



of their sentences gave to the community. In all our experience of prison treatment in this country never have we been treated before with such unparalleled cruelty. Insults by warders, frequent assaults by Zulu warders, with the holding off of blankets and other necessary articles, food badly cooked by Zulus, all these necessitated a hunger strike causing immense suffering. You have to know these things to understand the frame of mind with which the community met in the public meeting on Sunday, the 21st December, to consider the position and resolve on future action.

There was but one feeling at the meeting and that was that if we had any self-respect, we must not accept the Commission unless it was modified in some manner in favour of the Indians and we must also ask for the release of all real passive resister prisoners in which terms we do not include persons rightly convicted of actual violence and we all took a solemn oath in God's name that unless these conditions were complied with, we would resume our Passive Resistance. Now this oath we mean to keep whatever happens. In this trouble we are fighting with spiritual weapons and it is not open to us to go back on our solemn declaration. Moreover, in this matter it is not as though it is the leaders that are egging the community on, on the contrary so determined is the community to keep the vow which it has solemnly taken that, if any leaders ventured to advice acceptance of the commission without any modification on the lines asked for, they would beyond all doubt be killed and I must add, justly so. I believe we are gaining ground. Several influential Europeans including some ministers of religion, recognising the justice of our stand, are working to help us and we have not yet given



up the hope that some way may be found out of the difficulty.

In all this crisis, I wish to say before concluding, two things have greatly sustained and comforted us, one is the splendid courage and staunch advocacy of our cause by His Excellency the Viceroy and the other is the hearty support which India has sent us. We shall do nothing now, till Sir Benjamin Robertson arrives and we shall receive him with all honour and trust both because you tell us we shall find in him a strong friend and also because he has been appointed by the Viceroy to whom we feel so profoundly grateful. But unless the Commission is made in some way more acceptable to us, I do not see how the renewal of Passive Resistance can be avoided. We know it will entail enormous suffering. I assure you, we do not desire it, but neither shall we shrink from it, if it must be borne.

At a meeting held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Association, Mr. Gandhi sketched his future programme. He said:—

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 an 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 it a right and proper thing that the Government had appointed a Commission, but he thought the Commission was open to the gravest objection from the Indian standpoint; and he was there to tender his humble advice to them that it



was impossible to accept the Commission in a form in which the Indians had no voice. They were fighting for so many grievances, and the underlying spirit of the struggle was to obtain full recognition on the part of the Government of the right of consultation in anything which appertained to Indian interests. Unless the Government was prepared to condescend to that extent, unless they were prepared to ascertain and respect the Indian sentiments, it was not possible for Indians, as loyal but manly citizens of the Empire, to render obedience to their commissions or laws which they might have passed over their heads. This was one of the serious fundamental objections. The other objection was that it was a partisan Commission; therefore the Indians wanted their own partisans on it. This they might not get, but they at least wanted impartial men, who had not expressed opinions hostile to their interests, but gentlemen who would be able to bring to the deliberations of the Commission an open, just and impartial mind. (Applause.) He considered that Mr. Esslen 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," he proceeded, "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 to-day? 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 any one," he concluded, "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." (Applause.)

SHOULD INDIANS HAVE FULL CITIZEN RIGHTS?

Though Mr. Gandhi declined to participate with the Solomon commission his demands on behalf of the South African Indians were never extravagant. He realised the limitations under which they had to labour and he defined the limits of their ambition. Within those limits however he was determined to offer resistance to interference. Replying to the criticisms of the "Natal Mercury" he wrote early in January 1914 :—

Your first leader in to-day's issue of your paper invites a statement from me, which, I hope, you will permit me to make.

You imagine that a more potent reason for delaying the contemplated march is "to be found in the fact that



the mass of the local Indian community could not be relied upon to join in the resuscitation of a form of conflict which recoiled most injuriously upon the Indians themselves." There are other inferences, also, you have drawn from the delay, with which I shall not deal at present. I, however, assure you that you are wrongly informed if you consider that the mass of the local Indian community is not to be relied upon to join the march, if it has ever to be undertaken. On the contrary the difficulty to-day is even to delay it, and my co-workers and I have been obliged to send special messengers and to issue special leaflets in order to advise the people that the march must be postponed for the time being. I admit that speculation as to whether the mass of the local Indian community will or will not join the march is fruitless, because this will be, if it has to be, put to the test at no distant date. I give my own view in order that the public may not be lulled into a sense of false belief that the movement is confined to a few only among the community.

The chief reason, therefore, for trespassing upon your courtesy is to inform the South African public through your columns that whilst the great National Congress that has just closed its session at *Karachi* was fully justified in asking, and was bound to ask, for full citizen rights throughout the British Dominions for all the King's subjects, irrespective of caste, colour, or creed, and whilst they may not and ought not to be bound by local considerations, we in South Africa have repeatedly made it clear that, as sane people, we are bound to limit our ambition by local circumstances, we are bound to recognise the widespread prejudice however unjustified it may be and, having done so, we have



declared—and I venture to re-declare through your columns—that my co-workers and I shall not be a party to any agitation which has for its object the free and unrestricted immigration of British Indians into the Union or the attainment of the political franchise in the near future. That these rights must come in time will, I suppose, be admitted by all, but when they do come they will not be obtained by forcing the pace, as passive resistance is undoubtedly calculated to do, but by otherwise educating public opinion, and by the Indian community so acquitting itself in the discharge of all the obligations that flow from citizenship of the British Empire as to have these rights given to them as a matter of course. Meanwhile, so far as my advice counts for anything, I can only suggest that the efforts of the Indian community should be concentrated upon gaining or regaining every lost civil right or every such right at present withheld from the community; and I hold that even this will not happen unless we are ready to make an effective protest against our civil destruction by means of passive resistance, and unless through our self-suffering we have demonstrated to the European public that we are a people that cherishes its honour and self-respect as dearly as any people on earth.



CSL

A TRUCE WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

The following letter from Mr. Gandhi to the Government places on record the agreement arrived at as a result of a series of interviews with the Minister at Pretoria. It was dated Pretoria, January 21, 1914:—

Before leaving for Phoenix, I venture to express my thanks to General Smuts for the patient and kind interviews that he has been pleased to grant me during this time of overwhelming pressure. My countrymen will remember with gratitude his great consideration.

"I understand that the Minister is unable to accept (with regard to the Indian Inquiry Commission) either (1) my suggestion that a member representing Indian interests should be co-opted when questions of policy are inquired into, or (2) my suggestion that a second Commission, with Indian representation should be appointed to deal with those questions only, the present Commission in that case becoming purely judicial. I submitted a third proposal also, which, in view of the Government's decision, I need not state here. Had any of my suggestions been viewed favourably by the Government, it would have been possible for my countrymen to assist the labours of the Commission. But with regard to leading evidence before this Commission, which has a political as well as a judicial character, they have conscientious scruples, and these have taken with them a solemn and religious form. I may state briefly that these scruples were based on the strong feeling that the Indian community should have been either consulted or represented where questions of policy were concerned.



The Minister, I observe, appreciates these scruples, and regards them as honourable, but is unable to alter his decision. As, however, by granting me the recent interviews, he has been pleased to accept the principle of consultation, it enables me to advise my countrymen not to hamper the labours of the Commission by any active propaganda, and not to render the position of the Government difficult by reviving passive resistance, pending the result of the Commission and the introduction of legislation during the forthcoming session.

