therefore, perhaps permit me to correct some of its most glaring errors. The writer contends that two of the four things in dispute were granted by the Government. This is only partly true. The Free State difficulty is that of the legal racial bar. The last telegram from Mr. Smuts lends colour to the suggestion that the difficulty is removed. But in reality it is not. What is required is an admission in the same way in which it was made about the point raised regarding the right of ex-indentured Indians, that the new Act does not in law require any declaration not required from any other immigrant, from an Indian who may, under the Act, enter the Free State. This is quite different from saying that such declaration will only be taken upon an Indian entering the Union. The point is that, so far as immigration only is concerned, an Indian should be able to enter on the same terms as a European. Administrative differentialism there undoubtedly will be. But that will regulate the number of entrants, not the legal mode of entry. The point is somewhat technical from the nature of the case. The struggle has been directed hitherto towards guarding against a fundamental change in the British Constitution which is based upon the theory of equality. The letter of the Indian contention was granted in 1910 after four years' continuous suffering on the part of my countrymen. But the spirit of it is missed even now in the new Act by reason of the ambiguous Free State clause.

The second difficulty not solved is the marriage question. Your

¹ Evidently, Gandhiji had simultaneously sent a copy of this letter to *Indian Opinion*, which published it in its issue of September 24.

correspondent asserts that I have asked for legal recognition of polygamy, and therefore, a subversion of the marriage law of the country, which is based on the Christian doctrine. A glance at the correspondence¹ between the Government and myself, published in *Indian Opinion*, September 13, will show that I have not asked for any such thing. I have asked that the legality of marriages of Indians celebrated in South Africa should be recognized in the same way as those celebrated in India will be, under the new Act. I directed alteration to the flaw in the wording of the marriage clause in the new Act, and showed two ways of dealing with it, i.e., either by slightly amending the new Act or by similarly amending the marriage laws of the Union without in any way interfering with the monogamous nature of marriages. The writer at Pretoria has raised the question of the meaning of “monogamous marriage”. The point will be soon decided by the Supreme Court. If the phrase does not mean what it was meant to mean when the marriage clause was passed, the blame will be that of the Government. They have raised the issue, not the Indian community. Millions of Indian unions in which the husband has married only one wife are, to the lay mind, monogamous marriages. If the phrase means anything else, the Government have misled the Senate, the Imperial and Indian Governments, and the Indian community. It will not be denied that this marriage question is one of the highest importance to us. I am sure the Europeans of South Africa will permit us to cherish the honour of our womanhood as much as they cherish that of theirs.

As to the £3 poll-tax, I note that your correspondent does not seriously contend that it is a new point. He has only to look at the reservation clause in the correspondence of 1911 to see that it cannot be treated as a new point. It is new in the sense that it was not included in the recent negotiations. It could not well be as the discussion turned only upon the new Act. Had there been a settlement on the basis of the negotiations, the community would have continued to urge the removal by way of petitioning, etc., but the negotiations having failed,

¹ This, *inter alia*, included letters addressed to the Private Secretary to the Minister of the Interior dated June 28, to the Secretary for the Interior dated July 2 and August 24, and to the Assistant Secretary for the Interior dated September 3. These have been given in their chronological order.

the way was open for the community to include this matter of simple humanity in the struggle. Lord Amthill has declared that the Union Government gave Mr. Gokhale a definite promise that the tax would be removed. If the Government intend to keep the promise, they have but to say so, and there will be no struggle on that point. If they do not intend to keep it, Indians would have no right to exist side by side with a free and self-respecting community if they have no decency, and moral strength, to suffer imprisonment, or worse, in order that a promise given to their distinguished countryman may be fulfilled, and their poor, helpless countrymen freed from a burden which ought never to have been imposed on them, and for which the sin must, I fear, be shared by the free Indian population of South Africa almost equally with the Europeans.

Lastly, your correspondent's advice that we should accept thankfully what has been granted, and what has been denied as being of little importance, and then press forward the redress of the balance of grievances by way of petitions, etc., and his suggestion that, then, we may be blessed with a special law such as the Natives' Land Act, whereby we may have a reserve set apart for us where we can buy land, etc., remind me, if he will forgive me for the analogy, of Æsop's justice-loving wolf. We have petitioned in vain all these years. Right after right has been taken away from us. And an Indian reserve means that the substantial right at present enjoyed of owning and buying land in Natal, and the Cape, and a modified right of possessing land in the Transvaal should be surrendered, and we must allow ourselves to be penned in an enclosure, and then bless the Government for this grace as a reward for not offering passive resistance, which involves suffering for nobody but ourselves, but which, if it ensures nothing else, at least saves us from a surrender of our manhood.

I am, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

The Natal Mercury, 25-9-1913

201. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR

[DURBAN,]

September 22, 1913

DEAR MR. GORGES,

I am much obliged to you for your letter¹ of the 19th instant regarding the marriage question. I have not widened the original scope of my request. But I shall endeavour as clearly as possible to re-state the position.

It is submitted that authority should be taken from Parliament during its next session to legalize monogamous marriages already solemnized or hereafter to be solemnized by Indian priests among Indians belonging to non-Christian denominations. Legislation has become necessary only because the marriage clause in the new Act was hastily worded without considering the full position. Unless the relief now sought is granted soon, the status of Indian women married in South Africa is that of concubines and their children not lawful heirs of their parents. Such is, as I take it, the effect of the Searle judgment combined with the action of the Natal Master of the Supreme Court and the Gardiner judgment². I have asked for a promise of amelioration during the next session because I submit that the matter is one of urgency. With regard to polygamy, I have not asked for legal recognition but the admission, under the powers vested in the Minister, of plural wives without the Government in any way recognizing their legal status. The admission is to be restricted only to plural wives already married to Indians who may be found to be unquestionably domiciled in the Union. This at once restricts the scope of the Government's generosity and enables them to know *now* how many such wives will have to be admitted. I have already submitted a plan as to how this can be brought about.

In my humble opinion, the letter of the 10th August, 1911, referred to in your communication, bears the interpretation I have

¹ *Vide* 2nd footnote to "Telegram to Secretary for Interior", 10-9-1913.

² *Vide* "Important Judgment about Marriage", 30-8-1913.

placed upon it. The British Indian Association raised the question of polygamy and the above-mentioned letter containing the assurance was the reply. I suppose you know that plural wives have actually been admitted by the Immigration Officers and that polygamous unions are even registered on the Transvaal registration certificates.

As doubts have arisen as to the meaning of the term “monogamous marriage”, I beg to record that the meaning that the community has placed upon it is that a marriage is monogamous if a man is married to only one woman, no matter under what religion and no matter whether such religion under given circumstances sanctions polygamy or not.

I observe that paragraph 2 of your letter seems to suggest that my reply to your last wire did not [cover], though it might have covered, the other points referred to therein. I purposely refrained from touching the other points as I felt that no scope was left open for me to do so. But if General Smuts is still prepared to consider the other points, I shall be certainly prepared to make a further submission. I cannot help feeling that the unfortunate rupture has taken place on points very vital to the Indian community but of little consequence to the Government or the dominant population of the Union.

Pray, always consider me to be one the least desirous to obstruct the Government and most anxious to serve it in so far as I can do so consistently with my duty to my countrymen.¹

[I have, etc.,]

M. K. GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 29-10-1913

¹ Acknowledging this on September 27, Gorges wrote: “I have submitted your communication to the Minister, who, after full consideration of the matter, requests me to say that it will not be possible for him to give any assurance that legislation on the lines indicated in Section 4 of my personal letter of the 19th ultimo to you will be introduced at the next session of Parliament.”

202. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

[September 22, 1913]¹

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your letters. I still expect a wire from you. As we are issuing on Wednesday, I must not wait to write at length. I only hope that your expectation will be realized. You do not seem to have received my letter on Sunday. Anyway I expect a wire from you at noon. More, therefore, then. No time to write separately to the others just now.

I wrote to Miss Schlesin saying she need not worry about replying to the papers. As it so happens the *Leader's* is an inspired article and reproduced in the *Mercury*².

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

¹ From the contents; vide the following item.

² The Natal Mercury; vide also: Letter to the *Natal Mercury*", 21-9-1913 and "What Appeal Boards Stand For", 24-9-1913.

203. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Monday afternoon [September 22, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have been most regular in my correspondence. I cannot understand how 3 letters were delivered to you at the same time. In several cases I sent train letters. However, you got my Saturday letter¹ in time. I have your 3 wires. I am delighted that they are at last deported and that they have recrossed. I hope now to hear from you next as to sentences. If they are [sentenced] it would be well for you to stay there two days and arrange for special foods for Mrs. Gandhi and others who may need it. You may have a heart-to-heart chat with the doctor who is a nice man and tell him of Maganbhai's disease too. If they are gaoled, I shall leave here on Thursday. That gives you [time] there till Friday. If I bring a large contingent, you should stay over and see them through. If on the other [hand] I have only Budrea with me, you will not stay but join me, i.e., if I am not also stopped. Wednesday will just give me time to wind up for the next issue here.

You and I have our work cut out in Johannesburg and if all goes well, we may settle the matter in a month's time. There are indications in the newspapers themselves.

The resisters tell me you have been a tower of strength to them. Mrs. Gandhi says most pathetically that you are all attention to her. I simply pass these sentiments on to you.

Have not yet had a wire from Polak.

Will you please arrange with Badat and others that they look after those who may follow?

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Jamnadas Gandhi", 19-7-1913.

204. *THE RESISTERS AT VOLKSRUST*

We reported last week that the passive resisters were told they would be deported on receipt of warrants from Pretoria. Fuller details that have come to hand show that the spokesman¹ was summoned before the Immigration Officer on Thursday² last and told that he had received instructions from Pretoria to submit to the party for filling in forms prescribed under the Act. The spokesman regretted that the party could not comply with the request. Would they submit to the test? The spokesman said they could not do that either.

“Then,” said the officer, “you are all prohibited immigrants.” And, so saying, he handed the usual notices for all, informing them of his decision and saying that they could appeal against his decision to the Appeal Board within 3 days. The spokesman said the party did not want to appeal at all. The officer then said that, in that event, he would deport them all upon receipt of warrants. Thereupon, the spokesman urged that they should all be taken in custody, as they did not wish to remain free and not proceed with their journey. But the officer said he could not take them in custody. The next day the party informed the officer that, unless they were kept under custody, they would proceed to Johannesburg.

“Then,” said the officer, “I shall have to stop you, but I will not imprison you.” Thereupon, the following letter was addressed to the officer, signed by the spokesman:

My fellow-passive resisters and I have been stopped by you from continuing our journey to Johannesburg since Tuesday last, the 16th instant. I told you then that, if you wished to detain or arrest us, you could do so only by keeping us in prison, as we did not desire to remain in Volksrust with friends, however insistent they might be to accommodate us. But you told us that you had not sufficient room at the Police Station for such a large company as ours and that, therefore, you would rather that we remained out, pending receipt of instructions from the Government. We have waited, it would be admitted, long enough to enable you to receive your instructions.

¹ Chhaganlal Gandhi

² September 18

On my telling you on Friday that, if you could not keep us under custody, the party would consider itself free to proceed to Johannesburg, you informed me that you would prevent it from so doing and that yet you could not keep us in custody until you had heard from the Government.

I beg, therefore, now to inform you that unless you take charge of the party, we shall entrain for Johannesburg on Monday, by the Kaffir Mail, and if you offer physical resistance at the time, as passive resisters, we can only yield to it for the time being. But, if you set us free afterwards and do not hold us bodily, we shall seek some other means of continuing our forward journey.

Later wires received from Volksrust show that the delivery of the notice acted like a charm. The whole party was deported on Monday, at 10 a.m., to the Natal border. Deportation merely consists in pushing the deportees beyond a line midway in a shallow stream. As soon as the party was deported and the back of the deporting officer was hardly turned, they re-crossed and were arrested. They were straightaway taken to the Charge Office.

Indian Opinion, 24-9-1913

205. THE LATE MR. HOOSEN DAWAD

We regret to announce that young Hoosen Dawad, who was ailing for a long time and who had the benefit of the most skilled medical attendance and the unceasing and devoted nursing of a loving father, passed away on Monday night. We consider that Mr. Hoosen gave promise of being one of the greatest Indians of South Africa. We extend our sympathy to the bereaved family. We hope to give a special memoir¹ and portrait of the deceased in our next issue. This issue being specially published for giving news of the passive resistance struggle, it is impossible for us to cope with the memoir.

Indian Opinion, 24-9-1913

206. THE £3 TAX

For many reasons we consider that the central point of the struggle is this blood tax, as we have not hesitated to call it. It ought never to have been imposed. The history of the imposition does not reflect any credit on Natal. It would never have been imposed if we, the free Indian settlers of Natal, had, at the time, done our duty completely. It would never have been imposed if the otherwise fine statesmen of Natal, who were then in power, had not truckled to the planter and the farming communities. We may here recall the fact that the original intention of the then Government was to impose an annual tax of £25 on ex-indentured Indians and to make its non-payment a criminal offence. This was too much for the Government of India, though it was soft and accommodating enough. The figure was, therefore, brought down to £3 and the Government of India would not listen to the proposal to make its non-payment a criminal offence. So a Bill was passed in 1895 imposing the tax, the condition being that, if the ex-indentured Indian left for India on the

¹ *Vide* "The Late Mr. Haji Hoosen Dawad Mahomed", 1-10-1913.

termination of his indenture or entered into further indenture, he was exempt but, if he did not do either and wished to settle in Natal as a free man, he and his were bound to pay the tax which could be collected by a civil summary process. The first collections started in 1900, and since then men, women and children have been harassed, more or less inexorably, to pay this wretched penalty for their freedom. We call it a penalty because it is admittedly not a revenue-producing impost. It is avowedly for the purpose of compelling the helpless people to re-indenture or to return to India from whence they came to avoid starvation, and on the strength of unscrupulous allurements of touts. The law-officers then set about working to find out how they could send these men to gaol although it was a compact between the Natal and the Indian Governments that it was not to be deemed a criminal offence if the tax was not paid. They found out that it was possible to use effectively the small debts clause of the Magistrates' Courts Act in order to override the compact and send these people to gaol if they did not pay the tax. Disobedience of an order of Court is contempt of Court for which the defaulter is sentenced to imprisonment. There is an exception to the clause to the effect that, if a debtor shows that he has been unable, through want of means, to discharge a debt which he is ordered to pay, he may not be imprisoned. But we know that, in most cases, the Magistrates, after all human beings living in the midst of the all-powerful planting community, have disbelieved the evidence as to poverty and sentenced the men to be imprisoned for non-payment. The latest case in point is that of Sarjoo¹. He has not paid for the last three years. He paid what he could and then pleaded inability. But the plea was not accepted and he had to serve imprisonment with hard labour for 30 days. And even this imprisonment does not free him from payment. If he is believed by a police officer to have means, he can be re-arrested and re-sentenced unless he pays the tax. Thus we hold that the local Government have broken faith with the Government of India by resorting to the Magistrates' Courts Act to thrust the poor men and women into gaols for non-payment.

¹ An ex-indentured Indian who had not paid his tax arrears; Maganlal Gandhi was summoned for employing him.

But one would have thought that, with the stoppage of the system of indenture, the tax would be abolished. Nothing of the kind has happened. The relentless employers, who want indentured labour, having tasted the sweets of it, are not satisfied with anything less, certainly not with free labour. And so the tax has continued.

Then came the climax. Prominent people of Natal assured Mr. Gokhale that the tax would go, that they did not want it. The Union Government made a definite promise to our distinguished countryman that they would remove the tax. And yet, during the last session of Parliament, they broke the promise.

Who can say that the local Indian community have decided a second too soon upon passive resistance? It would have been proper at any moment. It is doubly so at this moment. If our readers only knew, as we know, how this breach of faith, this failure to remove the tax, has shaken Mr. Gokhale and how, in spite of strong medical advice, he decided to return to India to rouse the Government and the people to action, and what extraordinary pressure was brought to bear upon him to induce him to postpone his departure from England, every Indian would let every consideration of self go and fight for the removal of this tax even unto death. It is a simple, primary duty every Indian in South Africa owes to his country, to Mr. Gokhale and to the poor men who are the victims of gold hunger on the part of the employers of indentured Indian labour.

Indian Opinion, 24-9-1913

207. WHAT APPEAL BOARDS STAND FOR

The Natal Mercury, in a leaderette, offers the opinion that the Appeal Boards are a distinct advantage to the Indians because one or two men have been successful in their appeals. This would be true if the Appeal Boards had taken the place of something worse. But the facts are that they are dealing with a situation that did not exist before. That is to say, before the Act was passed, men who were undisputed possessors of their domicile certificates re-entered as a matter of right. Now the Act has nullified the effect of these certificates and created work for the Boards which reject the majority of cases, which formerly were quite safe and then grant one or two. Thus the law, having deprived the community of all its rights, allows Appeal Boards to restore some. If, for this mercy, one has to be thankful, one ought also to thank a thief who restores part of stolen property. Of course, we have nothing to say against the Boards as such. Indeed, the appointment of Mr. Binns and Mr. Maurice Evans is unexceptionable. But the best judge is of no use, if he is appointed merely to act as an anaesthetic acts when a patient has to undergo a severe operation resulting in the loss of a limb. And the analogy is somewhat too flattering for the Government. In the latter case, the patient submits to the operation willingly and for his own good. In the former case, he is the unwilling victim.

Indian Opinion, 24-9-1913

208. THE £3 TAX

It is, I think, our good fortune that the £3 tax has been included among the issues for satyagraha. The previous history of this problem is worth recalling. The proposal for the £3 tax first came up in 1894. The Natal Government sent a deputation to India. At that time the Indians protested violently against it.¹ The Government's original intention was to levy a tax of £25 and, if any Indian could not pay that tax, the Government wanted to be empowered to effect his compulsory repatriation. Thanks to our agitation, the Indian Government rejected both the proposals and passed a resolution that an Indian who, after completing his indenture, did not re-indenture himself should either return to his country or pay an amount of £3 tax each for himself, his wife and his children. If anyone did not pay the tax, it could be recovered by auctioning his property, if he had any, but that the Government would have no power to imprison him. The Indian community made a strong representation against this too. In 1896, meetings were also held in India in this connection.² Nevertheless the tax remained. For some time, thereafter, the Government collected the tax from those who paid it. Meanwhile, though there was no provision for imprisonment [in case of default], the Government found an indirect way of sending defaulters to gaol. According to a section in the law relating to magistrates' courts, anyone failing to comply with a magistrate's judgment is guilty of contempt of court for which the court could sentence him to imprisonment. Under this section, first a decree would be issued on an Indian to pay his tax. Then, if he did not pay the tax, he would be brought before the court for contempt of court. If he is able to prove his poverty, the court must discharge him. Why should the court believe the evidence of such a miserable wretch? The result was violation of the agreement made with the Indian Government. This was breach of trust. And hundreds of Indians found themselves in prison. Several women and young men were also

¹ *Vide* "Open Letter", before 19-12-1894, and "Petition to Lord Ripon", before 5-5-1895.

² *Vide* "Speech at Meeting, Madras", 26-10-1896.

imprisoned. Are we not to blame for all this? Had we taken more pains than we did, these poor people would have been free from the yoke which they had borne for 15 years. Would not thousands of pounds of the poor have been saved? It must sear our hearts to hear all these questions. We did not hear the cry for help at our own doors ! Who can tell how much of such burden [of guilt] we have to bear? It is enjoined by all religions that we should share in the suffering that we see around us. We have failed to do so. An opportunity has offered itself today.

We are sure that, if many from the community fight against it, the tax will be repealed forthwith. If only a few do so, there is likely to be delay. But the repeal of the tax is certain. The campaign that is now coming is such that it should be easy for all Indians to join it with zest. So far we could ask nothing of the thousands of ex-indentured Indians. Now, they too can join the fight with all their heart. We are convinced that, if every Indian who is not able to court imprisonment or give money for this cause, just spares one hour of his time to acquaint the poor and the illiterate people with the issue of the tax, there will be a real fight indeed. No one, moreover, should remain complacent in the belief that the tax is bound to be repealed. On the contrary, everyone must do his best. The community will find a great deal to learn from this struggle and will be able to raise itself very high. A wise man does not avert his face or go to wash it when Lakshmi¹ comes to him, in his own house, to put a tilak² on his forehead.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 24-9-1913

¹ Hindu goddess of prosperity

² Auspicious vermilion mark

209. LETTER TO CLEMENT DOKE

PHOENIX,
NATAL,
September 24, 1913

MY DEAR CLEMENT,

I have your letter but not the list. I am now sending you 25 copies¹ for distribution among father's friends and congregation. You can have more. It never was the intention to charge European friends for the memoir. The idea was to get Indians to buy copies for wide circulation in India.

Thanks for inquiring about Mrs. Gandhi. She is now in gaol at Volksrust as a passive resister together with 3 other ladies from Phoenix.

*The Secret City*² is enchanting. I have been reading it in my spare moments. I have nearly finished it.

I am leaving tomorrow for Johannesburg.

I hope you are getting and reading your copy of *Indian Opinion* regularly.

With regards to you all.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 743

¹ These were copies of a memoir of Rev. J. J. Doke, addressee's father; *vide* "The Late Mr. Joseph J. Doke", 23-8-1913.

² A book by Rev. Doke; *vide* "The Late Mr. Joseph J. Doke", 23-8-1913.

210. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

IN THE TRAIN,

[After September 25, 1913]¹

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I find myself in an awful state today. I ran for the train. I gave no end of trouble to the boys. Everyone was delayed because of me. Unmindful of that, I committed a further mistake and sent Purshotam² again. Thinking of this, I felt extremely miserable. Even those of my actions which I believed to be for a spiritual purpose have a big flaw in them. I am too full of *moha* and *lobha*³. It is never the mark of a spiritual aspirant to be in too great a hurry and make himself a nuisance to others. He may, of course, not overtax himself—ought not to. What an ignoble state to be in ! All this is the consequence of initial mistakes. I also realized that if I had skipped the meal, I could have worked with an unruffled mind, with plenty of time on hand, and would have been no cause of trouble to any of you. A spiritual aspirant should not accept exacting services for himself. To make you give up the school and to send the boys running argue an abject state of mind. I always knew this, but realized it vividly today. I felt ashamed within myself even as I was on the way—I reproached myself. I, who used to believe that I had perhaps something in, find myself today in a humiliating state. I tell you all this because you attribute so many excellences to me. You should see the faults in me in order that you may save yourself from like faults. Plunged as I have been in the affairs of South Africa, I think I can be entirely free only in India. But please warn me whenever I take upon myself too heavy a burden. You will be with me, no doubt, even in India. If I am imprisoned, it will be all peace and nothing but peace for me. If not, I

¹ This appears to have been written by Gandhiji on his way to the Transvaal. He left Durban on September 25 and reached Johannesburg on September 27.

² Purshotam Desai, a satyagrahi, in charge of the Phoenix School for some time

³ Greed

may even return there. Please warn me if ever in future, even in South Africa, you find today's story being repeated. We could have done without bread for Mr. Kallenbach and without groundnut jam for me. We need not have been particular about feeding the children. Or rather, we might have pleased ourselves in all these ways and yet things would have been all right if I had not insisted on having my meal. But I would ride all the horses and that is why God ordained my fall. Surely this is not the first occasion when such a thing has happened to me. This time, however, the lesson has been brought home to me. I will now change myself a little.

Please arrange the household things, or have them arranged properly. There are old cotton beddings near where the tools are stored. Ask Baku to wash them. Have them stitched by Mrs. Sam¹ and put them back well arranged.

For the present, let the children learn to write the addresses carefully. It will be good to lighten this burden on Devibehn² by half—and to remove it entirely by and by. If Chhotam and Navin worry her, draw them away to yourself. The matter about Lord Amphill will now have to be attended to by you, unaided.

While in Durban, I heard that the men will be removed from Volksrust to Maritzburg.³ If they are, it is just as well. That will be some experience indeed and, with Rustomjee Sheth there, they will be better able to face the situation.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

If the children cannot manage to write 300 addresses this time, you should try and help them to complete them on Sunday or Monday. You will find there a jacket made by me for Budrea⁴; this is to be sent on to Polak.

Two powers [of attorney] on behalf of Rustomjee Sheth have

¹ Wife of Govindsamy

² Indian name given to Miss Ada West by Gandhiji

³ The prisoners were removed to the Maritzburg Gaol on September 28.

⁴ An old client of Gandhiji

been left there. They should be attested by you and Devibehn under the date of Monday, Phoenix, and preserved there. Fill [in the details], if you can.¹ Otherwise I shall do that when I am there.

From the Gujarati original in pencil in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5649 Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

211. LETTER TO SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS

[JOHANNESBURG,]

September 27, 1913

TO
THE GENERAL MANAGER
SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS

[SIR,]

With two other Indians I was travelling by the Kaffir Mail that left Durban on Thursday to the Transvaal. We were all travelling third-class. We occupied one of the corridor third-class compartments which are usually attached to the Natal trains. My companions and I were put in the compartment we occupied by one of the conductors. At Ladysmith, however, the new conductor came and told me that we would have to shift from the compartment we were occupying to another. On enquiring for the reason I was told that the compartment we were occupying was meant for Europeans only. I drew the conductor's attention to a compartment which was so labelled, also to the fact that our compartment was not labelled at all, and that I had travelled in such compartments several times on the Natal line. I informed him also that the conductor at Durban had placed me in that compartment, but the new conductor said that I was to obey instructions or to get permission from the Station Master to remain where I was. Thereupon, I saw the Station Master, but I must say that, in rather a rude manner, he told me that I was to do as the conductor asked me, and that I ought to know that the conductors could ask passengers to

¹ The original is not clear at this point.

shift as many times as they chose without giving any reason whatsoever. I did not argue the matter with the Station Master but simply went and occupied the compartment I was in and awaited developments there. Meantime, unknown to me, a friend who happened to be on the platform, and who knew me, disclosed my identity to the conductor who subsequently spoke to me and told me that, in asking me as he had done to remove, he was only carrying out instructions. I told the conductor then that, after having known who I was, it was his duty to have me arrested for disobeying instructions, but that he would not do. I was told by the Indians who were on the platform at the time, and who were watching the proceedings, that such difficulties happened to Indian passengers very often. I do not know what truth there is in what the conductor told me. I can only hope that he has misread the instructions of the administration, because, in my humble opinion, it would be preposterous if even third-class Indian passengers may not travel without being disturbed, and without being told that the nicest compartments were always reserved for Europeans.

I hope that you will be good enough to investigate this matter and do whatever you consider is necessary. I feel that high officials, such as Station Masters, ought to be told to realize their responsibility and behave courteously towards passengers even though they may not belong to the European race. I hardly think that it was necessary for me to disclose my identity before I could claim courteous treatment from the Station Master.

[I have, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI]

Indian Opinion, 8-10-1913

212. ON POINT OF BEING ARRESTED

[September 27, 1913]¹

On Thursday² last, Mr. Gandhi went to the Transvaal with some satyagrahis. He and his companions were in a third-class compartment. Among the third-class carriages, there are some which are clean and comfortable. The railway official had put Mr. Gandhi and his companions in one of these. When the train reached Ladysmith, the conductor ordered them to vacate the compartment and occupy the next one. Mr. Gandhi said: "We are not going to, and we will reach the Transvaal in this very compartment."

The conductor said, "I order you to go."

Mr. Gandhi said, "It was the conductor at Durban who placed us here." The conductor retorted, "Don't argue with me. I tell you to get out. This compartment is for the Europeans. This train is under my charge."

Without entering into an argument, Mr. Gandhi decided to remain in the same compartment with his companions and hoped to be arrested for disobeying the conductor's order. He thought that this was a good opportunity that had offered itself for him to go to gaol. Some Indians who were present there saw what was happening and were glad to think the incident would have a good result. But Mr. Windon, who was on the spot, spoiled the game. The conductor did not recognize Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Windon went to him and told him the name. That made the conductor hold his peace. Afterwards he had a long conversation with Mr. Gandhi in the presence of other conductors and told him that he was only doing his duty. In his ignorance, however, the friend, with the best of intentions, behaved like an enemy. Had Mr. Gandhi been arrested at Ladysmith, some of the problems concerning railways would have been solved and, incidentally, the struggle would have gained strength. All the Indians on the platform were disappointed and, later on, Mr. Windon realized

¹ *Vide* reference to preceding item in the last paragraph.

² September 25

that it would have been far better if he had not interfered.

Mr. Gandhi has sent a written complaint about this to the General Manager, telling him that he was informed by the Indians who were on the station that such hardships were a common experience. He has also pointed out in the letter that the Station Master, instead of attending to the complaint, behaved rather rudely.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-10-1913

213. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR

[JOHANNESBURG,]

September 28, 1913

DEAR MR. GORGES,

I do not know that I am justified in writing this letter to you, but, as you have been personally solicitous about the non-revival of passive resistance, and as, in the course of my conversations with you, I have so often told you that I have nothing to withhold from the Government, I may as well inform you of what is now going on.

I wrote to you¹ from Phoenix in reply to your last letter, and if you have not yet replied to my communication but intend to do so, I would suggest your sending your reply to my Johannesburg address, as I shall be here for some time at least.

The campaign has started in earnest. As you know, sixteen passive resisters, including four women, are already serving three months' imprisonment with hard labour.² The resisters here were awaiting my arrival and the activity here will commence almost immediately.

I cannot help saying that the points on which the struggle has re-started are such that the Government might gracefully grant them

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior". The Secretary's reply dated September 27 had evidently not reached Gandhiji by this time.

² *Vide* "Letter to Harilal Gandhi", 18-9-1913.

to the community. But what I would like to impress upon the Government is the gravity of the step we are about to take. I know that it is fraught with danger. I know also that, once taken, it may be difficult to control the spread of the movement beyond the limits one may set. I know also what responsibility lies on my shoulders in advising such a momentous step, but I feel that it is not possible for me to refrain from advising a step which I consider to be necessary, to be of educational value and, in the end, to be valuable both to the Indian community and to the State. This step consists in actively, persistently and continuously asking those who are liable to pay the £3 tax to decline to do so and to suffer the penalties for non-payment and, what is more important, in asking those who are now serving indenture and who will, therefore, be liable to pay the £3 tax on completion of their indenture to strike work until the tax is withdrawn. I feel that, in view of Lord Ampthill's declaration in the House of Lords,¹ evidently with the approval of Mr. Gokhale, as to the definite promise made by the Government and repeated to Lord Gladstone, this advice to indentured Indians would be fully justified. That the tax has weighed most heavily upon the men I know from personal experience, that the men resent it bitterly I also know from personal knowledge. But they have submitted to it more or less with quiet resignation, and I am loth to disturb their minds by any step that I might take or advise. Can I not even now, whilst in the midst of the struggle, appeal to General Smuts and ask him to reconsider his decision on the points already submitted and on the question of the £3 tax and, whether this letter is favourably considered or not, may I anticipate the assurance that it will in no wise be taken to be a threat?

