

1. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

DURBAN,
December 26, 1913

PRAY ASSURE HIS EXCELLENCY FROM YOUR KNOWLEDGE OF ME I WOULD DO EVERYTHING CONCEIVABLY POSSIBLE FOR ME NOT EMBARRASS OUR GOVERNMENT. I ASSURE YOU HIS UNFLINCHING ADVOCACY¹ HAS CREATED SILENT SUBTLE INFLUENCE FAVOUR BRITISH CONNECTION WHICH NO DECLARATION NO COMMISSIONS COULD POSSIBLY HAVE DONE. HIS UNEQUIVOCAL, COURAGEOUS PRONOUNCEMENT HAD RING SINCERITY WHICH PRODUCED PROFOUND IMPRESSION UPON EUROPEANS INDIANS. AM EXPECTING HOURLY REPLY FROM INTERIOR ABOUT PROPOSED PRIVATE INTERVIEW. OTHER LOCAL INFLUENCES WORKING OUR FAVOUR. YOU KNOW INTERIOR'S REPLY SAYS GOVERNMENT INTENDED MAKE COMMISSION IMPARTIAL; THAT THEY DID NOT CONSULT PLANTERS TIME APPOINTMENT STOP AT INTERVIEW IF GRANTED OTHERWISE PUBLICLY BEFORE MARCHING, SHALL ASSUME GOVERNMENT'S IMPARTIALITY WITHDRAW CHARGE PARTISAN CHARACTER AND FORSAKE MAKING GOOD FUNDAMENTAL POSITION, THAT OUR SENTIMENT SHOULD BE FORMALLY [OR] INFORMALLY CONSULTED RESPECTED AND FOR APPEASING COMMUNITY. IN PRESENT STATE TENSION, SUSPICION, INDIGNATION, REQUEST NOMINATION ONE ONLY ADDITION MEMBER OUR SIDE, PLANTERS HAVING RIGHT NOMINATE ONE THEIRS. APPREHEND NO DIFFICULTY REGARDING DISCHARGE PASSIVE RESISTANCE PRISONERS WE NOT ASKING SO CALLED PASSIVE RESISTERS, IF ANY, CONVICTED VIOLENCE STOP EVERYBODY ADMITS ABSOLUTE NECESSITY DISCHARGE. "PRETORIA NEWS" STRONGLY URGES GOVERNMENT ACCEPT PRAYER. COULD HIS EXCELLENCY POSSIBLY URGE ACCEPTANCE THIS MIDDLE COURSE WHICH, WITHOUT IMPAIRING OUR PRINCIPLE, WOULD CAUSE GOVERNMENT NO LOSS DIGNITY PRESTIGE, SMOOTHS WAY FUTURE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT. ARE TRYING OUR SIDE AND YOU

¹ The reference is to Lord Hardinge's speech at Madras on November 24. *Vide* "Lord Hardinge's Speech, 3-12-1913.

SHOULD YOURS TO SEE THAT IF FORTUNATELY WE ENABLED
ACCEPT COMMISSION AND SUSPEND STRUGGLE. NO DOUBT LEFT
COMMISSION COVERING ALL GRIEVANCES.¹

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

2. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE²

DURBAN,

December 26, 1913

OATH INCLUDES NOT FIRST JANUARY. ALREADY PROMISED
CLERGY REASONABLE POSTPONEMENT. NOTHING FROM INTERIOR
YET.

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

3. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

DURBAN,

December 26, 1913

SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

WEST WENT DELIVER MY CABLE FOUND YOURS³ ABOUT FUNDS
AND REPLIED. REASON FOR ASKING YOU HOLD FUNDS IS
NONE KNOWS LIMIT TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT'S REPRESSIVE
METHOD. THEY MAY UNDER MARTIAL LAW SEIZE EVERYTHING
EVERYBODY. MARTIAL LAW WAS SERIOUSLY SUGGESTED. BET-
TER THEREFORE IF YOU HOLD FUNDS AND SEND AS REQUIRED.
MOVEMENT SPREADING BEYOND ALL EXPECTATION. REMAIN
BESIEGED BY PEOPLE ALL DAY. MARCH WILL BE POSTPONED

¹ Gokhale, in reply, cabled the next day: "I repeated yesterday Viceroy your cable asking him support, suggested middle course. He replies, many thanks telegram, repeating substance Lord Crewe,"

² This was in reply to the following cable of the same date from Gokhale: "Cable urgent if oath includes 1st January as definite date renewal. Has interview been granted?"

³ Gokhale's cable dated December 26 read: "Cabling tomorrow seven thousand Bombay one thousand Madras."

ALMOST CERTAINLY. WHILST THERE IS HOPE OF PEACE AM NOT FIXING PRELIMINARIES NECESSARY PROVIDING PROBABLY FIVE THOUSAND MARCHERS WHOSE RANKS MAY SWELL, TWENTY THOUSAND AS MOURNING BUT DETERMINED MEN WOMEN PROCEED. AM ATTENDING MASS MEETING¹ MARITZBURG SATURDAY. ARRANGING YOUR CABLES BEING REPEATED. WILL GIVE PROMPTEST ATTENTION CABLE INSTRUCTIONS.

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

4. LETTER TO MARSHALL CAMPBELL

110, FIELD STREET,
DURBAN,
December 26, 1913

DEAR MR. MARSHALL CAMPBELL²,

I learnt only two or three days ago that you had returned from England. Will you allow me to tell you how deeply concerned I was when I learnt that your men were among the first to strike on the coast? At an important meeting, when I was actually asked why I would not advocate a strike on the sugar plantations also, I replied that we were endeavouring to confine the area to the collieries only, in the hope that the strike on the collieries would be a sufficient demonstration to secure relief. Whilst I was at Newcastle organizing relief for the collieries' men who had come out, I was asked by my co-workers in Durban what answer to give to the coastal Indians who wanted to join the movement, and I emphatically told them that the time was not ripe for them to do so. Later, too, when I was again approached, I made the same statement and one of my last letters³ before my arrest was that, as we were so much indebted to you for your efforts to bring about the repeal of the £3 tax legislation, your men should be the last to be called out; but I am absolutely certain that after my arrest the workers found it impossible to control the men and the movement became not only spontaneous, but it assumed gigantic proportions. I would like you to enter into our feelings. Had I been free and assisted in calling out the men, I must freely admit that I would have certainly

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Maritzburg", 27-12-1913.

² Chairman, Board of Directors, Natal Estates, Ltd.

³ These are not available.

endeavoured to call out your men also; but, as I have already stated, yours would have been the last estate.

As you know, in this struggle for honour and self-respect, and for the relief of the distress of my dumb and helpless countrymen, the indentured Indians, it was not possible for us to consider or confine the extent of our sufferings. In this struggle we have not hesitated to invite our own women and children to suffer and lose their all, and we could not very well be expected to consider the interests of individual friends and sympathisers. In all our struggles of this nature the innocent as well as the guilty suffer. I hope, therefore, that neither my countrymen nor I have forfeited the valuable co-operation and sympathy which you have always extended. I may state that I am just now carrying on delicate negotiations with General Smuts, in spite of his rejection of our prayer, and if you have the leisure and could interest yourself in the negotiations, and if you would appoint a time and place, I would come over and discuss the situation.

Both Messrs Kallenbach and Polak, who have pleasant recollections of the luncheon you gave in honour of Mr. Gokhale, associate themselves in the sentiments I have expressed.¹

I am, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

THE HON. MARSHALL CAMPBELL
MOUNT EDGECOMBE

The Natal Mercury, 5-1-1914

5. INTERVIEW TO REUTER²

[DURBAN,
Before *December 27, 1913*]

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed by Reuter on the subject of the reply received from Government,³ said that there seemed in it a tone of conciliation of which he was trying to take advantage. He would not state anything beyond saying that he had placed himself in private communication with the Government, but he thought that a way out of the deadlock was possible, and that, without any loss of

¹ For Marshall Campbell's reply *vide* footnotes to "Letter to Marshall Campbell", 1-1-1914

² This was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 31-12-1913.

³ *Vide* "Lord Hardinge's Speech", 3-12-1913.

prestige or dignity, Government could respond to the earnest prayer of the Indian community for the representation of its interests. The Government's declaration that it, at any rate, did not intend the Commission to bear a partisan character was a hopeful sign.

He added that he wanted to assure the Europeans in South Africa that he felt just as much for the Europeans as for his own countrymen, regarding the sufferings to be undergone by them both in a struggle of this gigantic nature; and that, realizing fully his sense of responsibility, he would leave no stone unturned to avoid a revival of passive resistance.

He claimed to rank amongst the staunchest loyalists alike to the Imperial Government as to the Union Government and, his loyalty being rather to the Constitution than to persons, was unaffected by acts of the Government, however harsh he might consider them to be.

He, therefore, begged the citizens of South Africa to believe him in his declaration that he would leave nothing, short of compromising his own conscience, undone to avoid a recrudescence of the sufferings. On his release from imprisonment, he was deeply pained to learn that employers on the coast, for some of whom he entertained high regard, had to suffer losses. He only hoped that the Government would appreciate the private communication which he had made, and that the European public would lend their support even though it might be on trust.

The Natal Mercury, 27-12-1913

6. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE¹

DURBAN,

December 27, 1913

WILL CERTAINLY POSTPONE TILL ROBERTSON'S ARRIVAL. MAY WE GIVE PUBLIC RECEPTION STOP IN EVENT PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS FAILING MAY WE ANNOUNCE WE AWAITING ARRIVAL

¹ This had reference to the following cable which Gandhiji received the same day from Gokhale: "Understand if Robertson starts twenty-ninth will reach about eighth. But arrangements departure suspended pending your definite promise that he will have at least one week there before you renew struggle. Viceroy meanwhile undertaking move Lord Crewe secure adjournment Commission till end week. Do you promise? Cable explicitly. You certainly entitled if your present negotiations fail announce reason postponement struggle, also to abstain from participation inquiry if Commission not adjourned. Public reception Robertson desirable." *Vide* also the following item.

BEFORE RECOMMENCING. MEANWHILE WE SHALL REFRAIN
GIVING EVIDENCE.

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

7. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

DURBAN,
December 27, 1913

I PROMISE SUSPEND MARCH UPTO ONE WEEK AFTER. ROBERTSON'S
ARRIVAL PROVIDED HE LEAVES TWENTY-NINTH.¹ MEAN-
WHILE HOPE PRESSURE WILL BE EXERCISED FROM INDIA
ENGLAND REGARDING MY PROPOSAL SUBMITTED YESTERDAY
AND ASKING GENERAL SMUTS GRANT REQUEST WITHOUT
REFERENCE ROBERTSON'S ARRIVAL. MISS HOBHOUSE, STAUNCH
FRIEND GOVERNMENT, HAS JUST WIRED ASKING ME SUSPEND
MARCH AND SHE IS INTERVENING. SIMILARLY SYMPATHY BE-
ING GAINED HERE. THIS POSITION SHOULD NOT BE DISTURBED
EITHER BY VICEROY OR LORD CREWE UNDER PRESSURE FROM
UNION GOVERNMENT AS HAPPENED DURING PASSAGE IMMI-
GRATION BILL BY EITHER APPROVING UNION GOVERNMENT
ACTION OR CONDEMNING OURS. ON YOUR REPLY HERETO²

¹ This was in response to Gokhale's suggestion contained in a cable dated 27th reading: "Please make no public mention Viceroy moving Lord Crewe secure adjournment or what you will do if adjournment not granted this to avoid appearance threat. Confine announcement for the present statement you postpone renewal struggle pending arrival Robertson and one week after. Say, if necessary, you do this under strong pressure from India."

² Gokhale sent two cables the following day. The first cable was: "Have just sent following wire Viceroy: 'Gandhi promises not renew struggle till Sir Benjamin has had one week there after arrival. I have given Gandhi to understand Sir Benjamin starts immediately.' Impossible now Robertson start tomorrow. He must have at least one day hand over charge after receiving Viceroy's orders, and another for journey Nagpur to Bombay."

The second said: "Viceroy wires: 'In view promise given by Gandhi and my intense desire secure peaceful settlement, Robertson will leave first January arriving Durban about eleventh. Have asked Lord Crewe endeavour arrange with Union Government short postponement meeting Commission.' Viceroy wants you communicate freely with Robertson on arrival. He goes [to] give fullest assistance community. Viceroy, however, thinks it desirable you should know that if community resort passive resistance or violence, Robertson will immediately dissociate himself." For the full text of the Viceroy's cable to Gokhale, *vide* Viceroy's Telegram to G. K. Gokhale", 28-12-1913.

WILL ANNOUNCE THAT AT VICEROY'S DESIRE, BECAUSE ROBERTSON COMING, WE HAVE SUSPENDED MARCH WITHOUT COMMITTING OURSELVES TO COMMISSION AT PRESENT CONSTITUTED AND WITHOUT TAKING PART AT ITS SITTINGS. THIS ANNOUNCEMENT WILL NOT BE MADE UNTIL I HAVE DES-PAIRED OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH SMUTS. ANDREWS¹ WILL BE FULLY HONOURED. SO WILL ROBERTSON.

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

8. *SPEECH AT MARITZBURG*²

MARITZBURG,
[December 27, 1913]

Mr. Gandhi, in a speech of noteworthy moderation, intimated that negotiations of an important character were proceeding in connection with the grievances of the Indians. Indians had, he said, to await the final issue of the negotiations. He counselled them to be ready, as it might happen that they would be called upon to join in the march from Durban to the Transvaal to court arrest. He did not anticipate that the march would commence on January 1. It might not take place until January 15. And in the event of such a march taking place, they had to make all the necessary arrangements for commissariat, which was a matter of very great importance. He claimed, in the course of his speech, that they were simply seeking to obtain the elementary rights of humanity and ordinary justice.³

Indian Opinion, 31-12-1913

¹ Charles Frere Andrews (1871-1940); British missionary who took great interest in Viswabharati, University founded by Tagore; his devoted services for many years in the cause of the Indian people, especially those in distress or difficulty, won him the name "Deenabandhu", friend of the poor; he was deeply attached to Gandhiji.

² Gandhiji spoke at a meeting attended by about 1,000 Indians. This report was reproduced in *Indian Opinion* from *The Natal Mercury*.

³ Parsee Rustomjee and H. S. L. Polak also addressed the gathering.

9. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[DURBAN,]

December 29, 1913

BEG THANK MINISTER FOR WIRE¹ VENTURE SUGGEST THAT ONE MEMBER BE SELECTED BY PLANTERS AND OTHERS AND ONE BY INDIAN COMMUNITY. THIS WILL ALLAY SUSPICION AND WILL BE AN EARNEST OF GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION NOT DISREGARD INDIAN SENTIMENT IN MATTERS VITALLY AFFECTING INDIAN COMMUNITY. WE SHALL MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT WE ACCEPT THE ASSURANCE OF GOVERNMENT THAT THEY DID NOT INTEND GIVE COMMISSION PARTISAN CHARACTER BUT THAT AT OUR EARNEST REQUEST THEY HAVE APPOINTED ADDITIONAL COMMISSIONERS TO REPRESENT US GIVING THE SAME RIGHT TO PLANTERS AND OTHERS. I MAY STATE THAT I SHALL BE PREPARED ADVISE MY COUNTRYMEN ACCEPT A SINGLE MEMBER COMMISSION SIR WILLIAM SOLOMON BEING SOLE MEMBER IF GOVERNMENT COULD SEE THEIR WAY ACCEPT MY HUMBLE PROPOSAL. FROM THE TONE OF THE REPLY DATED 24TH INSTANT I ASSUME THAT THERE WOULD BE NO DIFFICULTY ABOUT DISCHARGING BONA FIDE PASSIVE RESISTANCE PRISONERS AT PRESENT UNDERGOING IMPRISONMENT BUT NOT SO CALLED PASSIVE RESISTERS WHO MAY HAVE BEEN GUILTY OF VIOLENCE. ALSO THAT THE REFERENCE TO THE COMMISSION WOULD BE WIDENED SO AS TO INCLUDE AN INQUIRY INTO ALL THE GRIEVANCES AND TO BRING IT IN A LINE WITH SIR WILLIAM SOLOMON'S STATEMENT AT THE OPENING SITTING. THIS CONCESSION BEING MADE WE SHALL UNDERTAKE SUSPEND PASSIVE RESISTANCE PENDING FINDING COMMISSION. IF GOVERNMENT AT ALL VIEW MY SUBMISSION WITH FAVOUR I STILL RESPECTFULLY PRESS FOR INTERVIEW WHICH WILL FACILITATE SETTLEMENT MATTERS OF DETAIL. SHORTHAND NOTES MAY BE TAKEN AT THE INTERVIEW SO AS TO AVOID ANY FUTURE MISUNDERSTANDING. IF GOVERNMENT COULD ENABLE ME ANNOUNCE ACCEPTANCE PRAYER BEFORE NEW YEAR'S EVE IT WOULD RELIEVE TENSION AND MY COUNTRY

¹ *Vide Ist* footnote of Telegram to Minister of Interior", 25-12-1913.

MEN WOULD BE ABLE TO LOOK FORWARD TO NEW YEAR WITH HOPE AND FEEL GRATEFUL FOR GOVERNMENT'S ACT OF JUSTICE.¹

GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 551/46

10. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

DURBAN,
December 29, 1913

SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

NO FURTHER WAY OUT POSSIBLE STOP IF WE MUST LOSE LORD CREWE'S INDIA'S SYMPATHY WE MUST BE CONTENT. ALL I HOPE YOU WILL KINDLY DO IS NOT BE OVER-ANXIOUS ABOUT US. WE HERE ARE PERFECTLY CHEERFUL SUFFERING IS WHAT WE BARGAINED FOR AND WE SHALL TAKE IT STOP SERIOUS ENOUGH POSTPONE MARCH PEOPLE DESPITE WARNINGS ALREADY SELLING FEW BELONGINGS ANTICIPATION STOP WHERE SO MUCH EARNESTNESS DESPITE WITHDRAWAL OUTSIDE HELP THERE IS HOPE STOP SENDING STATEMENT² LATER.

GANDHI

National Archives of India: File No. 45 Courtesy: Servants of India Society

¹ For the Minister of the Interior's response to this representation, *vide* "Telegram from Minister of Interior", 5-1-1914 The subject matter of these communications was covered in a secret despatch of December 31 addressed by the Governor-General to the Colonial Office, which incidentally threw light on Sir William Solomon's own reaction—apart from the Government's—to Gandhiji's proposals for reconstituting the Commission. *Vide* "Telegram from Minister of Interior", 5-1-1914

² *Vide* the following item.

11. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE¹

DURBAN,
December 29, 1913

SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

INDIANS CONSIDER COMMISSION AS AT PRESENT CONSTITUTED
PACKED. ALMOST ENTIRE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS AGREEER
EASONABLENESS INDIAN SUGGESTIONS AS TO ADDITIONAL
MEMBERSHIP. ESSELEN WYLIE KNOWN GENERALLY ADMITTEDTO
BE AMONG STRONGEST VIOLENTTEST ANTI-ASIATIC PARTI-
SANS STOP COMMISSION ACCORDING CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTORY
STATEMENT INVESTIGATING NOT ONLY MATTERS FACTS AS TO
ILL-TREATMENT BUT ALSO POLICY SUCH AS GRIEVANCES STOP
THOUGH INTEGRITY CHAIRMAN UNDOUBTED HE COULDN'T CON-
TROL COLLEAGUES MATTERS POLICY. COMMISSION NOT MERELY
JUDICIAL BUT POLITICAL ALSO AS EVIDENCED FROM VERY

¹ This was sent in response to the following cable, dated December 28, from Gokhale: "Necessary now explain country your position. Best course you cable me immediately for publication compact connected statement four hundred words or more if necessary first detailing your objections Esselen Wylie and explaining your reasons distrusting Commission generally. Secondly feeling and advice friendly Europeans South Africa about Commission. Thirdly describing briefly but effectively cruel treatment passive resistance prisoners, including ladies gaol. Fourthly any other circumstances stirring indignation community before meeting Sunday. Fifthly declaration made at meeting and reasons for same. Sixthly any negotiations going on to which public reference may be made. Seventhly present position and prospects. And lastly any message you would like send India. Let statement be conciliatory but firm in tone, appreciative Viceroy's support so far and calculated inspire hope this country. Statement should arrive here Tuesday morning without fail." On December 30, at 9.30 a.m., Gandhiji received a cable from Gokhale saying: "Publishing statement with additions important details previous cables." Gokhale released the statement to the Press on December 31 and sent Gandhiji the following cable: "Have issued statement today after editing and incorporating into it portions some previous cables. Statements sentiments wholly yours, language occasionally altered suit requirements here. Expect will have excellent effect. Bombay cabled seven thousand yesterday, Madras cabling one thousand. Had intended seeing Robertson Bombay tomorrow before departure, but doctor forbids. Sending him special note our case with Shastri." For the text of the statement issued by Gokhale, *vide* "Statement issued by G.K. Gokhale", 31-12-1913.

PERSONNEL STOP INDIAN POSITION ALWAYS HAS BEEN IN-
 SIST ON COMMUNITY'S BEING CONSULTED EITHER FORMALLY
 OR INFORMALLY REGARDING MATTERS VITALLY AFFECTING IT
 STOP IN CONSTITUTING PRESENT COMMISSION ON INDIAN SENTIMENT
 NOT ONLY NOT CONSULTED BUT CONTEMPTUOUSLY IGNORED
 STOP DURING RECENT DEADLOCK EUROPEAN RAILWAYMEN'S
 GRIEVANCES MEN PERMITTED CHOOSE THEIR NOMINEE BY
 REFERENDUM STOP WE MERELY ASK INFORMAL CONSULTATION
 STOP AGAIN BEFORE DISCHARGE THREE LEADERS THEY WERE
 NOT INFORMED REASONS THEREFORE NOR CONSULTED AS TO
 COMMISSION STOP SCORES MEETINGS PRIOR DISCHARGE PROTESTED
 NOMINATIONS WHICH WERE ALL IGNORED STOP PEOPLE'S
 INDIGNATION WAS WHITE HEAT OWING FLOGGINGS SEEN
 THEIR OWN EYES SHOOTING WHICH THEY BELIEVE UNJUSTIFIED
 REPORTS HARROWING TREATMENT GAOLS WHEREON PASSIVE
 RESISTERS HAD RESORT HUNGER STRIKE ORDER SECURE
 ORDINARILY HUMANE TREATMENT. PRISON TREATMENT
 INCLUDES INSULTS BY WARDERS FREQUENT ASSAULTS BY
 ZULU WARDERS NOT SUPPLY BLANKETS SANDALS SOCKS
 BOOKS. ALSO BAD FOOD OFTEN BADLY COOKED BY ZULUS
 STOP THIS INFUSE INDIGNATION ADDED TO BY KNOWLEDGE
 COMMUNITY'S FEELINGS COMPLETELY IGNORED AS TO
 CONSTITUTION COMMISSION STOP PEOPLE ALSO FELT
 THIS AS INDICATION GOVERNMENT'S DISINCLINATION GIVE
 FAIR PLAY. DISCHARGE LEADERS INTERPRETED NOT ACT
 GRACE BUT CHALLENGE TO COMMUNITY. THEREFORE
 INSTEAD PRIVATELY APPLYING FOR ENLARGEMENT
 COMMISSION COMMUNITY OPENLY DEMANDED IT
 SHOWING WHAT WOULD HAPPEN EVENT REJECTION
 DEMANDS STOP FEELING THAT IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES
 ACCEPTANCE PRESENT COMMISSION IMPLIED COMMUNITY'S
 SURRENDER SELF RESPECT. MASS MEETING TWENTY FIRST
 ACTUATED BY RELIGIOUS FERVOUR PASSED RESOLUTIONS
 TAKING OATH NOT ACCEPT PRESENT COMMISSION BUT
 REVIVE STRUGGLE UNLESS ABOVE DEMANDS AFFECTING
 VITAL PRINCIPLE GRANTED STOP COMMUNITY DEEPLY
 GRATEFUL AND SUSTAINED BY REASON VICEROY'S HUMAN
 SPEECH MADRAS AND HIS EXCELLENCY'S SUBSEQUENT
 PERSISTENT ADVOCACY OUR CAUSE SUPPORT FROM INDIAN
 ENGLISH PUBLIC TOO HAVE CONSOLED IT DURING

TERRIBLE CRISIS STOP EUROPEAN FRIENDS HERE PRESENTLY
 ENDEAVOURING REMOVE DEADLOCK SECURE ACCEPTANCE
 COMMUNITY'S PRAYER FOR CONSULTATION AND ADDITIONAL
 IMPARTIAL NOMINATIONS STOP CAN BUT HOPE INDIA
 WILL EFFECTIVELY SUPPORT OUR PRAYER WHICH
 UNIVERSALLY ADMITTED INTRINSICALLY JUST STOP
 EXCEPTION HAS BEEN TAKEN TO FORM PRESENTATION
 THEREOF BUT WE CANNOT BE HAMPERED AT PRESENT
 CRITICAL JUNCTURE BY MERE CONSIDERATIONS ETIQUETTE
 STOP WE MUST NOT BE PENALIZED BY GOVERNMENT'S
 CRIMINAL BLUNDER NOT CONSULTING COMMUNITY AND
 APPOINTING MEMBERS TO WHOSE NOMINATION GOVERNMENT
 MUST HAVE KNOWN THERE WOULD BE TREMENDOUS
 OPPOSITION STOP WE WOULD BE PREPARED LEAD
 EVIDENCE BEFORE SIR WILLIAM SOLOMON ALONE
 WHO SHOULD SIMPLY ENQUIRE CHARGES FLOGGING
 ACTS MILITARY OTHER ILL-TREATMENT. BUT COMMUNITY
 MORE INTERESTED REMOVAL GRIEVANCES THAN PROVING
 ILL-TREATMENT STOP FINALLY ASSURE COUNTRYMEN SITUATION
 SO DESPERATE THAT ANY ATTEMPT ON PART LEADERS
 EVEN IF SO INCLINED DEPART FROM ESSENCE DEMANDS
 WOULD RESULT THEIR BEING KILLED AND JUSTLY SO STOP
 GENERAL SMUTS HAS REPLIED MY COMMUNICATION ASKING THAT
 PROPOSALS MAY BE SUBMITTED IN WRITING PROMISING CONSIDERATION.
 HAVE WIRED PROPOSAL WHICH I HOLD
 OFFERS HONOURABLE VIA MEDIA.

GANDHI

National Archives of India: File No. 45 Courtesy: Servants of India Society

12. INTERVIEW TO "THE NATAL MERCURY"¹

[DURBAN,
December 29, 1913]

[GANDHI:] The effect of the Indian Congress resolutions which we have received certainly strengthens our position, because the Congress has given its powerful and unanimous support, and it has expressed entire approval of our prayer that Indian interests should be represented on the Commission. I can therefore only hope that, what with the Congress's support, and what with the efforts that are being made by influential European friends today to induce the Government to concede our prayer—which has been hailed by the whole South African Press as being just in itself—that this prayer will be granted by the Government.

Unless we have a satisfactory reply in reference to our prayer, it will not be possible for us to take any part in the Commission; but just now, at the request of friends who have intervened, and in view of the fact that I am still in telegraphic communication with the Government, we have decided not to proceed with the contemplated march to Pretoria on January 1, but that we shall wait until we know that we have left no stone unturned to arrive at an honourable settlement, and that there is no hope of such a settlement being concluded. For the present, the march is only suspended; but all the evidence I am receiving day by day forces the gravity of the situation on my attention. I see poor men are already making preparations, and people who go and tell them that the march is not to be proceeded with on January 1 are not even believed. I am therefore endeavouring to circulate a leaflet² signed by myself informing everyone that we are suspending the march for the time being.

Asked if it was intended to call out the Indians on strike again on January 1,

¹ Gandhiji was interviewed by a representative of *The Natal Mercury* about the effect of the Indian National Congress resolutions on the South African question. These resolutions, adopted at the Karachi session, December 26-28, protested against the treatment still meted out to Indians in South Africa, declared that the people of the British dominions which refused Indians the rights of British citizens should be ineligible for appointments in India, and demanded the abolition of indentured labour.

² This is not available.

Mr. Gandhi said:

We are not calling out the men on January 1. But, we shall leave no stone unturned to bring about a strike, only with a view to bringing about imprisonment, and nothing else, if all the endeavours we are making for a settlement with the Government come to naught. I am hoping that the contemplated march will not be necessary, and there are reasons for my thinking that it may not be; but the communications that are in my possession are of such a delicate nature that it is not possible for me to say anything further at this stage.

Mr. Gandhi proceeded to say that he was pained deeply that the indignation of the Indians was aggravated by the stories of distress by the passive resisters released from gaol. He proceeded to detail allegations of “brutal and barbarous treatment” in Durban Gaol—that assaults were committed by Native warders on passive resisters, that complaints were unheeded, and that many of the prisoners were suffering from dysentery. It was also alleged that they were given unwashed prison clothing to wear, were denied the use of books, and were chaffed by responsible officers. Prisoners were stated to have been even bathed in sheep-dip after taking their bath, while allegations were made that many prisoners had to hunger-strike before their religious susceptibilities were respected. All these allegations Mr. Gandhi was reducing to affidavits, to be sent to the Government for investigation.

The Natal Mercury, 30-12-1913

13. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE¹

[DURBAN,
December 30, 1913]

SERVINDIA

POONA CITY

TRUST ME TO DIE TO MAKE GOOD WORD GIVENBY YOU
MY NAME. HAVE NOT GIVEN REASONS
POSTPONEMENT BUT TOLD PUBLIC WE SHALL SUSPEND

¹ The message was conveyed through Reuter. Gokhale had cabled Gandhiji the previous day: “Reuter wires you have announced 15th as date renewal. Robertson leaving first and arriving about 11th. Delay starting due to your promise reaching me only 28th and Viceroy’s orders reaching Robertson only yesterday afternoon. He hands over charge today and leaves Nagpur tomorrow. I have guaranteed that you will wait one week after Robertson’s arrival and feel confident you will make my word good.”

MARCH UP TO FIFTEENTH EARLIEST. ASSURE YOU WE SHALL WAIT ONE WEEK EVEN LONGER AFTER ROBERTSON'S ARRIVAL STOP AFTER RECEIPT SMUTS' FINAL REPLY WILL IF SATISFACTORY HAVE ANNOUNCE STATEMENT. PROPOSE SAYING AS VICEROY'S REPRESENTATIVE COMING IF ONLY OUT OF DEFERENCE WE SHALL DO NOTHING UNTIL HE HAS HAD OPPORTUNITY EXAMINING SITUATION. PRESS CABLES ANNOUNCE YOU ABSENT CONGRESS ILL HEALTH. PLEASE ENLIGHTEN US.

GANDHI

National Archives of India: File No. 45 Courtesy: Servants of India Society

14. LETTER TO "THE NATAL MERCURY"

DURBAN,

December 30, 1913

SIR,

Your first leader in today'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 leaflets¹ 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.

¹ These are not available.

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 recognize 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 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 may 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 civic 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.

I am, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

The Natal Mercury, 31-12-1913

15. HINDI AND TAMIL

The satyagraha campaign, as carried on this time and still continuing, has hardly a parallel in history. The real credit for this goes to the Hindi and Tamil speaking brothers and sisters living in this country. Their sacrifice has been the highest of all. Some of them

have even lost their lives, killed by the bullets of the white soldiers. As a tribute to their memory, we have decided to give Hindi and Tamil news in this paper. Some years ago, we used to bring out this paper in these two languages as well, but we had to discontinue the practice owing to some difficulties.¹ Those difficulties are not yet over. And yet, we resume publication in these languages for the duration of the struggle, that being, in our judgment, the least that we must do, even at some inconvenience to ourselves, in honour of communities whose members have made such sacrifices in a struggle of this kind. It is not with a commercial motive that we are publishing in these languages. Whether or not to continue the practice after the struggle is over we can only decide in the light of the circumstances then prevailing.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 31-12-1913

16. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE²

DURBAN,

December 31, 1913

SERVINDIA

POONA CITY

SUGGESTION	POLAK	GOING	LONDON	FULLY	WEIGHED.
HAD HOPED	BE ABLE	SEND.	WE ALL	THINK	SITUATION
DEMANDS	HIS PRESENCE	HERE.	IF COMMISSION	ENLARGED	
HE MUST BE	HERE GIVE	EVIDENCE.	IF MARCH	UNDER	
TAKEN EVERY	LEADER	NECESSARY.	HE TOO	MADE	

¹ Publication of Hindi and Tamil columns was suspended in 1906 owing to difficulty in securing the “services of the necessary editors and compositors”; *vide* “Our Tamil and Hindi Columns”, 3-2-1906.

² This was in response to a cable Gandhiji had received earlier in the day from Gokhale: “I have promised Ramsay MacDonald that Polak would send him immediately full statement on indenture system and three pounds tax, also fairly detailed account of our strike and methods adopted suppress it. MacDonald hopes raise questions debate address, so Polak must send statement earliest possible. You have not replied my suggestion about Polak going England beginning February. Strongly think it indispensable.” *Vide* also footnote I to “Cable to G. K. Gokhale”, 22-12-1913

SOLEMN DECLARATION. FULL STATEMENT PREPARING
DESPATCH MACDONALD. SEVEN THOUSAND RECEIVED.

GANDHI

National Archives of India: File No. 45 Courtesy: Servants of India Society

17. LETTER TO MARSHALL CAMPBELL

110, FIELD STREET,
DURBAN,
January 1, 1914

DEAR MR. MARSHALL CAMPBELL,

I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 30th ultimo, and for frankly expressing your feelings. I see that recent events have caused a breach between my friends and myself which must be left to time and future uniform conduct on my part to heal. I can only give you my assurance that I know of no agent who has been permitted to encourage or advise violence.¹ It is the essence of passive resistance to be free from violent methods even under circumstances the most provoking. I know you will permit me to say that neither Mr. Gokhale's acceptance nor the Indian Committee's acceptance of your hospitality can be allowed to interfere with what Mr. Gokhale or we here might consider to be our public duty.²

The strike and the subsequent courting of imprisonment were not intended to be a protest against the general treatment of indentured Indians, but against the Government's breach of promise given to India's greatest representative, and the injustice of perpetuating a cruel tax which has been so universally condemned. Passive resistance, which your letter seems to condemn in unmeasured

¹ In his letter dated December 30, Marshall Campbell had written, *inter alia*, ". . . I may add that they [indentured labourers] were only induced to come out by grave threats of personal violence made by persons whom I believe to be your agents, two of whom were arrested and fined."

² This had reference to Marshall Campbell's remarks in his letter: "Mr. Gokhale and your Committee accepted my hospitality, and ate of my salt less than 12 months ago, and between 10,000 and 15,000 Victoria County Indians did the same."

terms,¹ has been the only weapon of the community for securing redress of grievances for the last six years, and whilst each stage of it in its commencement has evoked such condemnation as you have seen fit to pronounce, reflection that, as time went on, public men were able to give to the struggle, justified it in their estimation. In a large measure it brought about the relief for which the weapon was used. This time it has covered a larger range, it has caused much greater suffering both in intensity and extent, and has, therefore, called forth a great, though not unexpected, outburst of indignation, especially from parties immediately affected. It is hoped that the Government will, in deciding upon the proposals submitted to them after the utmost consideration, be guided by wisdom and justice rather than by expedience. Should it, therefore, be otherwise, and should they reject our prayer, much as I dislike it, I fear that a recrudescence of the struggle is inevitable. Posterity alone will be able to judge as to the wisdom or otherwise of those who are at present guiding the Indians.

I am, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

The Natal Mercury, 5-1-1914

¹ Campbell had observed: "If anything, it, in my opinion, aggravates the unfortunate blunder of your policy. More than this, no movement can be successful, however high the ideals of its founders, if it involves the suffering of innocent and guilty alike; the inherent injustice of such an effect must work its ruin, and you will pardon me if I say quite frankly, though as a friend, that many of those you lead are realizing the weakness of your policy more and more every day, and are coming to the conclusion that to use a large body of, in the main, contented but ignorant people, namely, the indentured labourers, by inflaming their passions with high words, false hopes incapable of realization, and violent threats, as a tool for procuring political rights by which most of them will never benefit, even if they are ever attained, to put it very mildly, is not a policy dictated by wisdom and far-sightedness."

18. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE¹

DURBAN,
January 1, 1914

SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

“UMTALI” EXPECTED HOURLY² CABLE STATE HEALTH
MANYANXIOUS INQUIRIES.

GANDHI

National Archives of India: File No. 45 Courtesy: Servants of India Society

19. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

DURBAN,
January 2, 1914

SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

ANDREWS PEARSON³ DULY HONOURED.⁴ FEELING WELL.
THEY SEND LOVE. ROUGH PASSAGE.

GANDHI

National Archives of India: File No. 45 Courtesy: Servants of India Society

¹ This was evidently in reply to Gokhale's cable of December 31, 1913, inquiring if C. F. Andrews and W. W. Pearson had arrived.

² s.s. *Umtali* was due to arrive on December 28; but it had encountered stormy weather and actually reached Durban harbour five days later, on January 2.

³ William Winstanley Pearson; had worked in Bengal as a missionary and collaborated with Andrews in Y.M.C.A. work; for some time, teacher at Santiniketan; in South Africa, studied the conditions of Indian labour on Natal Sugar estates.