If I am right in my interpretation of the Government's attitude on the principle of consultation, it would be further possible for us to assist Sir Benjamin Robertson, whom the Viceroy, with gracious forethought, has deputed to give evidence before the Commission.

A word is here necessary on the question of allegations as to ill-treatment during the progress of the Indian strike in Natal. For the reasons above stated, the avenue of proving them through the Commission is closed to us. I am personally unwilling to challenge libel proceedings by publishing the authentic evidence in our possession, and would far rather refrain altogether from raking up old sores. I beg to assure the Minister that, as passive resisters, we endeavour to avoid, as far as possible, any resentment of personal wrongs. But in order that our silence may not be mistaken, may I ask the Minister to recognise our motive and reciprocate by not leading evidence of a negative character before the Commission on the allegations in question.

Suspension of passive resistance, moreover, carries with it a prayer for the release of the passive resistance prisoners now undergoing imprisonment, either in the



ordinary gaols or the mine compounds, which might have been declared as such.

Finally, it might not be out of place here to recapitulate the points on which relief has been sought. They are as follows :—

(1) Repeal of the £3 tax in such a manner that the Indians relieved will occupy virtually the same status as the indentured Indians discharged under the Natal Law, 25 of 1891.

(2) The marriage question. (These two are the points, as I have verbally submitted, which require fresh legislation.)

(3) The Cape entry question. (This requires only administrative relief subject to the clear safeguards explained to the Minister.)

(4) The Orange Free State question. (This requires merely a verbal alteration in the assurance already given.)

(5) An assurance that the existing laws especially affecting Indians will be administered justly, with due regard to vested rights.

I venture to suggest that Nos. 3, 4 and 5 present no special difficulty, and that the needful relief may be now given on these points as an earnest of the good intentions of the Government regarding the resident Indian population.

If the Minister, as I trust and hope, views my submission with favour, I shall be prepared to advise my countrymen in accordance with the tenour of this letter.



THE SETTLEMENT.

The passing of the Indian Relief Act in July, 1914, in the Union Houses of Parliament brought a sigh of relief to the whole Indian population both in South Africa and in India. The abolition of the £3 tax, the legislation on the marriage question and the removal of the racial bar were distinctly to the advantage of the Indians and on the lines recommended by the Commission. But there were certain other administrative matters which were not included in the Relief Bill but which were of equal importance to constitute a complete settlement. Mr. Gandhi submitted a list of reforms in the desired directions which General Smuts discussed in a letter addressed to Mr. Gandhi under date, 30th June. On the same day Mr. Gandhi sent the following reply:—

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of even date herewith setting forth the substance of the interview that General Smuts was pleased, notwithstanding many other pressing calls upon his time, to grant me on Saturday last. I feel deeply grateful for the patience and courtesy which the Minister showed during the discussion of the several points submitted by me.

The passing of the Indians' Relief Bill and this correspondence finally closed the Passive Resistance struggle which commenced in the September of 1906 and which to the Indian community cost much physical suffering and pecuniary loss and to the Government much anxious thought and consideration.



As the Minister is aware, some of my countrymen have wished me to go further. They are dissatisfied that the trade licenses laws of the different Provinces, the Transvaal Gold Law, the Transvaal Townships Act, the Transvaal Law 3 of 1885, have not been altered so as to give them full rights of residence, trade and ownership of land. Some of them are dissatisfied that full inter-provincial migration is not permitted, and some are dissatisfied that on the marriage question the Relief Bill goes no further than it does. They have asked me that all the above matters might be included in the Passive Resistance struggle. I have been unable to comply with their wishes. Whilst, therefore, they have not been included in the programme of Passive Resistance, it will not be denied that some day or other these matters will require further and sympathetic consideration by the Government. Complete satisfaction cannot be expected until full civic rights have been conceded to the resident Indian population.

I have told my countrymen that they will have to exercise patience and by all honourable means at their disposal educate public opinion so as to enable the Government of the day to go further than the present correspondence does. I shall hope that when the Europeans of South Africa fully appreciate the fact that now, as the importation of indentured labour from India is prohibited and as the Immigrants' Regulation Act of last year has in practice all but stopped further free Indian immigration and that my countrymen do not aspire to any political ambition, they, the Europeans, will see the justice and indeed the necessity of my countrymen being granted the rights I have just referred to.



Meanwhile, if the generous spirit that the Government have applied to the treatment of the problem during the past few months continues to be applied, as promised in your letter, in the administration of the existing laws, I am quite certain that the Indian community throughout the Union will be able to enjoy some measure of peace and never be a source of trouble to the Government.

FAREWELL SPEECH AT DURBAN

On the eve of their departure from South Africa Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi were the recipients of innumerable addresses from every class of South African residents, Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees and Europeans. Mr. Gandhi replied to each one of these touching addresses in suitable terms.

On Wednesday the 18th July, 1914, Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi were entertained at a great gathering of Indian and European residents at the Town Hall, Durban, which was presided over by the Mayor (Mr. W. Holmes). Telegrams were read from the Bishop of Natal, Gen. Botha, Messrs. Smuts, Merri-man, Burton, Hoskin and others. The Mayor and several speakers eulogised the services of Mr. Gandhi.

Referring to the addresses which had been presented to him, he said that, while he valued them, he valued more the love and sympathy which the addresses had expressed. He did not know that he would be able to



make adequate compensation. He did not deserve all the praise bestowed upon him. Nor did his wife claim to deserve all that had been said of her. Many an Indian woman had done greater service during the struggle than Mrs. Gandhi. He thanked the community on behalf of Mr. Kallenbach, who was another brother to him, for the addresses presented. The community had done well in recognising Mr. Kallenbach's worth. Mr. Kallenbach would tell them that he came to the struggle to gain. He considered that, by taking up their cause, he gained a great deal in the truest sense. Mr. Kallenbach had done splendid work during the strike at Newcastle and, when the time came, he cheerfully went to prison, again thinking that he was the gainer and not the loser. Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi referred to the time of his arrival in 1897 when his friend Mr. Laughton had stood by him against the mob. He also remembered with gratefulness the action of Mrs. Alexander, the wife of the late Superintendent of Police in Durban, who protected him with her umbrella from the missiles thrown by the excited crowd. Referring to Passive Resistance, he claimed that it was a weapon of the purest type. It was not the weapon of the weak. It was needed, in his opinion, far greater courage to be a Passive Resister than a physical resister. It was the courage of a Jesus, a Daniel, a Cranmer, a Latimer and a Ridley who could go calmly to suffering and death, and the courage of a Tolstoy who dared to defy the Czars of Russia, that stood out as the greatest. Mr. Gandhi said he knew the Mayor had received some telegrams stating that the Indians' Relief Bill was not satisfactory. It would be a singular thing if in this world they would be able to get anything that satisfied everybody, but in the condition of things in South Africa at the present



time, he was certain they could not have had a better measure. "I do not claim the credit for it," Mr. Gandhi remarked. "It is rather due to the women and young people like Nagappan, Narayanasamy, and Valliamah who have died for the cause and to those who quickened the conscience of South Africa. Our thanks are due also to the Union Government. General Botha showed the greatest statesmanship when he said his Government would stand or fall by this measure. I followed the whole of that historic debate—historic to me, historic to my countrymen, and possibly historic to South Africa and the world." Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said that it was well known to them how the Government had done justice, and how the Opposition had come to their assistance. They had also received handsome help from both the Imperial and Indian Governments, backed by that generous Viceroy, Lord Hardings. (Cheers.) The manner in which India, led by their great and distinguished countryman, Mr. Gokhale, had responded to the cry which came from the hearts of thousands of their countrymen in South Africa, was one of the results of the Passive Resistance movement, and left, he hoped, no bitter traces or bitter memories. (Applause). "This assurance," continued Mr. Gandhi, "I wish to give. I go away with no ill-will against a single European. I have received many hard knocks in my life, but here I admit that I have received those most precious gifts from Europeans—love and sympathy." (Cheers.) This settlement, he said, had been achieved after an eight years' struggle. The Indians in South Africa had never aspired to any political ambition, and as regards the social question, that could never arise in connection with the Indians.