[*I have, etc.,*]

M. K. GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 29-10-1913

¹ *Vide* "The Debate in the Lords", 6-9-1913.

214. SPEECH AT VREDEDORP MEETING¹

[JOHANNESBURG,
September 28, 1913]

Mr. Gandhi at the outset stated that he had already addressed two meetings that afternoon, one of which consisted of some fifty Indian women who were mostly affected by the Immigration Act. All of them had decided to throw in their lot with their sisters who were serving three months' hard labour at Vereeniging (Applause.) They had decided, some of them with babies in arms, to undergo all the hardships that gaol life meant. They were going to suffer for their own honour, and though he had warned them, and had even exaggerated the factor of the hardships of gaol life, they would be gratified and surprised, possibly, to hear that the women were staunch. In a few days' time they would be in His Majesty's gaol. (Applause.)

Mr. Gandhi touched upon the requests of the Indian community and the reasons for resuming the campaign of passive resistance.

Our demands are, in my opinion, incredibly simple. The first in point of importance is that the poll-tax of £3 be abolished. This is payable by all the ex-indentured Indians, their wives and grown-up children, so that in the case of a family of six the tax is £18 per year. This tax, as Lord Ampthill stated in the House of Lords, was on promise of repeal during the last session of Parliament. This was a promise made to Gokhale when he came to South Africa. The second thing is the marriage difficulty. I see wild statements made to the effect that we are trying to alter the whole basis of the marriage law of South Africa and to legalize polygamy. Nothing can be further from our thought than that. All we ask for is the restoration of the status that existed before the Searle judgment, and that is, legal recognition of monogamous marriages according to our own religious rites. Surely, this does not mean any alteration of the basis of the marriage law of South Africa. We have certainly asked for the admission of the existing plural wives of the Indians who are domiciled here, but for no legal recognition of their status. This has been done before, and we

¹ Gandhiji addressed a well-attended mass meeting of Indians at the Hamidia Hall. A. M. Cachalia presided.

simply ask for its continuation. It affects a very small number of Indian women. You will be surprised to know that the law of South Africa has actually, in the interests of the planting community, even legally recognized polygamy in the case of the indentured Indians. But we are asking for no such legal recognition for plural wives of free Indian settlers. The third point is the retention of the right of South Africa-born Indians to enter the Cape by reason of their birth. The fourth point is the Free State difficulty. This is almost settled. We claim that the new Act does not mean that an Indian who may possibly enter the Free State is required to make as an immigrant the Free State declaration as to prohibition of holding landed property, to farm and to trade. If such is the interpretation placed upon the law by the Government also, there is no dispute. If the Government make that admission, the whole difficulty is solved. (Applause.) [Resolution]¹

That this meeting held under the auspices of the British Indian Association endorses the action taken by Mr. Cachalia in his letter to the Government, and congratulates the pioneers from Natal who are waiting in His Majesty's gaol at Vereeniging. This meeting further resolves upon the immediate taking up of passive resistance and to continue it until the requests contained in Mr. Cachalia's letter are granted. The meeting respectfully urges the Union Government to grant that request in fairness to the community and also asks the Imperial and Indian Governments to help the community and trusts that the leaders of thought, both in England and India, will support the community in the endeavour to conserve national honour.

Rand Daily Mail, 29-9-1913

¹ After Kallenbach, L. W. Ritch and Joseph Royeppen had spoken, the meeting adopted the resolution, presumably drafted by Gandhiji. The resolution, with some verbal variations, was also published in *Indian Opinion*, 1-10-1913.

215. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[JOHANNESBURG,]

*Monday [September 29, 1913]*¹

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Your letter. You need not have made yourself unhappy. Even if you had not gone on to finish your meal, all the things could not have been completed and the confusion² could not have been avoided. How can my defects be removed by your disciplining yourself? The remedy lies with me alone.

Manilal, Medh and Pragji have dressed themselves as hawkers and gone out for rounds. I am awaiting news of their arrest.

There will be a good number of women coming forward here. They will start in a day or so. I hear that even women have been removed from Volksrust to Maritzburg. I find that it will also be necessary to start a Satyagraha Fund. On their own, men are coming forward with contributions. Acknowledge the following amounts, therefore:

Mrs. Noor Mahomed Babul 1-1-0

Jogi Fakir of Bejalpur 1-0-0

You will see dehydrated bananas everywhere on that side. For quick dehydration, you may put them into the fire. It seems that Ba has been removed to Maritzburg. Nobody can say when, if ever, we shall be permitted to send food there. You will not need a mortar and pestle. You may make minute pieces with a nut-cracker and grind them in a stonemill. I am sending on a letter from Chhaganlal received here.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5868

¹ The acknowledgment of the amounts referred to in the letter appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 8-10-1913.

² The reference is to the situation described in "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi".

216. INTERVIEW TO “THE TRANSVAAL LEADER”

[JOHANNESBURG,
September 29, 1913]

Mr. Gandhi... discussed the situation fully and frankly. He considers that the people of the Transvaal are all with the Indians in their demand for fuller rights. Everyone he spoke to, he said, was sympathetic.

[REPORTER:] Then you do not consider that Parliament truly reflects the feeling of the country?

[GANDHI:] No, there you have professional men.

Mr. Gandhi said that the Indians were as steadfast and loyal to the cause as ever. Numerically they would not be so strong, but they were quite as earnest as before. The trouble, he said, had arisen to purify them. Asked why the number of resisters would be smaller, he stated that many who had experienced the discomforts of Transvaal prisons had no wish to return.

Some merchants too are not joining your ranks?

They may not go to prison, but they will help us with money.

Are you as well-off in a financial way as on the occasion of the last campaign?

No, we are not.

He went on to say that it was not a question of 3,000 convictions this time. A different procedure will be followed. Instead of a large number of men being in prison for short periods, a hundred or so would bear the brunt of the attack, and, as the Government seemed disposed to inflict the maximum penalty, they would spend a long period in gaol, even if they were only arrested three or four times. They would be assisted by their compatriots in the other Provinces. In the Free State they were only fighting for a theoretical right.

“The thin end of the wedge,” suggested the interviewer.

Hardly that, though perhaps in some respects it is.¹

The Transvaal Leader, 30-9-1913

¹ Gandhiji then explained that the people in the Orange Free State must first be educated on the question. The report added that a number of Indian merchants were opposed to passive resistance, which Gandhiji refuted; *vide* the following item.

217. LETTER TO "THE TRANSVAAL LEADER"¹

[JOHANNESBURG,]

September 30, 1913

TO

THE EDITOR

THE TRANSVAAL LEADER

SIR,

I trust that you will allow me to correct the many misrepresentations made by your reporter with reference to the passive resistance movement. No doubt they are not all consciously made, but he certainly has been the instrument through which they have been made. "The Indian Passive resistance campaign", you have reported, "is threatened with collapse." This statement will prove to be untrue even if there is one passive resister earnest enough to carry it on, and I prophesy that, so long as there is one-passive resister left to fight, the points we are now fighting for will be granted, not because of the strength of such solitary passive resister, but because of the invincible strength of the truth for which he may be fighting. That our demands are just you have admitted in your leading article, only you have asked us not to revive passive resistance, but to be patient and to petition. Which course is the better is a matter of opinion. I hold that the points at issue are to the community of such vital importance that passive resistance is the only remedy, petitions having failed.

Now for facts. Your report states: "The Indian merchants throughout the Transvaal have dissociated themselves from the movement, and have withdrawn from Mr. Gandhi sources of revenue without which the campaign must fail:" The fact is that the great mass

¹ This is a rejoinder to an allegation in *The Transvaal Leader*, in a report of the interview with Gandhiji on September 29, that a number of influential Indian merchants were opposed to passive resistance. Similar letters were written by L. W. Ritch and H. Kallenbach and were reproduced along with this in *Indian Opinion*, 15-10-1913.

meeting of Sunday¹ was attended by almost all the Indian merchants of Johannesburg, and telegrams in support of the objects of the meeting were received from all the principal towns of the Transvaal, sent by the Indian merchants of those places, and delegates attended from the towns which could send them upon hardly 24 hours' notice. If there is a split in the community, I assure you that it will not be because passive resisters are asking too much, but because they will be asking too little, for I admit that there are men amongst us who undoubtedly want passive resisters to go to the full length. They cannot be held blameworthy, but they certainly will not represent the moderate wing. I do not know who the influential Mahomedan merchants are who gave your reporter the information that there is very little ground for complaint, and that those who attended the Gold Law Conference were against passive resistance. Your reporter is free to see the names in my possession of the principal merchants in the Transvaal who have expressed themselves heart and soul with the movement. It is true that they have not all offered to go to gaol, but they have certainly offered to help with their purses. But I need not carry any further the refutation of the misrepresentations contained in your report, for the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and time will show whether the movement collapses either for want of men or of money. This, however, I will add, that the movement does not necessarily depend upon financial help, as I endeavoured to make clear to your reporter yesterday. Indeed, my view of passive resistance is that it is impure so long as it has to depend upon any pecuniary assistance whatsoever. It is essentially a religious force, but I do not claim for the movement, in which I am a humble participator, that it has reached the purest stage. When it does, it will be independent of any public demonstration in the shape of public meetings, resolutions or appeals to even England and India. Our ideal is that truth, in order to assert itself, needs no such props. We are striving to reach it, and we can but die in the attempt.

Lastly, permit me to say that the statement that passive resisters "demand payment for their penance, there must be compensation for enforced confinement, martyrdom is on a money basis," is an atroci-

¹ September 28

ous libel, and a cruel wrong to the men and women who have suffered during the last campaign, and who will suffer now. A statement of disbursements was published some time ago, and details are open to inspection by any person who may care to go through them. There never has been any payment to passive resisters for their services as such. There has been maintenance given to the dependants of those who were in gaol, and the payments were made for barest necessities of life. Your reporter should challenge his informants for facts in support of the statements made by him. Indeed, fairness should have dictated this course to him before he undertook to publish them in the confident and emphatic manner in which he has. Nothing could have been easier for him than to have at least come to me and asked me to refute or corroborate them. He admits that there was no want of candour on my part in replying to any questions he put to me.

I am, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

The Transvaal Leader, 1-10-1913

218. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

September 30, 1913

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have your letter. Send a copy of the paper to Mrs. Blair.

I have left behind a watch there in the [jacket] I wear at home. Please look for it and find it.

Manilal, Medh and Pragji tried hard yesterday to get arrested, but did not succeed. They have gone out [hawking] again today. The women will set out in a day or two.

Let me know under what strain you have to work. Does Shanti give trouble?

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

[PS.]

If you find any letter of Raojibhai's in the jacket or anywhere else, please send it. There is something about Gordhanbhai¹ in it. I have received Bhayat's papers. I am sending herewith Rustomjee Sheth's power [of attorney] for attestation. Sign it as witness and keep it safe. I also send some matter for the press. Send on to Omar Sheth the power [of attorney] in his favour. Ask him to affix a five[-shilling] stamp on it. Medh, Pragji and Manilal have been arrested.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5653 Courtesy: Radha-behn Choudhri

¹ Raojibhai's uncle

*219. THE LATE MR. HAJI HOOSEN
DAWAD MAHOMED¹*

The rose has withered in its bloom. Young Hoosen has died in the prime of life, leaving a nation in mourning. He was but twenty-two, but he carried on his shoulders a head that would sit well on a wise man of forty-two. Truly do the gods take away those they love best. Had Mr. Hoosen Dawad lived to see the winter of life, I feel sure that he would have left a mark on the history of the Indian community in South Africa. Not that he has not, by the purity of his life, influenced it even now. But what he was able to do was merely the shadow of what was to come. He was a young man of truth for which alone he lived. He was impatient of cant, hypocrisy and humbug even in those who were his elders. He stood up for truth against all odds. From his early age, he wanted his word to be as good as a bond. He was innocence personified. No evil company could influence him. He influenced his companions, no matter how depraved they might be. Once Mr. Dawad Mahomed wrote to him, asking him to beware of snares that lured young men in London and of bad companions. He was indignant and wrote almost in these words: "Father, you do not know your boy. Snares cannot affect Hoosen. Bad companions mislead those who do not know where they are. Your son knows where he is. He lives for truth and will die for it." To this sterling character, he added a burning enthusiasm for his country, India, which then existed only in his imagination. He had never seen it. But it was enough that it was the land of his forefathers. He had read about it and he had learnt to love it with a passion that could not be stifled. "O, Mr. Rustomjee," young Hoosen said to him when he went forward on the 16th ultimo as a passive resister, "if I rise from this sick bed, you will find me in gaol. What a glorious death it would be, to die in gaol for the sake of Truth and Justice!" He clung to life desperately. But his desire was unalloyed with selfishness. He wanted to live in order to serve his country and humanity.

When quite young, he began to hate trade, though Mr. Dawad,

¹ This was published as a "Special Memoir".

his father, was and is a merchant prince. He scorned possession of wealth. He wanted to study. He was placed with me at Phoenix by Mr. Dawad Mahomed and the whole settlement began to value the golden worth of the boy. He became a loved member of my family. But Phoenix was not enough for him. He liked the life but he wanted scope for his literary and political tastes. He wanted to fight his country's battles. He felt a call. He thought (I think erroneously) that it was necessary for him to go to London and become a barrister, if he was to do any good. He was the idol of his father. He went to London amid the good wishes of all. In London he soon made himself loved wherever he went. He applied himself to study. And I know that he used to go to Hampstead Heath, sit on the damp grass, read his favourite poets and lose himself in dreams. He used even to compose poems which, those who can judge tell me, were promising.

But it was ordained that Hoosen was not to live. The dread disease that destroyed his body began its operations upon it in London. He tried many cures. He was under the treatment of specialists. He rallied for a time, but was never cured. He returned to Durban and felt better. Dr. Adams, who loved Hoosen, treated him with rare attention. He was better, but only better. He was longing to go to England and study. He went to India and saw it with the eye of reverence. He said, in one of his many letters to me, that he wanted not to see the stone work of India; he wanted to see its heart. He went with his father and a distinguished company to the Holy Shrine in Arabia. The pilgrimage made a lasting impression on him. In one of his letters, he broke into raptures over the powers of the Prophet who could summon millions, year after year, to pay their homage to the Creator in this special manner. Thence the party proceeded to Constantinople whilst the war with Italy was going on. Young Hoosen was really his father's guide and friend. The whole company leant on him during this visit. The highest in Turkey were seen by them. There, too, in that strange land, Hoosen became the favourite of those who came in contact with him. He parted company with his father there. His second Mecca was London. He must go there to finish his studies. But the fiend never let go the grip of him. He was suddenly taken ill. Mr. Dawad Mahomed received a cable, saying that Hoosen was returning. It told its own tale. The father knew that the son was

returning to die in his lap, and so he died, conscious to the last moment, in the lap of a father whose love was rare. (I had almost said, supernatural.) Mr. Dawad Mahomed became Hoosen's exclusive nurse. For five long months and more, this loving father never left the side of Hoosen's bed. It was a privilege to me to make a pilgrimage to Mr. Dawad's house to see the young patient whenever I was in Durban and it was a treat to see how Mr. Dawad nursed the son and how the latter relied entirely upon his nursing and no other. Dr. MacKenzie, assisted by Dr. Adams, treated him. But Hoosen never left the bed that he occupied on his return from Turkey.

The funeral procession was enormous. Thousands followed the hearse. Hindus from all provinces of India vied with the Mahomedans in paying their respects to the memory of this good youth. Colonial-born Indians mustered in strong force to pay their respects to the memory of one who, like themselves, was born in South Africa. Special trams emptied themselves at Congella, during practically the whole of the Tuesday on which the funeral took place. All Indian shops in Durban were closed for two hours and so was the Indian Market, by consent of the Corporation. No Indian has ever received the spontaneous tribute to his memory that this young man of brilliant promise received. His death made us all forget, for the moment, that we were Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees or Christians. He, even in his death, makes us realize that we are sons of India after all—we are kith and kin, owning the same mother. I have loved to linger on Mr. Hoosen's character. I knew him as few did. And it has not been my good fortune to meet many young men—aye, even old men—with a spotless character that Hoosen possessed. To me Hoosen is not dead. He lives in his character. May this humble tribute be accepted by Indian youths throughout South Africa in the spirit in which it has been offered, and may we all copy the example set to us by Mr. Hajee Hoosen Dawad Mahomed.

Indian Opinion, 1-10-1913

220. *THE MARRIAGE QUESTION*

The struggle, this time, involves so many matters of highest importance that it is well to devote particular attention to each. We dwelt, last week, on the £3 tax question. This week we propose to examine the marriage question which, in so far as it has drawn our women into the struggle, is of even greater importance than that of the annual exaction from ex-indentured men, women and children.

The marriage difficulty dates from the Searle judgment. It is, therefore, necessary to understand the position that existed before that now historic judgment. Little did Justice Searle know what effect his judgment was likely to produce among the Indians of this sub-continent.

Before the judgment, Indian wives were recognized as lawful married wives of their husbands. The masters of the Supreme Courts of the different Provinces recognized the claims of such wives and their issue in intestate estates. Never did an Indian have cause to suspect that the legality of marriage might be questioned by the Courts of South Africa on the ground of the want of its Christian character or the want of registration in South Africa. But the Union Government, in pursuance of their policy of greater repression of the Asiatic than before and not being satisfied with their attack on the male members of the community, wanted to extend their hostile operations to our womenfolk. Some zealous law officer discovered that it was possible to prevent the entry of wives of domiciled Indians by declaring their marriage to be illegal in terms of the South African law. They, therefore, challenged the entry of such a woman at the Cape, and Justice Searle was called upon to decide the issue now raised for the first time by the Government. The learned Judge pronounced marriages performed according to the rites of a religion that allows polygamy to be illegal, and, as the person, claiming before him to be the wife of a domiciled Indian, was a Mahomedan, her marriage could not be recognized by the Courts of the Union. This ruling was followed by the Master of the Natal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court. The Master rejected the claim of the only wife of a

deceased Indian for exemption from succession duty by reason of her marriage not being in accordance with the laws of the Union. The doctrine was carried to its furthest limit by Justice Gardiner when he declined to recognize the marriage of an Indian wife when she claimed exemption from liability to give evidence against her husband in a trial against him upon a charge of murder. Thus, suddenly, non-Christian Indians found that, in South Africa, their wives occupied merely the position of concubines and their children were considered illegitimate. The reader must remember that, not only does this discovery of their awful position hurt the susceptibilities of a proud race, but it also effectually prevents the entry of almost every Indian wife and every Indian child. If the Government had dared to follow out the consequences of the Searle judgment which they deliberately invited, not an Indian wife or her children could have entered the country. That would have been an injustice which even the humanity of the Europeans of South Africa would not have tolerated. Therefore, after having us at their mercy, the Government were graciously pleased to declare that the judgment would not interfere with the practice of the administration to admit the wife of a domiciled Asiatic so long she was the only wife of his in South Africa. This so-called forbearance, it must be remembered, would not have saved the wives and children thus admitted on sufferance from the other consequences already adverted to of the Searle judgment. Indians were not to be satisfied with exchanging the legal status of their wives for a position of total uncertainty in law, notwithstanding their admission. They were not prepared to put up with the implied slur on their womenfolk. The Government, therefore, reluctantly, in a most niggardly spirit, and in instalments, accepted, first Mr. Alexander's and then Senator Schreiner's amendments to the Immigration Bill that was under consideration by the Union Parliament. But the amendments, being hastily drawn, gave (if they did at all) partial relief only. For they legalized Indian monogamous marriages celebrated *outside* South Africa, no matter under what religious rites they were solemnized. These amendments, therefore, left undefined the status of women married or to be married in South Africa. Indians now contend that Indian marriages celebrated in South Africa should be placed upon the same footing as those celebrated in India. And this, as

has been¹ pointed out to the Government, can be done with but a slight alteration in the Immigration Act or by an amendment of the marriage laws of the Union.

We have used the expression “if they did at all” with reference to the relief granted by the amendments. This qualification has become necessary owing to the attitude of the Government in the case of Kulsumbibí now pending before the Supreme Court. The Immigration Officer at Durban, no doubt upon instructions from the Government, has raised the question whether a marriage celebrated under the rites of a religion which permits polygamy can be called monogamous, although the woman so married may be the only wife of her husband. This issue the Government need not have raised. But they evidently intend to show that the amendments made were not made in good faith. They were made ostensibly to meet the Indian demand for legalization² of Indian marriages. Mr. Alexander’s amendments fell short of that. Mr. Schreiner’s was, therefore, accepted. The Government knew that the most popular religions of India, viz., Hinduism and Islam, did not prohibit polygamy. If, therefore, they accepted the amendment with the mental reservation that the adjective “monogamous” would by law still exclude the women married according to the rites of these two great religions, they certainly misled Parliament and the Indian community. We think that the Supreme Court will reject the Government interpretation, but, should its decision be otherwise, it certainly will be necessary to alter the Immigration Act in order to clothe all Indian marriages with legality. Even at this eleventh hour, the Government could withdraw the case and not challenge a decision.

Then, there remained the question of the admission of plural wives as distinguished from their legal status after admission. The practice has been always to admit such wives of domiciled Indians. In the Transvaal such unions are even noted on the registration certificates. The first shock of disturbance in this practice was felt in 1911 by a decision of Justice Wessels,³ which, too, was invited by the

¹ The original has “even”.

² The original has “legislation”.

³ *Vide* “Indian Wives”, 8-7-1911 & “Johannesburg”, 8-7-1911.

Government. As a result of the decision, the British Indian Association carried on correspondence with the Government and an assurance was given by them that all cases of hardship would be considered by them. This correspondence seemed to settle the question, for the Indian demand as to plural wives is not for legal recognition but for admission into the Union of the existing plural wives of domiciled Indians. But the disposition of the Government seems to be now to recede from the assurance contained in their communication. We shall reproduce this correspondence in our next issue so that the reader may judge for himself whether the correspondence can bear any other interpretation than that put upon it by the community.

To sum up, then, the demands of the community are simple and three-fold:

(1) Legalization of monogamous marriages already celebrated and to be celebrated in South Africa; (2) The term “monogamous” to include marriages celebrated according to the rites of religions that may not prohibit polygamy, so long as the woman whose union is to be recognized is the only wife of her husband; (3) the admission of existing plural wives of domiciled Indians without granting such wives a legal status apart from full residential rights.

Indian Opinion, 1-10-1913

221. THE MARRIAGE QUESTION

Just as we considered last week the obnoxious £3 tax, we must now consider the marriage question. Not one, but many important issues, unrelated to one another, are involved in this struggle. The community must have a clear understanding of all these issues. The marriage question itself has three aspects.

First, that marriages celebrated according to Hindu, Muslim or Parsi religious rites are not recognized as legally valid. Before the Searle judgment, there simply was no problem about Indian marriages. All marriages were recognized in courts. But the Searle judgment changed all that. The Government acted deliberately in seeking that verdict. After the formation of the Union, there came to be greater strictness than before. The desire entered the Government's mind to root out Indians from South Africa, by the means what they might. Till now the Government did not lay hands on women. But now it has cast its evil eyes on them. The Government seems to have had the wicked idea that, by preventing the entry of women, their children can also be stopped. Its officers, accordingly, looked up the various laws and found that it might be possible to hold that Indian marriages were not valid according to the laws of this country and that, if this was proved right, the Government's object would more or less be fulfilled. And so the Government challenged the right of one woman, and the case went up to Mr. Justice Searle. He held that a marriage solemnized under a religion which permitted polygamy, even if it was in fact monogamous, could not be recognized in South African law. Following upon this judgment, the Master of a Natal Court decided that a widow and her children could not be exempted from payment of succession duty after the decease of her husband if her marriage with the deceased husband had been celebrated otherwise than under Christian rites.¹ In Ladysmith, again, Mr. Justice Gardiner ruled that a woman so married could not claim the privilege of exemption from giving evidence against her husband.² The result

¹ *Vide* also "Janubie Case", 12-4-1913.

² Kulsumbibí's case

of these three decisions is that Indian women and their children cannot come to this country. The women who are already here become mere concubines and their children will not be accepted as the legal heirs of their parents. Having established this as the legal position, the Government declared, in its graciousness, that despite the new law it will permit one wife to come in with every individual. This only means that the women will be granted right of domicile but that they will be looked upon as concubines. Consequently, neither they nor their heirs will have any rights in a court. Indians cannot accept such a position. Strong letters [of protest] were addressed to the Government. It introduced in the new Bill amendments suggested by Mr. Alexander, and later by Mr. Schreiner. But it did so rather unwillingly, without applying its mind to them, and only because it was left with no choice in the matter; the amendments, therefore, remained defective, and the result was that the validity of marriages celebrated in India was recognized, but not that of marriages which have been or which may be celebrated in this country under our religions. Hence, we have asked the Government to treat marriages celebrated in South Africa, or those that may be celebrated in future, on the same footing as marriages celebrated in India. We have also pointed out how this may be effected.

The second point is that the amendment made in the Bill has the effect of recognizing the validity of monogamous marriages. In Kulsumbi's case, the Government purposely raised the objection that the new law does not recognize a marriage solemnized under a religion which permits polygamy. If this interpretation is correct, the difficulty created by the Searle judgment has not been removed and the Government can be accused of a bit of sharp practice. It knew well enough that our demand related to marriages solemnized under the Hindu and Muslim faiths. If it was the Government's intention not to recognize such marriages, it has deceived us, and also deceived the Parliament, the Imperial Government and the Indian Government. Kulsumbi's case was not brought up by us. It was the Government that did so. The decision is not likely to be what the Government wants it to be. But in case it is, the Government will have to hide its face in shame and amend the law again so as to include within its scope marriages celebrated under our faiths.

The third point refers to cases of polygamy. The issue was raised in 1911. If an Indian had more than one wife, all the wives were [previously] allowed to come in. But the Government brought up the issue and Mr. Justice Wessels ruled that under the law here only one wife could come in. Mr. Cachalia thereupon addressed a letter to the Government and the latter replied that it would consider such cases. We acquiesced in the position. We did not ask for recognition of polygamous marriages but for permission for all one's wives to enter this country. The Government now says that its letter of 1911 is not to be interpreted as we have done. We are, however, convinced that it can bear no other interpretation.

We have thus made three demands of the Government. One, that marriages celebrated in this country, and those to be celebrated in future, according to our religious rites should be recognized as valid. Two, that the term "monogamous" marriage should include a marriage celebrated according to our religions. Three, that in case an Indian is already married to more than one woman, all his wives should be permitted to come in.

We will not sit down for a moment's rest till the Government concedes these demands. Since women have been attacked, they too have had to join the struggle. In so far as this marriage question involves an insult to our religions and an attack upon our national honour, it is far more serious than that of the obnoxious tax. A nation that cannot protect its women's honour and the interests of its children does not deserve to be called by that name. Such people are not a nation but mere brutes. Even animals use their horns to defend their young ones. Will men, then, if they are men, hang back, clinging to their wretched finery and their pleasures?

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-10-1913

222. CRIPPLED WITHOUT WEAPONS

Much has been written by correspondents in the columns of this paper about the Indians not getting licences for weapons. We sympathize with them. Our view, of course, is that a man does not need any weapons. But this rule can apply only to those who have no interest in wealth. Those who carry on business and wish to protect themselves from attack need weapons, no doubt. But it is also certain that writing letters to newspapers will bring no redress. Something may be done if leaders exert themselves hard enough. Meanwhile, we suggest to our correspondents that they should send us all the letters that were exchanged between them and the Government. Names of places where robberies have occurred with positive evidence, the strength of population in the neighbourhood, —if all this information is supplied to us in clear handwriting, we are ready to take suitable steps. The time, we feel, is also very opportune. In the present satyagraha campaign, we can take up many new issues whenever we think it right. If prompt steps are taken, there will be no difficulty in securing arms.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-10-1913

223. *HAI HUSSAIN DAWAD MAHOMED*

It is with full deliberation that I say that the untimely death of Bhai Hussain has widowed the Indian community here. People may wonder whether it is not something of an exaggeration to say that a young man of 22, of whom most Indians had not even heard, whom not many had seen, who never made any big speeches and never sought to teach wisdom to people, has widowed the people by his death, but my answer will still be the same. The character which Bhai Hussain possessed I have seen in few youths or grown-up men. In South Africa, I can think of no grown-up man who can equal him, and I doubt if there is any among the many youths whom I know. If there is anyone who can surpass him, such a one is not known to me. Bhai Hussain had based his way of life on truth. He lived for truth. Bhai Hussain detested lying, deceit, cunning and hypocrisy. He felt extremely uncomfortable in the presence of deceit. Whenever he saw people lying, his head would ache and he felt like flying away from there, if only he had wings. The lies that go on in ordinary company were so disgusting to this youth that, many a time, he felt disinclined to stay on in Durban. Whenever he heard and believed that a man was good, he was all admiration for him. So guileless was he. His heart was meek like a cow's. I never observed the slightest taint of sin in him. His innocence and his frankness were all his own. A budding rose has withered. But its fragrance remains. We can still enjoy deep draughts of it. He has left that fragrance with everyone who came in contact with him. Evil company had no effect on him. Once Mr. Dawad Mahomed wrote to Hussain, "My son, guard yourself against the temptations of life in England. Beware of evil company." I remember what Mr. Hussain wrote back in reply: "Father, you do not know your son. Evil company cannot taint Hussain. Your son is not likely to succumb to the temptations in England." That was the gist of his reply. It takes a Hussain to write with such assurance. He was a *parasmani*¹. Base metal—like iron—

¹ A precious jewel, famed to have the virtue of transmuting base metals into gold.

would turn into gold in contact with it. I request the readers not to think that I have exaggerated anything in what I have said. Along with these other virtues, the fire of patriotism always kept burning in his heart. Having never seen India, he had drawn a picture of her in his dreams. This youth was prepared to die for India and Indians. How Indians may prosper, how the sons of India may shine out was his constant concern. I believe he was a zealous Muslim, but he had not the slightest hatred of other religions. To him all Indians, Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsees, were the same. That they should be good was all that he wanted. Indians, for the simple reason that they were Indians, were like brothers to him. Who can think it an exaggeration to say that we have been widowed by the passing away of one so richly endowed?