⁴ At the Wharf were Gandhiji, several Indian associates, H. S. L. Polak, A. H. West and a number of European clergymen including the Rev. Archdeacon Gregson. On landing, Andrews greeted Polak and asked: "Where is Mr. Gandhi?" Polak turned to a slight ascetic figure, dressed in a white *dhoti* and *kurta* of such coarse material as an indentured labourer might wear. Andrews bent swiftly down and touched Gandhi's feet. *Charles Freer Andrews*, .

20. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE¹

DURBAN,
January 2, 1914

THE REV. C. F. ANDREWS AND THE REV. W. PEARSON HAVE ARRIVED AND WERE ACCORDED A MOST CORDIAL RECEPTION BY THE INDIAN COMMUNITY. THEY HAD A VERY ROUGH PASSAGE. WE ARE NOW TRYING TO SECURE THE ADDITION TO THE COMMISSION OF AT LEAST ONE EUROPEAN MEMBER IN WHOSE IMPARTIALITY WE HAVE CONFIDENCE. THE PLANTERS, IF NECESSARY, ARE TO BE ALLOWED TO NOMINATE ONE ON THEIR SIDE. I SINCERELY HOPE INDIA WILL SUPPORT US IN THIS. PRAY ASK ALL NOT TO BE OVER-ANXIOUS ON OUR ACCOUNT. WE DISCOVERED ON OUR RELEASE THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF OUR COMMUNITY HAD SHOWN UNEXPECTED POWERS OF ENDURANCE AND SUFFERING, AND WE WERE ASTONISHED AT THE UNLOOKED FOR ABILITY SHOWN BY INDENTURED INDIANS WITHOUT EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP TO ACT WITH DETERMINATION AND DISCIPLINE. WE ARE QUITE CHEERFUL IN OUR CALAMITY PREPARING FOR AND AWAITING EVENTS.

The Times of India, 5-1-1914

¹ This cable was reportedly sent after a meeting of Andrews and the Indian leaders. He had asked Gandhiji: "Isn't it simply a question of Indians' honour? Gandhi's eyes flashed. 'Yes!' he said vehemently, 'That is it, that is it. That is the real point at issue.' 'Then', said Andrews, 'I am sure you are right to stand out. There must be no sacrifice of honour.' He and Gandhi were friends from that hour; within two or three days they were 'Mohan' and 'Charlie' to one another." *Charles Freer Andrews*,.

21. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE¹

DURBAN,
January 3, 1914

SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

GODFREY ILL INFORMED QUESTION KNOWLEDGE ILL
DIGESTED. ASKED HIM PLACE HIMSELF YOUR DISPOSAL.
PLEASE TAKE REST DURING SUSPENSION. NO SUMMARY
REUTER. ANDREWS WANTS ME PASS ONE WEEK WITH
HIM PHOENIX HAVE AGREED. SUBJECT YOUR SANCTION
FEEL HARILAL SHOULD COME. HE VOWED SEE STRUGGLE
THROUGH AS RESISTER. SHOULD BE PERMITTED FULFIL
OBLIGATION. MY OPINION GAOL OTHER EXPERIENCES SUB-
STANTIAL EDUCATION.

GANDHI

National Archives of India: File No. 45 Courtesy: Servants of India Society

22. SPEECH AT RECEPTION TO C. F. ANDREWS²

[DURBAN,
January 4, 1914]

Mr. Gandhi said that, for the past twenty years, it had invariably been his duty to act the part of interpreter of the chairman's speech when it was delivered in the Hindi or Gujarati language. He had been asked to do soon this occasion. The chairman had said that the small purse of gold represented the hearty sympathy of their people

¹ This was in reply to the following cable dated January 2 from Gokhale: "Robertson started yesterday. Communicated your intention giving reception arrival. He, however, thinks best plan small deputation meet him demonstration might cause misunderstanding. He has sent message he will do his best for community. Papers announce Godfrey arrived Bombay cable how far he is trustworthy. Am suffering accumulation fluid cavity heart result extreme exhaustion system. Must lie bed several days. Your statement published yesterday made up of various cables and elaborated to nearly two thousand words. Bringing public opinion strongly round your side. Has Reuter cabled summary."

² On Sunday morning, Andrews and Pearson were given a reception by the Indian Hawkers' Association at the Surat Hindu Association Dharmashala in Victoria Street. Gandhiji was given a purse of £60 as donation to passive resistance funds.

for the movement. They might not all be able to go to prison, but they wished to show that they were heart and soul in the movement. The Hindus of Durban extended a warm welcome to their guests from India. When the announcement was made in the papers of their coming, it gave a new hope to them in a time of darkness. They felt that the hand of God was upon their movement. The chairman mentioned one grievance which he was desirous of bringing to the notice of Messrs Andrews and Pearson. That was the fact that many of their caste fellows, who had the right of domicile, had been refused admittance by the Immigration Officer, who took advantage of some slight flaw in their evidence and sent them back to India, away from their friends, to face poverty there.

Indian Opinion, 7-1-1914

23. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

110, FIELD STREET,
DURBAN,
January 4, 1914

MY DEAR BOY,

I was delighted to receive your letter. In the first place, ever since my discharge I have had not a minute's rest and I hardly get full sleep any day. In the second place, there were so many to whom I should have written, that I thought I would neglect you all and you would understand the reason why; but your letter compels me to write to you. I think that, on your discharge,¹ you will see both mother and me. Ramdas is looking well and has done well. Devdas has proved a hero. He has developed a sense of responsibility which was unexpected. Purbhoodas did almost equally well, but he is not so quick as Devdas. All the women folk are well and are looking forward to meeting you all. I am sorry that you were not able to read much. I think that, if you approach the Magistrate for more books, he will grant you the permission and you may remind him that you had all the books you desired granted to you at Johannesburg and elsewhere. You will be pleased to hear that I had become a most industrious student at Bloemfontein and I was sincerely sorry to have my studies interrupted. I gave about eight hours a day to solid reading and writing, principally Tamil. The authorities kindly gave me every

¹ Manilal Gandhi was serving a three months' sentence for participating in the passive resistance movement.

facility. Jamnadas arrived, as you perhaps knew, before you were imprisoned. He is in Christiana. Harilal may return shortly. The money was sent to Medh's father. With love from us all.

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

From a microfilm of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5687 Courtesy: Louis Fischer

24. INTERVIEW TO REUTER

DURBAN,

January 4, 1914

Interviewed by Reuter with regard to the correspondence which has been exchanged between Senator Campbell, the well-known sugar planter, and Mr. Gandhi, the latter said that he had appealed to Mr. Campbell to continue his co-operation and sympathy.

Mr. Campbell in reply stated that he adhered to his opinion that the three pound tax should be repealed and still supported Indians seeking redress from harsh administration and the licensing laws, but that nevertheless he appealed to Mr. Gandhi to desist from lawlessness and not to refuse to accept a Commission composed of men with judicial minds and of known integrity.

Mr. Gandhi replied that the strike and the subsequent courting of imprisonment were a protest against the Government's breach of the promise to Mr. Gokhale and the three pound tax, not against the general treatment of indentured Indians. He feared a recrudescence of former measures if the Government rejected the Indians' prayers.¹

The Hindu, 5-1-1914

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Marshall Campbell", 1-1-1914.

25. LETTER TO EMILY HOBHOUSE

110 FIELD STREET, DURBAN,
January 5, 1914

DEAR MISS HOBHOUSE¹,

It was a perfect pleasure to have received your very kind and generous letter. Had I known how to approach you before, I would undoubtedly have endeavoured to enlist your large heart in our behalf. It was during the Boer war that I came to admire your selfless devotion to Truth, and I have often felt how nice it would be if the Indian cause could plead before you for admission; and it is evident to me that your first telegram² uttering a note of warning was an answer to that yearning. I am loathe to write to you on this question, as Miss Mol-teno³ has told me how feeble you are now in health. She was good enough to read to me a part of Miss Greene's⁴ letter, telling her in most pathetic tones how it was the duty of those who loved you to refrain from imposing fresh burdens on you. I am, therefore, torn by conflicting emotions. But, as Miss Molteno, who knows you better assures me that [*sic*] to expect you now not to interest yourself in our cause is to misjudge you and to aggravate your illness, because you would, she says, fret about us without being enabled by us to render your assistance effective.

If your health permits and if the climate on the North Coast of Natal would not be too trying for you, I would esteem it a privilege if you could take rest on the little settlement at Phoenix where *Indian*

¹ Miss Emily Hobhouse, the daughter of Lord Hobhouse, who at the time of the Boer War, moved among the Boer women and encouraged them to stand up against the concentration camps ; *vide* "Speech at Antyaj Conference, Nagpur", 25-12-1920 and "Speech at Commonwealth of India League", 12-11-1931.

² Of December 27, 1913, which read: "Kindly postpone the rally by fifteen days on the plea of a humble woman like me." *Vide* also "Cable to G.K. Gokhale", 17-12-1913.

³ Elizabeth Mari (Betty) Molteno (1852-1927); eldest daughter of Sir John Charles Molteno, the first Prime Minister of Cape Colony; she did her best for the Indians in South Africa.

⁴ Alice Greene, sister of Graham Greene, was a friend and companion of Miss Molteno.

*Opinion*¹ is published. Miss Molteno knows the settlement well. It is situated about eighty feet above sea-level and is exposed to certain winds which sweep across the hills that overlook the settlement and purify the atmosphere. The scenery around is certainly very charming, the site is beautifully isolated, there is no bustle or noise, it is two miles from the nearest station and I venture to think that you will find loving hands to administer to your wants, and nothing would give me personally greater pleasure than, if I were free, to be able to wait upon you and nurse you. You will, I hope, consider this offer a coming from the heart and without the slightest hesitation accept it if you can.

I will not weary you with copies of correspondence and details about the question. I enclose the telegrams exchanged between General Smuts and myself, which speak for themselves. We have always accepted what we could get in matters of detail, but, in this matter of the Commission², we are solemnly bound to sacrifice ourselves for the principle of consultation³. In striving to secure this recognition of an elementary right, if we must, for the time being, forfeit public sympathy, we must be prepared to do so. Knowing that the truth is on our side, past experience will enable us to have patience, and, as days go on, the mists of ignorance will be removed, the cloud will lift and I have no doubt that Truth will conquer. What we have asked for is the smallest measure and, if the Government obstinately refuses to grant that measure of

justice, surely it will be an indication of their disinclination to recognize the status of British Indians throughout the Union. Indeed, through my twenty years' experience, I have been able to gather many an indication of the same spirit and it is really against that that we are fighting. In those matters to which Passive Resistance is directed, I hold there can be no compromise. Could Daniel have compromised by bowing to one of the laws of Moses and the Persians and not to others, or would the whole body of those laws have represented the influence of Satan and, therefore, been unacceptable *in toto*?

The last paragraph of your letter seems to assume that we are following the tactics of the high-souled militants of England. May I say that we have not only not copied them, but, wherever it has been

¹ A Weekly published by Gandhiji

² Indian Grievances Commission; *ibid*

³ *ibid*

necessary, I have drawn a sharp distinction between their methods and ours? Indeed, I used to have long discussions with the followers of the great Mrs. Pankhurst¹ on this very question. At no stage do we believe in the use of physical force, but I am free to confess that we have certainly been encouraged, in the hour of our weakness, by the noble example of devotion to duty and self-sacrifice that the militants have set, though we condemn their methods and tactics as suicidal and beneath the dignity of woman.

I hope that God will restore you to health and spare you for many a long year to continue your noble and unassuming work in the cause of Humanity.

*I am,
Yours truly*

MISS HOBHOUSE
THE COTTAGE
KENIL WORTH
CAPE TOWN

From a copy: C.W. 11345. Courtesy: E. S. Reddy, New York

26. LETTER TO “INDIAN OPINION”

[DURBAN,
After January 5, 1914]

TO
THE EDITOR
INDIAN OPINION

I give below a few facts known to me concerning Bhai Hurbatsingh, who passed away on Monday last², believing that readers of *Indian Opinion* would like to know them.

When I was in Volksrust gaol two months ago, it was sanctified by the coming of Hurbatsingh. He was one of the batch of 37 Indians or so who, after waiting for a while in Charlestown, entered Volksrust and elected to go to gaol. When I saw Hurbatsingh among them, my heart overflowed with joy. I became introspective and reflected over

¹ Emmeline Pankhurst (1858–1928), leader of the suffragette movement in England; *vide* “Mrs. Pankhurst’s sacrifice”, 19-4-1913

² Hurbatsingh died on January 5. *Vide* also the following item.

what I had done. My heart was full because even a 70-year-old Indian like him, who had spent 30 years in Natal as a labourer, had thought of India, India's honour and of India's *tapascharya*¹ in ancient times. Even in his declining years, he preferred to endure the sufferings of prison life rather than live in comfort. I grew sad as I reflected: "Dear self of mine! If you have led your innocent brothers, unlearned but wise, into a wrong path, what a burden of sin will you have to bear? If ever you discovered that you had made a mistake, what good would your remorse do then? The men whom you had led to death would not come back to life; those who, following your advice, endured the hardships of gaol-life, would never forget them." At this thought I felt sad. But then I considered: "No blame would attach to you if you acted sincerely in advising your brothers to go to gaol. Truly is it said that without *yagna*² this world would perish. But *yagna* is not merely kindling wood and pouring ghee and other things into it. This may purify the air, but surely it will not purify the spirit. When we offer up our bones to burn like wood, pouring out our blood like ghee in order that they may burn, and sacrifice our flesh to the flames, that alone will be true *yagna*, and by such sacrifice will the earth be sustained. Without such *yagna*, such sacrifice of self, it cannot be sustained. No people has risen without self-sacrifice; can it be otherwise with us? Certainly not." Reflecting thus, I saw that it was no matter for grief if an old Indian like Hurbatsingh went to gaol for India's sake and died while in prison. I once asked Hurbatsingh why, in his extreme old age, he thought of going to gaol. In reply he said: "When all of you, and the women too, are going to gaol, what should I alone do outside? When you went to Charlestown, I decided to leave my small farm and follow you. When my friends came to gaol, I also did the same." "But, friend," I asked, "What if you die while in gaol?" This wise Indian replied: "If I must, I shall. I am an old man; what is the good of my living on?"

This veteran had been sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour. When the first batch of prisoners during the first satyagraha campaign was sentenced to simple imprisonment, the Government, I believe, hinted to the Courts not to award simple imprisonment to any Indian satyagrahi. In consequence, after the first cases of simple imprisonment, no Indian received such sentence. Fortunately, in

¹ Voluntary suffering as a means of self-purification, penance

² Sacrifice

Volkscrust the gaoler was kind to Hurbatsingh. The latter used to work in the garden, watering the plants, and his energy put the younger satyagrahis to shame.

Is there an Indian who will not shed tears of joy at the glorious death of such an Indian? When Hurbatsingh's body is carried to the cremation ground, I do hope that every Indian will follow it on foot right up to the ground.¹ By paying this homage, we shall not only honour the memory of the departed one but shall also honour India and ourselves.²

I am,

India's bond-slave,

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 7-1-1914

27. IMMORTAL HURBATSINGH

Hurbatsingh, an indentured Indian, 70 years old, with no kith or kin, gave up this earthly life on Monday. The whole Indian community mourns for him. He who had not one relative in this wild, forbidding land has today 150,000 Indians living here as his kinsmen. His death, which ordinarily no Indian would have heard of, will, in the unusual circumstances of today, be known to the whole of India. One may ask, why? The answer is that he was a satyagrahi; and as truth is eternal, even so a man who resolutely clings to truth is immortal. Just as one cannot hide the sun by covering it, truth also will come out, however much one tries to hide it. Therefore, one who serves truth even in the smallest measure can never be eclipsed. An indentured labourer of old days, Hurbatsingh did not have to pay the £3 tax; nevertheless, because the others came out, he too chose to do likewise.

His body has been buried. As soon as the fact was known, a request was made to the Government for its return. By the time this article is out, the request will have been granted. When received, the body will be cremated. We trust that every Indian will follow the funeral procession.

¹ The funeral procession on January 8 included Europeans and Indians of different faiths.

² *Vide also Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLV.

Hurbatsingh has achieved immortal fame by joining the struggle. We wish that all Indians have his courage and his understanding.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 7-1-1914

28. INTERVIEW TO "PRETORIA NEWS"¹

[PRETORIA,
January 9, 1914]

[GANDHI:] I cannot tell you anything about the confidential negotiations which are proceeding at the present moment.

[REPORTER:] What about the Railway strike?

¹ Gandhiji, accompanied by C. F. Andrews, arrived in Pretoria on the morning of January 9, for negotiations with Smuts. A brief summary of those observations appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 14-1-1914. The Governor-General, Lord Gladstone, forwarded to the Colonial Office, a clipping of the interview "in which", he observed, "Mr. Gandhi gave a personal assurance that he and his friends would refrain from resuming operations until the railway strike was settled." In *Charles Freer Andrews*, pp. 95-6, there appears a report of this interview which puts it in its proper context: "At Pretoria, the Editor of the *Pretoria News* greeted Gandhi in friendly fashion. 'Are the Indians going to join the General Strike?' he asked. 'No, certainly not,' replied Gandhi. 'We are out for a clean fight. Passive resistance will be suspended.' 'May I publish that?' 'No—there is no need to do so.' The Editor turned to Andrews. 'Do persuade him, Mr. Andrews,' he said. 'There will be Martial Law within twelve hours.' Andrews took his meaning; up and down they walked, outside the Editor's office, while he argued the point with Gandhi. 'Of course, you are right to suspend the struggle,' he said, 'but if no one knows till afterwards, all the good effect will be lost—people will say you did it out of fear?' At last Gandhi yielded: the message went out, with all its power for good, to Cape Town and the world. A few minutes later the strikers cut the telegraph wires." In *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLVII, Gandhiji has this to say on his refusal to embarrass the Government: "This decision of ours created a deep impression, and was cabled to England by Reuter. Lord Ampthill cabled his congratulations from England. English friends in South Africa too appreciated our decision. One of the secretaries of General Smuts jocularly said: 'I do not like your people, and do not care to assist them at all. But what am I to do? You help us in our days of need. How can we lay hands upon you? I often wish you took to violence like the English strikers, and then we would know at once how to dispose of you. But you will not injure even the enemy. You desire victory by self-suffering alone and never transgress your self-imposed limit of courtesy and chivalry. And that is what reduces us to sheer helplessness.' General Smuts also gave expression to similar sentiments."

I haven't anything to do with the Railway strike.

I know, but what is your attitude towards it?

I have no attitude. What attitude can we, a voteless and neglected people, have in such a crisis?

The point is this, are you going to take advantage of the Governments embarrassment at the present moment to revive your passive resistance and strike movement?