"I do not hold for one moment," Mr. Gandhi exclaimed, "that East and West cannot combine. I think the day is coming when East must meet West, or West meet East, but I think the social evolution of the West to-day lies in one channel, and that of the Indian in another channel. The Indians have no wish to-day to encroach on the social institutions of the European in South Africa. (Cheers.) Most Indians are natural traders. There are bound to be trade jealousies and those various things that come from competition. I have never been able to find a solution of this most difficult problem, which will require the broad-mindedness and spirit of justice of the Government of South Africa to hold the balance between conflicting interests." Referring to his stay in South Africa, Mr. Gandhi said that he should retain the most sacred memories of this land. He had been fortunate in forming the happiest and most lasting friendships with both Europeans and Indians. He was now returning to India—a holy land sanctified by the austerities of the ages. In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi hoped that the same love and sympathy which had been given to him in South Africa might be extended to him, no matter in what part of the world he might be. He hoped that the settlement embodied in the Indians' Relief Bill would be carried out in a spirit of broad-mindedness and justice in the administration of the laws lately passed in connection with the affairs of the Indian community. "Then," added Mr. Gandhi, "I think there will be no fear on the part of my countrymen in their social evolution. That is one of the lessons of the settlement."



CSL

ADDRESS TO THE INDENTURED INDIANS

The following speech is the text of Mr. Gandhi's address to Indentured Indians at Verulam on the 12th July, 1914 :—

Please understand, my indentured countrymen, that it is wrong for you to consider that relief has been obtained because I or you have gone to gaol, but because you had the courage to give up your life and sacrifice yourselves and in this instance I have also to tell you that many causes led to this result. I have to specially refer to the valuable assistance rendered by the Hon. Senator Marshall Campbell. I think that your thanks and my thanks are due to him for his work in the Senate while the Bill was passing through it. The relief is of this nature ; the £3 tax you will not have to pay, and arrears will be remitted. It does not mean that you are free from your present indentures. You are bound to go through your present indentures faithfully and honestly, but when these finish you are just as free as any other free Indian under Act 25, 1891, and can receive the same protection as set forth in that Act. You are not bound to re-indenture or return to India. Discharge certificates will be issued to you free of charge. If you want to go to India and return therefrom you must first spend three years in Natal as free Indians. If you, being poor, want assistance to enable you to go to India, you can get it on application to the Government ; but in that case you would not be allowed to return. If you want to return, fight shy of this assistance, and use your own money or borrow from your friends. If you re-indenture you come under the same law—namely, 25 of 1891. My

advice to you is: Do not re-indenture, but by all means serve your present masters under the common law of the country. Now, in the event of any occasion arising (which I hope it will not do), you will know what is necessary. * * *

Victoria County has not been as free from violence as the Newcastle District was. You retaliated. I do not care whether it was under provocation or not, but you retaliated, and have used sticks and stones, and you have burnt sugar-cane. That is not passive resistance. If I had been in your midst I would have repudiated you, and allowed rather my own head to be broken than allow a single stick or stone to be used. Passive resistance is a more powerful weapon than all the sticks, stones, and gunpowder in the world. If imposed upon, you must suffer even unto death. That is passive resistance. If, therefore, I was an indentured Indian working for the Hon. Mr. Marshall Campbell, Mr. Saunders or other employer, and if I found my treatment not just, I would not go to the Protector—I would go to my master and ask for justice; and if he would not grant it I would say that I would remain there without food or drink until it was granted. I am quite sure that the stoniest heart will be melted by passive resistance. Let this sink deeply into yourselves. This is a sovereign and most effective remedy. * * *

I shall now say my farewell to Verulam and you all. The scene before me will not fade in my memory, be the distance ever so great. May God help you all in your trouble. May your own conduct be such that God may find it possible to help you.



ADDRESS TO THE TAMIL COMMUNITY

On the 15th July, 1914, at the West-End Bioscope Hall, Johannesburg, Mr. Gandhi addressed a meeting of the Tamil Community, including many ladies.

Mr. Gandhi said that he felt, in coming to meet the Tamil brothers and sisters, as if he came to meet blood relations. That was a sentiment which he had cherished now for many years, and the reason was quite simple. Of all the different sections of the Indian community, he thought that the Tamil had borne the brunt of the struggle. The largest number of deaths that Passive Resistance had taken had been from the Tamil community. They had that morning gone to the cemetery to perform the unveiling ceremony in connection with the two memorials to a dear sister and brother. Both of these had been Tamils. There was Narayansamy whose bones lay at Delagoa Bay. He had been a Tamil. The deportees had been Tamils. The last to fight and come out of gaol had been Tamils. Those who were ruined hawkers were all Tamils. The majority of the Passive Resisters at Tolstoy Farm had been Tamils. On every side, Tamils had shown themselves to be most typical of the best traditions of India, and by saying that he was not exaggerating in the slightest degree. The faith, the abundant faith in God, in Truth, that the Tamils had shown, had been one of the most sustaining forces throughout those long-drawn years. The majority of women to go to gaol were Tamils. The sisters who defied the authorities to arrest them and had gone from door to door, from barracks to barracks at Newcastle, to ask the men to lay down their tools and

strike work—who were they? Again, Tamil sisters. Who matched among the women? Tamils, of course. Who lived on a pound loaf of bread and an ounce of sugar? The majority were Tamils: though there he must give their due also to those of their countrymen who were called Calcutta men. In that last struggle they also had responded nobly, but he was not able to say quite so nobly as the Tamils; but they had certainly come out almost as well as the Tamils had, but the Tamils had sustained the struggle for the last eight years and had shown of what stuff they were made from the very beginning. Here in Johannesburg they were a handful, and yet, even numerically, they would show, he thought, the largest number who had gone to gaol again and again; also if they wanted imprisonment wholesale, it came from the Tamils. So that he felt, when he came to a Tamil meeting, that he came to blood-relations. The Tamils had shown so much pluck, so much faith, so much devotion to duty and such noble simplicity, and yet had been so self-effacing. He did not even speak their language, much as he should like to be able to do so, and yet they had simply fought on. It had been a glorious, a rich experience, which he would treasure to the end of his life. How should he explain the settlement to them? They did not even want it. But if he must he could only tell them that all that they and theirs had fought for had been obtained and obtained largely through the force of character that they had shown; and yet they did not want, they had not wanted to reap the reward, except the reward that their own consciences would offer them. They had fought for the Cape entry right for Colonial horns. That they had got. They had fought for the just administration of the laws. That they had