Though Bhai Hussain was born in the house of a merchant prince like Mr. Dawad Mahomed, he had a distaste for business right from his childhood. A desire for education came upon him. His father put him under my charge in Phoenix. Forthwith, all the inmates of Phoenix fell in love with him. With his guileless nature, he soon spread the aroma of his presence all around. He became entirely one with my family, and I felt I had gained a fifth son. After he had stayed for a few months, he wrote to me: "I like Phoenix. I wish to spend my life here. But just now I wish to go to England. I have satisfied you that I am not likely to get corrupted there. It is my desire not to. Kindly give me your permission and secure my father's permission." He was not content with Phoenix. He desired to acquire a good education in letters. He wanted to utilize his gift for poetry. He copied the poem "A garden in spring, this world" and sent it to me. He had taught it to everyone in Phoenix. In copying the last verse, he changed, "Let Nazir¹ remember this" to "Let Hussain remember this". I asked him why. He told me that though the poem was not his, the thoughts it expressed were his too. His desire was to be a Nazir. The boy then went to England. He wanted to be a barrister. I did not fancy the idea. I reasoned with him. He told me, "That may be so for you, but not for me. For myself, let me be a barrister."

¹ Nazir Akbarabadi (1735-1830); Urdu poet and saint who showed catholicity and breadth of mind in his choice and handling of religious themes.

“What will you do after that, my friend?” “You will see.” “Do you want to practise and earn money?” His vehement answer “Certainly not, Sir”, still rings in my ears. “My only desire is to serve my country. Having made myself a lawyer and a well-informed man, I will stay in Phoenix and share the sufferings of my fellow-countrymen.” Dawad Sheth sent Bhai Hussain to England. The moment he reached there, he started work on his studies. He worked on and on. There’s a beautiful ground near London, where he would go and sit all alone and fall into a reverie. This is a state similar to *samadhi*¹. He would be engrossed in his favourite poems. He often showed me the poems he wrote sitting there. One or two of these I showed to persons² who were good judges of English poetry, and they told me that Hussain, indeed, showed promise of developing a gift for poetry. In a place like England, he preferred solitude. I do not remember that he ever fell a prey to a single one of the innumerable temptations in England.

But fell Time was stalking Bhai Hussain. Just when I was in England, he manifested symptoms of tuberculosis. I was alarmed. He was sent for a change of air. The best doctors there and a doctor in Paris too were consulted. But the disease had gone deep. Periods of progress were followed by relapses. Hussain’s lustre began to fade. His spirit was gone. He felt miserable. The hope for life was strong in him. Not, however, for the sake of pleasures. He wanted to live on only because he wanted to serve the country. He returned to South Africa. There were again signs of improvement. He toured in India, as on a pilgrimage. Writing from there, he said, “I have not come to see the places in India. I am looking into India’s heart, which I came to see.” Then he went on to holy Mecca. There he poured out his pure heart to God. The pilgrimage had a deep effect on his mind. In a letter that he wrote from there, he said, ‘How great must be the power of the Prophet for whose sake millions of people every year gather in this holy place? Who can doubt his being a Prophet? I feel extremely happy at heart that I came here.’ There, the Bulgarian war was on. Bhai Hussain soon became the adviser, guide and friend of his father

¹ Yogic trance

² This was some time in July-November 1909, when Gandhiji was in England on a deputation,

and other companions. He won the hearts of the big officers there and created a fine impression about India and Indian Muslims. What must have made the people adore this child? I will say that it was the light of his truthfulness. The father and son then separated. Dawad Sheth returned to Durban. Bhai Hussain, however, wanted to complete his education in England. But God had willed otherwise. Suddenly Bhai Hussain started spitting blood. His health went down badly. Dawad Sheth received a cable. He resigned himself to his fate. He knew that Hussain would not come back unless he was seriously ill. That relapse proved to be the last. In Durban he was put to bed, where he remained, never to leave it. He was treated by the best of doctors. The father turned into a nurse. I have seen very few fathers attending on their sons as this one did. Hussain was to Dawad Sheth as the very pupil of his eye. He watched him day and night. Never did he leave his side even for an hour. But human effort is unavailing before fate. Fate always walks two paces ahead,¹ and strides on so fast, that one can never overtake it.

Whenever I went to Durban, Congella became a place of pilgrimage to me. Once I saw tears in Hussain's eyes. I asked: "Is death so difficult to face, brother?" With a smile, Hussain replied, "I am not afraid of death." Then, crying, "But I have as yet done nothing whatever, I want ever so much to serve the country." I tried to console him, saying, "Bhai, you have done much indeed for the country. If India was to produce young men like you, her condition would change for the better this very day. Even if you die, to me you will always be alive. The body will perish, it has ceased to be of service. But the soul is immortal. Personally, I believe that you will come to possess a more splendid body and will be able to render better service to India." But this was no consolation to him. He could be sure, so to speak, of that alone which was already in his hand. He wanted to achieve more in this very life. Had he yet done anything to show the miraculous power of truth in him? How much could he do now? Hussain's funeral was attended as no other funeral in South Africa has ever been. In an instant, there were thousands of Indians on the spot. Muslims, Hindus, Christians, all attended in large numbers.

¹ A Gujarati saying for: "Who can control his fate?"

No one had gone to persuade them. They went of their own accord on hearing of the death. Hussain proved in the hour of his death that the children of India, Hindus, Muslims and Christians, are all one people. On Tuesday, there were no distinctions. People big and small, Madrasis, Bombayites, Colonial-born Indians, all turned up to pay homage to the memory of a jewel of an Indian. Special trams emptied themselves in front of Mr. Dawad's bungalow. Indian shops remained closed for two hours, and the Indian Market, too, with the permission of the Corporation.

Thus, Bhai Hussain, following truth, showed the invincible power of truth in this cruel Iron Age. Hussain Mian is not dead; he will live in the fragrance of his character. My pen will never tire of writing praises of Hussain's virtues. Numerous examples of his purity keep haunting my mind. I hope the readers will understand my purpose in this article. Let everyone be an Indian of the same stamp as Hussain. Let us all, young and old, emulate Bhai Hussain's conduct, no matter whether we are Hindus or Muslims. If we cherish his memory and follow in his footsteps, we shall cease to make distinctions among us. Let us hold on to truth and dedicate our all to the country's cause. Though Bhai Hussain was on his death-bed, when Rustomjee Sheth went to visit him before starting again on the 16th on a pilgrimage to gaol, he said, "Yes, uncle, you are going. If I could leave this bed, I too would go to gaol with you. How happy I would be to die in gaol for the sake of the country!" May India beget thousands of Hussains!

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-10-1913

224. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

*Thursday night [October 2, 1913]*¹

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I certainly did not like to part with you. But the parting was inevitable. Remember the resolutions of the Yom Kippur day². You must constantly check yourself.

Did you feel any the worse for the turning of the wheel?

You will see to Chaplin, Hosken, the London *Times* letter. You should keep in touch with the reporters. Ask Cachalia to see you daily and inquire when he is going to jail. P.K. Naidoo and others may cross to the Cape border at Fourteen Streams. Will you open correspondence with Merriman, Schreiner and others? I should even send them a copy of the London *Times* letter and ask for their authority to sign. But of course I am just now suggesting your writing about the Committee. Please tell Manilal if he is free that I did not write as I expected him to be in gaol regarding the Asiatic Act charge.

My interview with Dada Osman was a study. But otherwise it was not of any use.

Hope you had a fairly comfortable journey.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

¹ From the reference to the addressee's departure; vide "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 2-10-1913.

² Day of Atonement among Jews

225. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

THE TENTS,
“MOUNTAIN VIEW”,
P. O. BOX 2493,
JOHANNESBURG,
Aso Sud 3 [October 2, 1913]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

If you receive any report or news about the Johannesburg school, do not print it. Habib Motan must be kept out. When the English matter is in excess, the advertisements, etc., on the last page should be omitted and the number of pages for English should be increased to seven.

It appears from the telegram in yesterday's *Star* that the women too had gone on fast. [They] are having a good taste of suffering.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Thursday Morning

I have your letter. Twelve women have left today¹ for Maritzburg to court arrest. They are accompanied by Mr. Kallenbach. Two others² have been arrested today for hawking. The letter from Jamnadas is full of despair. Orders have been issued for the restoration of the sacred thread and shirt³ and the suspension of vaccination.

I propose to wire Jamnadas asking him to come alone. I shall send the telegram⁴ today or tomorrow. I have sent some material. Some of it is of a kind that may be used whenever needed.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5901

¹ October 2

² Rajoo and Willie Murgan

³ Parsee Rustomjee was deprived of his Zoroastrian sacred shirt and thread in Maritzburg Gaol. *Vide* also “Letter to Maganlal Gandhi”, 5-10-1913.

⁴ This is not available.

226. *LETTER TO OLIVE DOKE*

JOHANNESBURG,
October 3, 1913

MY DEAR OLIVE¹,

Miss Schlesin was the first to remind me yesterday that it was the day on which one year more was written off against me. Yours is the second reminder. Many thanks for the trouble you take to think of my birthday.

Please remember me to mother and tell her that the fact that I have not come to see her does not mean that the family is absent from my thoughts. Indeed just now there are special reasons for recalling father's memory and with that for thinking of you all. But mother knows that I am not formal. Whenever I am wanted there or I can do anything, you can all command me.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5698 Courtesy: C. M. Doke

¹ Daughter of Rev. J. J. Doke

227. RESOLUTION AT PATIDAR ASSOCIATION MEETING¹

JOHANNESBURG,

October 5, 1913

This meeting of the Patidar Association resolves that, in its opinion, *The Transvaal Leader* report, to the effect that the mercantile section of the Indian community is against passive resistance and that only some of the poorest in the community are likely to take part in the struggle is unjust and false; the meeting is heart and soul with the movement, approves of Mr. Cachalia's letter to the Government, and will undertake to support the movement with men and money, and requests the Government to end the sufferings of those already incarcerated by conceding the just demands of the community.

Indian Opinion, 15-10-1913

¹ The meeting was addressed by Gandhiji at some length and, thereafter, a number of Indians announced their intention to go to gaol immediately. No report of Gandhiji's speech, however, is available. The resolution adopted at the meeting was presumably drafted by Gandhiji.

228. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[JOHANNESBURG,]

*Sunday [October 5, 1913]*¹

CHI. MAGANLAL,

This is rather excessive matter which I am sending today. But all of it has got to be printed. Today's meeting was excellent. Acknowledge receipt of £22-7-6 only in the Satyagraha Fund. Say "From Patidar Mandal (Johannesburg)".² All the names must be included in the report³. I have promised that they will be. It seems now that the Jaffar from whom we had a telegram is none else but Gajjar; for the latter has again sent a tele-gram here. About your zeal, all I can say is that you should be mindful of your health. I also feel that the report about Rustomjee Sheth having been deprived of his sacred thread, etc., must be taken from there.

Sodha's batch will honour its pledge.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 4365

¹ The meeting of the United Patidar Society, to which the letter refers, was held on October 5; *vide* the preceding item.

² This was acknowledged in *Indian Opinion*, 15-10-1913.

³ This was published in *Indian Opinion*, 8-10-1913.

229. IMPORTANCE OF VOWS

If we resolve to do a thing, and are ready even to sacrifice our lives in the process? we are said to have taken a vow. It is essential for every person to train himself to keep such vows; one can strengthen one's power of will by doing so and fit oneself for greater tasks. One may take easy and simple vows to start with and follow them with more difficult ones. It seems the negroes of the Congo have taken such a [simple] vow. For the past three years, the whites have been trying hard to get the negroes over there to extract rubber, but they answer that their forefathers had pledged themselves not to do so. They are, therefore, unable to go against their plighted word. We shall find several examples in history of men undergoing great suffering for the sake of a pledge. To embrace satyagraha amounts to taking a great vow. Having taken it, one must die rather than forsake it. Such is the profound import of satyagraha, and it is for this reason that satyagraha may be said to know no defeat.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-10-1913

230. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS¹

[JOHANNESBURG,]

October 9, 1913

[SIR,]

Messrs Medh and other British Indian passive resisters, who last week served a term of imprisonment at the Fort of Johannesburg, complained that Dr. Visser was unnecessarily and wantonly rude and insulting to them. They were asked to strip themselves entirely bare in the presence of other prisoners, for medical examination. They respectfully submitted to the doctor that it was contrary to their moral scruples and to their notions of decency, and they added that they were prepared to submit to the examination in a separate cell. Dr. Visser grew angry over this request and used most insulting language. The exact expression used by him was "the . . . coolies". He also charged them with disobedience, but my Committee is informed that the charge was never pursued, and that, upon their complaining to the Superintendent of the gaol, they were privately examined. My Committee hopes that an inquiry will be instituted into this complaint, and necessary steps will be taken to prevent officers using language alleged to have been used by Dr. Visser, even though it be towards prisoners.

The discharged passive resisters also complained that there was no ghee or any vegetable fat supplied with their meals, as used to be the case before. Their meals, my Committee understands, consist of rice, mealie meal, vegetables, and a little bread. My Committee showed, it is submitted, during the last campaign of passive resistance, that ghee or some vegetable fat was absolutely necessary for maintenance of the human frame in fair order.² My Committee understands

¹ This was published along with a letter to the Press dated October 7, signed by Surendra B. Medh, Pragji K. Desai and Manilal M. Gandhi, requesting the Editor to write in protest against the brutal treatment to which they had been subjected.

² *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", 29-4-1911; "Petition to Secretary of State for Colonies", 1-5-1911 and "Memorial to Secretary of State for Colonies", 15-5-1911.

that animal fat for one of the meals still forms part of the diet given to the Native prisoners. It is therefore respectfully requested that instructions will be issued to supply one ounce of ghee per day, as was the case formerly with British Indian prisoners, who are precluded from taking meat or animal fat.

Yours, etc.,

Indian Opinion, 22-10-1913

231. AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT

The situation today in regard to the Indian passive resistance movement is explained in the following statement which has been officially communicated to Reuter's Agency, and the Press. The demands of the Indian community are:

(1) The removal of the annual tax of £3, which ex-indentured Indians—men, women, and children—are liable to pay as the price of their remaining free from re-indenture in Natal. (2) (a) An amendment of the marriage law of the Union, so as to recognize the legality of monogamous Indian marriages celebrated, whether in India or South Africa, according to the rites prescribed by the Hindu and Mahomedan religions. Although both of these religions countenance polygamy, statistics show that only 1 per cent of Indian marriages are polygamous.

(b) Administrative admission of existing plural wives (not more than 100 in all) and their children, of Indians already domiciled. This was the position at the time of the inauguration of Union. Legal recognition of polygamy is not asked for.

(3) Restoration of the right of South Africa-born Indians to enter the Cape Province, a right that they possessed at the time of the introduction of the Immigration Bill, and its retention may in practice mean the admission of hardly more than a dozen Indians annually to the Cape from Natal and the Transvaal.

(4) The Government say that there is no racial bar in the

Immigration Act. Therefore, an admission from them is necessary that no declaration will in law be required from an Indian at the Free State border that will not be equally necessary from a European. In practice, this does not mean that any Indian will necessarily enter the Free State, but, if he does, he will still remain liable to the prohibition to own land, to farm and to trade.

(5) A declaration that existing laws, such as the Transvaal Gold Law and Townships Act, the Licensing Laws of the Cape and Natal, and the Immigration Act, shall be administered in a liberal spirit, and with due regard to vested rights. The policy of the Government is, for example, to prevent Indians with *bona-fide* proof of previous residence from re-entering their respective Provinces, if they have been absent for a long period. This situation is intolerable.

The first point was the subject of a definite promise to the Hon. Mr. Gokhale. The others arise out of the provisional settlement of 1911.

WHAT INDIANS DO NOT WANT

Indians do not fight for equal political rights. They recognize that, in view of the existing prejudice, fresh immigration from India should be strictly limited, provision being made for the entrance of a sufficient number annually for reasonable wear and tear.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE

As no relief could be obtained by prayers, petitions, or negotiations, Indians started passive resistance on September 15 by 12 men and four women setting out from Natal to court imprisonment at Volksrust.

The movement is spreading. There are already in gaol 35 passive resisters—a larger number than when the two previous campaigns started or when the provisional settlement of 1911 resulted in a suspension of passive resistance. Numbers of men and women are coming forward daily to seek arrest. Several of the women have taken their babies with them, as they have not yet been weaned or are incapable of being looked after otherwise. Arrest is courted by crossing the border or by hawking without licences or by refusing to

show licences or permits, or by breaking other civil laws which do not involve a breach of the moral law. The Free State border is left untouched, as there is no desire to inflame public opinion so far as it can be avoided, and there is every desire to show that Indians wish to respect the Free State prejudice. The movement will also consist in advising indentured Indians to suspend work until the £3 tax is removed. The indentured Indians will not be invited to join the general struggle. On the strength of the promise made to Mr. Gokhale, and which promise was brought to the notice of the House of Lords by Lord Amptill, these men were assured by Indian leaders, at meetings of thousands, that the tax would be repealed during the last session of Parliament. Meetings in support of the claims of the passive resisters have been held at Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Woodstock, Durban, Maritzburg, Tongaat, Verulam, and Johannesburg (representing all the principal towns in the Transvaal), and similar meetings are being held at other centres.

THE WAY TO GRANT RELIEF

If the Government wish to grant relief, fresh legislation will be necessary only on the marriage and the £3 tax questions. All other points are capable of easy adjustment without legislation. The marriage difficulty can be solved by a brief amendment of the Immigration Act without in any way interfering with the general marriage law of the Union.

Indian Opinion, 15-10-1913

232. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

[DURBAN,]

Aso Vad 2 [October 17, 1913]¹

CHI. HARILAL,

It hurts me to have no letters from you. Your lethargy in this matter makes you doubly guilty. The first guilt is that you neglect the duty which you owe to your father, and the second that you break your promise to me that you would write regularly. There have been three mails [from India] and no letter from you. Mr. Sorabji² and Ratanshi³ left after you did, but I have had more letters from them than from you. Chanchi writes more often than you do. Ba, too, is unhappy because there are no letters from you.

Both of you may come over here and get arrested. Chanchi may come while the fight is on only if she has the courage to go to gaol. I have already written to you to say that you should not wait for the examination. If you yourself wish otherwise, I do not want to come in your way. Ask for money from Doctor Saheb⁴. It is likely that I shall be in gaol when you arrive. I think I shall succeed in getting myself arrested somehow or other.⁵ I have been making efforts to this end. If, before this letter reaches you, you hear that there has been a settlement, there will be no need for you to come over.

I want you to be fit and at peace with yourself.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 9537

¹ From the reference to gaol-going in the letter, it appears to have been written in 1913.

² Sorabji Shapurji Adajania.

³ Sodha.

⁴ Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

⁵ Gandhiji was arrested on November 7.

233. INTERVIEW TO “EVENING CHRONICLE”

[JOHANNESBURG,

After *October 17, 1913*]

Interviewed by the *Evening Chronicle* (Johannesburg) on Mr. Fischer's recent statement,¹ Mr. Gandhi said that during the last session of Parliament, all the time the Hon. A. Fischer said he would grant nothing, so long as there was talk of passive resistance, he continued to grant. He even withdrew his own threat of removing the slight amendment in the marriage clause, if Indians did not withdraw their demand for a better amendment. In spite of that threat in the Senate, Mr. Fischer accepted the very amendment that was suggested by the Indians, so that he could not help saying that Mr. Fischer was not to be taken seriously.

Indian Opinion, 29-10-1913

¹ In an interview to Reuter's Agency in London on October 17, Fischer had said: "My own department deals with the Indians, and it is impossible to alter the law on any material point. Indeed the spirit in South Africa is to make the law more strict. The Government will be content to let the law stand. To meet the views of the Indians we will make administrative arrangements where we can, but the popular sentiment and needs of South Africa must be considered. Therefore the Indians in their own interest must be cautious and moderate. If the Indians abandon theoretical questions and adopt a practical standpoint, then a *modus vivendi* is possible"

234. *KULSUMBIBI'S CASE*

A move is afoot in Durban to take this case to the Appeal Court. A bioscope show was also arranged to collect money for the purpose. There is no harm in taking the case to a higher court, but the community need not imagine that this is bound to bring some gain. The case might just as well go against us as in our favour. Even if the result should be so happy, it should be remembered that, where a marriage is solemnized in South Africa, the wife will continue to be treated as a concubine. Hence those who know what the struggle means must not become lukewarm. The fight must be carried on in right earnest. We see on all sides that everyone concedes our demands to be reasonable, the latest instance being that of Mr. Orr, a member of Parliament, who said in a speech in Maritzburg that the £3 tax must be repealed and that we must get full justice on the marriage question. Whatever the interpretation of the court, [he said] it was clearly understood by Parliament that a man with only one wife would have no difficulty in bringing her in.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 22-10-1913

235. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

JOHANNESBURG,
*October 22, 1913*¹

GOKHALE
POONA

NEARLY HUNDRED [IN] GAOL. NEARLY TWO THOUSAND
LABOURERS FAMILIES INDENTURED AND FREE IN NATAL
COLLIERIES ON STRIKE. STRIKERS WILL RESUME WORK
WHEN GOVERNMENT PROMISES REPEAL THREE POUND
TAX. THEY NOT INVITED JOIN GENERAL STRUGGLE.
NEARLY HUNDRED INCLUDING SOME BRAVEST WOMEN
DESPERATELY COURTING ARREST. STRIKE DUE LARGELY
THEIR INFLUENCE. THEY NOT HAVING BEEN ARRESTED
CROSSING BORDER HAVE BEEN MOVING AMONG LABOURERS
QUIETLY INFORMING THEM POSITION. NO FORCE OR
RETALIATION USED DESPITE PROVOCATION OFTEN AMOUNT-
ING ASSAULT. STRIKE LIKELY SPREAD OTHER COLLIERIES.
EUROPEAN OPINION INCREASINGLY FAVOURS REPEAL TAX.
UNIONIST PARTY LIKELY PASS OFFICIAL RESOLUTION THAT
EFFECT MOVEMENT SPREADING. POLAK [IN] NEWCASTLE.
HE WILL BE [IN] DURBAN THURSDAY.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: C. W. 4845

¹ It appears this cable was drafted on October 21, but actually sent the next day; *vide* the following item.

236. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

JOHANNESBURG,
October 22, 1913

GOKHALE

POONA

ELEVEN WOMEN¹ WITH SIX BABIES REFERRED TO [IN] YESTER-
DAY'S CABLE² SENTENCED THREE MONTHS HARD LABOUR AS
VAGRANTS WHILST SPEAKING STRIKERS NEWCASTLE.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: C. W. 4846

237. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Wednesday night [October 22, 1913]³

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I am sorry that I was impatient with you regarding Baker and the walk to Chaplin's. Baker's business simply shakes me. I feel it deeply that one whom [I] so love has such a base commercial side to his character. And how could I put on speed when I hardly walk? It was torture to be told to walk fast in my present physical state.

I am surrounded by men. I have recess as Mr. Lazarus is talking in Tamil to some men. Went to Dannhauser today. It was a grand meeting⁴. The strike⁵ is a real thing. It is now making itself felt. Had

¹ These were: Mrs. Bhavani Dayal, Mrs. Thambi Naidoo, Mrs. N. Pillay, Mrs. K. M. Pillay, Mrs. A. P. Naidoo, Mrs. P. K. Naidoo, Mrs. K. C. Pillay, Mrs. N. S. Pillay, Mrs. Ramalingam, Miss M. Pillay and Miss M. B. Pillay.

² *Vide* the preceding item.

³ From the reference to Manilal's arrest which took place on October 23, 1913, and also from the reference to Gandhiji's presence at Dannhauser on this day.

⁴ At which over a thousand Indians decided to strike work

⁵ In Natal collieries, vide "Cable to G. K. Gokhale", 22-10-1913 and "Telegram to the Press", 23-10-1913.

an interview (unofficial and private) with Deputy Protector. Nothing in it. Had a long discussion with some other Europeans too. We are not without sympathy. All the youngsters who went with me got arrested but Manilal. He will go in tomorrow.

The Press is undoubtedly boycotting us. You should ask Pollock why. You may see Micel-Dunn too. The reporters are powerless to help. I think the Editors have received a hint from the Government. If Cachalia came here it would be splendid. Try. You should try also to collect rice or cash. We shall now want it quickly. It might be cheaper for Johannesburg to give cash. But if they give rice, let them give rice and you may sell it. You should get circulars sent everywhere.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

238. INTERVIEW TO “RAND DAILY MAIL”

[JOHANNESBURG,
October 22, 1913]

In connection with the mass meeting of Indians held at Durban on Sunday¹, Mr. M. K. Gandhi told a *Mail* representative yesterday that the report published in a contemporary was only half the version and was incorrect. There certainly was a disturbance at the meeting, said Mr. Gandhi, and one *of* the secretaries, at the time of tendering his resignation, made a long statement consisting of an attack upon Mr. Gandhi and upon his work during the past 20 years which he characterised as being not only worthless but highly injurious to the Indian community. So much so that, in his opinion, Mr. Gandhi was instrumental in having enticed the Indian community into slavery.

[GANDHI:] Personally, I don't think that any but very few people at the meeting took him seriously, but I saw that there were elements of discord and that passions were rising on either side, and I felt that the best thing under the circumstances would be to have the meeting closed. I, therefore, suggested to the chairman that he should dissolve the meeting, which he promptly did. It was really an attempt to bring about a schism in the Indian community and was not on the question of passive resistance by any means, because I don't think there was any difference of opinion as to passive resistance. A great many side issues were brought forward having no bearing on the present trouble.

Upon the dissolution of this meeting, those who disapproved of the action of the secretary immediately formed themselves into a procession and a meeting was held at Mr. Rustonjee's premises and a new body was formed, with Mr. Dawad Mohamed as president and Mr. Omar Haji Amod Jhaveri as secretary, two of the most respected Mohammedans in the community. At this meeting a resolution was passed in support of the movement, and a collection was taken for defraying the expenses in connection with the fares, etc., of the passive resisters who accompanied me to court imprisonment. The utmost

¹ October 19

enthusiasm prevailed, and it was considered that the most reasonable and peaceful Indians would join this body. Personally, I feel that if this new Association is worked along strict passive resistance lines, then those who may be considered hostile to this body and even to the movement will ultimately throw in their lot with the body. That the movement has a strong hold in Natal is demonstrated by the fact that Natal has supplied the largest number of gaol-goers. There are at present nearly 100 Indians in the gaols at Maritzburg and Newcastle, and of these by far the largest number are from Natal and include all sections of the Indian community.

A strike, too, which promises to become very formidable, is going on in Natal. Up to now six collieries are affected and 2,000 Indians are on strike. I may say that, though I had hoped that the strike would come about, I had never expected that the response would be so spontaneous, sudden and large.

The ladies who tried to get arrested at Vereeniging, as the public knows, failed, and they have further crossed over into Natal, where they were left untouched. When they went into Natal, they were joined by eight men, none of whom was arrested on the Natal border. It was proposed that they should go to Newcastle and there place the position before the men serving on the collieries and ask them to strike work pending the promise of removal of the annual tax of £3 which ex-indentured Indians and their wives and children have to pay.

The presence of these brave women who had never suffered hardship and had never spoken at public meetings acted like electricity, and the men left their work.

The strike is being conducted on purely passive resistance lines, and the men have instructions on no account to use physical force, to retaliate or to defend themselves physically. I saw a man who was severely assaulted at Dannhauser yesterday, and the assault was cruel. He states that he had gone to fetch water and was assaulted by one of the compound managers. The man himself is able-bodied and well able to defend himself, but on account of the above order having been issued, he did not defend himself, and suffered the severe injury without a word. He is now being looked after in Newcastle, and he will certainly make a deposition in this by no means isolated case. We are

at present putting up with physical injury, insults and everything. The reason why we ask the men to strike is that by means of such demonstration we may bring about the repeal of the £3 tax. It was stated during the last session of Parliament that the majority of employers of labour in Natal were adverse to the removal of the tax. I feel that the only way in which such employers can be brought to see the humanity of removing it is for the men to strike work. The strikers will immediately resume work as soon as the Government see their way to make a promise that the tax will be repealed during the coming session of Parliament. If they make that promise, they will simply be fulfilling their obligation to Mr. Gokhale which, Lord Ampthill says, they incurred during the interview that took place between Mr. Gokhale and the ministers.

I may also add that the Government were not without notice that the strike was also on our programme. I addressed a letter¹ on the 28th September to that effect to the Government.²

Rand Daily Mail, 23-10-1913

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", 28-9-1913. The official assessment of the strike situation was summed up in a confidential despatch from the Governor-General to the Colonial Office, dated October 23, 1913; *vide* Appendix "Extract from Governor-General's Despatch to Colonial Office", 23-10-1913.

² The report concluded with the observation by *Rand Daily Mail*: ". . . the women mentioned above have been arrested at Newcastle and the strike is assuming larger proportions. It is no longer confined to the coal fields, but is extending to the sugar and tea plantations and to the railways in Natal."

239. TELEGRAM TO GENERAL BOTHA

[NEWCASTLE,
Before *October 23, 1913*]

WE HEAR YOU TOLD THE COLLIERIES' MANAGERS THAT THE INDIANS WERE ADVISED TO STRIKE FOR A GENERAL STRUGGLE, AND THAT THE STRIKERS WERE SIMPLY DECEIVED FOR SELFISH ENDS. I BEG TO STATE THAT SUCH NEVER WAS, AND IS NOT NOW, THE INTENTION. THE STRIKE HAS BEEN ADVISED PURELY REGARDING THE £3 TAX AND THE STEP HAS BECOME NECESSARY OWING TO THE NONFULFILMENT OF THE PROMISE MADE TO THE HON. MR. GOKHALE THAT IT WOULD BE, AND AS A DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE STATEMENT MADE BY THE GOVERNMENT DURING THE LAST SESSION THAT THE MAJORITY OF NATAL EMPLOYERS ARE AVERSE TO THE REPEAL OF THE TAX. IF GOVERNMENT WILL SEE THEIR WAY TO PROMISE TO REPEAL IT NEXT SESSION, THE STRIKERS WILL BE ADVISED TO RETURN TO WORK.

Indian Opinion, 29-10-1913

240. TELEGRAM TO THE PRESS¹

[NEWCASTLE,
October 23, 1913]

WE ARE ADVISING THE STRIKERS TO LEAVE THE
MINES AND COURT ARREST, AND FAILING ARREST, TO
MARCH TO VOLKSRUST. WE CONSIDER IT IMPROPER TO
LIVE ON MINE RATIONS WHEN WE DON'T WORK.
THE MOVEMENT MAY START INSTANTLY.