Mr. Gandhi looked very thoughtful; he paused a moment and then said:

That has never been our policy.

Come, come, plain speaking. Never mind your policy in the past; what are you going to do now?

For myself I will be no party to embarrassing the Government at a time like this, we shall follow the policy that we adopted during the Rand miners' strike in July.¹ At that time we suspended all operations, and we shall do this again, if necessary. I am most anxious that there should be no confusion of issues between our case and the case of the Railwaymen; such confusion might occur if we revived passive resistance at this moment. In any case I mean to take no unfair advantage of the Government

I am hopeful that the negotiations now proceeding and the representations of our European friends in South Africa may successfully avert any need for further passive resistance, but whatever happens (this very emphatically) whether the Minister's reply to us be favourable or unfavourable, *we shall not resume operations until this Railway matter is settled; for that you have my personal assurance.*

Pretoria News, 9-1-1914

29. IMPORTANT ADVICE²

I have heard that some Indians enter into a second indenture on the expire of the first. Probably all friends know that there is no need whatever to renew indenture. Once the £3 tax is removed, there will be no need for accepting a second term of indenture. While, therefore, the present struggle is in progress, [no one] should renew indenture and accept slavery by doing so. I hope every educated man will

¹ *Vide* "Riot in Johannesburg", 12-7-1913.

² A Hindi translation of this also appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 14-1-1914.

consider it his duty to give this information to those who do not get or cannot read this paper.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 14-1-1914

30. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PRETORIA, BOX 1156,

January 14, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

The uncertainty of our stay here made me neglect correspondence. And I have been continually with Mr. Andrews¹ from rising hour to bedtime talking about the question or religious topics. I often say to myself how nice it would have been if you could have been here. But I am sure that it was the best thing for you not to have come. You would have been held up like us and what is worse, Mr. Andrews would never have talked with the same freedom if he had to talk to two instead of one as now. He entirely lives the Indian life and loves to live among and with Indians. He had a two-hour interview (private) with the Governor-General² and he preached at the Cathedral here last Sunday.

You being with Mrs. Gandhi I am free from all anxiety. The interview with Smuts has been indefinitely postponed. He had brief talks with him but on the question. Sir Benjamin³ is due to arrive today. You may now write as if I am not coming there for some time.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

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

¹ Charles Freer Andrews (1871-1940); British missionary who shared a deep friendship with Gandhiji; devoted many years of service in the cause of Indian people.

² Sir Herbert John Gladstone

³ Sir Benjamin Robertson, who had been deputed to give evidence before the Indian Enquiry Commission set up by the Union Government on December 11, 1913, to inquire into the causes of the strike and consequent disturbances

31. INTERVIEW WITH GENERAL SMUTS¹

PRETORIA,
January 16, 1914

The original proposal laid before General Smuts by Mr. Gandhi on Friday last was as follows:

He asked for definite assurances on four points:

(a) The £3 Tax: General Smuts enquired whether he would be satisfied if the payment of the licence money were abolished, but the licence retained and no further alteration made in the provisions of Natal Act 17 of 1895. Mr. Gandhi thought that this solution would meet his requirements, but he urged that if the licence were retained, it should be made a standing licence not subject to annual renewal.

(b) The marriage question: He did not make it quite clear what precisely he desired, but General Smuts gathered that his expectations were not unreasonable, and that they would probably be satisfied if statutory recognition of *de facto* monogamous wives

¹ This official version of what took place at the interview between Gandhiji and General Smuts on January 16 is extracted from a confidential despatch dated January 22 which the Governor-General, Lord Gladstone, addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Governor-General, referring to the developments, wrote: "I am glad to be able to report that the prospects of an early settlement of the principal points at issue between my Government and the Indian community in this country have distinctly improved during the past week. Obstacles which it would be imprudent to disregard still exist, and others, either unforeseen or only dimly foreseen at present, may yet arise before mutually acceptable legislation can be passed. But on the whole the situation is more hopeful now than at any previous period of my term of office.

"Numerous personal interviews have taken place between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi, General Smuts and Sir Benjamin Robertson, and Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Andrews also has had conversations both with the Minister and with Sir Benjamin Robertson. General Smuts has shown a most patient and conciliatory temper. In spite of a series of conflicts extending over many years, he retains a sympathetic interest in Mr. Gandhi as an unusual type of humanity, whose peculiarities, however inconvenient they may be to the Minister, are not devoid of attraction for the student. Sir Benjamin has proved himself tactful, judicious, and reasonable. He has established excellent relations not only with General Smuts but also with the Prime Minister, and is on friendly terms with the other members of the Cabinet whose acquaintance he has made, while on Mr. Gandhi his firmness and shrewd common sense would seem to have exercised a salutary restraining influence. It is no easy task for a European to conduct negotiations with Mr. Gandhi. The workings of his conscience are inscrutable to the occidental mind and produce complications in wholly unexpected places. His ethical and intellectual attitude, based as it appears to be on a curious compound of mysticism and astuteness, baffles the ordinary processes of thought. Nevertheless, a tolerably practical understanding has been reached."

were accorded.

(c) The admission of South Africa-born Indians into the Cape Province: Mr. Gandhi did not press for legislation on this point but only for an assurance that the law would be so administered that the education test would not be applied to such Indians seeking to enter the Cape. This was to be subject to the understanding that only a small number would thus seek admission, and that if large numbers came forward, the education test should be applicable. I cannot vouch for the actual wording of the stipulation, but I believe that this was its substantial effect.

(d) The declaration said to be required under the Orange Free State Law: General Smuts pointed out that the Government had already in Mr. Gorges' letter of the 19th August (Cd. 7111, page 51) signified their willingness to accept Mr. Gandhi's suggestion on this point. Mr. Gandhi said that he did not so understand the relevant passage in that letter, but that a slight verbal amendment of its terms would meet the difficulty.¹

Mr. Gandhi explained that if General Smuts would give him a clear assurance in writing on his four points, he would regard it as disposing of the whole general question of Indian grievances. The Commission need not then consider general grievances or policy. Its enquiry should in that case be limited to the occurrences of the recent passive resistance campaign and the strike and the various allegations to which that movement and the manner of its repression had given rise. On that basis he and his friends would be prepared to appear before the Commission and give evidence. If the assurance were not forthcoming, they would still be willing to appear before the Commission and give evidence on all matters included in the terms of reference, provided that either Sir James Rose-Innes or Mr. Schreiner were added to its membership. In that event he would raise in detail the whole question of all Indian grievances dating, I think, from 1885, and he let it be understood that his opening statement alone would occupy at least two days of the Commission's time.

If neither of his alternative proposals was accepted, he could have nothing to do with the Commission and must reserve complete freedom of action although he would consider himself bound by his promise not to embarrass the Government by a renewal of passive resistance while the present industrial troubles remained unsettled. General Smuts pointed out the obvious objections to any interference with the present constitution of the Commission, and endeavoured to impress on Mr. Gandhi how desirable it was in his own interests that instead of asking for assurances he should state his case on his four points of grievances before the Commission. The Government would be in a far stronger position to carry remedial legislation if they could base it on recommendations made by the Commission. From private conversations with Sir William Solomon and Mr. Esselen, the Minister had gathered the conviction that remedial legislation would be recommended by the Commission, and Mr. Gandhi would therefore be ill-advised if he neglected the opportunity of

¹ Lord Gladstone here observed: "It will be seen that only the first two of Mr. Gandhi's points would involve fresh legislation."

making his views on these points clear to the tribunal.¹

Mr. Gandhi however insisted on the insuperable obligations of his vow, and General Smuts ended the interview by promising to consider his proposals and give him an answer as soon as possible.²

Colonial Office Records: 551/54

¹ In *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLVIII, Gandhiji has reported Smuts' observations as follows: "The Indians had demanded that a member should be co-opted to the Commission to represent Indian interests. But on this point General Smuts would not give in. 'That cannot be done,' said he, 'as it would be derogatory to the Government's prestige and I would be unable to carry out the desired reforms. You must understand that Mr. Esselen is our man, and would fall in with, not oppose, the Government's wishes as regards reform. Colonel Wylie is a man of position in Natal and might even be considered anti-Indian. If therefore even he agrees to a repeal of the £3 tax, the Government will have an easy task before them. Our troubles are manifold; we have not a moment to spare and therefore wish to set the Indian question at rest. We have decided to grant your demands, but for this we must have a recommendation from the Commission. I understand your position too. You have solemnly declared that you will not lead evidence before it so long as there is no representative of the Indians sitting on the Commission. I do not mind if you do not tender evidence, but you should not organize any active propaganda to prevent anyone who wishes to give evidence from doing so, and should suspend Satyagraha in the interval. I believe that by so doing you will be serving your own interests as well as giving me a respite. As you will not tender evidence, you will not be able to prove your allegations as regards ill treatment accorded to the Indian strikers. But that is for you to think Over."

² For the rest of the despatch covering the subsequent course of negotiations, *vide* "Extract from Governor-General's Despatch", 22-1-1914. During the last days of the negotiations, news reached Gandhiji that Kasturba was seriously ill in Durban. At a moment, on January 21, when the talks had reached a deadlock over a phrase which General Smuts had wanted to insert in the proposed agreement, an urgent telegram summoned Gandhiji to Durban; but Gandhiji refused to leave till the deadlock had been removed. Andrews recorded what happened during that critical night in these words: "That night we talked till 1 a.m. Finally, an alternative phrase occurred to me. The difference seemed to be very slight, but Gandhi found it acceptable. 'If General Smuts will accept your phrase,' he said as we went to bed, 'then everything is finished.' In the morning, saying nothing to Gandhi, I went to Smuts and at eight o'clock found him alone. I told him Gandhi's personal anxiety, and showed him the suggested wording. 'I don't mind a bit,' he said, 'it makes no difference as far as I am concerned.' 'Would you make the change and sign on the spot?' 'Certainly.'" *Charles Freer Andrews*, pp. 96-7. The settlement reached, Gandhiji and Andrews left for Durban, by the 11 o'clock train, on January 22. According to the Governor-General's observations at the end of his despatch of January 22, 1914, the sentence inserted at Gandhiji's suggestion was: "He also recognizes the motive which makes you unwilling to revive old sores by courting libel proceedings before another tribunal." *Vide* Appendix "Letter from Minister of Interior", 21-1-1914, paragraph 1. *Vide* also the following item.

32. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PRETORIA, BOX 6522,
*Saturday [January 17, 1914]*¹

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your wire. You will have seen yesterday's news in my letter to Polak. The interview with Smuts as also with Robertson was good. I discussed the passive resistance points fully. I have not the time just now to set them forth. But I shall try to do so in my next letter. Mr. Andrews had nearly 1 hour with Sir Benjamin today. He meets an Indian deputation on Monday. Now we shall have to await events. Mr. Andrews is a wonderful man full of wonderful experiences. I am most anxious to nurse Mrs. Gandhi. She needs it and asks for it. But I am still a prisoner and cannot give her the attention I should like to. Lazarus may come there from Newcastle. If he does you should soothe him. Miss Schlesin wants instructions about the ladies who are coming out. I have given them in full in my letter to Polak. I am, therefore, not writing to her separately. Please tell her so.

You will keep your eye on all who are to be discharged. They should be met at the gaol gates by someone responsible.

I am anxious to know all about Mr. Pearson from you.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

33. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PRETORIA, BOX 1156,
*Sunday [January 18, 1914]*¹

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your two letters.

As to the handwritten letter, all I wish to tell you is that I sensed your fear. You need not fear at all however. The result has been and

¹ From the reference to the interview with Smuts, which took place on Friday, January 16; *vide* "Interview with General Smuts", 16-1-1914.

¹ From the contents; *vide* also the preceding item.

will be contrary to that you have feared. All is gain for you and me. I see that our difficulties in India will probably be less than we had expected. But as you say, you want me to discuss this when we meet. So I shall say no more.

I was pained to see. P. K. Naidoo's letter. I look to you to soothe them. The complaint is not without foundation, I fear, and Miss Schlesin is probably at the back of it. But you are just the one to deal with the crisis.

I endorse all you say regarding *Indian Opinion*. And if the paper can be turned out there, certainly it should be. In the new circumstances that we have found, West's presence is certainly not needed in Durban now. If the struggle revives we shall have to see. We could at any time get out stuff printed at the *Mercury* office. The current number is undoubtedly horrible nothing of it was printed at Phoenix, is it not so? I have already suggested to West that he might now shift to Phoenix. Neither Mr. Andrews nor Mr. Pearson require guides. In all these matters however you should take the initiative. Consult me by all means where necessary but you may ignore me too when there is no time for consultation.

I am pining to come down and nurse Mrs. Gandhi. But I feel that I dare not do so just at present. I must treat this as of primary importance. General Smuts now knows my domestic position and he may hurry forward if he likes. In any case it cannot be long delayed now seeing that the industrial crisis is now practically over. Meanwhile Mr. Andrews is moving forward. He has got a wonderful grasp of the central position and he is pushing it forward with all the spiritual force he possesses.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

34. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

PRETORIA, BOX 11[56],
*Sunday [January 18, 1914]*¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Herewith a cheque of £5.5 from the Khoja Youngmen's Association, Pretoria. Deposit it in the Satyagraha Fund. I will prepare the report and arrange to send it to you.

I have received Mirza's letter. I am surprised that he has gone there. I have replied that he should work there diligently and abide by the rules. Write to me about where he is staying and what work he is doing, etc.

Good work is being done here. Mr. Andrews² is creating a good impression here.³ In a meeting here, he gave a speech dressed in a *dhoti*. At present, he is full of India. More when we meet.

If you want to print the English section of the paper there, do it without any reservation. It depends on the convenience of you all. Mr. Kallenbach⁴ has written to me in detail on the subject. I had suggested that it be published from Durban in the expectation that the struggle will intensify soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 32886

¹ From the contents it appears that this letter was written on the same Sunday as the one on which the letter to Hermann Kallenbach dated January 18, 1914 was written. *Vide* "Letter to Dr. J. Oldfield", 13-11-1906

² Charles Freer Andrews (1871-1940); his services in the cause of the Indian people, especially those in distress won him the name "Deenabandhu", a friend of the poor.

³ For Gandhiji's speech at reception to C.F. Andrews, who arrived in South Africa on January 2, 1914; *vide* "speech at Reception to C.F. Andrews", 4-1-1914

⁴ Hermann Kallenbach, a prosperous German architect of Johannesburg

35. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PRETORIA, BOX 1156,
January 19, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your letters regularly now. If Mrs. Gandhi continue to improve, I would like to finish everything here and in Johannesburg before returning. I owe a visit to the Johannesburg people. They are most anxious. I hope you will study Mirza. I am glad the boys are now settling down to work.

I return the letters you want me to. I shall certainly try to remember the oil. But what if I pass Germiston by the night train. Remember, too, there is still martial law.

I have asked Lazarus to run down to Durban himself, but if he does not, you may certainly go there and see the people who receive rations, etc.

Ephraim wrote to me too in the same strain as in the letter sent by you. If his account is true, and it must be, Sir Benjamin is worse than Lord Emmott. He is a dangerous, weak and shifty man. He would not dare talk in that strain to you and to me. Even Ephraim could see that he was frightening. We have to watch him. Fortunately, we are passive resisters and we cannot be harmed by anybody but ourselves. So if we fear ourselves, one need fear no earthly power. He left a poor impression on Mr. Andrews and me. I send you the letter received by me also. Please show both to Polak, West and others. Andrews has seen both. Do Christopher, Lazarus, Lazarus Gabriel and others come near you? How do you find the atmosphere in Durban?

My task here is incomparably easier than that of the workers there.

How are you keeping mentally and bodily? I hope you are not spending money uselessly. Remember your aim is poverty. Realize it whilst you have the resources.

Andrews is away just now at the Government House lunching.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

36. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

PRETORIA, BOX 1156,

*Paush Vad 8, 1970, Monday [January 19, 1914]*¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. How nice it would have been if it was not necessary to call a doctor for Ba. But no one is at fault in that. How can one find fault where all things are done in good faith?

It will be good for us if Mirza is really good and honest and stays with us. Train him affectionately. Same is true of Bhawani Dayal.

I do not like it that we should employ paid compositors for . . .² work. Are so many of us not enough? You have done a good thing in making it a rule for the children [to work in the press].

Mismanagement of the newspaper is painful. I guess that Miss Schlesin³ is responsible for it. I am somewhat disappointed with her. However, she may not be responsible this time. It is necessary that you write to West⁴ and sort out the things. I have already written to her to go and live in Phoenix. Check what Bhawani Dayal writes in Hindi and give it for printing.

Talk to Miss Schlesin about Johannesburg. Get the address of Narottam and write to him that we would stop sending him *Indian Opinion* if he did not send the money. What you write is correct. I, too, do not approve of an agency. Whoever wants *Indian Opinion*, should subscribe to it directly. I, too, will write to Johannesburg from here. But to depend on me at present in such cases is useless.

¹ *Paush vad 8* in the Vikram Era 1970, i.e., the year 1914, corresponded to January 19 and was a Monday.

² A word here is illegible in the source.

³ Sonja Schlesin; a Jewish girl who joined Gandhiji as a steno-typist at the age of 16 and was his private secretary for many years; made herself useful to *Indian Opinion*; was ardently interested in the Indian cause

⁴ Albert H. West, Manager of the International Printing Press, Phoenix you make the change and sign on the spot?' 'Certainly.'" *Charles Freer Andrews*, pp. 96-7. The settlement reached, Gandhiji and Andrews left for Durban, by the 11 o'clock train, on January 22. According to the Governor-General's observations at the end of his despatch of January 22, 1914, the sentence inserted at Gandhiji's suggestion was: "He also recognizes the motive which makes you unwilling to revive old sores by courting libel proceedings before another tribunal." *Vide* "Letter from Minister of Interior", 21-1-1914, paragraph 1. *Vide* also the following item.

Here there is an atmosphere of unity. We have not come across a single person trying to cause trouble in Pretoria where the conditions were always unsatisfactory. You will find this in my second report which I am about to send to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 32888

37. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR¹

PRETORIA,
January 21, 1914

TO
THE SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR
PRETORIA

SIR,

Before leaving for Phoenix I venture to express my thanks to General Smuts for the patient and kindly interviews that he has been pleased to grant me during a 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 Enquiry Commission) either (1) my suggestion that a member representing Indian interests should be co-opted when questions of policy are enquired into; or (2) my suggestion that a second Commission, with Indian representation, should be appointed to deal with these questions only; the present Commission in that case becoming purely judicial. I submitted a third proposal also, but this, 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 present 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

¹ This was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 28-1-1914; also, a summary is found in *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLIX.