got. They had fought for the removal of the racial taint in the law with reference to the Free State. That they had got. The £3 Tax was now a matter of the past. And, with reference to the marriage question, all those dear sisters who had gone to gaol now could be called the wives of their husbands, whilst but yesterday they might have been called so out of courtesy by a friend, but were not so in the eye of the law. That was one of the things they had fought for and had got. Truth was what they had been fighting for, and Truth had conquered—not he or they. They might fight to-morrow for an unrighteous thing, and as sure as fate they would be beaten and well-beaten. Truth was unconquerable, and whenever the call to duty came he hoped they would respond. There was one thing more. They had sometimes, as every other section of the community had, jealousies amongst themselves. They had petty jealousies not in connection with the struggle, but in matters which had nothing to do with the struggle. All those petty jealousies and differences, he hoped, would go, and they would rise higher still in the estimation of themselves and of those who at all grew to know them and the depth of character which they had. They had also, as all sections of the Indian community had, not only those jealousies but sometimes many pickeringes also, and petty quarrels. He felt these also should be removed especially from their midst, because they had shown themselves so fit to give themselves to the Motherland. And here, of course, it was a Tamil who had given his four sons to be trained as servants of India. He hoped Mr. and Mrs. Naidoo knew exactly what they had done. They had surrendered all right to those children or life, and they could not possibly do anything to ad-

vance their material well-being, but had always to remain servants of India. It was no joke, and yet Mr. and Mrs. Naidoo had certainly done that. He could not appeal to them too strongly that they of all sections should rid themselves of all those bickerings, petty jealousies and quarrels amongst themselves. He would also ask them whenever they chose a President or a Chairman to obey him, to follow him, and not always listen to the views of this or that man. If they did that their usefulness would be curtailed. And then too they should not worry if others and not they might reap the reward. Their reward would be all the greater if it was not of this earth; they were not fighting for material reward, and a true Passive Resister never thought of material reward. They should not worry about material prosperity, but always have higher things before them. Then indeed they would be like the eleven working in the community which could raise the community as one to look up to. The privilege was certainly theirs and time also was at their disposal, and if they make good use of that time it would be a splendid thing for the whole of South Africa, and would certainly be a splendid thing for them; and if he heard in India that all those little things to which he had drawn attention had also been got rid of by the Indian community he would indeed be rejoiced. One thing more. He had known something of Madras, and how sharp caste distinctions were there. He felt they would have come to South Africa in vain if they were to carry those caste prejudices with them. The caste system had its uses, but that was an abuse. If they carried caste distinctions, to that fatuous extent and drew those distinctions, and called one another high and low and so on, those things would be their ruin. They should remember that



they were not high caste or low caste, but all Indians, all Tamils. He said Tamils, but that was also applicable to the whole Indian community, but most to them because most was certainly expected of them.

FAREWELL SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG

At Johannesburg Mr. Gandhi was the recipient of numerous addresses, from Hindus, Parsees, Mahomedans, Europeans and other "important communities. Indeed every class of people, and every important association presented a separate address. Mr. Gandhi made a touching reply to them:..

Johannesburg was not a new place to him. He saw many friendly faces there, many who had worked with him in many struggles in Johannesburg. He had gone through much in life. A great deal of depression and sorrow had been his lot, but he had also learnt during all those years to love Johannesburg even though it was a Mining Camp. It was in Johannesburg that he had found his most precious friends. It was in Johannesburg that the foundation for the great struggle of Passive Resistance was laid in the September of 1906. It was in Johannesburg that he had found a friend, a guide, and a biographer in the late Mr. Doke. It was in Johannesburg that he had found in Mrs. Doke a loving sister, who had nursed him back to life when he had been assaulted by a countryman who had misunderstood his mission and who misunderstood what he had done. It was in Johannesburg that he had found a Kallenbach, a Polak, a Miss Schlesin, and many another who had always helped him and had

always cheered him and his countrymen. Johannesburg, therefore, had the holiest associations of all the holy associations that Mrs. Gandhi and he would carry back to India, and, as he had already said on many another platform, South Africa, next to India, would be the holiest land to him and to Mrs. Gandhi and to his children, for, in spite of all the bitterneesses, it had given them those life-long companions. It was in Johannesburg again that the European Committee had been formed, when Indians were going through the darkest stage in their history, presided over them, as it still was, by Mr. Hosken. It was last, but not least, Johannesburg that had given Valliamma, that young girl, whose picture rose before him even as he spoke, who had died in the cause of truth. Simple-minded in faith—she had not the knowledge that he had, she did not know what Passive Resistance was, she did not know what it was the community would gain, but she was simply taken up with unbounded enthusiasm for her people—went to gaol, came out of it a wreck, and within a few days died. It was Johannesburg again that produced a Nageppan and Narayansamy, two lovely youths hardly out of their teens, who also died. But both Mrs. Gandhi and he stood living before them. He and Mrs. Gandhi had worked in the lime-light; those others had worked behind the scenes not knowing where they were going, except this that what they were doing was right and proper and, if any praise was due anywhere at all, it was due to those three who died. They had had the name of Harbatsingh given to them. He (the speaker) had had the privilege of serving imprisonment with him. Harbatsingh was 75 years old. He was an ex-indentured Indian, and when he (the speaker) asked him why he had come there, that he had gone



there to seek his grave, the brave man replied, "What does it matter? I know what you are fighting for. You have not to pay the £3 tax, but my fellow ex-indentured, Indians have to pay that tax, and what more glorious death could I meet?" He had met that death in the gaol at Durban. No wonder if Passive Resistance had fired and quickened the conscience of South Africa!

But, proceeded Mr. Gandhi, he concurred with Mr. Duncan in an article he wrote some years ago, when he truly analysed the struggle, and said that behind that struggle for concrete rights lay the great spirit which asked for an abstract principle, and the fight which was undertaken in 1906, although it was a fight against a particular law, was a fight undertaken in order to combat the spirit that was seen about to overshadow the whole of South Africa, and to undermine the glorious British Constitution, of which the Chairman had spoken so loftily that evening, and about which he (the speaker) shared his views. It was his knowledge, right or wrong, of the British Constitution which bound him to the Empire. Tear that Constitution to shreds and his loyalty also would be torn to shreds. Keep that Constitution intact, and they held him bound a slave to that Constitution. He had felt that the choice lay for himself and his fellow-countrymen between two courses, when this spirit was brooding over South Africa, either to sunder themselves from the British Constitution, or to fight in order that the ideals of that Constitution might be preserved—but only the ideals. Lord Amptill had said, in a preface to Mr. Doke's book, that the theory of the British Constitution must be preserved at any cost if the British Empire was to be saved from the mistakes that all the previous Empires had made. Practice might

bend to the temporary aberration through which local circumstances might compel them to pass, it might bend before unreasoning or unreasonable prejudice, but theory once recognised could never be departed from, and this principle must be maintained at any cost. And it was that spirit which had been acknowledged now by the Union Government, and acknowledged how nobly and loyally. The words that General Smuts so often emphasised still rang in his ears. He had said, "Gandhi, this time we want no misunderstanding, we want no mental or other reservations, let all the cards be on the table, and I want you to tell me wherever you think that a particular passage or word does not read in accordance with your own reading," and it was so. That was the spirit in which he approached the negotiations. When he remembered General Smuts of a few years ago, when he told Lord Crewe that South Africa would not depart from its policy of racial distinction, that it was bound to retain that distinction, and that, therefore, the sting that lay in this Immigration Law would not be removed, many a friend, including Lord Amphill, asked whether they could not for the time being suspend their activity. He had said "No." If they did that it would undermine his loyalty, and even though he might be the only person he would still fight on. Lord Amphill had congratulated him, and that great nobleman had never deserted the cause even when it was at its lowest ebb, and they saw the result that day. They had not by any means to congratulate themselves on a victory gained. There was no question of a victory gained, but the question of the establishment of the principle that, so far as the Union of South Africa at least was concerned, its legislation would never contain the racial taint, would never contain