Indian Opinion, 29-10-1913

241. LETTER TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR²

[JOHANNESBURG,]
October 23, 1913

THE HON'BLE THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR
PRETORIA

SIR,

I am directed by my Association respectfully to invite your attention to the following. My Association has been informed that:

1. On or about the 27th September, a British Indian named Abdool Fazula Khan was arrested at Johannesburg under Section 4(Ia) of the Immigration Law of 1913, which reads:

Any such person as is described in any paragraph of this sub-section who enters or is found within the Union, or who, though lawfully resident in one Province, enters or is found in another Province in which he is not lawfully resident, shall be a prohibited immigrant in respect of the Union or of that other Province (as the case may be), that is to say—any person or class of

¹ This was part of a Reuter message from Johannesburg according to which Gandhiji stated that Indians had struck work on more mines and that many had been arrested. For the circumstances which prepared the ground for the march.

² This was sent on behalf of the Chairman, British Indian Association.

persons deemed by the Minister on economic grounds or on account of standard or habits of life to be unsuited to the requirements of the Union or any particular Province thereof.

2. The said Khan appealed against the decision of the local Immigration Officer, and on the 13th October the said appeal was duly heard by the Board sitting at Pretoria and dismissed.

3. The evidence led at the hearing of the appeal, and which was not disproved or rebutted, shows:

(a) That the said Khan first came to the Transvaal in 1900 as a private of the Indian Transport Corps No. 2 Division.

(b) That he received a good discharge in November 1902 and, thereafter, remained in this Province for nearly another year— till towards the end of 1903.

(c) That he then went to Cape Town where he filled several situations, among others, working for Messrs Jagger & Co., Ohlson & Co., and Petersen & Co. He remained in Cape Town about eight or nine years with the exception of a few months of service in German South West Africa.

(d) The said Khan then returned to the Transvaal by rail from the Cape and entered this Province without let or hindrance. (e)

(e) While in German South West Africa, Khan lost his discharge and several other papers of a similar character.

4. On the day the said Khan's appeal was dismissed, as stated in Paragraph 2 and immediately after, he was removed to Pretoria Gaol for deportation, but before removal, his Attorney, Mr. Ritch, saw the Principal Immigration Officer and represented to him the claims of the said Khan to be sent to the Cape Province. Mr. Ritch gave the names of the principal employers for whom the said Khan claims to have worked.

5. On the following evening, the said Khan was deported to Natal without his having had an opportunity to collect his clothes or other belongings and without any further communication having been made to his Attorney, and, thereafter, was immediately transported to India.

6. I am desired to point out that no effort would appear to have been made to investigate the said Khan's claims to be sent to the Cape, where he had resided for so many years, and to add that, in the respectful opinion of my Association, this should have been done even though it might have meant a few weeks' longer detention in the Transvaal of the said Khan.

7. My Association also desires me to call attention to the serious hardships which must necessarily follow such sudden deportation as this, in which case the deportee would appear to have been sent away without any means and with no more clothing than he stood in. Had Khan's Attorney been notified a few hours beforehand, his friends would have passed over to him his clothing and blankets and also money to assist him on his journey.

8. My Association trusts that the facts in this case will be fully investigated by you; and that steps will be taken to prevent a repetition of the unfortunate incident.

I have, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5904

242. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

NEWCASTLE,
October 23, 1913

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Just now it seems to me that a solution has been found for the building proposal. The strikers must leave the mines. Otherwise the strike is bound to collapse. I am therefore inviting them to come out. If they do, one of us will march with them to the Transvaal border to court arrest. We should be arrested on the way. This avoids the difficulty of lodgings, etc., and keeps the men going. The situation is certainly difficult and serious. The strike is now having its effect. But unless some such thing like the above is done, the movement is bound to collapse. You should carefully watch the Press. You should constantly make it clear that we do not wish to break the Provincial barrier. Our only purpose is by intense suffering to make a striking demonstration against the £3 tax. Not a minute to spare. I hate writing.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

243. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[NEWCASTLE,]

*Aso Vad 9 [October 24, 1913]*¹

CHI. MAGANLAL,

No, I have not forgotten about Jamnadas, but I have not had a moment to myself. I send the letter² herewith. You have Tyob Sakur's address. Please dispose of the letter. And also write to Thakkar Damodar Anandji and Khetsi in my name. I am not sure of their correct names. You have them. Also say that Jamnadas should see them. They will take it ill if we do not write to him. Inquire when *Pundua* will reach Beira, and also consider when these letters will get there. If you find that they are not likely to reach there in time, send a telegram to Beira through the Company. Such telegrams are delivered "inland" and cost less. Wire to Tyob Sakur that he should put up Jamnadas, buy him a ticket for Bulawayo and give him the necessary money for the voyage, debiting the amounts against me.

Great things are happening in Newcastle. There is a move to lead a march of 2,000 men into the Transvaal. Let us see what happens. I do not know whether I shall be able to send any matter. The telegrams and letters from here the Secretary will continue to send. Medh is here. Pragji is at Volksrust. Manilal has been arrested. Write to me at the following address:

37, Murehesion Street,
Newcastle.

Send a copy of *Indian Opinion* to Mr. Lazarus at the foregoing address. The ladies' block should appear this time. Speak to Muttu about this. About the block itself, speak to West. I have no time to

¹ The date is assigned on the basis of the reference in the letter to the picture of the women satyagrahis, which appeared as a supplement to *Indian Opinion*, 29-10-1913.

² This is not available.

write to him.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5906

244. CABLE TO G. A. NATESAN¹

DURBAN,

[Before *October 25, 1913*]

THE REPORT IS ENTIRELY FALSE; MEETINGS HELD
THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY ARE STRONGLY SUPPORTING
THE MOVEMENT, AND NEARLY A HUNDRED MEN AND
WOMEN REPRESENTING ALL SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY
ARE ALREADY IN GAOL.

The Times of India, 25-10-1913

245. STATEMENT AT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE²

[DURBAN,]

October 25, 1913

At joint meeting of representatives of coal, sugar, and agriculture industries held this morning, Mr. Gandhi stated that present strike of coal mines was specifically due to failure of Union Government to carry out definite promise given by them repeatedly that the annual tax of £3 would be repealed. He states that a promise or assurance was given definitely to Mr. Gokhale, and that this is confirmed

¹ This was in refutation of a cable from Reuter which was published in *The Times of India*, 21-10-1913: "There appears to be a decided split among the local Indian community, but it is believed that the majority will support the passive resistance movement."

² A meeting of leading employers of Indian labour was held at the Chamber of Commerce on October 25. Gandhiji made a statement on the position of the strike. This is an extract from a telegram sent by the Coal-owners' Association to the Minister of the Interior on October 25. No separate report of Gandhiji's statement is available. For an account of Gandhiji's discussion with the mine-owners.

by a statement made by Lord Amphill in the House of Lords, and reported in Blue-book, without reservation as to men, women and children. Mr. Gandhi states that Indians will be immediately advised to resume work, regardless of any other grievances, as soon as Government give assurance that they will carry out their promise.¹

Indian Opinion, 5-11-1913

246. INTERVIEW TO "THE NATAL MERCURY"

DURBAN,
October 25, 1913

... After the conference², Mr. Gandhi was asked by a *Mercury* representative whether there was any truth in the suggestion that the strike was at an end.

[GANDHI:] No, the strike is still continuing. I have telegrams from Dannhauser district to say that that is so, and from Dundee and Newcastle also. The position is that the men were to be withdrawn from the collieries in order to court arrest and imprisonment in Natal, or, failing that, to cross the border to the Transvaal, and be arrested there. As this conference was coming, this movement was suspended. So the position is that they are on strike, but have not left the mines.

The idea behind this proposed movement from the mines was that it was not a proper thing to draw rations from the mine-owners, and yet not to work. I personally felt that the strike was weak so long as the men did not actually leave the mines. What will happen now will depend on the result of the conference, and that I am unable to

¹ The telegram went on to state: "After hearing Mr. Gandhi, the meeting resolved that the Union Government be asked to say whether they gave assurance regarding £3 tax mentioned by him, and as confirmed by Lord Amphill in the House of Lords; whether said assurance applied to men, women

and children, and, if not, what were the reservations, if any? The meeting would be glad to know, also, what the present intentions of the Government are in regard to tax of £3. In view of the extension of the strike daily, they would be indebted for immediate information for guidance of further joint meeting to be convened immediately such reply is received."

² This was held at the Chamber of Commerce; *vide* the preceding item.

foreshadow. The strike, however, will continue. According to my estimate there are nearly 3,000 on strike. The effect of this is not entirely to stop work as they have a certain amount of Kaffir labour, and with this Kaffir labour and the Europeans they are able to do some work, though the bulk of it is certainly at a standstill.

I saw it reported that we might even ask the Kaffirs to strike. But such is not our intention at all. We do not believe in such methods. We have nothing against the employers as such, but as the employers are supposed—at least some of them—to have opposed the repeal of this tax, this demonstration has become necessary. As soon as the Government make a promise to the effect that the tax will be repealed during the next session of Parliament, the strikers will be advised to resume work.

It is not the intention to ask them to join the general struggle at all; because, apart from the £3 tax, there are other grievances also for which the passive resistance by the general body of the people will continue. The other grievances are the marriage question; the question of domiciliary rights; the harsh administration of existing laws, as the Gold Law in the Transvaal; the right of S[outh] A[frica] born Indians to enter the Cape by reason of their birth; and the theoretical question of the social bar. For these things, even if the promise to repeal the £3 tax is given, passive resistance, without the strike, will continue.

I may state also, that no intimidation of any sort was used against non-strikers, and the strike is absolutely a voluntary act, and in so far as I have been able to see, quite spontaneous. The men only needed the position to be placed before them to strike.

For the relief of the strikers, whom we have to support, subscriptions are being collected everywhere. In Durban, 110 bags of rice, dholl, and other articles were promised, and the bulk of this is already upon rail. More collections are still going on.¹

If the Conference ends in a fiasco, we shall certainly endeavour to widen the area of the strike, but I am totally unable to say what response we shall have. Wherever indentured Indians or ex-indentured

¹ The situation which Gandhiji and his co-workers had to tackle is vividly described in *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Chs. XLII & XLIII.

Indians are working as labourers, we shall advise that they should strike.

The Natal Mercury, 27-10-1913

247. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[*October 26, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

This will be given to you by Medh. I have been on the move all the time. My deal times have been changed. Soon after ablutions I take my meal. And the ablutions take place early enough. If I did not do that I should get no time to eat.

The coal miners' Conference was all right.¹ They have sent a cable to General Smuts which they await a reply to. I am now on the veld and surrounded by people at Hatting Spruit.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

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

¹ The Conference was held at the Chamber of Commerce, Durban, on October 25; *vide* also "Statement at Chamber of Commerce", 25-10-1913.

248. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

NEWCASTLE,
October 27, 1913

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I arrived here this morning to find your welcome letters and your interview with the *Times*. I see you are going strong. It would be splendid if the women came. Yes, they may have their tickets for Newcastle. I want Mr. Cachalia, Imam Saheb and all the Mohammedans here just now. Anglia and Dada Osman are making much mischief. I have written Cachalia to that effect. He and the others are required to counteract the mischief.

The Conference was good. They threatened, they flattered, they tried everything to wean us from the strike. But it could not be done. Now they are in communication with the Government. We may know the result any day. All the largest mines are now out but the one at Elandslaagte. We are trying for it. To bring out the men proved easy. To keep them is most difficult. But fortune has favoured us up to now and may continue to do so. Thambi, of course, is by far the best worker. And another Naidoo almost bids fair to rival him in energy.

You will observe that under the new plan we do not need a camp. We simply march out the men. Women and children will have to be looked after.

I shall be continuously on the move but you may treat Newcastle as my headquarters.

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

I take it that these letters are shown to Miss Schlesin too.

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

249. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[NEWCASTLE,
Before *October 28, 1913*]

HAVE READ GOVERNMENT REPLY NATAL COLLIERIE
SASSOCIATION.¹ BEG DRAW MINISTER'S ATTENTION FACT
PROMISE TO MR. GOKHALE MENTIONED MR. CACHALIA'S
LETTER, ALSO MY LETTER SEPTEMBER 28TH. NO
REPUDIATION THEN MADE. REPEAL TAX THOUGH ONLY
NOW MADE MATTER PASSIVE RESISTANCE CERTAINLY NOT
AFTER-THOUGHT AS COULD BE PROVED FROM DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE IN
POSSESSION GOVERNMENT. HAVE REPEATEDLY
STATED INDIAN EMPLOYEES UNDER INDENTURE NOT BEING
BROUGHT OUT FOR OTHER POINTS OF PASSIVE RESI-
STANCE. INDEPENDENT NATAL INDIANS CERTAINLY FIGHTING
ON GENERAL GROUNDS. MARRIAGE, SOUTH AFRICA-BORN
INDIANS TO ENTER CAPE, IMMIGRATION ACT, LICENSING ACT
QUESTIONS AFFECT NATAL INFINITELY MORE THAN OTHER
PROVINCES. GOVERNMENT CANNOT COMPLAIN OF STRIKE
SEEING AMPLE NOTICE WAS GIVEN. ANY CASE RE-
SPECTFULLY ASK MINISTERS NOT TREAT STRIKE AS THREAT,
BUT EMPHATIC EXPRESSION OF INTENSE FEELING AGAINST
TAX. HUNDREDS OF POOR HELPLESS AND COMPARATIVELY
IGNORANT PEOPLE WILL NOT LISTEN TO FANCIED
UNFELT GRIEVANCES OR GRIEVANCES SERIOUS IN THEMSELVES,
BUT BASED UPON THEORY. I THEREFORE APPEAL TO
MINISTER TO CONSIDER TAX QUESTION UPON MERITS
ONLY.

Indian Opinion, 5-11-1913

¹ The Government said, in the course of the reply: "With regard to your telegram, Government never gave such promise as Mr. Gandhi alleges, either to Mr. Gokhale or anybody elsewhere. . . ."

250. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

NEWCASTLE,
October 29, 1913

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

Polak keeps you informed of the progress of the struggle. I am marching out presently with the strikers in order to court arrest for ourselves. But this I write to ask you kindly to facilitate Polak's residence in London. He can then do public work and manage the London Committee. After my withdrawal which will take place as soon as the settlement comes, he thinks that he would not be able to work efficiently in South Africa. I agree with him in this view. Mr. Dube has invited him to settle in London. This he can only do if he receives the support of some of the Pleaders in India who handle Privy Council cases. Polak as you know intends to practise as Privy Council Agent in London.

I remain, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 931

251. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[CHARLESTOWN,
October 30, 1913]

TO
MINISTER OF INTERIOR
PRETORIA

NEWCASTLE INDIAN COMMITTEE HAVE LEARNT THAT
GAOL DOCTOR FORCIBLY VACCINATED PASSIVE RESISTANCE
FEMALE PRISONERS BY REMOVING BLOUSE AND HOLDING
ARM. LADIES NOT SUPPLIED WITH GHEE, REQUEST INVESTI-
GATION, PROMPT RELIEF.¹

GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 5-11-1913

252. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

ON THE WAY TO VOLKSRUST,
October 30, 1913

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I sent you a full message from Ingogo which I hope you received. Mr. Mahomed Meer is at Waschbank. He has the 'phone. It was he who gave the information about the Ramsay Collieries assault. Please inquire further. You know that I telegraphed to the Protector at Durban and the Interior.² You may now inquire further through Meer and if there [be] any workers, send one to make local investigation.

¹ To this the Director of Prisons replied that instructions had since been issued to the Newcastle Magistrate that the Minister of Justice would not insist on the Gaol Regulations in regard to vaccination being enforced where religious objections were raised by passive resisters.

² *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", 28-10-1913.

The women need not march to Volksrust. If they would, they may as far as Ingogo and entrain there. But there should be someone to join them from Newcastle. Mr. Seedat at Ingogo seems to be a decent man. He gave biscuits, tea, bread, etc., to the men without stinting. He gave me cigarettes too for them. I have asked him to pay the express fares for the women and some men who could not and would not walk. There must be quite 40. If the women who want to go to gaol wish to entrain, they may do so. As much as possible, please discourage movement to Phoenix. If you have sufficient accommodation there, the women should be kept and fed there so long as possible as you have plenty of rations there and fine workers in Mrs. Lazarus and Miss Thomas.¹

If I am arrested, you should immediately transfer the Johannesburg balance in your name and open a separate account called Agency Account. I may be fined. I shall make a statement to the effect that I have nothing I can call my own, that I have given up everything and that even in those things which are in my name I have no interest of my own. You and others should likewise say and return *nulla bona*. In order to avoid technicalities the accounts may be transferred. The account at Durban should be withdrawn and it should be redeposited in the names of West and Maganlal, either having the power to operate upon it severally. The paper too should be transferred in the names of West and Maganlal and the trustees may transfer it and the Press to them at pepper-cornrent.

All the men, as soon as they are there, must be marched out. They must take two days' rations with them. Some stupidly did not fill their pots.

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

¹ Vide "Telegram to Minister of Interior", 28-10-1913.

253. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[October 30, 1913]¹

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

We reached in excellent condition at 5 p.m. The men have done extremely well. The store-keeper here is supplying tea. It is big thing because of the labour involved.

I have just telephoned asking that Mr. Badat should go to Pardekop. We shall march out early in the morning so that some distance at least may be cut before daybreak. I am sending back Mr. Vallibhai's² cart but am trying to procure other transport.

I am almost inclined, if the men can be somewhat disciplined, to march through Johannesburg and hold a meeting there. The merchants may give a feast to the men. You may discuss with Cachalia through the 'phone. Hosken and others may be invited. Please tell Miss Schlesin that my proposed letter should be deferred till the march is over.

There, as I have said, Chergan is the most reliable man for the strikers' residence . But if all are not accommodated there, the one next man is Sivpal who is above Chergan. It is at these two places that you should concentrate the majority of the people. Then comes Ramkhelawan who can take many people, but you must not establish a kitchen there. There are men also at Rughbir's, towards Newcastle way and beyond the corner Indian store. If you succeed in getting two kitchens established it would save your much work and you will be able to move about. Men who may come should be served only with bread or porridge. Rice is a great bother. No tea to be provided but only sugar. This will simplify matters. But you will use your own judgment. You will examine and list the jewellery the men have sold and deposited. Polak should be furnished with the itinerary. I will say no more just now. I hope you had a nice luncheon and that Miss Schlesin had something to eat. So long as she is there, you should

¹ From the contents; vide also the preceding item.

² Valli Peerbhai

look after her food.

I suggest your seeing Mrs. Anton, the baker's wife. She is ill. I have recommended Kuhne's bath and our bread. You may offer to explain.

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Please remove from the jacket lent by Mr. Vallibhai a packet of stamps I left.

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

254. GIST OF LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR JUSTICE¹

[CHARLESTOWN,
October 31, 1913]

Mr. Gandhi wrote to the Secretary for Justice from Charlestown on the 31st ultimo pointing out that a large number of Indians had surrendered themselves for arrest and, as the Government had no accommodation for them nor facility for feeding them, they were being fed and housed by the Indian Committee there at Government expense. Mr. Gandhi suggested that all the people should be arrested, but, if not, he stated that they would proceed with their march into the Transvaal—an event which he was anxious to avoid. He also warned the Government against allowing Indians to remain free on the border and stated that it was the desire of the passive resisters to guard in every way they could against the surreptitious entry of a single Indian.²

Indian Opinion, 12-11-1913

¹ The original letter is not available.

² Official policy in regard to the handling of the strike situation is clarified in a confidential despatch, dated November 6, from the Governor-General to the Colonial Office; *vide* Appendix "Extract from Governor-General's Despatch to Colonial Office", 6-11-1913.

255. GIST OF LETTER TO IMMIGRATION OFFICER¹

[CHARLESTOWN,
October 31, 1913]

A letter was addressed on the same day by Mr. Gandhi to the Immigration Officer, Pretoria, pointing out that all passive resisters receive at the Transvaal border three days' notice of appeal, although they declare they do not wish to appeal, and that they are allowed to roam about as they please. In Mr. Gandhi's opinion the Act does not require the warning to be given in all circumstances.

Indian Opinion, 12-11-1913

256. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

CHARLESTOWN,
November 3, 1913

The enclosed letter was written on the way.² It is unfinished. I have seen the quotations for tents, and it seems to me that, after all, bell-tents would be the cheapest and the easiest to fix up. One bell-tent takes in twelve men. At that rate in order to accommodate 1,200 men, we should want 100. The figures then amount to £75. That would be, in my opinion, prohibitive. The alternative is to buy tarpaulin and make our own tents and poles. It seems to me that this could be easily fixed. If we could sew them on to the tarpaulin, the thing would be quite substantial, but it may be too long. In that event we shall have to use handles. I am now writing without any experience whatsoever, but I am giving you all these suggestions for what they are worth. At the time of the Zulu Rebellion³ we had tents which when erected simply looked like the wings of a roof without any wall. There were pegs which were to be driven in. They could easily be rigged up and two

¹ The original letter is not available.

² *Vide* "General Knowledge about Health [-XXXI], 2-8-1913.

³ Of 1906

slender poles kept them erect. They were V-shape inverted, and if these tents could be bought probably they would be the cheapest. Six could at a pinch be put into these tents. I would like to carry these tents myself on the march, failing that tarpaulin. Having known all these things, you may do what you like, but what I want is sufficient cover for my journey. The same cover I shall use in Charlestown until I have commenced the march.¹ As soon as you can supply me with sufficient tents, you may send me all the men there, so that we could concentrate all the women and children at Charlestown. All the men must march, the women may get trains. Whilst you are in Johannesburg, you must see Mr. Cachalia and others, and get them to send vegetables, oil, rice, mealie meal and even coal- whatever they can beg. Not a single consignment has yet arrived from Johannesburg, and it is certainly discreditable that the merchants have not yet sent anything.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

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

¹ The March commenced on November 6; *vide* also “Interview to “the Natal Mercury”, 5-11-1913 & Cable to G.k. Gokhale”, before 6-11-1913.

257. INTERVIEW TO REUTER¹

[CHARLESTOWN,
November 3, 1913]

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed, stated that he contemplated moving 1,500 men to the Transvaal to court arrest, and if not arrested they would proceed further, and would probably settle down on Mr. Kallenbach's farm at Tolstoy, near Lawley.

Indian Opinion, 12-11-1913

258. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

[CHARLESTOWN
Before *November 4, 1913*]

FIVE THOUSAND ON STRIKE, OF WHOM FOUR THOUSAND HAVE TO BE FED, INCLUDING THREE HUNDRED WOMEN AND SIX HUNDRED CHILDREN. THREE HUNDRED ARE IN JAIL AND TWO HUNDRED MORE HAVE BEEN ARRESTED. FIFTEEN HUNDRED STRIKERS ARE AT CHARLESTOWN AND THE REST ARE GATHERING AT NEWCASTLE PRIOR TO CROSSING THE BORDER TO COURT ARREST. THERE IS A GROWING ENTHUSIASM AMONG THE STRIKERS. THE CLERGY IN MANY PLACES ARE MOVING TO SECURE THE REDRESS OF OUR GRIEVANCES.

The Times of India, 5-11-1913

¹ Gandhiji had camped at Charlestown along with other marchers. He had an interview with a Reuter correspondent of which only this brief report is available.

259. INTERVIEW TO “THE NATAL MERCURY”

[CHARLESTOWN,
November 5, 1913]

Mr. Gandhi readily granted an interview, but had nothing to say, except that he and his followers were still quite determined, and would march into the Transvaal on the following day, courting arrest, and if they were unmolested, would march right on until they reached Tolstoy Farm. They would then remain quietly there until satisfactory terms had been made with the Government. All arrangements had been made along the route, and food depots established at eight different points along the way. Their object was to court arrest, but they wished to do everything quite openly, and had acquainted the Government with their intentions.¹

Indian Opinion, 12-11-1913

¹ Before zero hour was reached, Gandhiji made a final bid to avert the march. This is what he has himself recorded:

“When all the preparations for the march were completed, I made one more effort to achieve a settlement. I had already sent letters and telegrams. I now decided to ‘phone even at the risk of my overtures being answered by an insult. From Charlestown I ‘phoned to General Smuts in Pretoria. I called his secretary and said: ‘Tell General Smuts that I am fully prepared for the march. The Europeans in Volksrust are excited and perhaps likely to violate even the safety of our lives. They have certainly held out such a threat. I am sure that even the General would not wish any such untoward event to happen. If he promises to abolish the £3 tax, I will stop the march, as I will not break the law merely for the sake of breaking it, but I am driven to it by inexorable necessity. Will not the General accede to such a small request?’ I received this reply within half a minute: ‘General Smuts will have nothing to do with you. You may do just as you please.’ With this the message closed.

“I had fully expected this result, though I was not prepared for the curtness of the reply. I hoped for a civil answer, as my political relations with the General since the organization of Satyagraha had now subsisted for six years. But as I would not be elated by this courtesy, I did not weaken in the face of his incivility. The strait and narrow path I had to tread was clear before me. The next day (November 6, 1913) at the appointed stroke of the hour (6.30) we offered prayers and commenced the march in the name of God. The pilgrim band was composed of 2,037 men, 127 women and 57 children.” *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLIII.

260. CABLE TO G. K GOKHALE

[CHARLESTOWN,
Before November 6, 1913]

THE STRIKE IS CONTINUING. THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT
ARRESTING PASSIVE RESISTERS. MONTHLY EXPENSES EX-
CEED £7,000. LOCAL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE EXPECTED TO
COME UP TO £1000 EVERY MONTH IN PROVISIONS
AND CASH. I AM MARCHING ON THURSDAY¹ TO TRANS-
VAAL WITH FOUR THOUSAND MEN. ENDURANCE AND
DISTRESS ARE GREAT. SEVERAL BIRTHS HAVE OCCURRED
IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS WHICH HAVE BEEN
FORMED. TWO DEATHS OF BABIES OCCURRED DURING
THE MARCH.

The Times of India, 7-11-1913

261. NEWS OF STRUGGLE²

[CHARLESTOWN,
Before November 6, 1913]

During the Transvaal march, Mr. N. C. Desai was diligent in attending to the indentured labourers. He offered tea to people and shelter to the women who were tired. The Indian community in Standerton supplied one thousand tins of jam and entertained the marchers generously. At Vaal station, Mr. Patel was in attendance and he took persons who had fallen sick to stay with him. During two stages in the march, Mr. Badaat proceeded ahead of the marchers by train and had bread ready for them. Mr. Valli Peerbhai offered his carriage for transport of stores during the first stage. Dr. Briscoe gave four pounds worth of medicine free of charge for the pilgrims. Mr. Sidaat of Ingogo supplied tea and biscuits to those who had started on

¹ November 6

² This was published as "From Mr. Gandhi".

the march from Newcastle. In this way, at every place the marchers were cared for by Indians. The Indian community in Charlestown was, and still is, very diligent. Mr. Sheikh Mukadam devotes all his time to this work.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-11-1913

262. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR¹

[PALMFORD,

November 7, 1913]

WHILST I APPRECIATE THE FACT OF GOVERNMENT
HAVING AT LAST ARRESTED PRIME MOVER IN PASSIVE
RESISTANCE STRUGGLE, CANNOT HELP REMARKING THAT FROM
POINT VIEW HUMANITY MOMENT CHOSEN MOST UNFORTUNATE.
GOVERNMENT PROBABLY KNOW THAT MARCHERS INCLUDE
122 WOMEN, FIFTY TENDER CHILDREN, ALL VOLUNTARILY
MARCHING ON STARVATION RATIONS WITHOUT PROVISION FOR SHELTER
DURING STAGES. TEARING ME AWAY UNDER SUCH
CIRCUMSTANCES FROM THEM IS VIOLATION ALL CONSIDERATIONS
JUSTICE. WHEN ARRESTED LAST NIGHT LEFT MEN WITHOUT
INFORMING THEM. THEY MIGHT BECOME INFURIATED. I,
THEREFORE, ASK EITHER THAT I MAY BE ALLOWED CONTI-
NUE MARCH WITH MEN OR THAT GOVERNMENT SEND
THEM BY RAIL TOLSTOY FARM AND PROVIDE FULL RATIONS
FOR THEM. LEAVING THEM WITHOUT ONE IN WHOM
THEY HAVE CONFIDENCE AND WITHOUT GOVERNMENT MAK-
ING PROVISION FOR THEM IS IN MY OPINION AN ACT FROM
WHICH I HOPE ON RECONSIDERATION GOVERNMENT WILL
RECOIL. IF UNTOWARD INCIDENTS HAPPEN DURING FURTHER
PROGRESS MARCH OR IF DEATHS OCCUR, ESPECIALLY AMONG

¹ Gandhiji was arrested near Palmford and charged with having brought unauth-ORIZED persons into the Transvaal. He was produced before the magistrate at Volksrust and released on bail. The telegram was evidently dispatched after this. He was, however, re-arrested the next day at Standerton. For an account of the arrest at Palmford and the court proceedings, *vide Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLIV.

Indian Opinion, 12-11-1913

263. APPLICATION FOR BAIL¹

STANDERTON,
November 8, 1913

Before pleading, accused stated he was already on bail, and asked to be admitted on bail. Accused stated his object in asking for bail was to enable him to take the men to their destination. The Prosecutor opposed bail unless the accused would refrain from taking further part in the demonstration. The accused said he was not prepared to give this assurance.²

The Star, 8-11-1913

¹ Gandhiji arrived at Standerton with about 2,000 passive resisters. 85 Indians who had left Hattingh Spruit Colliery were arrested. Gandhiji was charged with "aiding or abetting prohibited persons to enter the Transvaal".

² According to a report in *The Transvaal Leader*, when the Prosecutor protested against Gandhiji's plea for bail, "the Magistrate pointed out that every prisoner not charged with a capital sentence was in law entitled to be allowed to give bail for his appearance, and said that Mr. Gandhi could not be deprived of that right." Gandhiji was then released on his own recognizance of £50, and the case was remanded till the 21st. As soon as Gandhiji was released, the column continued its march. For a detailed first-hand report of the next part of the march, *vide* "The Great March", 8-11-1913; also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLIV.

264. INTERVIEW TO REUTER¹

STANDERTON,
November 8, 1913

Mr. Gandhi . . . replied that he felt sure the Government would repeal the tax. He was positive that the Government had told Mr. Gokhale it was its intention to repeal the tax.