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, without violating the spirit of the vow we have taken, 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 these through the Commission is closed to us. I am personally unwilling to challenge libel proceedings by publishing the authentic evidence in our possession. I 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.¹ But in order that our silence may not be mistaken, may I ask the Minister to recognize 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 bona-fide passive resistance prisoners now undergoing imprisonment either in the ordinary gaols or the mine compounds² which 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 as the Indians relieved will virtually occupy the same status as the indentured Indians discharged under the Natal Law 25 of 1891.
- (2) The marriage question.

¹ *Vide Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLVIII.

² Since all the passive resisters could not be accommodated in the gaols, the Government resorted to use of mine compounds for the purpose.

(These two are the points that, I have verbally submitted, 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 existing laws specially affecting Indians will be administered justly and with due regard to vested rights.

I venture to suggest that the Nos. 3, 4 and 5 present no special difficulty, and that the needful relief might now be 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 tenor of this letter.¹

I have, etc.,
M.K. GANDHI

Rand Daily Mail, 23-1-1914; also, Colonial Office Records: 551/54

38. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

PRETORIA,

Wednesday, Posh Vad 10 [January 21, 1914]

DEAR SHRI RAOJIBHAI,

I had thought of leaving this very day for Johannesburg with Mr. Andrews. But that was not to be. General Smuts' reply to my letter is not satisfactory. I hope, if possible, to get it amended. I am therefore staying on tomorrow. If I get a satisfactory reply, though I shall not take it as concluding a settlement, it will be an important step towards one. I haven't the time to explain everything. I am leaving in a moment to see Sir Benjamin again.

I am surprised that Maganbhai's complaint persists. If for

¹ For the Minister of the Interior's reply, *vide* Appendix XXI; also, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLIX.

nothing else, at least to observe the symptoms of his ailment, I wish to spend some time in Phoenix in complete peace. Do what you can. If we get a satisfactory reply from General Smuts, I may hope to have some peace of mind. Take particular care to see that the boys resume their regular work.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

Mahatma Gandhijina Patro and Jivannu Parodh

39. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE¹

JOHANNESBURG,

January 22, 1914

LETTERS EXCHANGED GOVERNMENT SELF PROMISING
 PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT. GOVERNMENT UNABLE ACCEPT
 ANY OF THREE COMMISSION PROPOSALS SUBMITTED² BUT
 DECLARE THEMSELVES DESIROUS SPEEDY SOLUTION. THEY
 ACCEPT PRINCIPLE CONSULTATION AND GIVE FULLEST
 OPPORTUNITIES. WE CANNOT BREAK VOW AND GIVE
 EVIDENCE BUT WILL ASSIST ROBERTSON WHERE POSSIBLE.
 APPRECIATING GOVERNMENT'S POSITION WE SUSPENDED
 PASSIVE RESISTANCE HAVING ASSURANCE PROPOSED LEGIS-
 LATION DURING FORTHCOMING SESSION. REGARDING
 ALLEGATIONS AS PASSIVE RESISTERS WE REFRAIN FROM
 REVIVING OLD SORES BY PUBLISHING OUR AUTHENTIC
 EVIDENCE. GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZE OUR MOTIVE AND THEM
 SELVES GIVE NO EVIDENCE ON ALLEGATIONS OF NEGATIVE
 CHARACTER. RELEASING ALL PRISONERS. AM NOW SUB-
 MITTING MY ACTION FOR RATIFICATION COMMUNITY. WE
 TOOK CONSIDERATION EVERY CIRCUMSTANCE INCLUDING
 YOURS AND VICEROY'S FEELINGS. AGREEMENT JOINT WORK
 ANDREWS SELF.³ ANDREWS PRESENT LAST INTERVIEW

¹ An extended version of this was published in *The Hindu* and *The Times of India* of January 24, 1914.

² For details of the proposals regarding the constitution of the Commission, vide "Speech at Mass Meeting", 25-1-1914.

³ Andrews had held talks with Smuts and Sir Benjamin Robertson. On January 13, he had met the Governor-General in a private interview, a report of which the latter forwarded to the Colonial Office in the course of a despatch. Vide "Andrew's Interview with Governor-General", 13-1-1914.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5929

40. INTERVIEW TO "RAND DAILY MAIL"

[JOHANNESBURG,
January 23, 1914]

Yesterday a *Mail* representative asked Mr. M. K. Gandhi for a statement of the position at present. Mr. Gandhi—barefooted and clothed in white, an indication of the deep religious view now being taken of the Indian cause—has taken offices at 15 Anderson Street where he is in touch with his countrymen in prison, and with the rest of the world by wire and cable.

[GANDHI:] I hope that the European public in South Africa will recognize the spirit in which the Indians are endeavouring to meet the serious deadlock that arose through non-representation of Indian interests on the Commission, and that they will also understand and reciprocate the attitude I am advising my countrymen to take up in connection with the allegations of ill-treatment during my incarceration.

Our suspension of passive resistance, and our refraining from taking any action regarding the allegations should leave the public and the Government free to calmly consider the five points that gave rise to passive resistance on their merits, and which five points have, in my opinion, commanded almost universal sympathy. No reasonable man can question our right to have Indian marriages recognized as legal, or our right to have the three pounds tax unconditionally repealed. The other points of passive resistance, as I have already stated, require only administrative solution. As you will observe from my letter, the points are exactly the same as they were enumerated in Mr. Cachalia's letter to the Government sent immediately before the revival of passive resistance last year. In conclusion, I would like to state that we appreciate the action of the Government in releasing our passive resistance prisoners.

Rand Daily Mail, 24-1-1914

¹ For the official version of the implications of the Provisional Settlement, *vide* Appendix XX; for Gandhiji's explanation of the spirit behind it, *vide Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLIX.

41. LETTER TO BHAVANI DAYAL

Box 1156,
PRETORIA,
Friday [January 23, 1914]¹

DEAR MR. BHAVANI DAYAL,

I hope you are well. I was very glad to hear about your excellent performance in the gaol. I had received your message. Accommodation is ready for you at Phoenix. You may stay there with your family. You will get from Mr. Polak the information about the negotiations that are going on for a settlement.

Bande Mataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From the Hindi original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5689 Courtesy: Vishnu Dutta Dayal

42. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

[DURBAN,
On or before *January 25, 1914*]²

PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT REACHED. WE NOT ASSISTING
COMMISSION OWING SOLEMN DECLARATION BUT HELPING
ROBERTSON. SUSPENDING PASSIVE RESISTANCE PENDING
LEGISLATION WHICH GOVERNMENT PROMISES AFTER COMM-
MISSION. PRINCIPLE OF INDIAN CONSULTATION ACKNOW-
LEDGED. GOVERNMENT ROBERTSON BOTH SATISFIED.
PRISONERS BEING RELEASED. OPPORTUNITY FOR SETTLEMENT
NOW MORE FAVOURABLE.

From a photostat of a draft with corrections in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5928

¹ Bhavani Dayal was released on Saturday January 17, 1914; this letter appears to have been written on the following Friday. He took over as Editor of the Hindi section of *Indian Opinion* from its issue dated January 28.

² Gandhiji explained the provisional agreement, soon after it was reached, at a mass meeting on January 25; *vide* the following item. It is likely that this cable was sent on or before January 25.

43. SPEECH AT MASS MEETING¹

[DURBAN,
January 25, 1914]

Mr. Gandhi, before proceeding to explain the terms of the provisional agreement, announced that Mr. Andrews had received a letter from England preparing him for the death of his beloved mother, whom he had expected to meet on his arrival in England. He also added that Mr. Andrews was suffering from fever due to the strain under which he had worked in Pretoria in connection with the agreement. Notwithstanding these facts, Mr. Andrews had insisted on attending the meeting.

Mr. Gandhi addressed the meeting at length, both in English and Hindustani; his remarks being subsequently rendered into Tamil. Mr. Gandhi said that those to whom he was addressing his remarks in English would, he hoped, have read what had been published in the papers, but he would give them the purport of the agreement with the Government. At the first interview he had had with General Smuts, he had placed before him three propositions, the acceptance of any one of which would have enabled the community to lead evidence before the Commission without violating the solemn declaration made some time ago on that very ground. These alternatives were that either the Government should appoint another Commission and restrict the scope of the present Commission purely to a judicial inquiry into the allegations that had been made as to ill-treatment and cruelty, while the other should go into the question of grievances, when the community would be able to lead its evidence before both; or that a member should be co-opted to the Commission to represent Indian interests who would sit specially on the Commission hearing the statement of grievances as apart from the allegations of cruelty, so that the functions of this Commission could clearly be divided into judicial and political; or that the scope of the present Commission should be restricted purely to a judicial inquiry, and that before the community's appearance before it, the Government should grant the community's request in terms of Mr. Cachalia's letter², namely, the five points (1) the repeal of the £3 tax; (2) the restoration of the status of Indian wives as it existed before the Searle judgment; (3) the restoration of the right of South Africa-born Indians to enter the Cape; (4) the removal of the little difficulty that still exists with reference to the racial bar regarding the Orange Free State; and (5) the question of the

¹ A mass meeting of Indians numbering over 3,000 was held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Association to discuss the details of the provisional agreement between Gandhiji and Smuts, and to take action thereon. Imam Abdul Cadir Bawazeer presided.

² *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", 12-9-1913.

just administration of existing laws with due regard to vested rights. The last three points could be dealt with administratively; the first two only by amending legislation, and he had ventured to submit to General Smuts the easiest and the quickest way in which the matter could be dealt with. General Smuts had said that he would consider the matter, and after he had considered and conferred with the Cabinet, he said, in the presence of Mr. Andrews, that the Government were willing to grant these things, but wanted the Commission to sift them, and that they could not possibly, though they would gladly have met the community, meet them at that stage with reference to its propositions regarding the Commission.

Of course, that would create a deadlock, and that meant either passive resistance and all that that meant, or it meant a suspension of passive resistance until the Government had had a chance, until the Commission had had a chance, of doing what they proposed to do, and he had had no difficulty in coming to the conclusion, after consultation always with Mr. Andrews, that the community could fairly suspend passive resistance, seeing that the Government had taken up the, what he considered, reasonable attitude, and seeing also that the Government were prepared to understand and appreciate that the community was bound by its solemn obligation not to take part in the Commission, and not to resent that attitude on the part of the community, and, as against that, he had suggested to General Smuts that, if the community suspended passive resistance, it was only fair that Government should release the passive resistance prisoners then undergoing imprisonment. There then remained the very serious questions of the allegations of cruelty. What was to be done with regard to those if the community was not to lead evidence even with regard to the judicial aspect of the Commission, and yet it seemed clear that in the present circumstances they could not lead evidence. It then meant that they should publish a book containing the whole of the evidence in their possession, and challenge anybody who wished to bring libel proceedings against the community, so that in defending the charge the community could prove its case. As a passive resister, it immediately occurred to him that there should be no difficulty in dropping those proceedings. That would avoid all irritation, and in the estimation of those who might think for themselves and who knew the history of passive resistance the community would stand justified. In any case, if the community could stand justified in the estimation of the Government, and if the community could ask the Government to appreciate its motive in not challenging libel proceedings, he felt that the community could ignore what the world might say as to its being afraid now of coming to a court of law because it had really no evidence, and that it had simply taken allegations to India in order to work on feeling there. They must tolerate such criticism from the world, for the world would have something to say against the best actions, but, if the Government appreciated the community's attitude, he felt that, as passive resisters, it became them to act in that manner. They were not passive resisters of the purest type. They

had, for example, taken advantage of law and defended actions in law courts; pure passive resisters would not have done that. But they had not yet reached the purest stage of passive resistance. They must, however, keep such an ideal actively before them and, perhaps, one day, they would have made such an approach to that state that they would be considered perfect passive resisters. Till they had reached that stage, they could not call themselves perfect passive resisters, but they need not therefore remain stationary, and he had felt that they might take that step in advance, and he had come to the conclusion that that was a proposition that might be submitted to the Government. The net effect of the letter written to him by the Government and their reply was, in his opinion, that they had accepted the principle of consultation, that they had recognized the motive of the community in dropping the question of the allegations altogether, that they recognized the community's motive in not leading evidence before the Commission, that they had given an assurance that they wished to settle the matter in accordance with the community's submission, and they wanted to do this through the Commission, but they felt that the community's demands were so reasonable and had been so sanctified and strengthened by the suffering that it had undergone during the past months, that there should be no difficulty in securing the recommendation from the Commission. They felt, he thought, also confident because of the presence of Sir Benjamin Robertson and because of the prestige that was behind Sir Benjamin Robertson, that he came not in his individual capacity but as the representative of the Viceroy, that as such his testimony before the Commission was bound to carry its due weight. And under those circumstances they need not worry themselves thinking or fearing what might happen; and why need a passive resister ever fear so long as he had the purest weapon in the world at his disposal? The future lay entirely in their own hands, and, holding that future as firmly as ever, he had no hesitation in recommending the adoption of the agreement, and he hoped that the meeting would approve the action they had taken. At the same time he had not bound the community. He had bound the community on occasions when he had gone with a clear mind and when he had known what the community had already asked for, but on this occasion a new situation had arisen, and for that situation he certainly required the ratification of the community. He could not possibly bind the community with reference to this matter which he had not himself contemplated. He had therefore stated to General Smuts that he was prepared to advise his countrymen in accordance with the tenor of his letter, but he had not bound the community, so that they were free agents entirely and might dismiss the agreement from their minds if they wished, but he believed that they might accept it—it was perfectly honourable, dignified, and would save an amount of misery. What was more, they wanted, if they possibly could, to conciliate the Viceroy. He had said that Viceroy or no Viceroy, Mr. Gokhale or no Mr. Gokhale, no matter what friends or the world said, if their consciences did not approve, if their oath did not approve, they could not accept their views, but when it

was possible for them to keep their oath to satisfy their conscience, he thought that then they should go to the utmost length in meeting the wishes of their friends, and such a noble Viceroy, for whom, perhaps, there was no equal except perhaps, Lord Ripon and Lord William Bentinck; and he did not know what the Viceroy might still have in store for them. But that was the picture one formed of the Viceroy, and that had been strengthened by what Mr. Andrews had told him of his noble qualities. They ought to take into account the Viceroy's wishes at that stage, seeing that it was possible for them to do so without violating their oath. Their distinguished countryman, whom India had idolised, to whom they offered reverence, who, while lying on a sick bed, had yet worked for their cause and made it world-wide and had made India ring from end to end with that and nothing else—Mr. Gokhale—also desired it. Lord Amthill also had been saying: "They had a noble cause, they were bound to win; let them now stay their hand; they had made sufficient demonstration; they had aroused the conscience of the United Kingdom; let them now even give their evidence under protest before the Commission." That view they had been unable to accept, but they could accept the present arrangement. From every point of view, the agreement was good, dignified, and worthy of acceptance.¹

Indian Opinion, 28-1-1914

44. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

DURBAN,
January 26, 1914

INDIAN MASS MEETINGS AT DURBAN, PRETORIA, JOHANNESBURG
AND OTHER CENTRES HAVE UNANIMOUSLY ENDORSED AGREE-
MENT.

The Times of India, 28-1-1914

¹ After Polak, C.F. Andrews and Kallenbach had spoken, the following resolution was moved by Parsee Rustomjee and unanimously passed: "This mass meeting of British Indians, held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Association, after having heard the terms of the provisional agreement arrived at between the Government and Mr. Gandhi, hereby endorses Mr. Gandhiji's action, and earnestly and respectfully hopes that the prayer of the Indian community, as set forth in Mr. Gandhi's letter, will be granted."

45. LETTER TO INDIAN GRIEVANCES COMMISSION

DURBAN,
January 26, 1914.

THE CHAIRMAN
INDIAN GRIEVANCES COMMISSION
DURBAN
[SIR,]

We understand that our discharge from imprisonment, on the 18th ultimo, before the expiry of our respective sentences, was due to the recommendation of the Indian Grievances Commission, to enable the Indian community to have such assistance as we were able to give in order to prepare and place its case before the Commission. It is, therefore, a matter of deep and sincere regret that we are unable, for the reasons already set forth in the correspondence between the first undersigned and the Minister of the Interior,¹ with whose tenor we understand the Commission is already acquainted, to avail ourselves of the opportunity for which we are indebted to it.

We earnestly trust that our refraining from appearing before the Commission, in the circumstances therein described, will not be regarded by it as an act of discourtesy.

M. K. GANDHI
H. S. L. POLAK
H. KALLENBACH

Indian Opinion, 28-1-1914

46. SMUTS-GANDHI CORRESPONDENCE

Elsewhere in this issue is published a translation of these letters which, we hope, every Indian will go through carefully. We have not enough space or time to offer detailed comments in this number. The following is the upshot of the two letters:

- (1) Not a single Indian must give evidence before the Commission.
- (2) The Government has turned down the request for enlargement of the Commission.

¹ *Vide* the following item.

- (3) If, therefore, Indians gave evidence, it would mean violation of the community's pledge.
- (4) The Government has recognized that our refusal to give evidence before the Commission is based on conscientious grounds.
- (5) Our refusal to produce, in another court, evidence on flogging, etc., since we are unable to do so before the Commission, does not imply weakness on our part. On the contrary, we show ourselves the better satyagrahis for that. The Government appreciates this attitude.
- (6) We have been pressing, in recent times, that the Government should consult us in regard to measures affecting us; this demand has been conceded.
- (7) In view of this, we shall be justified in placing our case before Sir Benjamin Robertson.
- (8) The Government has declared its intention to satisfy us by conceding our demands and introducing necessary amendments in the law, and it hopes to do so without delay in the ensuing session of Parliament.
- (9) In view of this, we should give an opportunity to the Government to carry out its intention and should postpone resumption of satyagraha.
- (10) The Government is bound not to lead negative evidence before the Commission in regard to flogging and other repressive measures.
- (11) The Government will release the satyagrahis now in gaol.

The Government's position is that whatever it intends to grant, it will do through the Commission.

If the Government acts in this way, we may hope that this great struggle is near its end. If it does not, we lose nothing. We shall be able to show greater strength still. By taking the step we have done, we have met the wishes of the Viceroy and have refrained from provoking the local community; we shall not appear to have treated the advice of our friends and counsellors with contempt and, if we have to resume the struggle, we shall make our satyagraha shine all the brighter in the world and expose more effectively the Union Government's misdeeds and iniquities.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 28-1-1914

47. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE¹

DURBAN,
January 30, 1914

THE CONGRESS MEETING² NUMBERED LITTLE OVER A HUNDRED PEOPLE. OPINION IS SHARPLY DIVIDED. THE MAJORITY VOTED AGAINST OFFERING EVIDENCE. SO FAR THREE INDENTURED INDIANS ONLY HAVE APPEARED BEFORE THE COMMISSION. THE CONGRESS MEETING WAS ENGINEERED BY MEN WHO WERE OPPOSED TO PASSIVE RESISTANCE AT THE VERY BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE. NO IMPORTANCE IS ATTACHED TO THE MEETING LOCALLY THE GENERAL EUROPEAN FEELING IS GROWING IN OUR FAVOUR. AN INFLUENTIAL MEMBER OF THE SENATE PAID A PERSONAL VISIT TO MR. GANDHI AT PHOENIX YESTERDAY AND WAS MOST CORDIAL. HE OFFERED ALL HELP TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT, AND WANTED BYGONES FORGOTTEN. DON'T BE ANXIOUS.