the colour disability. The practice would certainly be different. There was the Immigration Law. It recognised no racial distinctions, but in practice they had arranged, they had given a promise, that there should be no undue influx from India as to immigration. That was a concession to present prejudice. Whether it was right or wrong was not for him to discuss then. But it was the establishment of the principle which had made the struggle so important in the British Empire, and the establishment of that principle which had made those sufferings perfectly justifiable and perfectly honourable, and he thought that, when they considered the struggle from that standpoint, it was a perfectly dignified thing for any gathering to congratulate itself upon such a vindication of the principles of the British Constitution. One word of caution he wished to utter regarding the settlement. The settlement was honourable to both parties. He did not think there was any room left for misunderstanding, but whilst it was final in the sense that it closed the great struggle, it was not final in the sense that it gave to Indians all that they were entitled to. There was still the Gold Law which had many a sting in it. There was still the Licensing Laws throughout the Union, which also contained many a sting. There was still a matter which the Colonial-born Indians especially could not understand or appreciate, namely, the water-tight compartments in which they had to live; whilst there was absolutely free inter-communication and inter-migration between the Provinces for Europeans, Indians had to be cooped up in their respective Provinces. Then there was undue restraint on their trading activity. There was the prohibition as to holding landed property in the

Transvaal, which was degrading, and all these things took Indians into all kinds of undesirable channels. These restrictions would have to be removed. But for that, he thought, sufficient patience would have to be exercised. Time was now at their disposal, and how wonderfully the tone had been changed! And here he had been told in Capetown, and he believed it implicitly, the spirit of Mr. Andrews had pervaded all those statesmen and leading men whom he saw. He came and went away after a brief period, but he certainly fired those whom he saw with a sense of their duty to the Empire of which they were members. But, in any case, to whatever circumstances that healthy tone was due, it had not escaped him. He had seen it amongst European friends whom he met at Capetown; he had seen it more fully in Durban, and this time it had been his privilege to meet many Europeans who were perfect strangers even on board the train, who had come smilingly forward to congratulate him on what they had called a great victory. Everywhere he had noticed that healthy tone. He asked European friends to continue that activity, either through the European Committee or through other channels, and to give his fellow-countrymen their help and extend that fellow-feeling to them also, so that they might be able to work out their own salvation.

To his countrymen he would say that they should wait and nurse the settlement, which he considered was all that they could possibly and reasonably have expected, and that they would now live to see, with the co-operation of their European friends, that what was promised was fulfilled, that the administration of the existing laws was just, and that vested rights were



respected in the administration; that after they had nursed these things, if they cultivated European public opinion, making it possible for the Government of the day to grant a restoration of the other rights of which they had been deprived, he did not think that there need be any fear about the future. He thought that, with mutual co-operation, with mutual good-will, with due response on the part of either party, the Indian community need ever be a source of weakness to that Government or to any Government. On the contrary he had full faith in his countrymen that, if they were well-treated, they would always rise to the occasion and help the Government of the day. If they had insisted on their rights on many an occasion, he hoped that the European friends who were there would remember that they had also discharged the responsibilities which had faced them.

And now it was time for him to close his remarks and say a few words of farewell only. He did not know how he could express those words. The best years of his life had been passed in South Africa. India, as his distinguished countryman, Mr. Gokhale, had reminded him, had become a strange land to him. South Africa, he knew, but not India. He did not know what impelled him to go to India, but he did know that the parting from them all, the parting from the European friends who had helped him through thick and thin, was a heavy blow, and one he was least able to bear, yet he knew he had to part from them. He could only say farewell and ask them to give him their blessing, to pray for them that their heads might not be turned by the praise they had received, that they might still know how to do their duty to the best of their ability, that they might still

learn that first, second, and last should be the approbation of their own conscience, and that then whatever might be due to them would follow in its own time.—
From "The Souvenir of the Passive Resistance Movement in South Africa."

FAREWELL TO SOUTH AFRICA

Just before leaving South Africa, Mr. Gandhi handed to Reuter's Agent at Capetown the following letter addressed to the Indian and European public of South Africa:—

I would like on the eve of my departure for India to say a few words to my countrymen in South Africa, and also to the European community. The kindness with which both European and Indian friends have overwhelmed me sends me to India a debtor to them. It is a debt I shall endeavour to repay by rendering in India what services I am capable of rendering there, and if in speaking about the South African Indian question I am obliged to refer to the injustices which my countrymen have received and may hereafter receive, I promise that I shall never wilfully exaggerate, and shall state the truth and nothing but the truth.

A word about the settlement, and what it means. In my humble opinion it is the Magna Charta of our liberty in this land. I give it the historic name, not because it gives us rights which we have never enjoyed and which are in themselves new or striking, but because it has come to us after eight years' strenuous suffering, that has involved the loss of material possessions and of precious



lives. I call it our Magna Charta because it marks a change in the policy of the Government towards us and establishes our right not only to be consulted in matters affecting us, but to have our reasonable wishes respected. It moreover confirms the theory of the British Constitution that there should be no legal racial inequality between different subjects of the Crown, no matter how much practice may vary according to local circumstances. Above all the settlement may well be called our Magna Charta, because it has vindicated Passive Resistance as a lawful clean weapon, and has given in Passive Resistance a new strength to the community; and I consider it an infinitely superior force to that of the vote, which history shows has often been turned against the voters themselves. 2

The settlement finally disposes of all the points that were the subject-matter of Passive Resistance, and in doing so it breathes the spirit of justice and fair play. If the same spirit guides the administration of the existing laws my countrymen will have comparative peace, and South Africa will bear little of Indian problem in an acute form.

Some of my countrymen have protested against it. The number of these protestants is numerically very small and in influence not of great importance. They do not object to what has been granted, but they object that it is not enough. It is impossible, therefore, to withhold sympathy from them. I have had an opportunity of speaking to them, and I have endeavoured to show to them that if we had asked for anything more it would have been a breach of submission made on behalf of the British Indians in a letter addressed to the Government by Mr. Cachalia during the latter part of last year 3



and we should have laid ourselves open to the charge of making new demands.