[GANDHI:] If, the Government can show a justifiable reason why the tax should be paid, the Indians would pay it, but no good reason for paying has yet been given. The crowd is very orderly and under perfect control.

The Star, 8-11-1913

265. LETTER TO INDIANS²

[Before *November 11, 1913*]

The like of this struggle will not come again. We have reached the limit now. The courage that the indentured labourers have shown and the suffering they have gone through have been boundless. How many men will be ready to foot 24 miles a day on one and a half pounds of bread and a little sugar? This is what our poor brethren have done. They have suffered horses' kicks. They have silently endured kicks and blows by whites. Women have walked in the heat of the noon, two-month-old babies in arms and bundles on head. Everyone has braved the rigours of weather, heat and cold and rain.

¹ After Gandhiji was released on bail, a representative of Reuter who interviewed Gandhiji asked him "what he thought would be the outcome of the demonstration".

² Gandhiji was arrested for the third time, on November 9, at Teakworth. He was taken to Heidelberg and produced before the magistrate on the following day. Gandhiji applied for remand of the case. He was to be tried at Dundee; *vide Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLV. This is Gandhiji's message issued before he was taken to Dundee Gaol on November 11.

To what end? For India. Such sacrifice will no doubt result in repeal of the £3 tax but what is more, it will enhance India's prestige.

I consider the Transvaal march to have been perfectly successful. The object was to get arrested and all have been arrested.

It is only now, however, that the struggle will grow really exciting. Hundreds of men, who are not ready for gaol, can play their part. They have only to resolve that they themselves will go without meals but feed the strikers. Whether or not any money arrives from India, we must supply the food from here. We should put courage in the strikers' hearts and advise them not to retaliate even if mercilessly kicked. All Indians can do this. An opportunity like this will not come again. Every Indian may take a pledge. He can cut out a meal every day, and with the money so saved provide food to the hungry. Decency requires that traders in every place should give food and shelter to any striker who might find his way to that place and then send him on to where facilities exist for feeding large numbers. If any Indian fails to play his part in this great venture, I for one will consider him an unfortunate man indeed.

India's servant

Satyagrahi

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-11-1913

266. TRIAL AT DUNDEE

[DUNDEE,
November 11, 1913]

Mr. Gandhi was on the 11th instant charged on three counts, before the Resident Magistrate, Mr. J. W. Cross of Dundee, with inducing indentured immigrants to leave the Province. The court was crowded with Indians and Europeans. Mr. W. Dalzell-Turnbull was specially instructed by the Attorney-General to appear for the prosecution, and Mr. Advocate J. W. Godfrey appeared for Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi pleaded guilty to the charges.

Mr. Turnbull read the section and left the matter in the hands of the Magistrate.

Mr. Godfrey stated that he was under an obligation to the defendant not to plead in mitigation in any way whatsoever. The circumstances which had brought Mr. Gandhi before the Magistrate were well known to all persons, and he was only expressing the desire of the defendant when he stated that the Magistrate had a duty to perform, and that he was expected to perform that duty fearlessly, and should therefore not hesitate to impose the highest sentence upon the prisoner if he felt that the circumstances in the case justified it.

Mr. Gandhi obtained the permission of the Court, and made the following statement:

As a member of the profession, and being an old resident of Natal, he thought that, in justice to himself and the public, he should state that the counts against him were of such a nature that he took the responsibility imposed upon him, for he believed that the demonstration for which these people were taken out of the Colony was one for a worthy object. He felt that he should say that he had nothing against the employers, and regretted that in this campaign, serious losses were being caused to them. He appealed to the employers also, and he felt that the tax was one which was heavily weighing down his countrymen, and should be removed. He also felt that he was in honour bound, in view of the position of things between Mr. Smuts and Professor Gokhale, to produce a striking demonstration.¹ He was aware of the miseries caused to the women and babes in arms. On the whole, he felt he had not gone beyond the principles and honour of the profession of which he was a member.

¹ The difference of opinion was over the abolition of the £3 tax, regarding which the Union Government insisted it had given Gokhale, in 1912, no assurance; *vide* "Extract from General Botha's Speech", 1-11-1913 for General Botha's categorical denial.

He felt that he had only done his duty in advising his countrymen, and it was his duty to advise them again, that until the tax were removed, to leave work and subsist upon rations obtained by charity. He was certain that without suffering it was not possible for them to get their grievance remedied.

The Magistrate then addressed as follows: In this case the accused had pleaded guilty to the three counts, and the section of law under which the accused was charged made him liable to a fine of £20 for each immigrant he attempted to induce, or induced, to leave the Province. Mr. Gandhi was an educated gentleman, and had the distinction of being a member of the legal profession, and whatever he had done, he had done with a full knowledge of the consequences of his act. The Magistrate then referred to the conditions under which Indians were brought into this Province, and the terms they had agreed upon for remaining here after the expiry of their indentures. He also referred to the contention of the Indians regarding Mr. Smuts' alleged promise to the Indians. The Natal members of Parliament had consented to the tax being removed so far as it affected the women and children, but not the men. The Government had, therefore, not broken faith with the Indians and he believed this was the ground upon which Mr. Gandhi had advised the Indians to strike. To strike was to defy the law, and the Government's position was that, so long as the Indians were out on strike, it was impossible for them to consider any legislation regarding repeal. The defendant was, by his threatening conduct, only bringing ruination to the men and harshness upon themselves. He therefore advised the Indians to stop the passive resistance, and make representations to the Government. He also believed that the Indians were alienating the sympathy of the Europeans who were at one with the Indians in requesting the Government for the repeal of the tax. It was a painful duty to pass sentence upon the conduct of a gentleman like Mr. Gandhi, upon the deliberate contravention of the law, but he had a duty to perform, and Mr. Godfrey, his counsel, had asked him fearlessly to perform that duty. The accused having pleaded guilty, he (the Magistrate) accepted that plea, and passed the following sentences: Count 1: £20, or three months' imprisonment, with hard labour; Count 2: £20, or three months' imprisonment, with hard labour, to take effect upon the expiration of the sentence in respect to Count 1; Count 3: £20, or three months' imprisonment, with hard labour, this to take effect upon the expiration of the sentence imposed in Count 2.

Mr. Gandhi, in a clear and calm voice, said:

I elect to go to gaol.¹

Indian Opinion, 19-11-1913

¹ A large crowd of friends waited outside to see Gandhiji come out, but the police took him away secretly and no one knew how he was taken away.

267. MESSAGE TO STRIKERS¹

[DUNDEE,

November 11, 1913]

No cessation of the strike without the repeal of the £3 tax. The Government, having imprisoned² me, can gracefully make a declaration regarding the repeal.

Indian Opinion, 19-11-1913

268. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

DUNDEE GAOL,

Tuesday [November 11, 1913]³

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have got nine months and if I get six months each at the other two places, that will make 21 months; I shall be most lucky in that case. That I could get into gaol without having to disguise myself was so much the less bother. Today, for the first time after the commencement of the strike, I have some leisure. You must certainly have received some news of Jamnadas. Lest the Government cast its eye on the money in my name, I have written⁴ to Mr. Kallenbach to get it transferred to your name and West's. This arrangement is also to be followed in respect of the sums Mr. Gokhale may send hereafter. You must watch what cheques are issued. Miss Schlesin or whoever else is outside will give you the account. Omar Sheth⁵ and Cachalia Sheth should have supervision over the money. Expenses will be heavy only for the duration of the strike. If people remain firm even

¹ After the trial J. W. Godfrey visited Gandhiji who said "he was cheerful and confident" and sent this message through him.

² The original has "imprisonment", which, evidently, is a misprint.

³ This letter was written on the day Gandhiji was sentenced and sent to Dundee Gaol.

⁴ This letter is not available.

⁵ Omar Haji Amod Zaveri; *vide* "Omar Haji Amod Zaveri", 11-5-1907

in my absence, the £3[tax], at any rate, will go.

It looks as though your responsibilities had increased and I was enjoying myself. Going to gaol has become holidaying for us. Even so, I felt I should not hold back any longer from going to gaol. The case today was full of technical loopholes. But how could I take advantage of them? That would have been *moha*. I remained firm, for fear that it would be sheer conceit on my part to believe that I could work better by staying outside. James Godfrey was keen on appearing on my behalf and so I allowed him. He said that he would send the whole report. They will take me to Volksrust from Dundee on Thursday for the case there.¹ If you wish to write to me, send the letter to Badat; it will probably reach me.

Right from today the doctor has ordered fruits, etc., for my diet. I shall have no difficulty, therefore. If I can write down an account of the march, I shall send it on. It was a wonderful experience. And so I took a pledge yesterday that I would live on one meal a day till a repeal of the tax was promised. Four months have passed even according to the English calendar. The pledge this time will permit my taking lemon or orange squash. I can write no more.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

MAGANLAL K. GANDHI

PHOENIX, NATAL

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 2538

¹ On Friday, November 14, Gandhiji was sentenced at Volksrust to a further 3 months' imprisonment.

269. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

DUNDEE,

Wednesday [November 12, 1913]¹

MY DEAR MILLIE,

You are brave. So I know you will consider yourself a proud and happy wife in having a husband who has dared to go to gaol for a cause he believes in. The £3 tax cause is the cause of the helpless and the dumb. And I ask you to work away in the shape of begging, advising and doing all you can. Do not wait for their call but call the workers. Seek them out even though they should insult you. Miss S. knows the struggle almost like Henry. Assist her. I have asked her to move forward and backward and assume full control. Draw upon West and Maganlal for your needs. May you have strength of mind and body to go through the fire.

With love,

Yours,

BHAI

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

¹ The addressee's husband H.S.L. Polak, along with Hermann Kallenbach, had courted arrest on November 10, 1913. Gandhiji was sentenced on November 4 and sent to Dundee. He was removed to Volksrust on November 13. This letter was evidently written on November 12, 1913, which was a Wednesday.

270. TRIAL AT VOLKSRUST

[VOLKSRUST,
November 14, 1913]

Mr. Gandhi appeared in Court before Mr. Jooste, Assistant Magistrate, charged under Section 20 of the Immigration Regulation Act. He pleaded guilty, but the formal evidence of a resister named Poldat was called.

Witness stated he belonged to Ballengeich Mine, and remembered during the current month proceeding with a number of Indians into the Transvaal. Poldat said Mr. Gandhi was leading them from Charlestown to Johannesburg. Poldat recognized Mr. Gandhi as the leader. Poldat knew he had no right in this Province, because he was a prohibited immigrant.

Mr. Gandhi said he would like to ask witness two questions.

Why did Poldat enter the Transvaal?

Poldat said he entered the Transvaal as a protest against the £3 tax.

Would Poldat have gone back to the mines if that £3 tax had been repealed?

Poldat said yes; if the Government had agreed to repeal the £3 tax, he would have gone back.

Mr. Gandhi was asked if he wished to make a statement.

Mr. Gandhi then addressed the Court.¹

I admit that I advised not only the last witness but hundreds of other Indians, whom I knew to be prohibited immigrants, to cross the border from Natal into the Transvaal. Of my intention to do so I gave the Minister of the Interior due notice and I specially interviewed the Immigration Officer at Volksrust, and informed him even of the date on which I proposed to cross the border. I told both the Government and the Immigration Officer that in doing so my only object was to make a demonstration against the £3 tax which was weighing heavily upon those who were affected by it, and to court for myself and the party who crossed with me imprisonment. I assured them that nothing

¹ The statement as reported in *Indian Opinion* is in the third person. The original statement given here is extracted from the Transvaal Court Records.

could be further from my wish than to desire that a single one of those men who crossed the border should remain in the Transvaal and settle there. I said also that, with such a large number crossing with me, I might be totally unable to prevent them for all time from roving about the country and that, therefore, I hoped that the Government would take charge of the men. Throughout the march into the Transvaal, I endeavoured to keep the men under control and to prevent them from dispersing, and I claim that not a single Indian left the column if it may be so called. I heard something at Heidelberg about the formation of a Vigilants Committee at Volksrust, whose aim I understand was to make the Government enforce the Immigration Act. There is, therefore, common cause between the Committee and my co-workers and myself. Through the Court I beg to make the assurance that the present movement has nothing whatsoever to do with the unlawful entry for purposes of residence in the Transvaal of a single Indian. I think I may fairly claim that my whole career in the Transvaal has been actuated with the motive of assisting Government in preventing surreptitious entry and unlawful settlement, but I have pleaded guilty as I know that I have committed a technical breach, on a vast scale, of the section under which I am charged. I am aware too that the steps I have taken are fraught with the greatest risks and intense personal suffering by those who have accepted my advice, but after very mature consideration, based upon 20 years' experience of South Africa, I have come to the conclusion that nothing short of such suffering will move the conscience of the Government as also of the inhabitants of the Union of which, in spite of the so-called breach of the Statutory Laws of the Union, I claim to be a sane and law-abiding citizen.

The Court then adjourned for a quarter of an hour for the Magistrate to consider his decision.

On resuming, Mr. Jooste passed sentence of three months' imprisonment.

Indian Opinion, 26-11-1913; also Transvaal Court Records

271. EVIDENCE AT POLAK'S TRIAL¹

[VOLKSRUST,
November 17, 1913]

Mr. Gandhi gave evidence that the march to the Transvaal was fixed without consultation with Mr. Polak, who intended leaving for India on November 14th, and he knew all arrangements had been made for Mr. Polak's departure from Durban. Had it not been for witness's arrest before reaching Greylingstad, Mr. Polak would certainly have left at that station. Under the circumstances, Mr. Gandhi thought Mr. Polak should lead the column to its destination, so that the men would not disperse. In Mr. Gandhi's opinion, if Mr. Polak was guilty of aiding and abetting, so also were the troopers who guided the column on its way. He considered that Mr. Polak had rendered service to the State, and to his race, by acting as he had. The men had been handed over to Mr. Polak because Mr. Cachalia had not then arrived on the scene.

Indian Opinion, 26-11-1913

¹ Polak and Kallenbach were arrested at Charlestown on November 10. Polak was charged before Mr. Jooste, Assistant Magistrate, under Section 20 of the Immigration Act, but declined to plead guilty to the charge. The evidence of five witnesses including Kallenbach and Gandhiji was called. Rifleman Joubert stated that he had seen Polak asking Gandhiji for instructions at Balfour and thought that Polak was one of the leaders of the movement. Constable Kneen stated that Polak had addressed the Indians and advised them to return to Charlestown. Kallenbach said that Polak's intention had been to return to Durban. His purpose was to discuss certain matters with Gandhiji regarding his departure for India. Polak was found guilty and was awarded three months' simple imprisonment without hard labour. Earlier, while awaiting trial in Volksrust Gaol, Polak had addressed a communication to Lord Ampthill, which furnished a detailed account of incidents leading to his arrest; *vide* "Polak's letter to Lord Ampthill", 12-11-1913.

272. LETTER TO MISS DEVI WEST

BLOEMFONTEIN GAOL,
December 14, 1913

Name of convict: M. K. GANDHI

Number: 1739

TO WHOM SENT:

Name in full: Miss Devi West

Occupation: Schoolmistress

Postal Address: International Printing Press

Nearest Town: Phoenix, Natal

MY DEAR DEVI,

As I do not know where everybody else is, it is the most appropriate for me to write to you.

I am quite happy and well here. It is almost as hot here as in Phoenix this time of the year.

Hope that you and others are keeping good health and that Devdas, Prabhudas and the other boys are observing the discipline that was introduced after the ladies' withdrawal from Phoenix and that the boys are thriving under it. Pray remind Devdas of the promises he has made me at various times. Ask him if he can recall them all. When you or someone else writes to me, I should like [to know] the day's routine for the boys. Is Shanti giving trouble? Is Navin obedient? And are Sivparsad and Chhotam as playful as ever? I hope that Rukhi causes no extra trouble to you or to Maganlal. Krishna, Radha and Keshu are not out of my mind, but they are used to being with Maganlal and, therefore, do not call for special inquiry. I hope Rustom West is growing and that he still remains the most beautiful baby in the world to Mrs. Pywell and Mrs. West.

Please tell Mrs. Sam that I did not forget her message to Mr. Sam but, as she knows, I never had the time or the opportunity to have it delivered. I have no doubt however that she will soon see Mr. Sam and then secure his approval of the proposed match. That

reminds me that Muthu promised to help all he could and I hope he is keeping the promise.

Miss Schlesin, if she is there, must be proving very useful.

When the ladies and the boys return, please tell Mrs. Gandhi that she will please me immensely by not disturbing the routine established after her withdrawal and I hope that Ramdas and the other boys will fall in with it. Your reply to this should be sent after their return, so that you may give me full information about them. I shall not withdraw any other letter but the reply to this.

I hope Mrs. Gandhi's old trouble did not revive and that she kept good health. Please let me know too how the other ladies fared. Jekibehn should adhere to the promises made by her to me. Please tell that hardly a day passes when I do not give much thought to her. As for her diet, I do not bind her to any promises or resolutions she may have made. She may take whatever suits her constitution. But she must keep not only good health but be robust. She must grow her hair unless she has definitely heard otherwise from Dr. Mehta.

How I wish Kashi and Santok could join the common household and Mrs. Gandhi could approve of it?

I hope Maganlal traced my Tamil volume that was missing; otherwise he should inquire of Govindoo and find and keep it safe. Most of my spare time is being devoted to Tamil study. A short time is daily given to compiling the book on food values and the uses of popular and comparatively harmless drugs.¹

A money order should be sent to Khushalbhai (Rajkot) to cover Jamnadas' expenses whatever they may have been in Rajkot and for his travelling and £10 extra. Out of the latter, he should pay the widow of my deceased brother Rs. 20 per month. Khushalbhai should also be asked to prevail upon my sister to cut down her allowance to the extent of Rs. 5 or Rs. 10. Of this Rs. 5 may be added, if necessary, to the allowance to my brother's wife. The whole of the money that may be sent may be debited to suspense or emergency a/c.

Mr. MacIntyre should be reminded by Miss Schlesin to start repayment that he promised to do so long ago.

¹ It is not known if Gandhiji actually completed this work and published it.

Jamnadas, if he is there, should follow Maganlal in his dietary and other habits and he will keep well. I am anxious to know how he has been keeping in body and mind.

Chhaganlal should take as much olive oil as he can and do as much garden work as possible, and should sleep in the open in all weathers and take deep breaths early in the morning and at the time of retiring. He may also smear and rub his chest and his back with olive oil every day for 15 minutes. This massage should be given gently by some strong person. Maganlal or Ramdas should do it. He should read Dr. Carton's thesis on consumption. It was given by me, I think, to Maganlal to read. I hope Maganlal received from Mr. Dowd the books that were lent to Hassan. Out of them, I should like *Food Remedies* sent to me.

I returned to the Gaoler at Volksrust the following: a roll conta[in]ing Mr. Kallenbach's and my blankets and my writing leather case, *Uttar Ramcharit*, Addison's *Essays* and Dayanand's commentaries on *Rigved* &c. The Gaoler promised to return them to Phoenix. If you have them, Addison's *Essays* should be returned to Mrs. Polak. I hope she and the children are keeping well and that her wants are being supplied.

The trustees under the Phoenix settlement should be kept supplied with the monthly a/cs we prepare. Does Mr. Omar visit the settlement. If not, remind him of his promise.

What has happened to Mr. Budree's case? You may inquire of Mr. Budree or Mr. F. S. Tatham, to whom Mr. Polak handed the case. Mr. Ismail Parekh wrote to me saying that the case could be adjourned *sine die*.

Please also write to Khushalbai, saying that I shall see to my niece Tulsi's a/c being settled whenever I return to India. If I do not within 18 months' time, I shall see to its settlement otherwise. The interest I am doubtful about. I must add that I wrote to Dr. Mehta, asking him to advance the monthly sum to my brother's wife. If he has commenced to do so, £10 extra need not be sent to Khushalbai.

I implore Mrs. Gandhi not to be anxious about me. She will help me to keep better by looking after her own health. And the secret

of it is in sticking to the dietary prescribed for her.

With much love to you all,

Yours very sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

This should be read by all and be sent to Miss Schlesin wherever she may be. Remember me to Mr. Kotwal when you write to him. I hope Lalchand is helping. How is he keeping and the little baby?

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5913

273. SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG¹

JOHANNESBURG,

December 18, 1913

Speaking at a meeting at the old Gaiety Theatre, Mr. Gandhi said he was not the least thankful for having been released, for he preferred solitude and the peace of prison because it gave him opportunity and time for meditation; but, having been released, he should now resume the work upon which he was engaged when he was convicted. For himself he was not satisfied with the Indian Commission appointed by the Government.² He was uncertain whether it would be effectual, and whether it would be in the interests of the Indian population that he and others should give evidence before it. However, it had been decided that he and Messrs Polak and Kallenbach should proceed to Durban in the morning, and when there they would decide whether they would accept the Commission as it was at present constituted. He was not at all satisfied, and rather than have a weighted or packed Commission which would militate against the welfare of the Indian community in South Africa, he would prefer

¹ An "Indian Inquiry Commission" was set up by the Union Government on December 11, to inquire into the causes of the strike and the disturbances in connection with it. On the Commission's recommendation, Gandhiji, Polak and Kallenbach were brought to Pretoria and released unconditionally on December 18. They were accorded a reception on reaching Johannesburg in the evening.

² The Commission's personnel consisted of Sir William Solomon as Chairman, Ewald Esselen, K.C. and J.S. Wylie, K. C. For the official view of the situation and policy in regard to the Commission, *vide* Governor-General's Cable to Colonial Office", 1-12-1913.

to go back to prison and allow the Indian cause to stand upon its own merits. He would not positively say at the present time that he would not give evidence, but his inclinations were that way as the Commission was loaded against them. His prison experience, just over, had been a change from that he had undergone on a previous occasion. He had been treated with the utmost courtesy, and he would like publicly to record the excellent manner in which the prison officials had considered his comfort.¹

Indian Opinion, 24-12-1913

274. SPEECH AT DURBAN²

DURBAN,
December 20, 1913

Mr. Gandhi intimated to the audience that they were on the eve of a most momentous decision, and that he proposed to take a vote of their considered views at a mass meeting to be held on the morrow. He indicated that the question that they would be called upon to decide was whether they could in honour tender evidence to a Commission which had been constituted without any reference to Indian wishes or opinion, and also whether the personnel of that Commission could be regarded as fair and impartial.

Indian Opinion, 24-12-1913

¹ After Gandhiji, Polak, Kallenbach and William Hosken addressed the meeting, it was unanimously resolved not to tender evidence before the Commission as then constituted.

² On reaching Durban station, Gandhiji, Polak and Kallenbach were garlanded and taken in a procession to the office of the Natal Indian Congress where they addressed the gathering.

275. INTERVIEW TO “THE NATAL MERCURY”

[DURBAN,
December 20, 1913]

Interviewed by a *Mercury* representative, Mr. Gandhi said that at the meeting which followed his arrival with Mr. Kallenbach and Mr. Polak, thanks were expressed for the reception accorded them. His release, he added, was a surprise, and only when he was out of the prison did he learn that his release was due to a recommendation of the members of the Commission.

We feel that our release throws a great responsibility upon our shoulders, and, on learning how the Commission is constituted, I feel that the fundamental fraud is that the Indian community was not consulted as to the nomination of the members. The spirit of the whole passive resistance struggle since 1907 has been that, in matters affecting the community, the Government should consult its opinion and sentiments. This the Government, apparently, have not done regarding the Commission, and therefore¹ there is objection to its nomination of itself.

With reference to Mr. Esselen and Col. Wylie, Mr. Gandhi said he had the pleasantest recollections of both gentlemen, and had not the slightest doubt that they would discharge their duties on the Commission conscientiously, but he could not credit them with the superhuman qualities of divesting themselves of their anti-Asiatic views, which they were known to so profoundly hold. Now that they had been nominated members of the Commission, he would not object to their appointment, but it was due to the Indian community, he added, that the influence they might have on the findings should be counter-balanced by appointments from the European nationality known to possess no anti-Asiatic bias.

Unless the Government accede to this reasonable request, it is not possible for us to accept this Commission or assist its deliberations. Unless the submission be accepted, we have decided not to give any evidence before them, and we shall resume activities in order to seek re-arrest and re-imprisonment.

The Natal Mercury, 22-12-1913

¹ The original has “thereto”.

276. SPEECH AT MASS MEETING¹

[DURBAN

December 21, 1913]

Mr. Gandhi was received with cheers on rising and a bunch of flowers was placed in his hand by one of those near the platform. He mentioned that he would have preferred to speak first in one of the Indian tongues, but in the presence of Messrs Polak and Kallenbach, his fellow-convicts, feelings of gratitude compelled him to speak first in the tongue they knew. They would notice he had changed his dress from that he had formerly adopted for the last 20 years, and he had decided on the change when he heard of the shooting of their fellow-countrymen. No matter whether the shooting was found to be justified or not, the fact was that they were shot, and those bullets shot him (Mr. Gandhi) through the heart also. He felt how glorious it would have been if one of those bullets had struck him also, because might he not be a murderer himself, by having participated in that event by having advised Indians to strike? His conscience cleared him from this guilt of murder, but he felt he should adopt mourning for those Indians as a humble example to his fellow countrymen. He felt that he should go into mourning at least for a period, which should be co-extensive with the end of that struggle, and that he should accept some mourning not only inwardly, but outwardly as well, as a humble example to his fellow-countrymen, so that he could tell them that it was necessary for them to show by their conduct and outward appearance that they were in mourning. He was not prepared himself to accept the European mourning dress for this purpose, and, with some modification in deference to the feelings of his European friends, he had adopted the dress similar to that of an indentured Indian. He asked his fellow-countrymen to adopt some sign of mourning to show to the world that they were mourning, and further to adopt some inward observance also. And perhaps he might tell them what his inward mourning was—to restrict himself to one meal a day. They had been released, he continued, not on any condition, but they knew that they were released on the recommendation of a Commission appointed by the Government, in order that every facility might be given not only to them, but to the Indian community, to bring before the Commission any evidence that community might have in its possession. He thought that a right and proper thing that the Government had appointed a Commission, but he thought the Commission was open to the gravest objection from the Indian standpoint; and he was there to tender his humble advice to

¹ Gandhiji addressed a mass meeting held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Association, attended by about six to seven thousand persons including some prominent Europeans. Abdul Kadir presided.

them that it was impossible to accept the Commission in a form in which the Indians had no voice. They were fighting for so many grievances, and the underlying spirit of the struggle was to obtain full recognition on the part of the Government of the right of consultation in anything which appertained to Indian interests. Unless the Government was prepared to condescend to that extent, unless they were prepared to ascertain and respect the Indian sentiments, it was not possible for Indians, as loyal but manly citizens of the Empire, to render obedience to their Commissions or laws which they might have passed over their heads. This was one of the serious fundamental objections. The other objection was that it was a partisan Commission; therefore, the Indians wanted their own partisans on it. This they might not get, but they at least wanted impartial men, who had not expressed opinions hostile to their interests, but gentlemen who would be able to bring to the deliberations of the Commission an open, just and impartial mind. (Applause.) He considered that Mr. Esselen and Mr. Wylie, honourable gentlemen as they were, could not possibly bring open minds to bear on the inquiry, for the simple reason that they had their own human limitations and could not divest themselves of their anti Asiatic views which they had expressed times without number. If the Government appointed the Indians' nominees, and thus honoured their sentiments, and granted a release for the prisoners now in gaol, he thought it would be possible for them to assist the Government, and therefore, the Empire, and bring, perhaps, this crisis to an end without further suffering.

But it might be that they might have to undergo further suffering. It might be that their sins were so great that they might have to do still further penance.

Therefore, I hope you will hold yourselves in readiness to respond to the call the Government may make by declining our just and reasonable requests, and then, to again force the pace by again undergoing still greater purifying suffering, until at last the Government may order the military to riddle us also with their bullets. My friends, are you prepared for this? (Voices: "Yes.") Are you prepared to share the fate of those of our countrymen whom the cold stone is resting upon today? Are you prepared to do this? (Cries of "Yes.") Then, if the Government does not grant our request, this is the proposition I wish to place before you this morning: That all of us, on the first day of the New Year, should be ready again to suffer battle, again to suffer imprisonment and march out. (Applause.) That is the only process of purification and will be a substantial mourning both inwardly and outwardly which will bear justification before our

God. That is the advice we give to our free and indentured countrymen—to strike, and even though this may mean death to them, I am sure it will be justified.

But if they accepted the quiet life, he went on, not only would the wrath of God descend upon them, but they would incur the disgrace of the whole of that portion of the European world forming the British Empire. (Applause.) He hoped that every man, woman, and grown-up child would hold themselves in readiness to do this. He hoped they would not consider self, that they would not consider their salaries, trades, or even families, their own bodies in the struggle which was to his mind a struggle for human liberty, and therefore, a struggle for the religion to which they might respectively belong. It was essentially a religious struggle—(hear, hear)—as any struggle involving assertion and freedom of their conscience must be a religious struggle. He therefore hoped they would hold themselves in readiness to respond to the call and not listen to the advice of those who wavered, nor listen to those who asked them to wait or to those who might ask them to refrain from the battle. The struggle was one involving quite a clear issue, and an incredibly simple one.

Do not listen to anyone, but obey your own conscience and go forward without thinking. Now is the time for thinking, and having made up your minds, stick to it, even unto death.¹

THE RESOLUTIONS²

(1) This mass meeting of British Indians of Natal, held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Association, hereby resolves that the community may not, in honour, give evidence before the Commission recently appointed by the Government because the community has not been consulted as to the choice of the members of the Commission, and because it does not include any members specially representing the community, whose interests are to be vitally affected by the finding of the Commission.

(2) This meeting respectfully urges the Government to add to the membership the Hon. Mr. W. P. Schreiner and the Hon. Sir James Rose-Innes, or such other eminent members of the European race residing in South Africa whose nomination would be acceptable to the South African Indian community.

¹ The meeting was then addressed by Kallenbach, Polak, Ritch and Rev. Baillie, Superintendent of the Indian Mission, Natal.

² The resolutions adopted were presumably drafted by Gandhiji.

(3) This mass meeting, in the event of the Government's accepting the Indian view that the personnel of the Commission should be added to for the purpose of securing adequate representation of all interests involved in its inquiry, also requests the immediate discharge of all the passive resistance prisoners presently in gaol, and, on its part, the Indian community undertakes to suspend passive resistance until the publication of the findings of the Commission. In the unfortunate event, however, of the Government's refusal to comply with its respectful requests, the community will be obliged at once to prosecute the struggle with renewed vigour and determination.