The Times of India, 2-2-1914

48. VIEWS ON THE MARRIAGE QUESTION³

February 2, 1914

Mahommedan and Hindu monogamous marriages shall be legalized by an amendment of the immigration law or by a special statute. Statutory legalization can be effected by a system of registration whereby all past monogamous marriages will be entered in a record book to be kept by the respective religious priests, who will be authorized marriage officers, and the validation of these unions will date back to the original marriage ceremony, whether performed in South Africa or in India. Future marriages will also be celebrated by

¹ This was sent jointly by Gandhiji and C. F. Andrews.

² The Reuter-South Africa Press Agency released on January 28 the following news report about the Durban meeting: "At a meeting of the Natal Indian Congress tonight, it was decided to give evidence before the Indian Enquiry Commission. This body does not support Gandhi."

³ The typescript of this item bears the heading "Mr. Gandhi's Position" and is evidently the gist of Gandhiji's views presumably recorded by himself after a discussion or an interview.

these priests religiously and simultaneously recorded in the record book, and no other marriage between one of the parties and another person could be so recorded or otherwise validated during the lifetime of the other.

Legal effect would be that no Hindu or Mahomedan will be able to take to himself more than one wife, but it will not preclude him from taking a number of women whom he calls his wives, but who, in the eyes of the law, will be considered as concubines. Such, says Mr. Gandhi, is the state of English marriages today. This does not mean that he wants the State to recognize any polygamous marriages. But he objects to a declaration being made by either party to the marriage contract that neither will take another partner in future, because any such declaration would be tantamount to a renunciation of their religion.

In the case of a past marriage, a man can have only one wife before he can make the declaration that she is his only wedded wife.

DIVORCE

A marriage which is legalized according to the South African law can only be dissolved in terms of that law. A woman can only be divorced under South African law for adultery or desertion.

From a photostat of a typewritten copy: S. N. 5930

49. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[PHOENIX,]

*Tuesday [February 3, 1914]*¹

CHI. MANILAL,

I have had two letters from you. I am also sorry I had no talk with you. No doubt, I was very much hurt that you ate chillies. It is possible that you will not feel the effects just now. But never forget that *tamasic* food² cannot but have an evil effect. I am sure it will do you good in future if you discipline your senses. For all that

¹ From the reference to Andrews in the letter, it appears to have been written when Manilal Gandhi accompanied Andrews as secretary on the latter's tour of Natal between January 30 and February 5, 1914.

² Spicy, salted food; liable to stimulate the qualities of *tamas* or darkness, animality.

I can see, there has been no spiritual gain to you through your experience of gaol. You have great need to cultivate thoughtfulness. It is a rare gain to have come into contact with Mr. Andrews. I should like you to take the fullest advantage of the occasion by preserving the utmost purity. So far, Mr. Andrews has expressed himself perfectly satisfied about you.

Keep an account of every pice you spend. Have no shame about doing any work for Mr. Andrews. You may even massage his calves. Having done so once myself, I know that he probably finds it agreeable. Polish his shoes and tie up the laces. You must not forget to write to me every day. Maintain a diary of meetings with all persons and the developments from day to day.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

It is impossible to say anything about Ba's health. Medh and Desai are here today, and Lal Bahadursingh too.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 100 Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

50. WHO MAY BE DEPORTED?

Seen superficially, the difference between satyagraha and brute force is so subtle that it escapes notice and both satyagrahis and non-satyagrahis, i.e., those who believe in brute force, are misled. Some of our well-wishers and friends did not like our strike in Natal, as they thought we had overstepped the limits of satyagraha. Others mistakenly imagined that the recent strike of the white railwaymen was satyagraha, though the difference between their aim and ours in going on strike is as great as that between North and South. If we went on strike, it was not in order to harass the Government. We only wanted to suffer—do *tapascharya*—by going to gaol. In the event, we find that our victory is at hand. That victory is also unique. We seek no political powers for ourselves. We only wish to preserve our self-respect and defend our religion. Whatever we may suffer in our own persons, we shall never seek to injure our opponent or dislodge him from office. The railwaymen's attitude is the precise opposite of this. Their fight is not for self-respect. They have nothing to do with

religion. They wanted a rise in their pay—wanted improvement in their economic condition. They went on strike not in order to get themselves gaoled but with the object of bringing pressure on the Government. If the latter were to use force against them, they, too, would, if they could, use force in return. If it were possible, they would even overthrow the Government and install themselves in power. In fact, that is their ultimate object. And so they have had to surrender in sheer helplessness before superior force. The Government, too, on its part, acted boldly and deported them overnight, secretly, without producing them in any court. All the world has commended its action and praised its courage. If it were to deport us, it would lay itself open to the charge of being oppressive, though we, of course, would have to submit with a smiling face. There is thus a vast difference, which every Indian should note and understand, between satyagraha and *asatyagraha*¹. Satyagraha is not a game in which one might either win or lose. There is no room for failure in it. Brute force has to take its chance of success or failure. And the odds are always with the stronger party, irrespective of the rights of the case.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 4-2-1914

51. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHOENIX, NATAL,
[February]² 5, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your wire. I do not understand why Andrews hastened his departure for the Cape. However I sent the wire to Kimberley.

I enclose Kennedy's letter. Although he does not want a reply I am sending a brief note saying he ought not to worry over the past, nor should you. The best thing is to ignore Hastings except to meet the settlement arrived at.

Sir Benjamin and Slater came yesterday and stayed about 2 hours. He suggests that I should be in Cape Town by the 18th. I am most anxious not to leave Mrs. Gandhi. Two days ago she seemed to

¹ Fight for untruth

² The sources has "January", which is a slip. Sir Benjamin Robertson visited Phoenix on February 4, 1914.

be sinking. But from yesterday she has begun to brighten up. She ate well yesterday. If she recovers it will be due to the fast and the leaves.

Please do not involve yourself in anything further and come away as soon as you can or you may accompany me to the Cape. I would leave it entirely to you.

Your missing spoons have been traced.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

52. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHOENIX,

NATAL,

February 10, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your letters. The very fact that you ask yourself the question whether you have profited during the two years is a sign of progress. The voice within is still clear and emphatic.

I shall see to Pearson being paid. I may leave here on Thursday with Mrs. Gandhi on my way to the Cape. In that case I should be there on Saturday morning, leaving the same day by Diamond Express. I should so like Pearson to stay there for that will be my only chance of meeting him, if I do leave on Thursday. Who is sending an account of the meetings?

Aboobaker's cheque received and handed to Mr. Omar.

Mrs. Gandhi progressing. I note what you say about Fremeren.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

53. *THE IMMIGRATION ACT*

The interpretation of this Act daily presents new difficulties. The latest is Justice Broome's decision in the matter of Dawad Ismail and Daya Purshotam against the Immigration Officer. According to Justice Broome's interpretation of the Act, the Supreme Court may not even grant an interdict against that officer, acting under the Act of last year, in respect of persons seeking to re-enter the Union as was the case in the matter we are discussing. Thus the Supreme Court will be powerless, if Justice Broome's decision holds good, to prevent a manifest miscarriage of justice, as happened in this case, through the stupidity of the under-officials. As Justice Broome himself remarked, here the ends of justice were not defeated only because the aid of the Court was improperly invoked and as improperly given by the Court granting the interdict. If such is the correct reading of the law, every Indian is entirely at the mercy of Immigration Officers. The only comfort that the Court could give to the parties grossly injured was that they had not to bear the costs of crown although the proceedings were irregularly brought by them. It is true that the Court came most reluctantly to the decision it did. But we cannot eternally live on sympathy unless it leads to useful action. This case is merely a sample of several others like it. Every section of the Act—even the protective sections—seems to have been designed, wittingly or unwittingly, to harass the resident Indian population. So that the law not only prohibits Indian immigration in practice, but it materially interferes with the liberty and the free movement, within the law, of the resident Indian population of the Union.

Take, again, the case recently decided by the now defunct Appellate Board, appointed for Natal under the Act. There, Mr. Binns, delivering the judgment of the Board, reluctantly granted relief to a man who possessed a domicile certificate issued under the old Act and with which certificate he was completely identified. Why was there this reluctance? Why should an Indian be called upon to tax his memory as to what happened fifteen years ago? The title-deeds of property once granted cannot be questioned. They are conclusive proof of title. Why should a domicile certificate be treated differently? These certificates were granted after due and exhaustive—and in many cases vexatious—inquiry. By what right are they now questioned? If the Act

gives such powers to Immigration Officers, the sooner it is amended the better it will be for both the Government and the people affected by the Act.

What is, however, perhaps more ominous even than the above mentioned legal proceedings is the severe administration of the Act. It is clear that, had the officers done their duty by the persons who were seeking re-entry—not those who were seeking to immigrate into the Union—the cases need never have arisen. The officials are certainly going mad over their administration of the Act against persons in the Cape and Basutoland who have continually to pass through the Free State on their way to the other Provinces. To expect them each time to take out temporary permits is to put an unwarranted tax upon their purses and is an unnecessary annoyance to the men who have to apply for permits. The old practice of letting Indian passengers go through unchallenged never caused the slightest difficulty to the administration and it ought to be continued. The case of a boy that has happened in Pretoria is also of the same type. Surely the child, whatever may be the meaning of the Act, is entitled to enter the Transvaal, seeing that he is the son beyond doubt of his father and that his mother is dead. Indeed, the Government have practically bound themselves to recognize at least administratively the right of such children to join their parents who may be in South Africa. But in the Pretoria case, the Appellate Board has interpreted the Act, too, in favour of the Indian applicant. Yet the Government are not satisfied. They must seek to upset the finding of the Appellate Board which is appointed by them and which has powers given largely to protect the administration rather than the persons coming under its lash. The fact that the Government are challenging the liberal interpretation of the Act shows that they want it to be interpreted as strictly as it is administered. It is against this wretched spirit that we must wage war, if we are to live in this country as men.

Indian Opinion, 11-2-1914

54. REQUEST TO LEADERS

We have carefully studied the evidence given by Mr. Anglia and Mr. Dada Osman and it is our considered view that both the leaders have done harm to the community. That the Commissioners pay compliments to them is of no account. Their evidence seems to suggest that our only grievances about licences and immigration are those that they mentioned. By giving the evidence that they did, they set a limit [to what we could demand]. It happens, however, that theirs is not the last word on behalf of the community. Even if their demands are accepted, much will remain and, so long as this is not settled, there will always remain the possibility of the Indian community resuming satyagraha. If they were bent on giving evidence, it was their duty to put it all together and have it formulated by a reliable lawyer before presenting it. It was their primary duty to the community to have accepted the resolution passed by thousands of people to boycott the Commission and to have remained silent. If, however, they wished to give evidence, they should have been more careful. Their evidence has had the unhappy result of provoking the thoroughly hostile evidence of Mr. Wincall against us. If Mr. Wincall were right in his facts, there would have been nothing that we could do. But we know that his evidence is not factually true, and that he has made many statements which are altogether false. Those who claim to be leaders should have a better sense of their duty. If they were keen on tendering evidence, they should have produced a number of witnesses and not behaved with the utmost irresponsibility, as Mr. Sooker did, just when the Commission's sittings were coming to a close. They had known for a month that the Commission would be sitting and should have started preparing well beforehand so that they could give evidence which would be sound. We therefore believe that these two leaders, instead of doing their duty by the community, have done it harm. Having said this, we also thank them for having refrained from washing the dirty linen of the community before the Commission. Mr. Anglia stated that he could speak with authority on behalf of all the Indians of established standing and reputation. Who are these Indians on whose behalf he was speaking? If Mr. Anglia's claim is right, we pity these well-established Indians and feel sorry for them. We hold that Mr. Anglia has erred in making such a statement

and has failed to pay due regard to his position and the responsibility that rests on him.

About Mr. Sooker, we simply refuse to comment. The youngman is carried away by pride. As regards Mr. Aiyar, what can we say? He has given evidence without thinking. It was good of him to have made it plain that he spoke not on behalf of anyone, but on his own responsibility and only for himself. He might not have, therefore, done much harm.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-2-1914

55. ON MARRIAGES

We know that the marriage question has now become the most serious one in this country. The Commission is in a fix about it. The question raises the issue of an important amendment in the laws of the country. We hold that the evidence given by Mr. Anglia and others on this subject was misguided. The problem is so complicated that they should not have meddled with it. In any case, they should have done so with full understanding. Let us now consider what the question involves. The correspondence carried on by Mr. Cachalia means that an Indian marriage which is monogamous in fact should be recognized. If a person has more than one wife, the Government, as a matter of grace, should permit the entry of all his wives and his minor children, provided he is an old resident. If anyone marries two women in future, he should be allowed to bring in one of them. Wives of the last two categories will be entitled legally to no other rights. In this, we are not binding ourselves for the future. The Commission, it appears, insists that, where a man with only one wife desires to have his marriage legally recognized, the marriage should be considered monogamous only if he makes a solemn declaration that he will not take another wife during the life-time of the first one. Mr. Gandhi has strongly opposed this line of argument and pointed out that signing such a declaration amounts to repudiating Hinduism and Islam in the matter of marriage. If the law recognized only the first wife, that would be a different matter. In this case, no Hindu or Muslim would be acting contrary to his religion. Recognition of such marriages would safeguard the rights of hundreds of Indians and these Indians will generally have only one wife. The Government is committed to

recognizing the wife in a monogamous marriage. The law here also does that. The Commission, or anyone else for that matter, has no right to tie us down for the future. True, the [exclusive] recognition of monogamous marriages is likely to curb the practice of polygamy. Which husband will like to have one wife legally recognized and another treated as a concubine?

Less than this we cannot accept. More than this it is almost impossible that we can get. In any case, it seems satyagraha will above be justified for securing more. If our demands are met as above, the honour [of our religions] will have been upheld and hundreds of Indian families will have a chance of being happy.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-2-1914

56. IMPORTANT IMMIGRATION CASES

There have been two important immigration cases in Natal. As we were busy writing on other matters, we have had so far no time to explain them. We take the opportunity of doing so now. In one case, an unusual one, the judgment was given by Justice Broome. The Indian concerned might have had to leave this country altogether. The position was this: The petitioner, who arrived from India in October last, was not permitted to come in. He did not appeal against this as required by law. He went back to India, but came again in January. Again the officer stopped him. This time the petitioner's lawyer obtained an interdict from the Supreme Court, which prevented the officer from deporting him. Finally, the Attorney-General conducted an inquiry and found that the petitioner had been wrongly sent back and that he was entitled to stay in Natal. His right of residence, thus, was recognized, having been admitted by the Attorney-General. But the Court had yet to decide who should pay the expenses incurred in obtaining the interdict against the officer. Deciding the point, Mr. Justice Broome held that there was no provision in the law granting the right of applying for an interdict against an [immigration] officer. Under the law, the officer's order can only be set aside in a case involving corruption and bribery. There was no such thing in this case. Nevertheless, the Court felt that the officer had acted hastily and erred in sending the petitioner away. Had an interdict not been granted, legal though this might have been, it would have resulted in

injustice to the petitioner and cost him his right. The Court decided that, in the circumstances, the costs should be borne by the parties themselves. This decision cannot be said to be in our favour. If the Court cannot intervene in cases of undue haste on the part of officers, the latter might pass arrogant and arbitrary orders, as caprice takes them. In matters involving rights of persons, there is bound to be injustice if supreme powers are vested exclusively in the Executive. Justice Broome's decision cannot be accepted as correct. If fact, Courts always have powers of granting interdicts and the legal point involved here, we believe, will bear being taken in appeal to Bloemfontein, should a similar situation arise again. Meanwhile, it is necessary at any rate to write to the Government about it.

The second case relates to a decision of Mr. Beans. He has now left the Immigration Appeal Court. The decision about which we wish to write was his last one. True, it does justice, but Mr. Beans was not happy giving it and did not miss having a fling at the community. Mr. Justice Broome did an injustice in his decision, but showed that he was not happy doing so. Thus two persons, both occupying seats of justice, have two different temperaments. The facts of the case decided by Mr. Beans are simple. The petitioner had a certificate of 1896. He had been to and returned from India twice with this certificate. On this third occasion, the officer stopped him on his arrival and so there was an appeal. Mr. Beans remarked rather gratuitously that the petitioner was not stating the facts, but lacked the courage to send him back. How is it possible to send back a man who has been here twice? For this reason and also because the officer acknowledged that he [the petitioner] was the one who had taken out the certificate, Mr. Beans could not give an unfavourable decision. Though giving a favourable decision, he allowed himself to remark that the officer did well in stopping him. He went further, and said that, in such cases, criminal proceedings should be instituted; with that end in view, he has forwarded all the evidence regarding the petitioner to the public prosecutor. Such is the terrible position we are in. A harsh law, administered harshly, and the difficulty of obtaining redress in the lower courts. All the same, this case, in all likelihood, will have the result of making it difficult for officers to deport those who may enter on their own certificates.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-2-1914

57. RIGHTS OF MINORS

There was recently a very important immigration case in Pretoria. The Immigration Officer refused to admit a Muslim boy. We shall say nothing here about some odd reasons given by him but only examine the legal point involved. The reason for refusing admission was that the boy was born of a marriage celebrated according to the Muslim faith; since the law does not recognize Muslim marriages, the children of such marriages could not be admitted. The applicant went in appeal against this decision. It came up before the new Board appointed at Pretoria. The relevant section of the law provides that the wife and children of a man entitled to be here can come in, and the persons so entitled to come in will include a wife by a monogamous marriage recognized in law, and his children. The Court interpreted this section in favour of the petitioner. Its argument ran as follows: "True, only a wife whose marriage is recognized by law can come in, but there is no rule that only her children can enter. Children can come in, whether the parents are married or not. This will include the children of a legally married couple. Children of couples living together without being legally married are not barred." Following this argument, the Court gave a decision in favour of the petitioner.