But I have also assured them that the present settlement does not preclude them from agitation (as has been made clear in my letter to the Secretary of the Interior of the 16th ultimo) for the removal of other disabilities which the community will still suffer from under the Gold Law, the Townships Act, the Law 3 of 1885 of the Transvaal and the Trade Licences Laws of Natal and the Cape. The promise made by General Smuts to administer the existing law justly and with due regard to vested rights gives the community breathing time, but these laws are in themselves defective, and can be, as they have been, turned into engines of oppression and instruments by indirect means to drive the resident Indian population from South Africa. The concession to popular prejudice in that we have reconciled ourselves to the almost total prohibition by administrative methods of a fresh influx of Indian immigrants, and to the deprivation of all political power, is, in my opinion, the utmost that could be reasonably expected from us. These two things being assured, I venture to submit that we are entitled to full rights of trade, inter-provincial migration, and ownership of landed property being restored in the not distant future. I leave South Africa in the hope that the healthy tone that pervades the European community in South Africa to-day will continue, and that it will enable Europeans to recognise the inherent justice of our submission. To my countrymen I have at various meetings that I have addressed during the past fortnight attended in several cases by thousands, said, "Nurse the settlement; see to it that the promises made are being carried out. Attend to development and progress from



within. Zealously remove all causes which we may have given for the rise and growth of anti-Indian prejudice or agitation, and patiently cultivate and inform European opinion so as to enable the Government of the day and legislature to restore to us our rights." It is by mutual co-operation and goodwill that the solution of the balance of the pressing disabilities which were not made points for Passive Resistance may be obtained in the natural course, and without trouble or agitation in an acute form.

The presence of a large indentured and ex-indentured Indian population in Natal is a grave problem. Compulsory repatriation is a physical and political impossibility, voluntary repatriation by way of granting free passages and similar inducements will not—as my experience teaches me—be availed of to any appreciable extent. The only real and effective remedy for the great State to adopt is to face responsibility fairly and squarely, to do away with the remnant of the system of indenture, and to level up this part of the population and make use of it for the general welfare of the Union. Men and women who can effectively strike in large bodies, who can for a common purpose suffer untold hardships, who can, undisciplined though they are, be martyrs for days without police supervision and yet avoid doing any damage to property or person, and who can in times of need serve their King faithfully and capably, as the ambulance corps raised at the time of the late war (and which had among other classes of Indians nearly 1,500 indentured Indians) bore witness, are surely people who will, if given ordinary opportunities in life, form an honourable part of any nation.



If any class of persons have special claim to be considered, it is these indentured Indians and their children, to whom South Africa has become either a land of adoption or of birth. They did not enter the Union as ordinary free immigrants, but they came upon invitation, and indeed even after much coaxing, by agents of South African employers of this class of labour. In this letter I have endeavoured as accurately and as fairly as is in my power to set forth the Indian situation, and the extraordinary courtesy, kindness and sympathy that have been shown to me during the past month by so many European friends. The frankness and generosity with which General Smuts, in the interview, that he was pleased to grant me, approached the questions at issue, and the importance that so many distinguished members of both Houses of Parliament attached to the Imperial aspect of the problem, give me ample reason for believing that my countrymen who have made South Africa their homes will receive a fairly full measure of justice and will be enabled to remain in the Union with self-respect and dignity.

Finally, in bidding good-bye to South Africa, I would like to apologise to so many friends on whom I have not been able, through extreme pressure of work, to call personally. I once more state that though I have received many a hard knock in my long stay in this country, it has been my good fortune to receive much personal kindness and consideration from hundreds of European friends, well-wishers and sympathisers. I have formed the closest friendships, which will last for ever, for this reason and for many similar reasons, which I would love to reduce to writing but for fear of trespassing unduly upon the courtesy of the press. This



sub-continent has become to me a sacred and dear land, next only to my motherland. I leave the shores of South Africa with a heavy heart, and the distance that will now separate me from South Africa will but draw me closer to it, and its welfare will always be a matter of great concern, and the love bestowed upon me by my countrymen and the generous forbearance and kindness extended to me by the Europeans will ever remain a most cherished treasure in my memory.

RECEPTION IN ENGLAND

Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi left South Africa for London in July, 1914. On their arrival in England they were welcomed at a great gathering of British and Indian friends and admirers at the Hotel Cecil, on August 8. Letters of apology were received from the Prime Minister, the Marquis of Crewe, Earl Roberts, Lords Gladstone, Curzon, Lamington, Amptill, Harris, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. The Reception was arranged by the Hon. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali and others who spoke on the occasion.

Mr. Gandhi, in returning thanks, referred to the great crisis which at the moment overshadowed the world. He hoped his young friends would "think Imperially" in the best sense of the word, and do their duty. With regard to affairs in South Africa, Mr. Gandhi paid a noble tribute to the devotion of his followers. It was to the rank and file that their victory was due. Those who had suffered and died in the strug-

gle were the real heroes. * * Mr. Gandhi regarded the settlement as the Magna Charta of the South Africa British Indians, not because of the substance but because of the spirit which brought it about. There had been a change in the attitude of the people of South Africa and the settlement had been sealed by the sufferings of the Indian community. It had proved that if Indians were in earnest they were irresistible. There had been no compromise in principles. Some grievances remained unredressed but these were capable of adjustment by pressure from Downing Street, Simla, and from South Africa itself. The future rested with themselves. If they proved worthy of better conditions, they would get them.

LETTER TO LORD CREWE

The following letter dated the 14th August, 1914, signed by Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Major N. P. Sinha, Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta and some fifty other Indians, was sent to the Under-Secretary of State for India :—

It was thought desirable by many of us that during the crisis that has overtaken the Empire and whilst many Englishmen, leaving their ordinary vocations in life, are responding to the Imperial call, those Indians who are residing in the United Kingdom and who can at all do so should place themselves unconditionally at the disposal of the Authorities.

With a view of ascertaining the feeling of the resident Indian population, the undersigned sent out a circular letter to as many Indians in the United King-



dom as could be approached during the thirty-eight hours that the organisers gave themselves. The response has been generous and prompt, in the opinion of the under-signed representatives of His Majesty's subjects from the Indian Empire at present residing in the different parts of the United Kingdom.

On behalf of ourselves and those whose names appear on the list appended hereto, we beg to offer our services to the authorities. We venture to trust that the Right Hon'ble the Marquess of Crewe will approve of our offer and secure its acceptance by the proper authority. We would respectfully emphasise the fact that the one dominant idea guiding us is that of rendering such humble assistance as we may be considered capable of performing, as an earnest of our desire to share the responsibilities of membership of this great Empire, if we would share its privileges.

FAREWELL TO ENGLAND

When England joined the war Mr. Gandhi organised the Indian Field Ambulance Corps with the help of leading Indians in England, notably H. H. the Aga Khan. Soon after Mr. Gandhi fell ill and he was nursed back to health by the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Roberts. Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi were again entertained at a Farewell Reception at the Westminster Palace Hotel, prior to their departure for India. Among those who took part in the function were Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Charles Roberts, Sir K. G. Gupta. A letter of apology was read from Sir William Wedderburn. Mr. Gandhi said in the course of his reply:—

His wife and himself were returning to the motherland with their work unaccomplished and with broken

health, but he wished nevertheless, to use the language of hope. * * He had himself pleaded hard with Mr. Roberts that some place should be found for him ; but his health had not permitted and the doctors had been obdurate. He had not resigned from the corps. If in his own motherland he should be restored to strength, and hostilities were still continuing, he intended to come back, directly the summons reached him. (Cheers). As for his work in South Africa, they had been purely a matter of duty and carried no merit with them and his only aspiration on his return to his motherland was to do his duty as he found it day by day. He had been practically an exile for 25 years and his friend and master, Mr. Gokhale, had warned him not to speak of Indian questions as India was a foreign land to him. (Laughter.) But the India of his imagination was an India unrivalled in the world, an India where the most spiritual treasures were to be found: and it was his dream and hope that the connection between India and England might be a source of spiritual comfort and uplifting to the whole world.