The Natal Mercury, 22-12-1913

277. *LETTER TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*¹

[DURBAN

December 21, 1913]

SIR,

We understand from the papers that our release from imprisonment, before the natural period of the respective terms to which we were sentenced, was due to the recommendation of the members of the Commission which has been recently appointed to investigate the causes that led up to the strike of indentured and other Indians in Natal and other Indian matters. We fully appreciate the reasons which moved the Commissioners to make the recommendation, and the Government's acceptance thereof, and we are desirous of helping the Commission to investigate the causes. We beg to express our gratefulness for the appointment of a Commission for the purpose above indicated, but we are reluctantly obliged to inform the Government that we shall be unable to render the assistance which it is in our power to do, unless the objections presently to be set forth are met by the Government. We have ascertained that the Indian community of South Africa has not been given the opportunity of

¹ A gist of this letter appears in *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLVII.

making any nomination on its behalf to the membership of the Commission. We may point out that the spirit of the passive resistance struggle, ever since its commencement in 1907, has been to secure a recognition from the Government of the fact that, in matters touching the community, it is necessary to consult and respect its wishes and sentiments before it can be expected to give willing obedience to or acceptance of laws or matters affecting the vital interests of the community. We feel that it was a grave omission on the part of the Government, in selecting the Commissioners, not to have given an opportunity to the Indian community of submitting for appointment on the Commission two names of gentlemen of known South African standing who, in its opinion, could have guarded and specially represented its interests. This, in our humble opinion, is a fatal and fundamental objection to the acceptance by the Indian community of the Commission.

Moreover, we observe that the appointment of Mr. Ewald Esselen, K.C., and Col. Wylie shows that the Government, for reasons best known to itself, intended to give the commission a partisan character, for it is within our knowledge that Mr. Esselen has expressed anti-Asiatic views in very strong language, and that Col. Wylie has not only done likewise, but has even recently given his opinion that the £3 tax levied on ex-indentured Indians should be retained. Again, the acts of the military in connection with the strike will be before the Commission for investigation. We hold that Col. Wylie, by reason of his prominent connection with the military, is naturally an interested party. Against Mr. Esselen and Col. Wylie, as South African statesmen, we can have nothing to say. The first undersigned has pleasant recollections of his professional connection with both Mr. Esselen and Col. Wylie; and of Col. Wylie when he served under him during the late Zulu rebellion as sergeant-major in charge of the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps, that was formed,¹ and whose services were offered during that crisis to the Government; and we have no doubt that, in so far as they could, they would endeavour to sit as impartial judges on the Commission, but we cannot help fearing that they share the common human failing of not being

¹ *Vide* "Indian Ambulance Corps in Natal", 14-3-1900.

able to divest themselves entirely of their bias. Much, however, as we regret the appointment on the Commission of these gentlemen, we do not propose to raise any objection to their nomination; but, in order to counter-balance the effect that their bias may have on the finding of the Commission, we submit that it is absolutely necessary to appoint gentlemen of South African standing, known to possess no anti-Asiatic bias, on the Commission, and, as such, we venture to suggest the names of the Hon. Sir James Rose-Innes and the Hon. W. P. Schreiner.

Immediately on our release, without a moment's delay, we began to ascertain the feeling of the Indian community, and, to our agreeable surprise, we found that the community had already anticipated what would undoubtedly have been our humble advice to it, that it had already sent strong protests to the Government against the nominations, and had submitted to the Government the names mentioned above. We found, too, that by way of further protest, 36 passive resisters, of whom five were women, had crossed the Volksrust border from Natal, and had been arrested and received imprisonment. In their statement to the Court, we understand, they informed the presiding Magistrate that their object in courting arrest was to lodge a respectful protest against the partisan character which had been given to the Commission, and we found further that two other parties of passive resisters had already left for Volksrust for the same purpose.

Our position, therefore, was easy and clear. A mass meeting was called to-day by the Natal Indian Association. We were invited to attend that meeting, and all that we had to do was to tender our advice that the protest that had already been sent should be ratified by that meeting, and this, we are glad to be able to say, was done. We hope and pray that the Government will be pleased to accede to the submission and nominate on the Commission the gentlemen whose names have been proposed by the meeting.

If the nomination is accepted, we beg to state that, before we can tender our evidence to the Commission and advise the community to offer the overwhelming evidence which is in its possession, it will be necessary to release the passive resisters who are presently undergoing imprisonment, whether in the ordinary gaols or in mining compounds

which have been turned into gaols. We hope that the Government will recognize the force of this prayer, for it would ill become us to remain free whilst those who have courted imprisonment partly through our advice are still under incarceration, and it would be hardly possible for us to advise other passive resisters to refrain, pending the inquiry by the Commission, from courting imprisonment whilst their brethren and sisters are suffering the hardships of gaol life.

If the additional appointments suggested above are made, and if our request as to the release of the passive resistance prisoners is accepted, we would advise the community to suspend passive resistance pending the Commission's finding. Further, if we are enabled by the Government's accepting our suggestions to tender evidence before the Commission, we and other members of the community will have to have full and free permission to enter the different estates and collieries where Indians are employed, in order to collect evidence, and for the purpose of advising the people to continue to work under their contracts, pending the investigation.

We take it that the Commission has sufficient powers to investigate all the grievances that have caused the revival of passive resistance as set forth in Mr. Gokhale's letter, and to make its recommendations to the Government.

Finally, we beg to place on record the advice that we have tendered to the community, that, whilst the finding of the Commission—enlarged in the manner suggested—will finally settle the dispute as to the allegations of ill-treatment of workers and others and the acts of the military, its recommendations on the grievances, whose redress is being sought, will not be accepted by the community in derogation of its demands. If, unfortunately, the Government does not see its way to accept our prayer, there will be no course left open to us but to seek re-imprisonment. We, as passive resisters, can never rest still, having been discharged before the termination of our terms of imprisonment.

We beg to reiterate the declaration we have often made that, as passive resisters, we countenance no violence, even by way of retaliation, on the part of those who take part in the movement, whether as strikers or otherwise. We have repeatedly given effective advice, which has been acted upon, to the effect that passive resisters must submit to

personal violence in the course of their passive resistance, even though such violence may entail death. It becomes necessary for us to re-declare the above view, as after our incarceration, we observe that it has been alleged that, on some estates, strikers used violence.

The last two undersigned, as Europeans, desire to assure the Government that, in throwing in their lot with their fellow-South African Indian subjects, they have but rendered service to the State and to their fellow-Europeans. They have done so after very careful investigation, and their intimate experience of Indians of every grade has enabled them to see that the grievances of which the Indian community is seeking redress are grievances which are keenly felt by it, and for whose redress it has patiently waited for an unduly long time. It is because we firmly believe that to delay in granting the demands of the Indian community endangers the reputation of the Europeans of South Africa as members of a civilized race worthy of self-government, that we have so fully identified ourselves with their cause, and we ask the Government during this season, which for it means, or ought to mean, peace for all living in South Africa, to give the community an earnest of its desire to redress its legitimate grievances by accepting this prayer.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servants,

M. K. GANDHI

H. S. L. POLAK

H. KALLENBACH

[PS.]

May we request an early reply, as our dispositions are to be made by New Year's Day, in the event of an unfavourable reply.¹

Indian Opinion, 24-12-1913

¹ In his letter of December 24, the Minister Of the Interior rejected Gandhiji's terms. The Governor-General's despatches of December 22 and 23 to the Colonial Office furnish the Union Government's reactions to Gandhiji's demands. *Vide* "Governor-General's Cable to Colonial Office", 1-12-1913.

278. SPEECH AT MARITZBURG MEETING¹

MARITZBURG,
[December 22, 1913]

Mr. Gandhi rather rebuked the decorators, urging that the present was rather a time for mourning for the blood of their fellow-countrymen which had been spilt, rather than for receptions and rejoicings. He thanked them, however, for their kindness. He urged the men to show their sympathy by discarding the use of tobacco, betel-leaves, and other luxuries, and felt that the women might lay aside their fine dresses and jewels in this time of mourning.²

The Natal Mercury, 23-12-1913

279. SPEECH ON KASTURBA GANDHI'S RELEASE

MARITZBURG,
[December 22, 1913]

This is a very sad time for us. We can have no joy in gatherings and celebrations. All the same, I give thanks to you, on behalf of my wife and the other ladies, for the welcome you have accorded them. My brethren have lost their lives, killed by bullets, and I feel extremely sad, at a time like this, in taking part in this reception even to the extent that I have done. In gaol, I was free from all anxieties. This crying³ is perfectly suggestive of our mourning. My Indian brothers and sisters can at this time express their sincere sympathy with the helpless widows and orphans by themselves observing mourning in various ways. Men can leave off tobacco, betel-leaves

¹ On the release of Kasturba Gandhi, Mrs. Chhaganlal Gandhi, Mrs. Manilal Doctor, Mrs. Maganlal Gandhi and Solomon Royce from Maritzburg Gaol, a procession was taken out which terminated in a reception meeting. Gandhiji addressed the audience on behalf of the released passive resisters. For a report of his speech in Gujarati, *vide* the following item.

² Speeches were also made by Kallenbach, L. H. Greene and Mrs. Polak. Shortly after, a mass meeting was held.

³ Gandhiji was referring to a weeping child in the audience.

and betel-nut; women may lay aside ornaments and fine dresses.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 24-12-1913

280. SPEECH AT MARITZBURG MASS MEETING

MARITZBURG,
[December 22, 1913]

[Gandhiji] explained the resolutions passed at the Durban mass meeting on Sunday. Passive resistance, he said, was a harmless search for truth, and he appealed to every Indian present to be prepared to die, if need be, for the truth.¹

The Natal Mercury, 23-12-1913

281. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE²

DURBAN,
December 22, 1913

HON'BLE GOKHALE
SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

WE WERE DISCHARGED UNCONDITIONALLY THURSDAY ON
RECOMMENDATION COMMISSION STOP HAVE ADDRESSED JOINT

¹ P. K. Naidoo then moved the resolution endorsing the resolutions passed at the Durban mass meeting, which was passed.

² Gokhale had received Reuter's summary of a report of Gandhiji's interview to *The Natal Mercury*, vide "Interview to the Natal Mercury", 20-12-1913. The following cable was received from Gokhale at 10 p.m. on December 21: "Reuter cables substance your interview. After Solomon's speech fear boycotting inquiry will be grave mistake, alienating sympathy Government of India and many friends England. Engage best counsel and yourself Polak assist offering evidence. Inquiry does not concern general grievances passive resisters but it is most important, opportunity offered producing evidence support allegations cruelties should not be refused. I venture suggest draw up protest against Esselen and Wylie, explaining fully objection to both and appear under protest."

LETTER¹ GOVERNMENT INFORMING UNABLE ASSIST COMMISSION BY EVIDENCE UNLESS COMMUNITY RIGHT TO BE CONSULTED MATTERS AFFECTING IT RECOGNIZED AND PARTISAN CHARACTER COMMISSION COUNTER-BALANCED BY APPOINTMENT SCHREINER APPELLATE JUDGE ROSE-INNES OR OTHERS EQUALLY IMPARTIAL APPROVED BY COMMUNITY AND UNLESS NEARLY FOUR THOUSAND PASSIVE RESISTANCE PRISONERS IN ORDINARY AND MINE GAOLS RELEASED. WE THEN UNDERTAKING ADVISE SUSPEND PASSIVE RESISTANCE PENDING FINDING COMMISSION STOP HAVE ALSO STATED SCOPE INQUIRY SHOULD INCLUDE EXAMINATION ALL GRIEVANCES AND THAT WHILST FINDING ON ALL ALLEGATIONS BRUTALITY AND ACTS MILITARY WILL FINALLY SETTLE CONTROVERSY THEREON. ANY FINDING ON GRIEVANCES IF DEROGATORY PASSIVE RESISTERS DEMANDS SET FORTH CACHALIA'S LETTER² SEPTEMBER WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED BY COMMUNITY. HAVE FURTHER INFORMED GOVERNMENT THAT IF PRAYER REJECTED WE SHALL SEEK REARREST AND ADVISE STILL MORE RIGOROUS PROSECUTION CAMPAIGN STOP MASS MEETING TO-DAY ATTENDED ABOUT SIX THOUSAND CONFIRMED ABOVE ADVICE PASSED RESOLUTIONS ACCLAMATIONS STOPTRANSVAAL OTHER CENTRES UNANIMOUS STOP MEETING INFORMED IN EVENT UNFAVOURABLE REPLY PEOPLE MUST HOLD READINESS MARCH FOOT STARVATION RATIONS FROM DURBAN TO PRETORIA SEEKING REARREST. ANTICIPATE TAXING IN THOUSANDS EN ROUTE STOP MEETING WARNED EXPECT BULLETS AND TOOK DECLARATIONS READINESS UNDER OATH STOP CHURCH COUNSELS, INFLUENTIAL INDIVIDUAL EUROPEANS HAVE SUPPORTED REJECTION PRESENT COMMISSION STOP DURING TRAVEL FROM PRETORIA TO DURBAN WE MET REPRESENTATIVE INDIANS ALL PRINCIPAL STATIONS. ENTHUSIASM GREAT AND DISAPPROVAL PRESENT COMMISSION UNIVERSAL STOP DISCOVERED OUR RELEASE PEOPLE LARGE NUMBERS HAD SHOWN UNEXPECTED POWERS ENDURANCE SUFFERINGS. WE WERE STAGGERED UNLOOKED FOR ABILITY INDENTURED INDIANS

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Minister of Interior", 21-12-1913.

² *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", 12-9-1913.

WITHOUT EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP ACTING PERFECT COOPERATION
 DISCIPLINE DETERMINATION STOP ASK INDIANS IMMEDIATE
 VIGOROUS CO-OPERATION. ¹

GANDHI
 KALLENBACH
 POLAK

Servants of India Society

282. LETTER TO "THE NATAL ADVERTISER"²

[After December 22, 1913]³

Having known most of these passive resisters for a number of years and come into close contact with them, I can say that they are not the men to make baseless allegations. Mr. Rustomjee, an old and respected resident of South Africa, was also in this batch. He took a leading part in the previous campaigns and had experience of the gaols in Volksrust, Heidelberg, Diepkloof and Johannesburg. This time, on being sentenced at Volksrust, he was brought to the Pietermaritzburg Gaol and later removed to the Durban Gaol. He had a taste of the Maritzburg Gaol, but his experience in the Durban Gaol, he tells me, was the worst.

Mr. Rustomjee declares, and he is supported by other passive resisters, that the Native warders used to assault them, with no fear of

¹ To this cable Gokhale replied the next day: "Since release unconditional, most important Polak should proceed England immediately with fullest information regarding whole position and occurrences. Absolutely essential keep Press England well-informed. Parliament opening 2nd February. Ramsay MacDonald taking up question specially system indenture and methods adopted suppress strike." *Vide* also "Cable to G. K. Gokhale", 31-12-1913.

² *The Natal Advertiser* did not publish this letter on the ground that a Commission of Inquiry had been appointed. Later, it was translated into Gujarati for the readers of *Indian Opinion*. The original is not available. This is an English rendering.

³ Parsee Rustomjee and other passive resisters referred to in the letter were released on December 22, 1913.

consequences. One, Mr. P. K. Desai, was assaulted so violently that the blow sent him reeling to the ground and from there he was dragged to his cell. The treatment of the injuries kept him in the hospital for eleven days. Mr. Rustomjee and his fellow-prisoners had to resort to a fast to secure him [permission to wear] his shirt and sacred thread. A good Parsi will not move a single step in the absence of these two things. Mr. Rustomjee was also assaulted twice by Native warders. The matter was brought to the notice of the superintendent, but to no purpose. A youngster was beaten for standing out of line.

On one occasion, several passive resisters went on a fast to register a strong protest against such treatment. At the end of four days of complete fasting, the boy referred to above was forcibly fed while he kept shrieking in protest all the time. Even the prison doctor in charge is reported to have condemned this display of barbarism and stated that he did not accept responsibility for the forcible feeding. The fact that the prisoner was a vegetarian was ignored: the milk which was fed to him was mixed with eggs.

The prisoners were supplied dirty clothes which could be a menace to their health. The food was poor and was served, half-cooked, in rusted tin bowls, and the prisoners report that in consequence many of them got dysentery. Some are troubled by it even now in gaol. Cockroaches and insects were found in the food, and, when the matter was reported to the officer, his reply was that a prison was no hotel and that even in a hotel one found insects in food.

Most of the passive resisters were men of good education. Though well used to reading, they were not given books to read from the prison libraries nor permitted to read any of their own.

Despite protests, all the gaol officers, from the highest to the lowest, used to address the passive resisters as "coolies". The more they resented this, the more obstinate the officers became. They [also] report that the present doctor pays no attention to their health. During these three months, the magistrate visited the gaol only once. He did not listen to the complaints of the prisoners. Indian prisoners are generally allowed sandals and socks. In this gaol most of them did not get these; even women were not given any. Quite often the prisoners were supplied only one blanket each, and that a torn one. They were

refused permission to see their lawyers and were not even allowed to write to the Director of Prisons.

All this is but a brief summary of the tales of suffering I have heard from my countrymen. The affidavits to be submitted to the Government on this matter are under preparation. This is, however, quite a serious matter and calls for public attention. There is no exaggeration whatever in what I am reporting and you are free to show this to the officers concerned before publishing it. Mr. Rustomjee and his fellow-prisoners ask for nothing but a full, fearless, independent and impartial discussion, and demand an Inquiry.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 7-1-1914

283. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

DURBAN,

December 23, 1913

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

POONA

BEEN MARITZBURG WHICH AT MASS MEETING ENDORSED YES-
TERDAY'S DURBAN RESOLUTIONS. IMPOSSIBLE ACCEPT COMMIS-
SION UNLESS SUGGESTION ADDING TO COMMISSION, RELEASE
PRISONERS ACCEPTED. PEOPLE EARNEST ENTHUSIASTIC. THEY
WILL NOT LISTEN ADVICE ACCEPTANCE COMMISSION EX-
CEPT ON ABOVE CONDITIONS. THEY ARE DESPERATE, THO-
ROUGHLY DISTRUST GOVERNMENT. COMMISSION SEEMS INCLUDE
EXAMINATION GENERAL GRIEVANCES. ANYWAY OUR LETTER
ASSUMES INCLUSION SUCH EXAMINATION AND ASKS FOR IT IF
OUR INTERPRETATION INCORRECT. SIXTEEN PIONEER PASSIVE
RESISTERS INCLUDING RUSTOMJEE FOUR LADIES DISCHARGED
EXPIRATION SENTENCES. RUSTOMJEE OTHERS WHO ARE AMONG
MOST RESPECTABLE MEMBERS COMMUNITY STATE PRISON TREAT-
MENT BARBAROUS, CRUEL. RUSTOMJEE WHO HAS EXPERIENCE
MANY PRISONS DURING PREVIOUS LONG IMPRISONMENTS SAYS

PRESENT TREATMENT DURBAN PRISON UNPARALLELED
 INCRUELTY. MAGISTRATE INDIFFERENT RARELY VISITS PRISON
 RECEIVE COMPLAINTS, GOVERNOR ALMOST UNAPPROACHABLE.
 BEFORE HUNGER STRIKE, WARDERS RUDE, RUFFIANLY STUDIOUSLY
 INSULTING. THEY DECLINE TAKE COMPLAINTS, NATIVE WARDERS
 CRUEL, UNWARRANTABLY THRASH PASSIVE RESISTERS
 WITH IMPUNITY. PRAGJI DESAI, WHOM YOU KNOW,
 WAS WITHOUT CAUSE ROUGHLY ASSAULTED MAKING HIM
 FALL, WAS THEN DRAGGED TO CELL LYING IN AGONY
 CONSIDERABLE TIME BEFORE RECEIVING ATTENTION AND
 REQUIRED ELEVEN DAYS, HOSPITAL TREATMENT. PHOENIX SCHOOL
 STUDENT SIXTEEN YEARS ROUGHLY ASSAULTED. RUSTOMJEE,
 MANILAL GANDHI OTHERS ALL KNOWN TO YOU KICKED,
 ROUGHLY HANDLED, INSULTED, CALLED COOLIES IN SPITE
 REPEATED PROTESTS MANY NOT RECEIVED SANDALS, SOCKS,
 SOME DEPRIVED SANDALS ON ASKING SOCKS. DIRTY UN-
 WASHED GAOL CLOTHING ISSUED. PROTESTS AGAINST SUCH
 DIRTY DANGEROUSLY INSANITARY HABIT UNHEEDED ANDJEERED AT. GAOL
 LIBRARY BOOKS NOT ISSUED, PREVENTED
 FROM TAKING THEIR OWN. RUSTY DISHES, RUSTY PANNIKINS
 CONTINUOUSLY ISSUED. FOOD INFERIOR QUALITY, GHEE
 ADULTERATED. OFTEN UNDER-COOKED BEANS ISSUED CAUSING
 DYSENTERY, FROM WHICH SOME LADIES WHO ARE STILL IN
 DURBAN GAOL ARE SUFFERING. COCKROACHES, MAGGOTS
 FOUND IN FOOD, YET FOOD NOT REPLACED. BY WAY
 PROTEST AGAINST SUCH ILL-TREATMENT MANY HUNGER
 STRUCK. FAST LASTED FOUR DAYS. FOURTH DAY ONE OF
 THEM VEGETARIAN BY RELIGION FORCIBLY FED WITH MILK
 AND EGGS. STRIKE DISSOLVED BY GAOLER PROMISING RELIEF
 WHICH NEVER CAME. DURING STRIKE PRISONERS . ASKED SEE
 GOVERNOR WHO WAS NOT SEEN TILL AFTER TWENTY
 FOUR HOURS. THEY HAD ALSO HUNGER STRIKE IN MARITZ-
 BURG FOR THREE DAYS BEFORE RATIONING GHEE WAS IS-
 SUED. RUSTOMJEE'S STATEMENT¹ OF GRIEVANCES HAS CREATED
 SENSATION. DISCHARGED PASSIVE RESISTERS SHOW FIXED

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

DETERMINATION COURT RE-ARREST IMMEDIATELY, IF NECES-
SARY. PREPARING AFFIDAVITS SUBMISSION GOVERNMENT. RE-
QUESTING INQUIRY.¹

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

284. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE²

DURBAN,
December 23, 1913

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
POONA

WE NEVER WENT PRETORIA SEE MINISTERS STOP UNLESS
PROMPTEST AGITATION INDIAN SUPPORTING OUR DEMANDS
GOVERNMENT ACCEDING UNLIKELY STOP VICEROY MISAPPRE-
HENDS SITUATION STOP INSPIRED TELEGRAM³ PUBLISHED TO-
DAY SAYS COMMISSION NOT APPOINTED CONCILIATE LOCAL
INDIANS; BUT ONLY IMPERIAL INDIAN GOVERNMENTS. THAT
AGITATION FICTITIOUS CARRIED ON AT DICTATION EXTREMISTS
INDIA PURPOSE EMBARRASSING INDIAN GOVERNMENT STOP
GREAT EFFORTS BEING MADE BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT DIS-
CREDIT AGITATION WHICH IS ASSUMING ALMOST UNCON-
TROLLABLE PROPORTIONS. MY FIRM CONVICTION THAT MASS

¹ An abstract of this cable was released to the Press and appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 29-10-1913.

² This was sent in reply to two cables from Gokhale: The first, received at 9 A.M., read: "Powerful attempts here separate Viceroy from us. These greatly assisted by Reuter's partisan cables. Cannot counteract unless you reply promptly. Cable urgent some length your objection Esselen Wylie mentioning specific instances anti-Indian conduct." The second, which reached Durban two hours later, said: "Your last evening's cable just received. Reuter reported you had proceeded Pretoria see Ministers. Cable what happened. Cable also what probability Government conceding demands Sunday meeting. Viceroy feels strongly inquiry secured after great efforts. Desirable satisfy him your reasons boycotting good. Cable therefore urgent objections Esselen Wylie. Must issue statement today. Country anxiously waiting."

³ *Vide* the following item.

PEOPLE SO INDIGNANT THAT IF ATTEMPT WERE MADE ASK THEM ACCEPT PRESENT COMMISSION, THEY WOULD KILL LEADERS. STRONG PROTESTS WERE LODGED WITH GOVERNMENT FROM MOST CENTRES BEFORE OUR DISCHARGE AND MANY DEMANDED NOT ADDITION BUT SUBSTITUTION ESSELEN WYLIE. IT REQUIRED CONSIDERABLE TACT CALMNESS INDUCE PEOPLE ACCEPT ESSELEN WYLIE EVEN IF OUR NOMINEES APPOINTED. ESSENCE STRUGGLE RECOGNITION RIGHT CONSULTATION VITAL MATTERS. IF RIGHT WAIVED AT THIS CRITICAL STAGE, PASSIVE RESISTANCE DIES. ESSELEN SPOKE MEYLER MEMBER ASSEMBLY PRIVATELY RECENTLY MOST OFFENSIVELY AGAINST INDIANS. MEYLER PUBLICLY PROTESTED APPOINTMENT ESSELEN HAS DECLARED ON PUBLIC PLATFORMS EMPHATICALLY ANTI-ASIATIC VIEWS. IN REALITY HE IS SO INTIMATELY RELATED POLITICALLY UNION MINISTERS THAT HE MAY BE DESCRIBED AS NON-OFFICIAL MEMBER MINISTRY. WYLIE DURING AGITATION HAS SAID TAX OUGHT NOT BE REPEALED. IS COLONEL DEFENCE FORCE WHOSE ACTS SUBJECT INQUIRY. LEGAL ADVISER MANY ESTATE-OWNERS AND ADMITTEDLY ANTI-ASIATIC SINCE EIGHTEEN NINETY-SIX, WHEN ADVISED PEOPLE SINK SHIPS¹ BRINGING INDEPENDENT INDIANS STOP EVEN IF WE MUST BOYCOTT COMMISSION, WE CAN PRINT INDIAN EVIDENCE SUPPORTING CHARGES STOP IT IS PATENT PRESENT COMMISSION DESIGNED NOT GRANT RELIEF BUT GAIN TIME HOODWINK PUBLIC.

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

¹ These were s.s. *Courland* and *S. S. Naderi*: for details of the anti-Indian demonstration led, among others, by Col. Wylie, *vide* "Memorial to Secretary of state for the colonies", 15-3-1897.

285. CABLE TO LORD AMPHILL

DURBAN,
December 23, 1913

LORD AMPHILL

INSPIRED TELEGRAM PUBLISHED TODAY SAYS COMMISSION NOT
APPOINTED CONCILIATE LOCAL INDIANS BUT ONLY IMPERIAL
INDIAN GOVERNMENTS THAT AGITATION FICTITIOUS CARRIED
ON AT DICTATION EXTREMISTS INDIA PURPOSE EMBARRASSING
INDIAN GOVERNMENT. GREAT EFFORTS BEING MADE BY LOCAL
GOVERNMENT DISCREDIT AGITATION WHICH ASSUMING UNCON-
TROLLABLE PROPORTIONS. MASS PEOPLE SO INDIGNANT THAT
IF ATTEMPT MADE ADVISE ACCEPTANCE PRESENT COMMISSION
THEY WOULD KILL LEADERS. STRONG PROTESTS LODGED
GOVERNMENT FROM MOST CENTRES BEFORE OUR DISCHARGE. GREATEST
DIFFICULTY EXPERIENCED INDUCE ACCEPTANCE PEO-
PLE PRINCIPLES ADDITIONAL MEMBERS INSTEAD OF SUBSTITU-
TION. ESSENCE STRUGGLE RECOGNITION RIGHT CONSULTATION
VITAL MATTERS. IF RIGHT WAIVED THIS CRITICAL STAGE PAS-
SIVE RESISTANCE DIES STOP UNLESS PROMPTEST AGITATION ENGLAND
SUPPORTING OUR DEMANDS UNLIKELY GOVERNMENT
ACCEDING RESULTING UNTOLD MISERY HARDSHIPS DEATH.

GANDHI
POLAK
RITCH
KALLENBACH

Colonial Office Records: 551/52

286. *CABLE TO LORD AMPHILL*¹

[DURBAN,
December 23, 1913]²

VEREENIGING INDIANS AT PUBLIC MEETING ASSOCIATED THEM-
SELVES WITH ACTION BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION DETERMINED
PASSIVE RESISTANCE AND CONGRATULATED BRAVE BROTHERS
AND SISTERS NOW SUFFERING IMPRISONMENT INDIA'S HONOUR.
TRUST UNION GOVERNMENT WILL GRANT RELIEF AND ENGLAND
AND INDIA WILL HELP.

ASWATH
CHAIRMAN

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5902

287. *LETTER TO "THE NATAL MERCURY"*

110, FIELD STREET,
DURBAN,
December 23, 1913

SIR,

I venture to suggest that, in your editorial this morning on the resolutions passed at the mass meeting on Sunday and upon the letter addressed to the Government by my colleagues and myself, you have taken up an attitude that is hardly calculated to serve the Empire. You see the mote in our eye, but you miss the beam in that of the Government. I do not admit that the tone adopted by the speakers at the mass meeting was aggressive or offensive, unless the mere assertion of rights be so considered. In my humble opinion, the

¹ A copy of this was sent to *Immortal*, Bombay.

² The draft of the cable is undated. It is likely that it was drafted about the same time as the preceding item; it is not known whether it was actually sent.

Government not only refuse to do justice, to which you consider we are entitled, but the manner of denying it is also offensive and contemptuous in the highest degree. Take the inspired telegram published this morning. According to it, the Commission has been appointed, not to conciliate us —we are beneath notice—but to conciliate the Imperial and Indian Governments. We are accused of being tools in the hands of the Indian extremists, and of nursing a fictitious agitation. Do you think that, if you were in our place, you would, under any circumstances whatever, take advantage of a seemingly relieving measure? I submit that if we have a grain of self-respect left in us, it is impossible for us, after learning the view of the Government—if the telegram does represent it—to recede an inch from the position which we have taken up. Peace for us is unattainable until we dislodge the Government from the attitude of contemptuous disregard of our sentiments.

In asking us to revise our prayer, you are asking us to surrender a principle, namely, that of the right to be consulted in matters vitally affecting us, the very thing for which we have been fighting, and now dying; whereas the Government, if they granted our prayer, would be only giving what we are entitled to, and what would justify them in the estimation of the civilized world.

You say that by its present attitude the Indian community is alienating the sympathy of its South African friends. This warning has been given to the community on many an occasion, and yet the truth of its cause has each time succeeded, not only in retaining, but in increasing it. It may be that we might, this time, have relied once too often upon its retention. If so, I should be very sorry. I value that sympathy, but I value the cause more, and if, in prosecuting it, we must forfeit the former, we must be content for the time being, and believe in the ultimate triumph of truth, which is on our side.