We must not jump to conclusions from this argument of the Court. It will not carry conviction. If the Court's argument is correct, then it will also apply to women. In the relevant section of the law, the words "wife" and "child" occur at two places. The Court has given different meanings to the word "child" in the two places, but has given the same interpretation to the words "wife" at both places. The Court's reasons for doing so sound plausible but lack substance. Its decision, therefore, does not remove our misgivings. If, however, its interpretation is correct, we must admit that our protests regarding the position of children in connection with the marriage question will lose some of their force. Because children born out of wedlock have been given the right of entry, it does not follow that we have secured all our rights. The Immigration Officer has not been happy over the decision of the Court and, therefore, the case will go, at his instance, to the Supreme Court. Let us see what happens there. That the Immigration Officer is likely to take this case to a higher court shows that the Government does not mean well by us. More, it wants to have the laws interpreted strictly and by adopting such methods to root us out altogether. It should be realized that we have resorted to satyagraha

against this state of mind. Our sufferings will not end with one campaign of satyagraha; we shall have to use this weapon whenever they become intolerable. If we do so often enough, the Government will see our strength, will know what our real demands are and give up its obduracy.

We can see from this case that with the new Appeal Boards things have improved. We are sure an Appeal Board of the older type would never have given such a decision. The old Appeal Board at Pretoria would have acted in the same manner as its counterpart at Durban in the case of Kulsumbibi.

We hope, in this case, the petitioner will fight in the Supreme Court with the same skill as he has shown so far. When we say that the case is not strong, we do not mean that there are no arguments for it. If the Supreme Court takes up a liberal attitude, it may accept the arguments advanced in favour of the petitioner, in which case, the children of all wives will be able to come in. If the decision goes against us, there will be no need to feel discouraged, for the great fight on the issue of marriage which we have been carrying on will decide this question too. We can very well see from this case how big is our struggle and how many important results it is likely to yield.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-2-1914

58. OUR HOPES

A gentleman writes to us:

This is, indeed, a rare time for you, the like of which will not recur. Circumstances will never again favour you with a similar opportunity, what with the support India has been giving you and the strong sympathies that have been aroused. Nothing, therefore, should be left out from the full citizenship rights which are to be achieved, so that our people may not have to endure hardships again. Besides the matters in dispute, there are the questions of the right to own land, the Gold Law, the Township Act, freedom to hold licences in the Transvaal, the franchise, the prohibition on Indians putting up stores on new stations, while the Jews are free to do so, and reserved compartments in trains being packed with as many as twelve men. There must be many other matters besides these of which you will be aware. There is, of course, no need for me to write. I have only mentioned this in passing. All that I mean is that the present opportunity will not come again and that, therefore, every

right should be secured.

It is well that we have received this letter. We believe that what this one gentleman has put in writing is in the minds of many. We have, however, to say with regret that such hopes will lead to disappointment. Like everything else, satyagraha has its limits. To understand how much may be achieved through it is the first step to success in it. It needs to be understood, once and for all, that the path of truth is not meant for ends not consistent with truth. It is our belief that raising our demands will amount to untruthfulness. Many things, moreover, which can be achieved through satyagraha we shall surely fail to achieve if we are not uncompromising enough in our regard for truth. For instance, we should have the right to [own] land in the Transvaal. But that was not one of our demands in this struggle. We cannot, therefore, advance it at this stage. The strength that may be needed to demand the right in future, we do not as yet see in the community. In the present satyagraha, the indentured Indians have shaken the world. Inspired by their strength, India resounded with protests. But we certainly cannot on that strength secure land rights. For the right to vote, we need to have many things in us without which, as we believe, the franchise would prove unavailing, even if granted. We have no doubt in our minds that it will be a long time before we have the vote. For that India herself will have to wake up, independently of everything else. In the matter of the Gold Law, licences, etc, provision is made in Section 5. Not that all our grievances in these matters will disappear by virtue of this Section, but an assurance from the Government that the laws in regard to them will be reasonably administered will enable us to build further and obtain redress without resorting to satyagraha. As regards hardships on railways, we need to have some grit. If there are already six men in a compartment, the seventh must display courage. If he demands another compartment, the conductor is bound to provide it. As long as we are prepared to submit to kicks, there will be men ever ready to deliver them. If a man does not fight for himself in such matters and is trampled over in consequence, nothing that we can do will help him. Letters may be addressed and even assurances that such things will not recur may be received. The conductors, however, will persist in their autocratic ways.

“The opportunity will not come again, we shall not have a fight like this in future.” Such things have been said during every campaign. However, the campaign in 1908 turned out to be on a

larger scale than that of 1907, and the one in 1913 than that of 1908. More people went to gaol during 1908-11 than during 1907-8. In 1913, the very highest limit was reached. Even so, when the fight comes again, it will go one better. It is up to us to see that it does. Even when we have the best of dishes placed before us, we can eat only according to our capacity. If we eat in excess, we shall get indigestion and may even die. The same is true of opportunities. The opportunity of the future will far excel the present one, but only if, ignoring it, we rest satisfied with our original demands. If we were to raise our demands ever so little, we are sure we would lose the sympathy we have both here and in India. “The community may not have to endure hardships again”—these are words of cowardice. The community will not acquire stamina except through suffering. Every step forward is bound to cost some effort. What we have gone through is not to be looked upon as hardship but as requisite effort. To wish that one may not have to make any such effort is to desire that Nature’s law shall cease to function. Never, in the wide world, have we come across, nor cease to function. Never, in the wide world, have we come across, nor have we in history read of, an instance of achievement without effort.

Finally, Indians need to realize in all seriousness that it is the first principle of satyagraha not to enhance our original demands. The second principle is that what is obtained by satyagraha can be retained only by satyagraha. The third principle is that what is attainable by satyagraha cannot but be achieved and that satyagraha knows no such word as “defeat”. We are convinced that, if this is understood, no misconceptions will arise in the community and that it will be able to make excellent progress.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-2-1914

59. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH¹

February 14, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Now that you know the worst about Ritch, you will have to handle the matter in the gentlest manner possible. If anything is disclosed apart from my side, you will step in at once and in any event see to it that you secure control over all the funds that may come in future. What a tragedy. I do feel like taking you away and both of us escaping to the jungle. What a snare and delusion this wretched civilization, in the midst of which you and I are still living and of the bitter fruit of which we are still tasting! Woe to us if we tarry in it a minute longer than may be absolutely necessary. Do wind up your affairs satisfactorily and flee from the tyrant whilst yet there is time. Do not deceive yourself into the belief that we are saved until we are quite out of it which we will not be quite even in India all of a sudden. The Indian visit will be merely a preparation for the glorious future which must be unalloyed by the poison of the modern craze. Do not put your trust in money please. You know that you are free to come to Cape Town whenever you wish to come. Only finish your work there, both public and private, for there may be no time left after the legislation in Cape Town.

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

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

¹ A note at the top of the letter by the addressee reads: "In the train on the way between Johannesburg and Cape Town. Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi left Johannesburg 14-2-1914."

60. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

[CAPE TOWN,]

Sunday [After February 15, 1914]

DEAR SHRI RAOJIBHAI,

I must have piled up claims on you in some previous life. Else, how could I deserve so much love from you? Still, the love that you showed me in my misfortune yesterday was beyond description. For this, I pray, may you both grow brighter in your souls. You should pray, likewise, that having experienced this love [of yours], I may grow the stronger in my faith in soul-force. If a trivial pledge, none too important in itself, i.e., the mere undertaking of *tapascharya*, can achieve so much, there can be no measuring, as the simple rule of three will show, how much may be achieved by *tapascharya* actually practised. Quite so. Had I not taken the vow, I would not have tasted pure love as I did; there would have been no speedy discovery of truth and the poor children would not have been proved innocent as they actually were.¹

Chi. . . . has had to come down from the heights where I had imagined her to be. Still my mind tells me that she is a blessed soul. Her virtues are many. It is our duty to develop them. Her action and her guilt were serious indeed. We should act so as not to remind her of them. Encourage her to become proficient in household work. See that none of the children insults her . . . ² Continue the readings from holy books in the evenings. I shall hold it to be R's responsibility to wake up the children at five . . . ³ See that I have regular news of Maganbhai's health.

With due regards

MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

Mahatma Gandhijina Patro and Gandhijini Sadhana

¹ A Phoenix teacher, had committed a breach of Ashram discipline by eating pakodas along with some students. Though she denied this lapse when questioned by Gandhiji, she confessed it the day after he had decided to go on an indefinite fast of atonement.

² Some portions have been omitted here in the sources.

³ *ibid*

61. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
CAPE TOWN,
[February 17, 1914]¹

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

We reached yesterday morning without any extra discomfort on the way. Andrews leaves on Saturday. He has done very wonderful work here indeed. He has again seen Gladstone, Newman, all the newspapermen, most of the judges and has been lunching out almost every day with some notability or other, his main topic of conversation being always India and Tagore or the Indian question here.

Jamnadas is here and two other young Indians who were his fellow-prisoners. They are all at present being accommodated at Gool's place. I am really ashamed to have to be here with Mrs. Gandhi but he would not hear of my having rooms myself.

Has Ritch returned or have you heard any more about him?

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

62. ANGLIA'S EVIDENCE

With reference to our criticism, Mr. Anglia writes as follows to Mr. Gandhi:

I have carefully gone through your comments, in *Indian Opinion*, on my evidence. I very much regret that you thought it fit to pass judgment before publishing the full evidence in Gujarati. Was it worthily done? Be that as it may, I believe that the paper exists for the community, and you claim to serve the community. If, therefore, you mean to serve it well, you should print the full text of the evidence in the next issue. You may then make whatever comments you wish to. Until you reproduce the entire evidence, how can the public form their own judgment?

¹ From the reference to Gandhiji's being in train (*vide fn.* to preceding item), it appears he reached Cape Town on the morning of February 16. This letter was written the next day and C. F. Andrews left for England on February 21, a Saturday.

We certainly intend to reproduce the evidence. We took it that everyone must have read it in the local papers. But we have with us a verbatim report. We intend to publish in Gujarati the evidence as it appears in this report so that no injustice is done. We offered our comments after seeing the report of the evidence in the papers. If, after going through the verbatim report, we feel like changing our opinion, we will certainly do so. But we found the evidence as reported in the papers so bad that we did not think it proper to wait till we had read the full text. It was our duty to give a timely warning. If the evidence was not correctly reported in the Press, Mr. Anglia and Mr. Dada Osman should have sent a correction to the Press. In any case, we shall, as we have said, write again after going through the full text of the evidence.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 18-2-1914

63. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

CAPE TOWN,
February 18, 1914

GOKHALE
SERVINDIA
POONA

LECTURE RABINDRANATH TAGORE BY ANDREWS CITY HALL.
MAYOR PRESIDING PUBLICLY EXPRESSED SYMPATHY WITH
ANDREWS MISSION. VERY LARGE DISTINGUISHED AUDIENCE
INCLUDING PROMINENT MEMBERS PARLIAMENT. LECTURE
SIMILAR VICEREGAL LODGE SIMLA. MERRIMAN LATE
PREMIER EMPHASISED NEED BETTER UNDERSTANDING HIGHER
INDIAN LIFE. ANDREWS HAD TRULY INTERPRETED THIS.
NO GREATER SERVICE TODAY THAN SUCH INTERPRETATION.
GOVERNOR-GENERAL EXPRESSED DEEP SATISFACTION HEARING
SUCH LECTURE AT PRESENT CRITICAL TIME. THANKED
ANDREWS FOR SERVICE RENDERED CAUSE OF PEACE
AND SETTLEMENT. TRUSTED SETTLEMENT NEAR AT HAND.
HIMSELF WHEN OXFORD SPECIALIZED INDIAN HISTORY
ALSO TRAVELLED INDIA, WARMEST APPRECIATION OF
HIGHER INDIAN LIFE AND THOUGHT SUCH AS TAGORE
REPRESENTED. WISHED MORE STUDY INDIA NOT LAND

COOLIES BUT LAND NOBLE IDEALS SUCH AS ANDREWS
EXPLAINED. LORD GLADSTONE SPOKE WITH DEEP FEELING.
LECTURE PROMINENTLY REVIEWED CREATING GOOD IM-
PRESSION. EXPAND PUBLISH THIS CABLEGRAM.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: C. W. 4851 Courtesy: Servants
of India Society

64. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
CAPE TOWN,
February 18, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I had your letter sent to Phoenix redirected. There is no doubt that Andrews has done most wonderful and ceaseless work. His address was brilliant and Lord Gladstone made a speech which was very good.¹ You must have seen it in the papers. I shall send you copies. As soon as Andrews is gone I would like to send Manilal to Johannesburg. I am here for a month or more. Whether you come here or not I think the best thing is for Manilal to stay and work at Mountain View by himself. But you will have to be fairly strict with him. He has not gained by his gaol experiences. And you may leave him only after he is in fairly full swing. But please let me know what you feel about this. I would like him to come out to Johannesburg as soon as Andrews is off, subject to your consent. You may, therefore, wire if you think fit.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

¹ C.F. Andrews had addressed the university students on February 17 on Rabindranath Tagore; *vide* also "Anglia's Evidence", 18-2-1914 to "Letter to Raojibhai Patel", 24-2-1914.

65. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

CAPE TOWN,
February 19, 1914

GOKHALE
SERVINDIA
POONA

“CAPE TIMES” REPRODUCES ANDREWS LECTURE FULLY
WITH LEADING ARTICLE. REPORTS GOVERNOR-GENERAL’S
CONCLUDING WORDS AS FOLLOWS: PERSONALITY OF TAGORE
WAS INTENSE EXPRESSION OF INDIAN IMAGINATIVE NATIONAL
LIFE. INDIA HAD DEVELOPED PERHAPS FAR ABOVE
OTHER PARTS BRITISH EMPIRE IN CIVILIZATION AND
EFFORTS TO ATTAIN HIGHER LIFE. HE BELIEVED
ANDREWS LECTURE WOULD DO MUCH SOLVE TROUBLE
WHICH HAD ARISEN BETWEEN INDIA AND SOUTH AFRICA.
HE THANKED ANDREWS HEARTILY FOR ALL HIS EFFORTS
IN SOUTH AFRICA TO BRING ABOUT BETTER UNDER
STANDING.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: C.W. 4852 Courtesy: Servants
of India Society

66. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

CAPE TOWN,
Maha Vad 12 [February 21, 1914]

DEAR SHRI RAOJIBHAI,

I have your letter. . . . It is not that I wanted Chi. Manilal to be
sent there. He has been removed from the atmosphere of luxury here.
. . . Chi. Jamnadas has been sent there for the same reason. . . . I
believe that one who wants to observe *brahmacharya* should not dwell
in the midst of luxuries. Ba seems to maintain good health. Be
particular that the boys there become hard-working and that none of
them slackens ever so little in the matter of getting up early. How does
Maganbhai keep? Give me a detailed report. See that Imam Saheb’s
wife does not feel uncomfortable. If any particular article of food is

found necessary for her, I think it will be all right to have it specially prepared or allow it to be prepared.

Beyond doubt Mr. Andrews has done great work.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

Mahatma Gandhijina Patro and Jivannu Parodh

67. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

February 22, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your two letters and wires. I am glad you were successful at Pretoria.

Even if Ritch has not finally left Johannesburg, the step he has taken warrants all my reflections. The contemplated removal to Mombasa is the act of a mad man. And his sudden departure without any consultation with anybody is undoubtedly lunacy. The use of the £500 is willful misappropriation. The use of my money was legitimate. The inability to reply was capable of being understood or at least explained away.

I did not wait for wire regarding Manilal. I found that he must leave Cape Town. The atmosphere was enervating for both the boys. Both Manilal and Jamnadas therefore left today, Manilal for Johannesburg and Jamnadas for Durban. They both interrupt their journey at Kimberley. Manilal, therefore, reaches you on Wednesday morning. There is nothing too wrong with the boy but he needs a calmer and quieter atmosphere which Mountain View will provide.

When you find that Manilal has regained his balance and may be safely left alone, I presume, you will come here if your business allows it.

Miss Moonsamy¹, a passive resister girl, is dead. I hope you have been to see her people and consoled them.

Our friend Habib Motan is here making all the mischief he can.

Mr. Andrews has continued to remain a rare man to me. He got a

¹ Valliamma Moonsamy Mudaliar, who died after a long illness on February 22, 1914; *vide In Memoriam*, 25-2-1914

marvellous hold on the elite of Cape Town and he has calmed the atmosphere in a wonderful manner. His affection for the poet¹ is phenomenal. He called him his Guru at the University lecture which was a treat². More when we meet. I am longing to have early morning walks with you on Table Mountains and sleep on the roof of the house quite in the open.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

68. *LETTER TO ELIZABETH MARI MOLTENO*

7 BUITENSINGLE,
CAPE TOWN,
February 23, 1914

DEAR MISS. MOLTENO,

My impression is that I said we would call on you tomorrow (Tuesday), but Dr. Gool³ does not remember. Not to make any mistake we shall be coming there between 3 and 4 tomorrow and take our chance.

The visit to Miss Hobhouse was entirely successful. It was a perfect pilgrimage for me. Mrs. Botha⁴ was all you described her. She was most kind to both of us and most loving towards Mrs. Gandhi. Thank you for all this. Incidentally, we met Lady Gladstone too &?⁵ Are you not pleased?

With our regards to you and Miss Greene,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Molteno Murray Family Papers. Courtesy: University of Capetown Libraries

¹ Rabindranath Tagore

² *Vide* "Cable to G.K. Gokhale", 18-2-1914.

³ Dr. J. H. Gool

⁴ Wife of Gen. Louis Botha

⁵ As in the source

69. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

CAPE TOWN,
February 24, 1914

REV. MR. ANDREWS, WHO LEFT FOR ENGLAND ON SATURDAY, ADDRESSED PRIVATELY BEFORE LEAVING A MEETING OF CHURCH COUNCIL, AT WHICH I ALSO WAS INVITED TO SPEAK. MR. ANDREWS ALSO DELIVERED AN ADDRESS TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS ON TAGORE AND HIS MESSAGE, THE VICE-CHANCELLOR PRESIDING. INDIAN COMMUNITY BADE HIM FAREWELL AT A PUBLIC MEETING AT WHICH MANY ENGLISH VISITORS WERE PRESENT. THE GENERAL IMPRESSION CREATED BY HIS MISSION HAS BEEN MOST FAVOURABLE. INDIANS FEEL DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR DEPUTATION OF MESSRS ANDREWS AND PEARSON. MANY EUROPEANS, INCLUDING MINISTERS, HAVE EXPRESSED SINCERE SATISFACTION AT THE RESULTS OF THE VISIT. MR. ANDREWS SPREAD A SPIRIT OF SYMPATHY AND LOVE ALL ROUND AND HAS CONTRIBUTED MUCH TO WARDS SPEEDY SETTLEMENT.

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

70. LETTER TO ELIZABETH MARI MOLTENO

7 BUITENSINGLE,
February 24, 1914

DEAR MISS. MOLTENO,

I am sorry to have to inform you that Mrs. Gandhi has had a relapse and she is at the time of writing lying in bed. She wants me therefore to say that whilst she would try her best to keep the appointment for tomorrow, she might not be able to go out at all. I thought that I should let you know this. In any case I shall expect you tomorrow afternoon and we shall be able to discuss. If she is very ill, I would also have to remain in to be by her side. It is a great pity

events have turned out so. But man proposes?