RECEPTION IN BOMBAY

Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi arrived at Bombay on the 9th January, 1915. They were entertained on arrival at a great public reception over which Sir Pherozeshah Mehta presided. Replying to the toast Mr. Gandhi said in the course of his speech :—

In what he had done, he had done nothing beyond his duty and it remained to be seen how far he had succeeded in doing his duty. That was not a mere lip



RECEPTION IN BOMBAY

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expression but he asked them to believe sincerely that these were his feelings.

They had also honoured Mrs. Gandhi as the wife of the great Gandhi. He had no knowledge of the great Gandhi but he could say that she could tell them more about the sufferings of women who rushed with babies to the jail and who had now joined the majority, than he could.

In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi appealed to them to accept the services of himself and his wife, for he said they had come to render such service as God would enable them to do so. They had not come to receive big entertainments like that because they did not think they were worthy of such presents. He felt they would only spoil them if ever by such action a thought crossed their minds that they had done something to deserve such a big *tamasha* made in their honour. He, however, thanked them on behalf of his wife and himself most sincerely for the great honour done to them that afternoon and he hoped to receive the whole country in their endeavour to serve the Motherland. Hitherto, he said, they had known nothing of his failures. All the news that they had received related to his successes. Here they would now see them in the naked light, and would see their faults, and anticipating such faults and failures, he asked them to overlook them, and with that appeal, he said, they as humble servants would commence the service of their country.



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RECEPTION IN MADRAS

In reply to the Welcome Address read by Mr. G. A. Natesan on behalf of the Indian South African League, at a meeting at the Victoria Public Hall, Madras, on the 21st April, 1915, with Dr. Sir Subramania Iyer in the Chair, Mr. Gandhi said :—

Mr. Chairman and Friends,—On behalf of my wife and myself I am deeply grateful for the great honour that you here in Madras, and, may I say, this Presidency, have done to us and the affection that has been lavished upon us in this great and enlightened—not benighted—Presidency.

If there is anything that we have deserved, as has been stated in this beautiful address, I can only say I lay it at the feet of my Master under whose inspiration I have been working all this time under exile in South Africa. (*Hear, hear*). In so far as the sentiments expressed in this address are merely prophetic, Sir, I accept them as a blessing and as a prayer from you and from this great meeting that both my wife and I myself may possess the power, the inclination, and the life to dedicate whatever we may develop in this sacred land of ours to the service of the Motherland. (*Cheers*). It is no wonder that we have come to Madras. As my friend, Mr. Natesan, will perhaps tell you, we have been overdue and we have neglected Madras. But we have done nothing of the kind. We know that we had a corner in your hearts and we knew that you will not misjudge us if we did not hasten to Madras before going to the other presidencies and to other towns. * * * * But, Sir, if one-tenth of the language that has been used in this address is deserved by us, what language do you propose to use for those who



have lost their lives, and therefore finished their work on behalf of your suffering countrymen in South Africa? What language do you propose to use for Nagappan and Narayanasawmy, lads of seventeen or eighteen years, who braved in simple faith all the trials, all the sufferings, and all the indignities for the sake of the honour of the Motherland (*Cheers.*) What language do you propose to use with reference to Valliamma, that sweet girl of seventeen years who was discharged from Maritzburg prison, skin and bone suffering from fever to which she succumbed after about a month's time (*Cries of shame.*)

It was the Madrassis who of all the Indians were singled out by the great Divinity that rules over us for this great work. Do you know that in the great city of Johannesburg, the Madrasis look on a Madrassi as dishonoured if he has not passed through the jails once or twice during this terrible crisis that your countrymen in South Africa went through during these eight long years? You have said that I inspired these great men and women, but I cannot accept that proposition. It was they, the simple-minded folk, who worked away in faith, never expecting the slightest reward, who inspired me, who kept me to the proper level, and who inspired me by their great sacrifice, by their great faith, by their great trust in the great God, to do the work that I was able to do. (*Cheers.*) It is my misfortune that my wife and I have been obliged to work in the lime-light, and you have magnified out of all proportion (*cries of 'No? no?'*) this little work we have been able to do. Believe me, my dear friends, that if you consider, whether in India or in South Africa, it is possible for us, poor mortals—the same individuals, the same stuff of which you are made—if you consider that it is possible for us to do



anything whatsoever without your assistance and without your doing the same thing that we would be prepared to do, you are lost, and we are also lost, and our services will be in vain, I do not for one moment believe that the inspiration was given by us. The inspiration was given by them to us, and we were able to be interpreters between the powers who called themselves the Governors and those men for whom redress was so necessary. We were simply links between those two parties and nothing more. It was my duty, having received the education that was given to me by my parents to interpret what was going on in our midst to those simple folk, and they rose to the occasion. They realised the might of religious force, and it was they who inspired us, and let them who have finished their work, and who have died for you and me, let them inspire you and us. We are still living and who knows whether the devil will not possess us to-morrow and we shall not forsake the post of duty before any new danger that may face us. But these three have gone for ever.

An old man of 75 from the United Provinces, Harbart Singh, has also joined the majority and died in jail in South Africa; and he deserved the crown that you would seek to impose upon us. These young men deserve all the adjectives that you have so affectionately, but blindly lavished upon us. It was not only the Hindus who struggled, but there were Mahomedans, Parsis and Christians, and almost every part of India was represented in the struggle. They realised the common danger, and they realised also what their destiny was as Indians, and it was they, and they alone, who matched the soul-forces against the physical forces. (*Loud applause.*)



THE INDIAN SOUTH AFRICAN LEAGUE

At the General Meeting of the Indian South African League, held at the premises of Messrs G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, on Friday, May 7, 1915, with Dewan Bahadur M. Audinarayana Iyah in the Chair, Mr. G. A. Natesan, one of the Joint Secretaries, presented a statement of accounts of the League and wound up by urging that the balance of the League's Fund might be handed over to Mr. Gandhi who had undertaken to look after the interests of the South Africa returned Indians and their dependents. The Resolution was unanimously passed. Mr. Gandhi in the course of his reply made a brief statement and said:—

The passive resistance struggle started with the Asiatic struggle in the Transvaal in 1906. As it went on stage after stage, it, owing to the exigencies of the case and as a matter of course, expanded and embraced the following further points, viz., (1) the removal of racial disability in the Immigration Legislation of the Union of South Africa; (2) the restoration of the status of Indian wives whether married in accordance with Hindu or Mahomedan religious rites as it originally existed before what was known in South Africa as the Searle Judgment; (3) repeal of the annual £3 tax which was payable by every ex-indentured Indian, his wife and his children—male and female—males after reaching 16 years, females after reaching 12, if they decided to settle in the province of Natal as freemen; (4) just administration of existing laws specially affecting British Indians with due regard to vested rights. All these points were completely gained under the settlement of last year, and they have been embodied so far as legislation was necessary in what was known as the Indian Relief Act and otherwise in the cor-



respondence that took place between General Smuts and himself immediately after the passing of the Act referred to. Such being the case and as the Indian South African League was formed solely for the purpose of assisting the struggle it could well dissolve itself. Mr. Gandhi referred also to the administration of the funds that were sent to him from India and other parts of the Empire. He said that, at every stage of the struggle, a complete statement of income and expenditure was published.