I am, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

The Natal Mercury, 24-12-1913

288. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

DURBAN,
December 24, 1913

GOKHALE
SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

UNDERSTAND YOUR FEELING¹ STOP WOULD GIVE MY LIFE IF
THAT MIGHT HELP STOP THIS STRUGGLE INDEPENDENT VICE
ROY, IMPERIAL MINISTERS ANY TEMPORAL POWER. SOLEMN
DECLARATION GOD'S NAME SUNDAY IRREVOCABLE STOP IF
PEOPLE'S STRENGTH PERSISTS MOST ADVERSE CIRCUMSTANCES,
IT WILL ONLY ACCELERATE ATTAINMENT JUSTICE, WHICH
MUST BE RENDERED SOONER LATER STOP MY FIRM CONVIC-
TION ANY ONE OF US ESPECIALLY I ADVISING PEOPLE NOW
ACCEPT COMMISSION WITHOUT ADDITION WOULD BE VERY
JUSTIFIABLY KILLED STOP QUESTION ASKED BEFORE ADMINIS-
TRATION OATH, WHETHER I WOULD REVISE ADVICE IF
YOU OR VICEROY URGED US ABANDON CONTENTION, I SAID
NO HUMAN BEING COULD INDUCE ALTERATION DECLARATION
ONCE SOLEMNLY MADE STOP FEEL WE ARE GAINING GROUND
HERE; BUT WHETHER OR NOT AND WHETHER AFTER VICE-
ROY'S REPUDIATION WE RETAIN OR LOSE HOLD ON MASSES
STRUGGLE MUST CONTINUE TILL THE FEW PERISH IN AT-
TEMPT STOP THROUGHOUT THIS LONG SPIRITUAL STRUGGLE
WE HAVE HITHERTO SUCCESSFULLY UPHELD ABOVE VITAL
PRINCIPLE STOP DURING STRUGGLE IMPERIAL MINISTERS HAVE
REPEATEDLY REPUDIATED AFTERWARDS RALLIED LIKE LOCAL
MINISTERS STOP MAY YOU HAVE STRENGTH DURING TERRIBLE
CRISIS AND MAY YOU FIND WAY OUT NOTWITHSTANDING

¹ The reference is evidently to Gokhale's anxiety that a boycott of the Commission might alienate the Viceroy; *vide* footnote I to "Cable to G. K. Gokhale", 23-12-1913.

OUR INABILITY RECEDE.¹

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

289. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE²

DURBAN,

December 24, 1913

CONFIDENTIAL. TO-DAY SEVEN REPRESENTATIVE MINISTERS RELIGION
CONFERRED LENGTHILY US THREE. THEY HAVE WIRED GO-
VERNMENT OFFERING INTERVENTION. IF NOT ACCEPTED THEY
WILL AGITATE PUBLICLY FOR GRANTING OUR DEMANDS. "RAND
DAILY MAIL" "EAST LONDON DESPATCH" STRONGLY URGE
GOVERNMENT CONCEDE. HOSKEN HAS ISSUED PUBLIC APPEAL
SUPPORTING DEMANDS.

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

¹ Gandhiji gives the gist of a similar cable in *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLVII, and states that C. F. Andrews too concurred with it. This is obviously incorrect as Andrews reached South Africa only on January 2, 1914.

² This cable, with the last two sentences omitted, was also sent to Lord Amptill.

290. CABLE TO LORD AMPHILL

DURBAN,
December 24, 1913

LORD AMPHILL

SEEN¹ CABLE RITCH² NO PEREMPTORY TONE ADOPTED STOP
CAPE TIMES ADMITS REASONABLENESS DEMANDS COURTEOUS
TONE BUT OBJECTS EFFECTS LETTER AS ULTIMATUM STOP WE
HAVE NOT DEPARTED HAIRBREADTH FROM MODERATE LANG-
UAGE DESPITE GRAVE PROVOCATION BUT ALTERNATIVE SUG-
GESTED NAMELY RENEWAL PASSIVE RESISTANCE AN ALTER-
NATIVE WHICH HAS ACCOMPANIED ALL SUCH LETTERS IS
BEING TREATED AS THREAT STOP "RAND DAILY MAIL" JOHAN-
NESBURG "EAST LONDON DESPATCH" ASK GOVERNMENT CONCEDE
DEMANDS THUS RECOGNIZING ITS IMPERIAL OBLIGATIONS.
HOSKEN ISSUED PUBLIC APPEAL SUPPORTING OUR LETTER.
CHURCH COUNCILS MOVING SAME DIRECTION WE SHALL ENDEAVOUR UTMOST
CONTINUE TRADITIONS PASSIVE RESISTANCE THUS RE-
TAINING YOUR LORDSHIP'S CONFIDENCE AND YOUR POWERFUL
EFFECTIVE ADVOCACY.

GANDHI
POLAK
KALLENBACH

Colonial Office Records: 551/52

¹ The original has "sent", which is evidently a typing mistake.

² Lord Ampthill had cabled L. W. Ritch: "Tell Gandhi that in my judgment his present attitude will alienate sympathies now obtained after ten years patient persistence, will place friends here and in India in false position and will wreck cause. Peremptory tone not in accordance with spirit of passive resistance. Earnestly exhort him to meet half way undoubted wish for settlement."

291. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

DURBAN,

December 25, 1913

VERY URGENT.

INTERIOR

PRETORIA

HAVE SEEN PAPERS TEXT GOVERNMENT REPLY JOINT LETTER¹
FROM POLAK KALLENBACH SELF. APPRECIATE CONCILIATORY
TONE AND VENTURE HOPE POSITION NOT IRRETRIEVABLE. BEG
ASSURE GENERAL SMUTS OF DESIRE AVOID INFLICTION SUFFERING ON
WHITE AND INDIAN. WOULD DO ANYTHING WITHIN
MY POWER PREVENT LOSSES TO EMPLOYERS INDIAN LABOUR
FOR SOME OF WHOM I ENTERTAIN HIGH REGARD BUT AM
COMPELLED HEEDLESS OF SUFFERINGS FOLLOW COURSE DICTATED BY
CONSCIENCE. IF GENERAL SMUTS BE APPROACHABLE
I WOULD LIKE WAIT ON HIM AND HOPE SUBMIT SUGGESTIONS
ACCEPTANCE WHEREOF MIGHT LEAD REMOVAL DEADLOCK
WITHOUT LOSS OF DIGNITY FOR GOVERNMENT OR HONOUR
FOR INDIANS. ONLY REASON FOR PUBLISHING OUR LETTER
WAS THAT OUR APPEAL WAS INTENDED BOTH FOR GOVERNMENT
AND FOR PUBLIC. MOREOVER OUR RELEASE WITHOUT
OFFICIAL INTIMATION OF REASONS THEREFOR WAS INTERPRETED BY
US TO MEAN ABSENCE OF DESIRE ON PART GOVERNMENT
CONSULT COMMUNITY EITHER FORMALLY OR INFOR-
MALLY IN MATTERS VITALLY AFFECTING IT. OUR LETTER
I SEE HAS BEEN MISDESCRIBED AS AN ULTIMATUM. BUT I
HOPE MINISTER WILL ACCEPT MY WORD THAT IT WAS MEANT
NEITHER TO BE ULTIMATUM NOR THREAT. WE HAVE CON-
DEMNED PROCEDURE. GOVERNMENT HAS GRACEFULLY RECOGNIZED
[USEFULNESS] OF INFORMING THEM THAT ON CERTAIN
OCCASIONS COMMUNITY'S FEELING IS SUCH THAT NOT GRANTING
REQUESTED RELIEF WOULD RESULT IN CONTINUATION OR
REVIVAL PASSIVE RESISTANCE NAMELY SELF-SUFFERING. I
VENTURE HOPE GENERAL SMUTS WILL BE PLEASED APPOINT

¹ Vide "Letter to Minister of Interior", 21-12-1913.

TIME GRANTING INTERVIEW. WILL REFRAIN FROM HANDING
THIS PRESS PENDING REPLY.¹

GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 551/46

292. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE²

DURBAN,
December 25, 1913

GOVERNMENT'S REPLY OUR LETTER RECEIVED. THOUGH RE
JECTING DEMAND ADDITION COMMISSION, IT LEAVES OPEN-
INGS NEGOTIATION. HAVE ASKED FOR PRIVATE INTERVIEW.

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

¹ The following telegram, dated December 29, was received from the Minister of Interior: "Your wire 25th. Minister is pleased to note therefrom that a more conciliatory attitude is being adopted by the leaders on the Indian question. The Minister notes request for an interview but in view of misunderstandings which have occurred in the past he would prefer that the points on which it is desired to make representations be formally set out in writing. The Government are prepared to give any reasonable representations their careful consideration." *Vide* also "Letter to Minister of Interior", 21-12-1913.

² It appears a similar cable was sent the next day to Lord Amptill who acknowledged it and earlier cables, adding that he was "doing all that is possible".

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LETTER FROM SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR TO GANDHIJI

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA,
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,
April 4, 1913

SIR,

With reference to your letter of the 24th ultimo, I am directed by the Minister of the Interior to state the question raised by you some time ago in reference to the issue of permits to enter the Transvaal in favour of certain selected British Indians has been receiving his attention. Mr. Fischer understands that, in this matter, you are representing that section of the Indian community in the Transvaal, which was known some three or four years back as the "Passive Resisters" and he believes that your recommendations for the issue of permits were confined to persons whose interests are more or less identical with this particular section of the community. The Minister cannot find that it was anywhere been either implied or accepted that, in this matter, you were acting on behalf of the entire Asiatic population of the Transvaal, and this being so, he is somewhat at a loss to understand the attitude you are adopting.

The actual position is that, when the question of allowing limited number of educated British Indians to enter the Transvaal annually for the benefit of their compatriots settled there was being discussed, the Government gave an undertaking that it would allow six such persons to enter each year; but there was no agreement that all six were to be nominated by you, which is apparently the contention you are now seeking to establish. As you have already been advised in my letter of the 15th January, the different sections of the Asiatic community of the Transvaal submitted the names of twenty-two persons for special exemption from the Immigration Law during 1913, and in order to meet the community as far as possible by giving each section a share in the permits to be issued, Mr. Fisher decided to increase the number of permits from six to ten, and in so doing, accepted four out of the six of your nominations, and granted six out of the sixteen other nominations that had been made to him. In this he was influenced by the knowledge that you were speaking for a large section of the population; but not, so far as he is aware, for the whole body of

British Indians.

It is, however, apparent that there has been a misunderstanding on the subject between yourself and the Government, and the Minister will accordingly raise no further objection on this occasion to the acceptance of the two other names submitted by you; but it must be understood that the Government can in no way bind itself to accept in future without question, the proposals for the introduction of educated British Indians, which may be made by, or on behalf of, one or other of the many Societies and Associations which already exist, and which there is no reason to suppose will not multiply in years to come. The Government has undertaken to allow a certain number of these persons into South Africa every year, and all applications for inclusion in the list will receive the Government's careful consideration; but it is quite clear that unless some definite arrangement is made, such, for example, as a recommendation by the Government of India in each case, or the actual selection by that Government of the persons to be admitted, it will be very difficult if not impossible, to reconcile the conflicting claims to consideration which are sure to be advanced by these different bodies.

Regarding the second point referred to in your recent communication, I may say that the new immigration Bill is being published this week. Power is taken in Section 25(1) to exempt any persons from the provisions of Section 4 (which describes the persons who may be treated as prohibited immigrants). Those British Indians, therefore, whose names are included in the annual list of entrants would be exempted, in respect of the Province in which they are authorized to reside, from the requirements of Section 4.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

E. M. GORGES

SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR

From a photos tat of the origin al: S. N. 5750

APPENDIX II

TEXT OF THE SEARLE JUDGMENT¹

Mr. Justice Searle, in giving judgment, said: I should have been glad to have had a little more time in regard to giving judgment in this matter so as to have been able to go into it somewhat more fully, but on account of the departure of a steamer it is of urgency and thus requires to be disposed of at once. The facts are not in dispute. The applicant, an Indian who has been living at Port Elizabeth since 1902, obtained a permit last year to go to India, where he contracted a "marriage" by Mahomedan rites with one Bai Mariam, who now seeks admission to this country with him, as an immigrant under Act 30, 1906. It is admitted that she is unable to satisfy the qualifications of Section 3(a) of Act 30, 1906, and that unless she is to be regarded as the wife of applicant under Section 4 (e) of that Act, she cannot claim admission. What appeared at first to me to be a difficulty in the way of the respondent was that a certificate from a magistrate in India was annexed to the petition in which it was stated that she was the wife of the applicant; but I understand that that document is only admitted as evidence subject to the admission made by the applicant that this so-called marriage was what is commonly known as a polygamous one, in other words, that the applicant was free to enter any unions of a similar nature during the subsistence of the marriage with Bai Mariam. As a fact, however, he has not done so, and the question for discussion, it is agreed between the parties, is simply narrowed down to this "What is the meaning of the word 'wife' in Section 4(e) of the Act?" Does it mean a wife by a marriage recognised as legal by the laws of this country, or must the term be extended to embrace a so-called wife by a custom which recognises polygamy? The courts of this country have always set their faces against recognition of these so-called Mahomedan marriages as legal unions; although by Act 16 of 1860 of Cape Colony, provision was made whereby marriage officers could solemnise such and thus give them validity, until so solemnised they remain out of the pale of legal marriages. It is clear, however, that such solemnisation has not taken place in this case, and there is no statement even of any intention to effect this if Bai Mariam is permitted to land. It was in consequence of the existence of that statute that Magistrate's case and the others quoted on the same lines were decided. The object of allowing the wife of an immigrant to land with him was no doubt because of the intimate legal relations existing between husband and wife, whereby they are partners

¹ The judgment was delivered on March 14, 1913, in the Cape Supreme Court. Hassan Esop, husband of Bai Mariam, had applied for an order restraining the Minister of the Interior from deporting her.

in legal contemplation for many purposes and the husband is bound to maintain the wife until they are legally separated by the Court. If, however, persons are admitted as “wives” who might legally be repudiated the next day after the arrival by the husband entering into a lawful union in this country with someone else, or even without his doing so, it seems to me the object of the exemption in favour of the wife would not be carried into effect. The statute is in general term; it is not framed merely for Asiatics or, indeed, principally for them, though the word Asiatic is incidentally mentioned in the Act; not all Asiatics, however, contract unions of a polygamous character. It is said that *at all events* one “wife” should be admitted of a Mahommedan union, and I do not know whether *it* is to be the first that comes, or the first that is married; but it is said that otherwise there will be great hardships imposed and immorality presumably encouraged; these are matters for the legislature to consider, though I am not satisfied that such consequences would necessarily ensue by the interpretation of the Act contended for by the respondent. The matter has never been judicially decided in this Province, but in the Transvaal a recent decision disclosed a difference of opinion on the Bench. The Transvaal Statute is in similar terms to Act 30 of 1906, and I agree with the decision of the majority of the Court. This is not a case where merely ceremonial forms of the marriage celebration in the foreign country by parties domiciled there are different from those required in this country; in such cases *it* may well be that the marriage could not be impeached here, but this is a case where the very elements and essentials of a legal union of marriage are, by admission, wanting. As pointed out for respondent, when the legislature of this Colony did intend to put a wider interpretation on the word “wife” so as to include a reputed wife as in Act 15, 1865, the Act clearly said so; the onus here lies on the applicant and I am not satisfied that he has discharged it. The application must be refused. It was suggested that the Court should intimate that Bai Mariam might be allowed to land if applicant agreed to legalise his marriage under Act 16 of 1860, but that is not a matter for the Court to interfere with, though I can see no objection to such a course of the procedure if the Minister should direct it. I don’t even know if machinery for such legalisation at present exists. As costs are not pressed for, there will be no order as to costs.

Indian Opinion, 21-6-1913

APPENDIX III

RESOLUTIONS AT VREDEDORP MASS MEETING

JOHANNESBURG,

March 30, 1913

RESOLUTION I

This Mass Meeting of British Indians, held under the auspices of the British Indian Association, expresses deep distress and disappointment at the decision of the Cape Provincial Division of the Supreme Court, whereby non-Christian Indian marriages, celebrated according to the tenets of the great faiths prevailing in India, and which marriages are recognised by law in India, are invalidated and the great religions of India insulted; and respectfully and earnestly requests the Government to introduce a remedial legislation recognising the validity of such marriages throughout the Union.

RESOLUTION II

This meeting is of opinion that the decision referred to in the foregoing resolution is calculated, if logically acted upon, to disturb Indian domestic relations, to break up established homes, to put husband and wife asunder, to deprive lawful children of their inheritances or of the advantages, in some parts of the Union, of the law of inheritance as to succession and transfer duty, and to prevent the entry into South Africa of the lawful wives and children of Indians entitled to reside within the Union.

RESOLUTION III

This meeting is further of opinion that the questions arising out of the decision are of such vital importance to the British Indian population of South Africa that, unless the relief requested is granted, it will become the bounden duty of the community, for the protection of its womanhood and its honour, to adopt passive resistance.

RESOLUTION IV

This meeting of British Indians authorises the Chairman to forward copies of the foregoing resolutions to the Union Government, the Imperial Government and the Indian Government.

CERTIFIED CORRECT

A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN

Colonial Office Records: 551/39

APPENDIX IV

DEATH OF GIANT DESPAIR¹

Mr. Great-heart, Old Honest, and the four young men went up to Doubting Castle to look for Giant Despair. When they came to the Castle gate, they knocked for entrance with an unusual noise. At that the Old Giant comes to the gate and Diffidence, his wife, follows. Then said he: "Who and what is he that is so hardy, as after this manner to molest the Giant Despair?"

Mr. Great-heart replied, "It is I, Great-heart, one of the King of the Celestial Country's conductors of pilgrims to their place; and I demand of thee that thou open thy gates for my entrance. Prepare thyself also to fight. . .for I am come to take away thy head, and to demolish Doubting Castle."

Now Giant Despair, because he was a giant, thought no man could overcome him, and again thought he, "Since heretofore I have made a conquest of angels, shall Great-heart make me afraid?"

So he put on his armour, and went out. He had a cap of steel upon his head, a breast-plate of fire girded to him and he came out in iron shoes, with a great club in his hand.

Then these six men made up to him, and beset him behind and before: also when Diffidence, the giantess, came up to help him, old Mr. Honest cut her down at one blow.

Then they fought for their lives, and Giant Despair was brought down to the ground, but was very loath to die. He struggled hard, and had, as they say, as many lives as a cat: but Great-heart was his death, for he left him not till he had severed his head from his shoulders.

Then they fell to demolishing Doubting Castle, and that you know might with ease be done, since Giant Despair was dead. They were seven days in the destroying of that, and in it of pilgrims they found one Mr. Despondency, almost starved to death, and one much afraid, his daughter, these two they saved alive. But it would have made you wonder to see the dead bodies that lay here and there in the Castle-yard, and how full of dead men's bones the dungeon was.

When Mr. Great-heart and his companions had performed this exploit, they took Mr. Despondency and his daughter. Much afraid, into their protection, for they

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Hermann Kallenbach", 5-3-1913.

were worthy, honest people, though they were prisoners in Doubting Castle to that tyrant Giant Despair.

They, therefore, I say, took with them the head of the Giant (for his body they had buried under a heap of stones) and down to the road and to their companions they came and showed them what they had done, and when they saw that it was indeed the head of Giant Despair, they were all very merry and danced with joy.

When all these things were finished, Mr. Great-heart took the head of Giant Despair and set it upon a pole by the highway side: And then the pilgrims went forward on their journey.

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

APPENDIX V

TELEGRAM FROM MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[CAPE TOWN,]

April 15, 1913

YOUR FIRST TELEGRAM NINTH. MINISTER DESIRES ME TO REPLY TO YOUR POINTS AS FOLLOWS. AS TO SECTION THREE BOARDS OF APPEAL TAKE THE PLACE OF COURTS EXCEPT IN QUESTION OF DOMICILE. THERE ARE WELL ESTABLISHED PRECEDENTS FOR THIS. AS TO CLAUSE (A) SUB-SECTION 1, SECTION 4, FIRST POINT YOU RAISE APPEARS IS COVERED BY SECTION 5(F). PROHIBITION OF ENTRY INTO FREE STATE IS NO NEW PROPOSAL AND WAS CONTEMPLATED IN PREVIOUS BILL. SUB-SECTION 3, SECTION 4, AS TO RESTRICTION TO ONE PORT, THIS PROVISION IS NECESSARY FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES BASED ON EXPERIENCE AND IS INTENDED TO PREVENT UNAUTHORIZED ENTRY VIA PORTS WHERE GOVERNMENT HAS NO SATISFACTORY CONTROL OVER THE MOVEMENTS OF PROHIBITED IMMIGRANTS. SUB-SECTION (F) SECTION 5, ANY ALTERATION IN THE DIRECTION INDICATED BY YOU WOULD SEEM TO CONFER A RIGHT WHICH HAS NOT HITHERTO EXISTED. AS TO PROVISIO TO THE SECTION, MINISTER CANNOT FIND IN THE CASE OF NATAL THAT RESIDENTIAL CERTIFICATE CONFERRED ANY RIGHTS. IN THE CASE OF TRANSVAAL, SECTION II OF ACT 36 OF 1908 GIVES RIGHTS WHICH WILL, OF COURSE, BE RESPECTED, BUT CANNOT SEE THAT SUCH RIGHTS CAN BE GREATER IN THE CASE OF AN INDIAN THAN IN

THE CASE OF A EUROPEAN WHO, BY LONG ABSENCE, MAY LOSE HIS DOMICILE IN SOUTH AFRICA. REGARDING QUESTION OF INTER-MIGRATION TO THE CAPE AND NATAL OF EDUCATED INDIANS WHO COULD PASS EDUCATION TEST AT PRESENT IMPOSED, POSITION WAS CLEARLY STATED LAST YEAR BY THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR IN HIS SPEECH ON THE SECOND READING OF THE BILL, THAT RESTRICTIONS ON INTER PROVINCIAL MOVEMENT OF ASIATICS IN SOUTH AFRICA WOULD NOT BE MADE GREATER THAN THEY ARE AT PRESENT AND THERE IS NO INTENTION OF DEPARTING FROM THAT POLICY WHICH WILL BE CARRIED OUT EITHER BY GRANTING EXEMPTION OR BY OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION. WITH REFERENCE SEARLE'S JUDGMENT, GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY INTIMATED THAT IT HAS NO INTENTION OF DEPARTING FROM THE PRESENT PRACTICE IN REGARD TO WIVES AND MINOR CHILDREN. WITH REFERENCE TO YOUR SECOND TELEGRAM, THE WIFE AND MINOR CHILDREN OF SELECTED EDUCATED ENTRANT EITHER COME WITH HIM AND ARE ADMITTED WITH HIM OR THEY ARRIVE AFTER HE HAD ACQUIRED A DOMICILE AND THUS FALL UNDER THE EXEMPTION. REGARDING DECLARATION, AS POINTED OUT TO YOU LAST YEAR, THE SWORN DECLARATION IS NOT AN IMMIGRATION PROVISION, AND CANNOT THEREFORE UNDERSTAND THAT ANY DIFFICULTY IS LIKELY TO ARISE. THERE IS NO SETTLED ASIATIC COMMUNITY IN FREE STATE AND IT CANNOT BE CONCEIVED THAT ANY OF THE EDUCATED ENTRANTS WHO ARE TO BE ADMITTED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE INDIAN COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE WILL EVER SEEK TO SETTLE IN THAT PROVINCE. CASUAL VISITS ARE PROVIDED FOR WITHOUT FORMALITY. REGARDING LAST POINT, WORDS WERE ADDED AS LAST YEAR'S DRAFT WAS DEFECTIVE. IN CONCLUSION, MINISTER STRONGLY DEPRECATES REFERENCES IN YOUR TELEGRAM AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS TO PASSIVE RESISTANCE. THE THREATS THEREIN CONTAINED MIGHT VERY POSSIBLY, IN VIEW OF FEELING THROUGHOUT THE UNION ON MATTER UNDER CONSIDERATION, LEAD TO RESULTS FAR DIFFERENT FROM THOSE ANTICIPATED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INDIAN COMMUNITY WHEN MAKING THEM.

Indian Opinion, 7-6-1913

APPENDIX VI

SPEECH BY A. M. CACHALIA

JOHANNESBURG,

April 27, 1913

It has become necessary again to convene a mass meeting in order that you may consider the long-expected Immigration Bill, which has been just published. A respectful protest has already been wired to the Government on behalf of the Association, embodying our objections to the Bill, and a reply has been received saying that the objections are receiving the careful consideration of the Government. We may reasonably hope, therefore, that the Bill will be amended in accordance with our objections. It was, however, considered advisable, regard being had to the very great importance of the occasion, to obtain the opinion of the whole Indian community in the Transvaal, as also to consider what steps we should take in the event of the Government declining or being unable to meet us.

The Bill, if it becomes law in its present form, will make our position worse than it was before the struggle was commenced in 1906, a position which we, as a self-respecting community, can never endorse. You will notice, moreover, that it seriously affects the rights hitherto enjoyed not only by grown-up men but by women and children also. It affects equally the rich and the poor. It takes away the rights of those who are domiciled in South Africa, notwithstanding the declarations made by General Botha that it is not the intention of the Government to molest the resident Indian community. A Bill which cuts at the very root of existence must be resisted by those affected by it at any cost.

We, who are unrepresented in Parliament although we contribute to the expense of keeping it, have only one effective mode of securing redress, and that is Passive Resistance. Having had considerable experience of passive resistance, we are in a position to measure our strength as well as our weakness, and to measure also the value of passive resistance as a remedy. It will not be denied that, during the first campaign, our sufferings were little compared with the sufferings that the community had to undergo during the second campaign; but we found, too, that, during that long period of four years over which the second campaign spread, in the last stages of it, the number of those who could stand what then appeared to be almost endless imprisonment was undoubtedly small in comparison, but it was a band mostly of earnest and indomitable spirits, and it was due to their sufferings alone that we were able to reach what is known as the provisional settlement. It was called "provisional" because, whilst it conceded all that we had been fighting for, it had not the force of

law. The present Bill is supposed to embody that settlement, but, as you have seen from the objection drawn up by your Committee, it has done nothing of the kind. We are now pleading with the Government, and we shall continue to do so so long as there is hope, but, in the last resort, it is perfectly clear that the same means that brought about the provisional settlement must be adopted now to secure legislative sanction for the promises contained in the settlement.

If, in spite of all our efforts to the contrary, the community has to engage in a third campaign, it must necessarily be bitter and painful and involve much greater sufferings than before. It is evident that thousands will not be ready to engage in such a strenuous fight, but all who, having understood the spirit of the Bill, are opposed to it, can endorse the action of those who have the will and the ability to go through the hardships entailed by imprisonment or any other and further penalty that the Government may devise. Because they cannot come to gaol, they need not stand out. They can look after those who may be left behind by the sufferers. They can inform the Government that they are at one with them in making the demand for redress, and that they are heart and soul with the movement. I take it that this meeting is composed of two such classes and that it is actuated by only one impulse, as everyone of its members is affected equally by the Bill under consideration. I am hoping that the Government will give heed to the telegram I have referred to in my opening remarks, but, if unfortunately it cannot see its way to do so, I hope that this meeting will unanimously pass the only resolution that will be submitted to it.

Colonial Office Record s: 551/39

APPENDIX VII

(1) TELEGRAM FROM MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[CAPE TOWN,]

May 29, 1913

YOUR TELEGRAM OF THE 27TH INSTANT. ALL POINTS RAISED BY YOU WERE FULLY CONSIDERED BY GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT. IN REGARD TO MARRIAGE QUESTION, HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY WAS NOT PREPARED TO GO ANY FURTHER THAN IT HAS IN THE AMENDMENT RECENTLY ADOPTED AND, IF IT IS NOT SATISFACTORY TO THE INDIAN COMMUNITY, MINISTER MUST SERIOUSLY CONSIDER ADVISABILITY OF ASKING SENATE TO DELETE THE PROVISION IN QUESTION AND ALLOW THE MATTER TO REMAIN ONE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE TREATMENT IN FUTURE ON THE LINES WHICH THE MINISTER HAS ALREADY STATED HE IS PREPARED TO ADOPT AND IS, AS A MATTER OF FACT, NOW ADOPTING. MINISTER WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO CONSIDER THE AMENDMENT PROPOSED BY MR. ALEXANDER AND ONLY ACCEPTED IT ON THE ASSURANCE THAT IT WOULD REMOVE THE GRIEVANCES OF THE INDIANS. THE CONTENTION YOU ARE NOW SETTING UP WITH REGARD TO THE RIGHTS OF SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIANS TO ENTER AND RESIDE IN THE CAPE PROVINCE IS ONE THAT PARLIAMENT WILL NOT AGREE TO. NONE OF THE QUESTIONS WHICH LED UP TO THE SETTLEMENT WERE CONNECTED WITH THE POSITION OF INDIANS IN THE CAPE AND THE CAPE PARLIAMENT HAD THE UNDOUBTED RIGHT TO ALTER IN ANY RESPECT IT CHOSE THE PROVISIONS OF THE IMMIGRATION LAW IT CREATED AND IT IS ENTIRELY IN DEFERENCE TO PUBLIC OPINION IN CAPE PROVINCE THAT PARLIAMENT WAS NOT ABLE TO MEET YOU IN THE POINTS YOU RAISE. YOU MUST SURELY ADMIT THE ENTIRE REASONABLENESS OF THE ATTITUDE OF THE CAPE PUBLIC. THE GOVERNMENT HAS KEPT THE DOOR OPEN FOR THE EDUCATED INDIAN WHO CAN COMPLY WITH THE EXISTING EUROPEAN LANGUAGE TEST AND IN DOING SO MET WHAT HE THOUGHT WAS YOUR GREAT POINT ABOUT THE INTERMIGRATION OF THE EDUCATED PERSON, BUT PARLIAMENT AFTER FULL DISCUSSION REFUSED TO AGREE TO ALLOW EVERY INDIAN BORN IN NATAL THE RIGHT TO ENTER

THE CAPE. AS ALREADY INTIMATED, THE MATTER OF DECLARATIONS UNDER CHAPTER XXXIII OF THE FREE STATE LAWS CAN AND WILL BE DEALT WITH ADMINISTRATIVELY. ANY SUGGESTION SPECIFICALLY TO ALTER THE TERMS OF THE LAW WOULD MEAN STRENUOUS OPPOSITION ON THE PART OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE AND THE POSSIBLE WITHDRAWAL OF THE BILL, WHICH IS A CONTINGENCY THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT AT THIS HOUR PREPARED TO FACE. MINISTER MUCH APPRECIATES YOUR OFFER TO COME TO CAPE TOWN BUT DOES NOT THINK IT NECESSARY AS HE IS FULLY AWARE OF THE ATTITUDE OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE ON THE POINTS YOU RAISE AND CAN HOLD OUT NO HOPE THAT PARLIAMENT WILL ALTER THE BILL ON ANY OF THE POINTS UNDER REFERENCE.