Mr. Gandhi then informed the meeting that there were nearly 30 passive resisters including their families in India who were to be supported. These included the widows and children of the two men who were shot in the course of the struggle. He, therefore, suggested that the small balance which was still with the Indian South African League might well be devoted to their assistance. Mr. Gandhi desired to take the opportunity to express the thanks of the South African Indians for the great and valuable assistance it had rendered to them during the most critical times of the struggle. He was not going to mention any names, but he felt it his duty to convey in person as the interpreter of the wishes of many Transvaal deportees, who were in Madras in 1909, of their heartfelt thanks to Mr. Natesan for the devotion which he displayed in looking after their interest during their exile in India. He was glad he was able to convey in person his grateful thanks to the chairman and the members of the League for the moral and material support they had rendered to their cause.



ADVICE TO SOUTH AFRICAN INDIANS

In spite of his multifarious activities in India, Mr. Gandhi seldom forgot the scene of his early labours. His South African friends and fellow-workers are always dear to him. In a communication to the Indian Opinion he wrote under date 15th December, 1917 :—

When I left South Africa, I had fully intended to write to my Indian English friends there from time to time, but I found my lot in India to be quite different from what I had expected it to be. I had hoped to be able to have comparative peace and leisure but I have been irresistibly drawn into many activities. I hardly cope with them and local daily correspondence. Half of my time is passed in the Indian trains. My South African friends will, I hope, forgive me for my apparent neglect of them. Let me assure them that not a day has passed but I have thought of them and their kindness. South African associations can never be effaced from my memory.

You will not now be surprised when I tell you that it was only to-day that I learnt from *Indian Opinion* to hand about the disastrous floods. During my travels I rarely read newspapers and I have time merely to glance at them whilst I am not travelling. I write this to tender my sympathy to the sufferers. My imagination enables me to draw a true picture of their sufferings. They make one thing of God and His might and the utter evanescence of this life. They ought to teach us ever to seek His protection and never to fail in the daily duty before us. In the divine account-books only our actions are noted, not what we have read or what we have spoken. These and similar reflections fill my soul for



the moment and I wish to share them with the sufferers. The deep poverty that I experience in this country deters me even from thinking of financial assistance to be sent for those who have been rendered homeless. Even one pie in this country counts. I am at this very moment living in the midst of thousands who have nothing but roasted pulse or grain flour mixed with water and salt. We here, therefore, can only send the sufferers an assurance of our heartfelt grief.

I hope that a determined movement will be set on foot to render illegal residence on flats exposed to visitations of death-dealing floods. The poor will, if they can, inhabit even such sites regardless of consequences. It is for the enlightened persons to make it impossible for them to do so.

The issues of *Indian Opinion* that acquainted me with the destruction caused by the floods gave me also the sad news of Mr. Abdul Ganie's death. Please convey my respectful condolences to the members of our friend's family. Mr. Abdul Ganie's services to community can never be forgotten. His sobriety of judgment and never-failing courtesy would have done credit to anybody. His wise handling of public questions was a demonstration of the fact that services to one's country could be efficiently rendered without a knowledge of English or modern training.

I note, too, that our people in South Africa are not yet free from difficulties about trade licences and leaving certificates. My Indian experience has confirmed the opinion that there is no remedy like passive resistance against such evils. The community has to exhaust milder remedies but I hope that it will not allow the sword of passive resistance to get rusty. It is our duty



whilst the terrible war lasts to be satisfied with petitions, etc. for the desired relief but I think the Government should know that the community will not rest until the questions above mentioned are satisfactorily solved. It is but right that I should also warn the community against dangers from within. I hear from those who return from South Africa that we are by no means free of those who are engaged in illicit traffic. We who seek justice must be above suspicion, and I hope that our leaders will not rest till they have purged the community of internal defects.

RAILWAY RESTRICTIONS IN TRANSVAAL

Writing to the "Times of India" on June 2, 1918, Mr. Gandhi drew attention to the fresh disabilities imposed on Indians by the Union Government by the introduction of the railway travelling restrictions, Mr. Gandhi, while deploring the existing colour prejudices felt bound to protest against the attempt of the Union Government to give legal recognition to the anti-colour campaign. We omit the long extracts from the "Indian Opinion" and give the text of Mr. Gandhi's letter:—

SIR,—I offer no apology for seeking the hospitality of your columns for the enclosed extracts from *Indian Opinion*. They deal with the well being of over two lakhs of emigrants from India. Mr. Ahmed Mahomed Cachalia, the esteemed president of the British Indian Association of Johannesburg, has sent from that place the following cablegram regarding one of the matters referred to in the extracts:—



'Mass meeting fifth strongly protested section nineteen, railway regulations. Resolved cable supporters India. Regulations impose statutory color-bar in regard to issue of tickets, placing in and removing from compartments, occupation of places on station platforms, empowers minor officials remove without assigning reason. Please make suitable representations appropriate quarters. Community unanimous assert rights unless relief sought granted.'

Mr. Cachalia was one of the staunchest workers during the Passive Resistance campaign that raged for eight years in South Africa. During that campaign he reduced himself to poverty and accepted imprisonment for the sake of India's honour. One can, therefore, easily understand what is meant by the words 'community unanimous assert right unless relief sought granted.'

It is not a threat. It is the burning cry of distress felt by a community whose self-respect has been injured.

It is evident that the white people of South Africa have not been visibly impressed by the war which is claimed to be waged for the protection of the rights of weaker or minor nationalities. Their prejudice against colour is not restrained even by the fact that local Indians have raised a volunteer bearer corps which is gallantly serving in East Africa with the column that was taken to East Africa by General Smuts.

The problem is difficult, it is complex. Prejudices cannot be removed by legislation. They will yield only to patient toil and education. But what of the Union Government? It is now feeding the prejudice by legalising it. Indians would have been content, if the popular prejudice had been left to work itself out, care being taken to guard against violence on either side. Indians of South Africa could not complain even against a boycott on the part of the whites. It is there already. In social life they are completely ostracised. They feel the ostracism, but they silently bear it. But the situa-



tion alters when the Government steps in and gives legal recognition to the Anti-Colour Campaign. It is impossible for the Indian settlers to submit to an insulting restraint upon their movements. They will not allow booking clerks to decide as to whether they are becomingly dressed. They cannot allow a platform-inspector to restrict them to a reserved part of a platform. They will not, as if they were ticket-of-leave men, produce their certificates in order to secure railway tickets.

The pendency of the war cannot be used as an effective shield to cover fresh wrongs and insults. The plucky custodians of India's honour are doing their share in South Africa. We here are bound to help them. Meetings throughout India should inform the white inhabitants of South Africa that India resents their treatment of her sons. They should call upon the Government of India and the Imperial Government to secure effective protection for our countrymen in South Africa. I hope that Englishmen in India will not be behind hand in lending their valuable support to the movement to redress the wrong. Mr. Cachalia's cable is silent on the grievance disclosed in the second batch of extracts. It is not less serious. In its effect, it is far more deadly. But the community is hoping to right the wrong by an appeal to the highest legal tribunal in the Union. But really the question is above that tribunal. Let me state it in a sentence. A reactionary Attorney-General has obtained a ruling from the Natal Supreme Court to the effect that subjects of 'native states' are aliens and not British subjects and are, therefore, not entitled to its protection so far as appeals under a particular section of the Immigrants Restriction Act are concerned. Thus if the local courts' ruling is correct,