Indian Opinion, 7-6-1913

(2) GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CABLE TO COLONIAL OFFICE

SECRET

May 29, 1913

IT IS POSSIBLE THAT FOR REASONS OF THEIR OWN AGITATORS HERE MAY CONTINUE AGITATION AMONG INDIAN COMMUNITY IN SPITE OF CONCESSIONS MADE ON IMMIGRATION BILL. IF THIS SHOULD LEAD TO RENEWAL OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE EFFECT ON PUBLIC OPINION IN SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE VERY SERIOUS AND INDIANS WOULD PROBABLY BE REGARDED AS HAVING FORFEITED ANY CLAIM TO CONSIDERATE TREATMENT. I HOPE YOU WILL REPRESENT THIS TO INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND ASK THEM TO USE SUCH INFLUENCE AS THEY MAY POSSESS WITH GANDHI AND OTHERS. I GATHER FROM FISCHER THAT WOMEN AND CHILDREN WILL ALMOST ALL CERTAINLY BE EXEMPTED FROM NATAL £3 TAX. I AM DOING MY BEST TO SECURE TOTAL ABOLITION OF TAX. MATTER IS STILL UNDER CONSIDERATION.

GLADSTONE

Colonial Office Records: 551/40

APPENDIX VIII

DRAFT IMMIGRATION REGULATION BILL AND THE ACT

THE BILL AS INTRODUCED

3. No court of law in the Union shall, except upon a question of domicile in the Union or any Province, have any jurisdiction to review, quash, reverse, interdict or otherwise interfere with any proceeding, act, order, or warrant of the Minister, a board, an immigration officer or a master, if such proceeding, act, order, or warrant purports to be had, done, or issued, under this Act and relates to the detention, or to the removal from the Union or any Province, of a person who is being dealt with as a prohibited immigrant.

THE ACT AS GAZETTED

3. (1) No court of law in the Union shall, except upon a question of law reserved by a board as in this section provided, have any jurisdiction to review, quash, reverse, interdict or otherwise interfere with any proceeding, act, order, or warrant of the Minister, a board, an immigration officer or a master, had, done or issued under this Act, and relating to the restriction or detention, or to the removal from the Union or any Province, of a person who is being dealt with as a prohibited immigrant.

(2) A board may, of its own motion, and shall, at the request of the appellant or of an immigration officer, reserve for the decision of a superior court having jurisdiction, any question of law which arises upon an appeal heard before such board under the last preceding section, and shall state such question in the form of a special case for the opinion of such court by transmitting such special case to the registrar thereof. The question so stated may be argued before such court which may call for further information to be supplied by the board if the court shall deem such information necessary and may give such answer on such case, supplemented by such information, if any, and may make such order as to the costs of the proceedings, as it may think right.

(3) For the purposes of this section—

“a question of law” shall, among other questions, include a question of domicile; and “a superior court having jurisdiction” shall mean the provincial division of the Supreme Court which has jurisdiction where the board was sitting, or any judge of such division, or the Eastern Districts Local Division having such jurisdiction or any judge thereof, and “appellant” shall not include an alien.

(4) If the special case aforesaid is stated at the request of the appellant he shall, if he is a person seeking to enter the Union for the first time lodge with the said registrar security, to such amount, as the registrar may determine, for any costs that the Court may order the appellant to pay.

4. (1) Any such person as is described in any paragraph of this sub-section who enters or is found within the Union, or who, though lawfully resident in the Province, enters or is found in another Province in which he is not lawfully resident, shall be a prohibited immigrant in respect of the Union or of that other Province (as the case may be), that is to say—

(a) any person or class of persons deemed by the Minister on economic grounds or on account of standard or habits of life to be unsuited to the requirements of the Union or any particular Province thereof;

(b) any person who is unable, by reason of deficient education,

4. (1) Any such person as is described in any paragraph of this sub-section who enters or is found within the Union, or who, though lawfully resident in one Province, enters or is found in another Province in which he is not lawfully resident, shall be a prohibited immigrant in respect of the Union or of that other Province (as the case may be), that is to say—

(a) any person or class of persons deemed by the Minister on economic grounds or on account of standard or habits of life to be unsuited to the requirements of the Union or any particular Province thereof;

(b) any person who is unable, by reason of deficient education, to read and write any European

to read and write any European language to the satisfaction of an immigration officer; and for the purpose of this paragraph Yiddish shall be regarded as an European language;

(c) any person who is likely, if he entered the Union, to become a public charge, by reason of infirmity of mind or body, or because he is not in possession for his own use of sufficient means to support himself and his dependents;

(d) any person who from information received from any Government (whether British or Foreign) through official or diplomatic channels, is deemed by the Minister to be an undesirable inhabitant of or visitor to the Union;

[Paragraphs (e) to (h) omitted.] Subject to the provisions of section *two* and *three*, an immigration officer shall cause a prohibited immigrant so entering or found within the Union or within any Province into which his entry, or in which his presence, is presence, is unlawful, to be removed therefrom.

(2) A list of all persons who have been declared under this Act to be prohibited immigrants in respect of the Union or any Province, and who have been removed therefrom or whose entry into the Union or any Province has been restricted, shall be laid by the Minister upon the tables of both House of Parliament within fourteen days after the commencement of each session thereof. Such list shall be framed in respect of a period ending one month

language to the satisfaction of an immigration officer or, in case of an appeal, to the satisfaction of the board; and for the purpose of this paragraph Yiddish shall be regarded as an European language;

[Paragraphs (c) to (h) omitted.] Whenever the Minister exercises any power conferred upon him by this sub-section, he shall transmit written notice of that fact to the immigration officer concerned and to every board. Subject to the provisions of section *two* and *three* an immigration officer shall cause a prohibited immigrant so entering or found within the Union or within any Province into which his entry, or in which his presence, is unlawful, to be removed therefrom.

(2) Nothing in sub-section (1) (a) contained shall be constructed—

(a) as enabling a person to be deemed a prohibited immigrant in the Cape of Good Hope or Natal if, being at the commencement of this Act lawfully entitled to reside in any Province, he shows or has shown that he is able to comply with the requirements described in section *three* (a) of Act No. 30 of 1906 of the Cape of Good Hope, or of section *five* (a) of Act No. 30 of 1903 of Natal; or

(b) as abrogating or affecting any right conferred by Act No. 36 of 1908 of the Transvaal upon the lawful holder of a certificate of registration defined in that Act.

(3) A list of all persons who have been declared under this Act to be prohibited immigrants in respect of

before the session commences, and shall contain the name, sex, and nationality of each such person and the reason of each such person and the reason for his removal or restriction.

(3) The Minister may from time to time by notice in the *Gazette* declare that persons described in paragraph (a) of sub-section (1) of this section when permitted under this Act to enter or return to the Union or any Province, shall enter or return at a port or ports specified in the notice and not at any other port, and thereupon, it shall be unlawful for any such person to enter or return at any other port.

5. The following person or classes of persons shall not be prohibited immigrants for the purposes of this Act, namely—

[Paragraphs (a), (b), (c) and (d) omitted.]

(e) any person born in any part of South Africa included in the Union;

the Union or any province, and who have been removed therefrom or whose entry into the Union or any Province has been restricted, shall be laid by the Minister upon the tables of both Houses of Parliament within fourteen days after the commencement of each session thereof. Such list shall be framed in respect of a period ending one month before the session commences, and shall contain the name, sex, and nationality of each such person and the reason for his removal or restriction.

(4) The Minister may from time to time, by notice in the *Gazette*, declare that persons belonging to classes described in paragraph (a) of sub-section (1) of this section when permitted under this Act to enter or return to the Union or any Province, shall enter or return at a port or ports specified in the notice and not at any other port and thereupon it shall be unlawful for any such person to enter or return at any other port.

5. The following persons or classes of persons shall not be prohibited immigrants for the purposes of this Act, namely—

[Paragraphs (a) to (d) omitted] (e) any person born before commencement of this Act in any part of South Africa included in the Union whose parents were lawfully resident therein and were not at that time restricted to temporary or conditional residence by any law then in force, and any person born in any place after the commencement of this Act whose parents were at the time of his

(f) any person domiciled in any Province;

(g) any person who is proved to the satisfaction of an immigration officer to be the wife, or the child under the age of sixteen years, of any person described in paragraph (f) of his section, provided that the wife or the child (as the case may be) is not such a person as is described in sub-section (1) (d), (e), (f), (g) or (h) of the last preceding section;

[Paragraph (h) omitted.]

Provided that nothing in this section contained shall be construed as entitling a person to whom the provisions of sub-section (1) (a) or the last preceding section apply, to enter the reside in a Province in which he has not previously been lawfully resident: provided further that if any person, having been absent for a period of three years continuously from a Province in which he was previously lawfully resident of, for a longer period than the duration of a permit issued under the authority of any law hereby repealed, claims to enter, enters or is found in that Province, he shall not be deemed to fall within the exemptions contained in this section.

7. Any such person as is described in Chapter XXXIII of the Orange

birth domiciled in any part of South Africa included in the Union;

(f) any person domiciled in any Province who is not such a person as is described in paragraph (e) or (f) of sub-section (1) of the preceding section, or who has not been removed under section *twenty-two* of this Act;

(g) any person who is proved to the satisfaction of an immigration officer or in case of an immigration officer or in case of an appeal, to the satisfaction of the board, to be the wife, or the child under the age of sixteen years, of any person exempted by paragraph

(f) of this section, including the wife or child of a lawful and monogamous marriage duly celebrated according to the rites of any religious faith outside the Union, provided that the wife or the child (as the case may be) is not such a person as is described in sub-section (1) (d), (e), (f), (g) or (h) of the last preceding section;

[Paragraph (h) omitted]

Provided that nothing in this section contained shall be construed as entitling a person to whom the provisions of sub-section (1) (a) of the last preceding section apply, to enter and reside in a Province in which he has not previously been lawfully resident.

7. Any such person as is described in Chapter XXXIII of the Orange

Free State Law Book shall, notwithstanding that he is lawfully resident in a particular Province or that he has been permitted to enter the Union, continue to be subject in all respects to the provisions of sections *seven* and *eight* of the said Chapter XXXIII, and if he acts in contravention of those provisions, he may be dealt with under this Act as a prohibited immigrant in respect of the Orange Free State.

8. (1) No prohibited immigrant shall be entitled to obtain a licence to carry on any trade or calling in the Union or (as the case may be) in any Province wherein his residence is unlawful or to acquire therein any interest in land, whether leasehold or freehold, or in any other immovable property.

(2) Any such licence (if obtained by a prohibited immigrant) or any contract, deed or other document by which any such interest is acquired in contravention of this section, shall, as from the date that the holder of the licence or interest is dealt with as a prohibited immigrant under this Act, be null and void.

9. (1) Every person who is suspected on reasonable grounds of being a prohibited immigrant may be arrested without warrant by an immigration officer or police officer, and shall be dealt with in accordance with this Act.

(2) Any magistrate may, if information on oath be laid before him

Free State Law Book shall, notwithstanding that he is lawfully resident in a particular Province or that he has been permitted to enter the Union, continue to be subject in all respects to the provisions of sections *seven* and *eight* of the said Chapter XXXIII, and if he acts in contravention of those provisions, he may be dealt with under this Act as a prohibited immigrant in respect of the Orange Free State.

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(2) Any such licence (if obtained by a prohibited immigrant) or any contract, deed or other document by which any such interest is acquired in contravention of this section, shall, as from the date that the holder of the licence or interest is dealt with as a prohibited immigrant under this Act, be null and void.

9. (1) Every person who is suspected on reasonable grounds of being a prohibited immigrant may, if there is reason to believe that the delay occasioned by obtaining a warrant would enable such person to evade the provisions of this Act, be arrested without warrant by an immigration officer or police officer, and shall be dealt with in accordance with this Act.

(2) Any magistrate may, if information on oath be laid before him

that there is upon any premises a person reasonably suspected of being a prohibited immigrant, issue a warrant empowering a police officer of or above the rank of sergeant to enter those premises and search for such person and arrest him.

25. (1) Anything to the contrary notwithstanding in this Act contained, the Minister may in his discretion exempt any person from the provisions of section *four* or, subject to the provisions of section *seven*, may authorize the issue of a temporary permit to any prohibited immigrant to enter and reside in the Union or any particular Province upon such conditions as to the period of residence or the calling or occupation which he may follow therein or otherwise, as may in the permit be specified.

(2) The Minister may also in his discretion authorize the issue of a certificate of identity to any person who is lawfully resident in the Union or in any Province and who, desiring to proceed thereout with the intention of returning thereto, is for any reason apprehensive that he will be unable to prove on his return that he is not a prohibited immigrant.

that there is upon any premises a named or described person reasonably suspected of being a prohibited immigrant, issue a warrant empowering a police officer of or above the rank of sergeant to enter those premises and search for the person named or described in that warrant and arrest him.

25. (1) Anything to the contrary notwithstanding in this Act contained the Minister may, in his discretion, exempt any person from the Provisions of paragraphs (a), (b), (c), (d) of sub-section (1) of section *four* or, subject to the provisions of section *seven*, may authorize the issue of a temporary permit to any prohibited immigrant to enter and reside in the Union or any particular Province upon such conditions as may be law fully imposed by regulation.

(2) The Minister may also in his discretion authorize the issue of a certificate of identity to any person who is lawfully resident in the Union and who, desiring to proceed thereout with the intention of returning thereto, is for any reason apprehensive that he will be unable to prove on his return that he is not a prohibited immigrant.

(3) The Minister may authorize persons outside the Union to issue to any intending immigrant a certificate that he is exempt from the provisions of sub-section (1) (a) of section *four*, but no such certificate shall be recognized in the Union unless the holder thereof furnish to the immigration officer such proof as is prescribed by regulation of his identity with the immigrant to whom

the certificate was originally issued.

28. Anything to the contrary notwithstanding in Act No. 36 of 1908 of the Transvaal, a person who has been exempted from the provisions of section *four* of this Act or, on the authority of a temporary permit issued under sub-section (1) of section *twenty-five* of this Act, has been permitted to enter and reside in any part of the Union, shall not be deemed to be subject to registration under the provisions of the said Act of the Transvaal.

28. Anything to the contrary notwithstanding in Act No. 36 of 1908 of the Transvaal, a person who has been exempted from the provisions of paragraphs (a), (b), (c), (d) of sub-section (1) of section *four* of this Act or, on the authority of a temporary permit issued under sub-section(1) of section *twenty-five* of this Act, has been permitted to enter and reside in any part of the Union, shall not be deemed to be subject to registration under the provisions of the said Act of the Transvaal.

30. In this Act, and in the regulations made thereunder, unless inconsistent with the context,—

“domicile” shall mean the place in which a person has his present home or in which he resides or to which he returns as his place of present permanent abode and not for a mere special or temporary purpose; and a person shall not be deemed to have a domicile within the Union or any Province (as the case may be) for the purposes of this Act unless he has resided therein for at least three years, otherwise than under terms of conditional or temporary residence permitted by this Act or any other law or as a person under detention in a prison, gaol, reformatory or lunatic asylum; and a person shall be deemed for the purposes of this Act to have lost his domicile within the Union or any Province (as the case may be) if he voluntarily go and reside outside the Union or that Province (except for a special or temporary

purpose) with the intention of making his home outside the Union or that Province (as the case may be.)

[This is a new definition.]

Indian Opinion, 28-6-1913

APPENDIX IX

IMMIGRATION ACT REGULATIONS

Regulations under the Immigrants Regulation Act were gazetted on the 15th instant. They are divided into 31 Sections.

Of these, Sections 1 to 6 deal with the examination and control of vessels.

Sections 7 to 15 deal with the examination of passengers.

Section 7 provides that all passenger for ports of the Union shall ordinarily be examined at the ship's first port of call in the Union.

Section 8 provides that the examination of passengers shall be conducted by the Immigration Officer on board a ship or at such other place as may be convenient. Every person, before being permitted to land, shall be required to complete a declaration in the form set out in the second annexure.

Section 9 empowers the officer to require the passenger to write out the declaration himself as also to call in the aid of an interpreter.

Section 10 requires the officer to give notice to the master of the ship of those who have been found to be prohibited immigrants and thereafter the master is responsible for their safe custody.

Section 11 provides that all examinations shall be reduced to writing.

Section 12 authorises the officer to postpone examination in case of doubt.

Section 13 enables the officer to accept evidence that a passenger, on landing, can be supported by friends as sufficient proof that he will not become a public charge.

Section 14 reads as follows:—

“The immigration officer may require for the purpose of an application made in respect of a wife or child, under paragraph (g) of section *five* of the Act, a properly authenticated copy of the certificate of the marriage, or of the birth as the case may be; or, if no copy of such marriage certificate or birth certificate can be produced, the immigration officer may require the production of an official certificate under the hand of

- (a) an officer competent to give the same stating that in his personal knowledge the parties were married on a date under the circumstances stated; or (as the case may be) that the child was born on a date and at a place set out and of parents named in such certificates; or (b)

the production of a certificate under the hand of an officer competent to give the same stating that he has taken sworn testimony or other evidence as to the circumstances and date of the marriage, or the date of birth and the percentage of the child, and that such testimony and such evidence is attached to such certificate together with such officer's finding thereon.

"The immigration officer may require any certificate mentioned in this regulation to be supplemented by satisfactory evidence as to the identity of the persons referred to in the certificate, and the immigration officer may, in any case of doubt, require such further evidence as may be necessary to satisfy him that any wife or child referred to in the certificate is such a wife or child as, under paragraph (g) of section *five* of the Act, is exempted from being considered a prohibited immigrant."

Section 15 authorises the officer to obtain a warrant for the arrest of a person who may be suspected of being a prohibited immigrant.

Section 16 to 18 deal with diseases and medical examination.

Section 19 is a long one, dealing with the procedure on appeal. It gives the form of notice of appeal. Pending appeal, the appellant may be received at a detention depot.

Sub-section (3) of Section 19, being rather important, we give in full as under:

"If there be no board which ordinarily sits or is sitting or about to sit at his station the immigration officer shall also communicate with the immigration officer in charge by telegraph, and shall inform the appellant that if he desires to be present at the hearing of his appeal he will be required himself to pay for his passage by sea, or for this transport by land subject to such conditions as may be imposed and under escort approved by the immigration officer, and paid for by the appellant to and, if necessary, from the place at which the board having jurisdiction is to sit. On arrival at such place the appellant shall be dealt with as provided in sub-section (2) of this regulation.

Sub-section (4) authorises the officer to issue a temporary permit to the appellant. The Board of Appeal may summon witnesses; the appellant may give and call evidence; he may be represented by Counsel, and the officer may also examine witnesses and be otherwise represented.

Sections 20 to 24 deal with permits and temporary permits. Temporary permits are to carry a fee of £1 and a deposit of from £10 to £100 for due fulfilment of conditions.

Sub-section (3) of Section 20 says:—

“It shall be deemed to be a condition of every permit that the holder shall report himself to the officers and at the periods and places specified in such permit; and if the holder gives any false or misleading address, he shall be liable to forfeiture of his permit and deposit, and to be dealt with as a prohibited immigrant.”

No permit may be issued for over a year without the sanction of the Minister. The holder of a permit must give one day's notice of his intention to leave. Sub-section (1) Section 21 says:—

“The certificate of identity which may be issued, in terms of sub-section (2) of section *twenty-five* of the Act, to persons lawfully resident in the Union or in any Province shall be in the form and subject to the conditions set out in the Fifth Annexure to these regulations. There shall be paid in respect of every such certificate, a fee of one pound, and every certificate shall contain such particulars and marks as may be deemed necessary for purposes of identification.”

Duplicates of lost permits carry a fee of £2.

The Officer may cancel permits if the holder commits a breach of its conditions or has obtained it by fraud.

Sections 25 to 30 deal with the detention of prohibited immigrants.

Section 31 provides that the penalty for a breach of the regulations is £50 fine or three months' imprisonment, with or without hard labour.

SECOND ANNEXURE

DECLARATION BY PASSENGER OR OTHER PERSONS

(The information required hereunder must be given in English or Dutch)

Name in full

Port of Embarkation

Port of intended Debarkation

Age

(If over 21 years state “Full”)

Sex

Race

(European, Asiatic, or African)

Nationality

(British, French, German, etc.)

If accompanied by wife, state her name

If accompanied by children (or wards) under 16 years, state name and age of each.

(If unaccompanied by wife or children, state "Travelling unaccompanied" in reply to question 8 and 9.)

Address at destination in fullPeriod (if any) of previous residence in South Africa. (If none, state "None.") OccupationWhat means can you produce, your own *bona fide* property? (If more than £20, state £20. If £20 or less, state full amount, and explain what documentary evidence you have of definite employment, or support, promised to you; and what references you can give to persons in South Africa?) What European language can you write?

Have you ever been prohibited from entering the Province or expelled from it?

Have you been convicted of any crime in any country?

I hereby declare that I understand the above questions, and have answered them truly.

Signature or Mark of Passenger:

Declared before me at
this day of

IMMIGRATION OFFICER

FIFTH ANNEXURE

CERTIFICATE OF IDENTITY: FEE, ONE POUND

It is certified that having appeared before for the purpose of supplying the means of identification which are now specified herein, and having intimated that he/she is about to absent himself/herself from the Province of for a period of on a visit to this document is issued to the said and, subject to the conditions enumerated below and to the verification of the marks of identification, will be accepted by the examining immigration officer without further evidence as proof of the identity of the said on his/her return.

IMMIGRATION OFFICER IN CHARGE

Date

Place

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THIS CERTIFICATE IS ISSUED

1. That on the return of the person referred to herein to the Province of this certificate shall be surrendered to the examining immigration officer.

2. That if the person referred to herein seeks to re-enter the Province of after a period of one year has elapsed from the date hereof, the protection afforded by this certificate shall be deemed to have lapsed, and

he/she shall be required to satisfy the requirements of the Act.

3. This certificate may be held to be invalidated if the person named herein *is* shown to the immigration officer to have made a false declaration in a material point when applying for a certificate.

Identification Marks:

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INDIAN OPINION, 26-7-1913

APPENDIX X

LETTER FROM E. M. GORGES

PRETORIA,
August 19, 1913

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Referring to our previous correspondence on the subject of the Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913, I beg to say that the points you raised have been fully considered by the Minister, and at General Smuts' request I will now indicate what view he takes of them.

1. Your first point was that the descendants of indentured Indians would not in future be able to enter the Cape Province by reason of the proviso to Section 5 of the Act. General Smuts requests me to submit that this is an entirely new point and one not raised by you when all the matters at issue between the Indians and the Government were dealt with by you in your correspondence with him in January and February, 1912. Your letter of 29th January to the Private Secretary and your telegram of 1st February referred to the right of educated Indians to enter the Cape and Natal Provinces from other parts of the Union on passing the education test provided in the Immigration Laws of those Provinces, while your letter of 15th February, 1912, contained a specific statement that passive resisters could have nothing to complain of—"if the present legal position namely the ability of educated Asiatics to enter Natal or the Cape from the Transvaal (and presumably from Natal to Cape and *vice versa*?) by passing the education tests provided by the respective laws of the Provinces is retained."

I have only to refer you to paragraph 7 and 8 of Minister's Minute, 902 A. of 20th December, 1910, printed as enclosure No. 8 to the White Book (Cd. 5579) to make it clear that the Union Government have all along regarded it as impossible to allow Indians born in Natal to migrate freely to the Cape, and until you raised the

matter for the first time in your telegram of April 9th of this year to me the Minister was not aware that your community had any views on the subject at all.

The rights of the educated Indian inhabitants of any Province to enter the Cape and Natal by passing the education test prescribed in the recently repealed immigration laws of those two Provinces are fully secured by sub-section (2) of Section 4 of our new law and, as you yourself pointed out in your last letter (2nd July) to me, most of the Colonial-born Indians in Natal have passed through the Government Indian Schools and possess sufficient knowledge to undergo the Cape test. You also stated that it was a well-known fact that, throughout the time the Cape Act was in force, hardly any South Africa-born Indian, not belonging to the Cape, has endeavoured to migrate to that Province as there is no scope for them there. In view of all these facts the Government cannot conceive that the Indian community now wishes to make a grievance of the fact that provincial boundaries have been maintained in the new law, and General Smuts trusts that the position created by that law will be accepted. You will be aware also that the point was fully discussed in Parliament last Session and the very strongest exception was taken by members representing constituencies in the Cape Province to any proposals for allowing non-educated Natal-born Indians to enter the Cape.

2. Secondly, in regard to the position of the ex-indentured Indians under the definition of "Domicile" in the new Act, the Government takes the view that the provisions of paragraph (f) of Section 5 of the Act would apply to any such Indian who has resided under annual licence or pass in Natal for three years or more after his indentures expire and who leaves the Province with the intention of returning thereto, and that this view is not affected by the definition of domicile in Section 30 of the Act.

3. Thirdly, with regard to the question of the declaration required under Chapter XXXIII of the Orange Free State Law Book General Smuts has no difficulty and rather sees an advantage in notifying all educated Indians admitted into South Africa of the disabilities that Indians are under in the Orange Free State. Steps will be taken to have these disabilities specified on the form of declaration which is required under Section 19 of the Act.

4. Fourthly, General Smuts is quite prepared when some suitable occasion presents itself for dealing with the consolidation of the Marriage Laws of the Union to make provision for the appointment of special Marriage Officers for denominations other than Mahomedan, upon its being shewn that there is a demand by the members of such denominations for such appointments and that there are suitable persons in the different communities on whom the appointments could be conferred. The present practice of admitting one wife of an Indian now entitled to reside in any Province or who may in future be permitted to enter the Union, irrespective of the fact that his marriage to such wife may have been solemnized

according to tenets which recognize polygamy or that she is one of several wives married abroad, will be continued so long as she is his only wife in South Africa; but General Smuts regrets that it will not be possible to go further and admit plural wives of Indians who are already resident in South Africa.

*Believe me,
Yours very truly,*
E. M. GORGES

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.,
PHOENIX
NATAL

From a photos tat of the typewr itten origin al: S. N. 5835

APPENDIX XI

EXTRACT FROM GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S DESPATCH TO COLONIAL OFFICE

PRETORIA,
October 23, 1913

A new phase of the campaign was inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi on the 17th instant, when he visited the Natal coalfields and induced a number of indentured Indians employed in local mines and hotels to strike work until the Government should promise to repeal the £3 tax during the next session of Parliament. The adoption of this policy was foreshadowed in Mr. Gandhi's letter of the 28th ultimo to Mr. Gorges, a copy of which will be found in the correspondence accompanying my Despatch, Secret (2) of yesterday. I have not yet been able to obtain full particulars as to the development of the strike movement, which, so far as I can judge, does not appear to be causing the Government much anxiety. Some little light is thrown on the subject by the attached extracts from the *Rand Daily Mail* and *The Transvaal Leader* of today. It will be seen that Mr. Gandhi estimates the number of strikers at 2,000 and says that six collieries are affected, whereas nine collieries are mentioned by the Durban correspondent of *The Transvaal Leader*. Mr. Gorges told my Secretary this morning that the latest official report received by the Department of Justice estimated the number of strikers at 1,500. He was not sure, however, whether that estimate applied to the whole area of the strike, and he thought that possibly Mr. Gandhi's figure of 2,000 might be correct, although no precise information on the point was available. The Secretary for Justice, he added, had at the same time been advised that the movement showed some signs of weakening, as a number of the strikers were beginning to return to work. An attempt appears also to have been made to "pull out" the Indians working on the Railways in Natal, but the absence of further

information on this point may perhaps be taken as indicating that hitherto the attempt has not been attended with any appreciable success.

Colonial Office Record s: 551/45

APPENDIX XII

EXTRACT FROM GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S DESPATCH TO COLONIAL OFFICE

PRETORIA,

November 6, 1913

You will observe that Mr. Gandhi appears to be disconcerted by the inaction of the Government, and to have made representations to the effect that it was their duty to arrest the demonstrators and to provide them with board and lodging. On Monday last General Smuts explained his policy to my Secretary. He said that his refusal to interfere with many of the Passive Resisters in the Transvaal had led to a collapse, for the time being at any rate, of the movement, and he thought that a similar policy of laissez-faire might produce similar results in the case of the Natal strikers. Mr. Gandhi appears to be in a position of much difficulty. Like Frankenstein he found his monster an uncomfortable creation, and he would be glad to be relieved of further responsibility for its support. The Department had been anxious to arrest him, but this course had not commended itself to the Ministerial mind. If Mr. Gandhi were arrested, he would be able to disclaim further responsibility for the maintenance of his army of strikers. So long as he remained at liberty, the Indians would look to him to provide for their necessities. General Smuts therefore proposed to adhere to his policy of non-interference, and he would place no obstacles in the way of strikers entering the Transvaal. They did not belong to the trading classes and could do little harm. Moreover, there would be no difficulty in returning most, if not all, of them to Natal later on. At present they were quite peaceable, and if later on, under the stress of hunger or hardship, they became lawless, they could easily be dealt with. It was not unlikely that in the end, when the supply of provisions began to fail, they would ask to be sent back to their work in Natal, and he would then be prepared to provide transport for their return. He doubted whether Mr. Gandhi would agitate among the workers on the sugar estates unless the strike on the coal mines proved successful.

The number of strikers now on the march is estimated at 4,000. Mr. Gorges told my Secretary today, that this morning a body of about 2,400, including approximately 130 women and 40 children, had crossed into the Transvaal. They would be allowed to proceed, in the hope that when they were well inside the Province, Mr. Kallenbach and Mr. Polak might be tempted by the supineness

of the Authorities to lead further bodies of men across the frontier. Those two gentlemen, whom the Department were particularly anxious to secure, would then be arrested on a charge of aiding and abetting the entry of prohibited immigrants into the Province. The rank and file would, so far as possible, be left undisturbed. The detention of Mr. Polak was particularly desirable, as he had been designated to proceed to India for the collection of funds.

Colonial Office Records: 551/45