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Molteno Murray Family Papers. Courtesy: University of Cape-town Libraries

71. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[CAPE TOWN,
February 24, 1914]¹

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your letter enclosing Ramdas's and others'. You may well want to treasure Ramdas's letter. It is a gem. The boy seems to be shaping beautifully. If the composition is his own, it is also good. Thambi is now there. Please collar him and pacify him. Mrs. Gandhi is better but she has ups and downs and continues to cause anxiety. Imam is doing good work. We have not come here a moment too soon. Mrs. Gandhi and I went over to see Miss Hobhouse. We saw there Mrs. Botha and Lady Gladstone. Miss Hobhouse has a divine face. Have never seen a diviner face. Gokhale by his features took me by storm. Miss Hobhouse has done likewise, only more so. I feel like gazing at her in awe for hours.

Thursday, March 19

The above was found among my papers. I knew I had mislaid this. But I think that I gave you the substance of what is above written. However, you should have it as it is.

The report of the Commission is very fair and reasonable.² It is a creditable document and a complete vindication of our position.

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

¹ From the reference in the letter written the next day; *vide* the following item.

² The Indian Enquiry Commission; *vide* "Observations Regarding Commission's Report", after 17-3-1914 and "The commission's Report and Recommendations", 25-3-1914.

[PS.]

Herewith Call's letter. You should drop him a line.

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

72. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

CAPE TOWN,
*Maha Vad 30 [February 24, 1914]*¹

DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter about J, I have sent on to Doctor and the one about M, I destroyed after reading. Putting that letter in his hand might, I thought, have the wrong effect on him. Now I feel, however, that you should communicate these views to him direct. I have formed a very bad impression about him. It seemed to me that, if he were to read your letter, he would be angry with you and would run into sin, and that would have been a state far worse than you have described. I thought later whether or no I should send it on to him and in the end decided as above.

It is beyond all doubt that, if we keep back anything from one whom we trust or give a false impression on about us, we would come to not good. And so J's and . . .'s sins have been regarded as heinous. It is because of their extreme hypocrisy that they could be guilty of such [sins]. If they had no mind to deceive, they would, after they had turned into beasts under the urge of passion, have soon become human beings again and stopped pursuing pleasure. One seems now to be back on the right path and the other caught in the toils of desire and given over to hypocrisy.

[Blessings from
MOHANDAS]

[From Gujarati]
Mahatma Gandhijina Patro

¹ This appears to have been written in 1914 when Gandhiji was in Cape Town for negotiations with Smuts.

73. IN MEMORIAM

In another column we record the lamented death of yet another martyr to the passive resistance cause. Miss Valliamah Moonsamy, a young lady not yet in her twenties, was one of those devoted Indian women who sought imprisonment in protest against a marriage law that dishonoured her parents' marriage and cast a stigma upon her own birth. Her sudden and unexpected demise, two days after her return home, holds in it all the elements of tragedy. We mourn the loss of a noble daughter of India who did her simple duty without question, and who has set an example of womanly fortitude, pride and virtue that will, we are sure, not be lost upon the Indian community. We tender to her family our most respectful sympathy.

Indian Opinion, 25-2-1914

74. UNTIMELY DEATH OF A YOUNG PASSIVE RESISTER

It is with extreme regret we announce the death of Miss Valliamah, the eldest daughter of Mr. R. Moonsamy Moodaliar of Johannesburg, on the 22nd instant at Johannesburg, after a prolonged illness in gaol. It appears that she was taken to bed immediately after her conviction, and also after her release was suffering greatly. The late Miss Valliamah was born in Johannesburg in 1898 and attended the Government School. She joined the passive resistance struggle on the 29th October last and proceeded to Newcastle with a party of ladies. She afterwards rendered assistance at Charlestown, Dundee, Ladysmith, Dannhauser, Maritzburg, Tongaat and Durban. She eventually re-crossed the Transvaal border and was convicted, with her mother and others, at Volksrust on the 22nd of December 1913, to three months' imprisonment with hard labour and was discharged on the 11th instant in terms of the Provisional Agreement

Her father is one of the pioneer Indian settlers of the Transvaal. He was once in gaol as a passive resister and during the last campaign was very ill and only came out of the hospital where he underwent an operation recently. We share the sorrows of the parents and express our deepest sympathy at their irreparable loss.

Indian Opinion, 25-2-1914

75. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
CAPE TOWN,
February 25, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I fear that my letter written to you yesterday has either been destroyed through mistake or enclosed in a letter to Polak.¹ For I see Ramdas's letter before me and I thought I would post your letter myself after dinner, which I did not do. I do not know what is going to happen to Mrs. Gandhi. She hovers between life and death. Her appetite seems to be coming to her. But she has again developed the ominous swellings which frightened Dr. Gool who asked to examine her urine. His examination has led to no results. And the swelling persists. He is a good man. He never interferes.

Solomon has undergone his operation but he is causing anxiety, so Polak wires. He is receiving best attention.

What is happening just now is that I am becoming a society man and Miss Molteno is the instrument. She insists on introducing Mrs. Gandhi and me to all the families she knows. Yesterday, we went to the great Estate of the Moltenos and met several people. That is the nature of work just now. She is undoubtedly a tactful peacemaker.

Sir Benjamin continues consciously or unconsciously to cause mischief. He is now in league with Habib Motan, whom I saw with our friend Nooruddin and Morris Alexander of Johannesburg coming out of Sir Benjamin's office as I went in.

Manilal must be there now. I hope you will try to be with him as much as you can. If he remains morose I suggest your taking him with you to your office and using him for office work in so far as you may and can. I should like you to take your meal with him for the time being.

You will be agreeably surprised to know that my eldest brother² who used always to go strongly against me has now completely changed and repents of his past letters and thinks that I have not

¹ The letter was later traced and sent to the addressee with one dated March 19; *vide* the preceding item.

² Lakshmidas Gandhi.

discredited the family after all as he used to think before. He is ailing and his one wish is to see me before he dies. His is a most pathetic letter this time.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

76. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]

Phagan Sud 2, 1970 [February 26, 1914]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I see that you and Manilal have for once failed to understand me. Had I thought that it was for your good to keep you, I would not have sent you away merely to serve my convenience. I could not have fought against the atmosphere here. You have no idea of how subtle its effect can be. . .¹ I noted Dr. Gool's priceless worth long before any of you did. However, just as I recognize similar worth in you and yet consider you weak and mere children, and would hesitate to place anyone under your charge, much in the same way I would hesitate to place innocent youths like you under Dr. Gool's influence. Dr. Gool himself knows that he is a mere child. He knows his shortcomings too and that is the reason he has kept his own brother away from him. . . .is rash and passionate. I do not want to see such rashness and passion in you. You have not acquired the discrimination of the swan². If you had, there would have been no occasion for me to criticize you so harshly. You have found my excess of love scorching on this occasion. That happens. Calm yourself down, though. I have not acted without thinking. You are wrong in charging me with arguing like a lawyer. Once before also you said this. I find from experience that I possess in an especial degree the gift of analysis and of discriminating right from wrong and, in the result, my nice arguments sound like special pleading to others. All the same, you may unhesitatingly say whatever you wish to in self-defence or with a view to putting me right. That is your duty. I insist on your continuing to write to me. Ba

¹ Some words are missing here in the source.

² Fabled to have the gift of separating milk from water

is just the same. The danger is not over.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Jivannu Parodh

77. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,

About *February 26, 1914*]¹

. . . ²You have sinned, without knowing it, in charging me with cruelty. How could I have grown cruel in fifteen days? I have given no such impression to others. Nothing of the sort happened in Phoenix. I have grown very tender to Ba, as she has observed. If I turned cruel to you, what little goodness I claim would be no more than a show and I would think that my life had been wasted.

But I shall no doubt appear cruel to you at present. . . ³The veil of ignorance which prevented me from seeing the same veil over you has vanished, leaving only pure love. This love appears cruel to you for the time being, for, like a physician, I must make you swallow bitter draughts. . . ⁴I have grown impatient to help you. . . ⁵to become perfect. Impatience is my weakness. To the extent that I am impatient, I am but a fond lover. I have fondness enough in me yet to make me attached to you for being my son. When that has gone, even the cruelty that you think you see in me you will see no more. Meanwhile, please bear with me.

And now for the contradictions in your letter. For three days you did not [as you say] go out to see Cape Town because of my harsh words. And yet, when leaving, you expressed a desire to do so, though I was in a rage. The harsh words had been there, even on Sunday. Believing that I was cruel, how could you hope to learn anything by living with me? You showed yourself very keen on

¹ This letter, evidently addressed to Manilal Gandhi, appears to have been written about the same time as "Letter to Jamnadas Gandhi", the preceding item.

² Some words are missing here in the source.

³ *ibid*

⁴ *ibid*

⁵ *ibid*

visiting Table Mountain. When I told you then that you would see much more, what did you find in that to take offence?

Well, what has happened has happened. It is your duty not to take notice of my faults. A son should have devotion enough to his father not to notice his shortcomings but to think only of his virtues. I should like to see this trustfulness in you. I don't want to make an ascetic of you. I want to see your character pure, to see in you truthfulness, chastity, straightforwardness, tenderness, self-confidence, humility and goodness. I want to see you indifferent to the commonpleasures of the world. I doubt, however, if you have these at present. I am not asking you to start doing immediately everything I do. But I want you to understand my deepest feelings and so attain true success in your life.

Send this letter to Chi. Jamnadas.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Jivannu Parodh

78. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,

February 27, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Why very Low House? I see nothing wrong in your letter regarding food. I have seen nobody who has been able to deny himself so much of the world's good things of life as you have. And what does it matter if you have been taking macaroni about which you have so satisfied yourself. Indeed if you went back to rice and tomatoes, I should not worry. I would certainly like you not to go back to vegetables. But your dissatisfaction is that you have been obliged to discuss your food so much. We are food reformers and so we cannot help it. When our reform becomes part of our nature, we shall cease to discuss it. If I discuss it less than you do (which I doubt) it must be because mine has become more natural to me than yours to you. Though I love and almost adore Andrews so, I would not exchange you for him. You still remain the dearest and the nearest to me and so far as my own selfish nature is considered I know that in

my lonely journey through the world, you will be the last (if even that) to say good-bye to me. What right had I to expect so much from you!

Now about Manilal. I have given you some idea. He and Jamnadas appeared to me unbalanced. They did the very things that they used to criticize in others. For instance, they give themselves every indulgence that they denied themselves at Phoenix. If Hanif too[k] something outside Phoenix, both of them used to bring it to my notice. In spite of Manilal's sad experience, both took the greatest freedom with the girls. They [were] surrounded with much attention and love from all the members of the family. Dr. Gool who is such a noble soul but yet youthful, made a deep impression on them by his suave nature. The result was that the boy's faculty for thinking, study or work was paralysed. They rose after 6 a.m. They never studied. Their talk seemed to me to be unnatural. They found themselves placed in gaudy surroundings which unhinged them for the moment. I felt that to give them a month of this life would be to hurt two very sensitive young promising plants. I spoke very sharply and bitterly to them. They have resented my tone and my speech as also my action. The discovery I made on arrival was so shocking that I certainly became impatient. But I am sorry neither for my action nor for my speech. I had a right to expect them not to misunderstand me. After all I have sent them away to my personal discomfort and for their advantage. My presence in their midst could not have counter-balanced the unperceived mischief that was working its way into their system. Jamnadas must therefore naturally go to Phoenix and Manilal not to Phoenix whilst Jeki is there and that when I am away. The only alternative for him was to be at Mountain View where he can do the right thing just to the extent that he is able. I wished to place both in circumstances most favourable to their spiritual growth. I have advised Manilal that he ought to religiously avoid baker's bread, tea and coffee and that he should rarely go to Town, never eat the Town food and never sleep in Town. But I have told him he is a free agent. He need only adopt that part of my advice which appeals to him and no more. I do not want him to do anything for my sake. I want him to become not a creeper but a vigorous tree.

I had another glorious interview with Miss Hobhouse yesterday. We discussed you fairly fully and I have told her that it is likely you might be here whilst I am also here. She is General Smuts' guest

tomorrow (Saturday). Miss Molteno too has been attentive and helpful.

Will you select a tablet for the two deceased. Valliamma's death I felt most keenly. My first disappointment was that not a single Gujarati had died. Even I was left alive when those that did not want to die had gone. I then became conceited and felt that those that had died had done so because they had lived a most unnatural life. If anybody should have died it was Mrs. Gandhi. There is no guarantee even now that she will live. But she seems to be rallying and would certainly have succumbed under the orthodox treatment. And yet the desire in me to die is overpowering. I am unable to stare a Tamil in the face when I recall these deaths. It is weakness I know. But it is there. Consult Naidoo about the stone, please, and both can be put on when I am passing through Johannesburg. I should be delighted.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

79. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

CAPE TOWN,
February 27, 1914

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

For the time being I am at Cape Town watching the course of events. I do not want to inflict on you any news about the struggle. I shall be as brief as I possibly can.

Mr. Andrews and Mr. Pearson are truly good men, we all like them very much. Sir Benjamin has disappointed us. He has hardly done any good and he may do a great deal of harm. He is weak and by no means sincere. Even now he has hardly grasped the details. And he undoubtedly, consciously or unconsciously, fosters divisions among us. Mr. Andrews will tell you all about him. But I thought that I should give you my impressions of Sir Benjamin.

If there is a settlement in March, I propose to leave for India in April. I shall have with me probably about 20 men, women and children who will live with me. These will include the school children who are likely to come. I do not know whether you still want me to

live at the Servants of India quarters in Poona or how. I shall be prepared to do so immediately after I have paid a visit to the members of my family. It is likely that the number living with me may be augmented by some members of my family who may wish to share my life and work. Please do not consider yourself bound to keep me at the Society's quarters. I am entirely in your hands. I want to learn at your feet and gain the necessary experience. No matter whether I am staying somewhere under your guidance or not, I shall scrupulously observe the compact of silence for one year after my arrival in India. The vow of silence as I have understood it does not include the South African question and may be broken at your wish for furthering any project about which both of us hold the same view.

My present ambition you know. It is to be by your side as your nurse and attendant. I want to have the real discipline of obeying someone whom I love and look up to. I know I made a bad secretary in South Africa. I hope to do better in the Motherland if I am accepted.

May you benefit in health by the change and the calmer atmosphere on the continent.

This letter will be in your hands about the middle of March. If you deem it necessary to say anything to me about my movements, you will of course cable. I assume too that you will not want me to go to Poona before you return. If you did, I should of course go.

If I am enabled to leave for India in April, I propose to use the funds you have sent for our passages which shall be all deck. I have no means of my own and Phoenix can hardly supply funds now. It is drained totally dry.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 3774

80. *LETTER TO ELIZABETH MARI MOLTENO*

7 BUITENSINGLE,
CAPE TOWN,
February 27, 1914

DEAR MISS MOLTENO,

How nice of both of you to have come yesterday! I was out seeing Miss Hobhouse at her request. She wished to discuss the marriage question¹ with me. I am deeply grateful to you for having brought me in contact with that noble soul. To be with her is a spiritual uplifting for me. We meet on Monday. With regards from us to you both.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Molteno Murray Family Papers. Courtesy: University of Capetown Libraries

81. *CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE*

[CAPE TOWN,]
February 28, 1914

[GOKHALE]
SERVINDIA
POONA

BALANCE HERE NEARLY EIGHTEEN THOUSAND

From a photostat of the original as delivered: C.W. 4854 Courtesy: Servants of India Society

¹ *Vide* "On Marriages", 11-2-1914.

82. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]

Phagan Sud 3, 1970 [February 28, 1914]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

There is no telegram from you, and no letter either, except one; it looks as if you are angry. Your letter from Kimberley was not well considered. Having seen, however, that your conduct itself, while you were here, was defiant, why should I complain about a letter? The letters from both of you indicate that Cape Town has been no healthy influence on you. . . .¹ Why is it that in Phoenix I did not get exasperated by anyone's conduct? I forget, there was one exception, Miss Schlesin. But she could realize her mistakes in the end. In the beginning she gave me nothing but trouble. You two, on the other hand, started pointing out my faults. I hope you will think the matter over and calm down. I am not writing to Manilal today. Please, therefore, send this on to him.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Jivannu Parodh

83. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

7, BUITENCINGLE,

[CAPE TOWN,]

Phagan Sud 3 [February 28, 1914]²

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your letter. I know that you are sorry. You haven't the courage to answer when someone asks you why you went away. It shouldn't be difficult for you to say that you were sent away to live by yourself because fathers did not like your ways. You should realize that in releasing you from attendance on Ba and asking you to go,

¹ Some words appear to have been omitted here in the source.

² From the reference to Andrews in the letter, it appears to have been written in 1914 after his departure from South Africa on February 21.

without thinking of my personal convenience, I must have acted with the purest of love. More than your services, I want good behaviour from you. If you become so good that you will never make a slip, I should ask for no more. I would tell Ba too that it was as well you had left. For the last four days I have been seeing that there is meat on the table thrice a day. I manage to finish my meals earlier since I have changed the hours. It hurt me very much yesterday to have to see all that meat in front of me and I simply did not know what to do. I have now decided that, as far as possible, my meal-hours shall not be the same as theirs. They are not at fault in this matter. They tell me quite frankly [that I can fix my own hours]. Formerly, I was not sensitive about this. It is only now that I am growing so. This sensitiveness on my part is a good sign. At the same time they are not to be blamed for having all these things prepared. But I would certainly not wish you to be placed in such surroundings. But for Ba being with me, I would touch none of the preparations. At present, all sorts of things are being prepared. They have bun and also jam; and even ground-nut is cooked. Of course, this is not the reason for my sending you away. But having regard to this as well, I think it is good you have left. So long as Mr. Andrews was here, he acted as a shield for you, but they would not have desisted from meat-preparations on your account. Your going away can do you nothing but good. If you are keen on serving Ba or me, you will certainly have the opportunity to do so. That will be only when you are earnest in your desire, or when, wanting your services out of our pure selfishness, I spoil you. This can never be, so that your serving [us] depends entirely on the effort you make. Consider the full meaning of this letter and ponder over it. Do not be angry with father.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5650 Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

84. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[CAPE TOWN]

Sunday [March 1, 1914]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Mrs. Gandhi wanted medicine. She had it in the mildest form from Dr. Gool and she is now laid up with fever, aches all over and pain in the stomach. The crisis may have been coming and the medicine may have nothing to do with this serious relapse. Anyhow the latter is there and there is no escaping it. For her death will be the finest deliverance. But we are in God's hands. Let His will and not ours be done. I am by her side day and night. I commenced today reading the *Ramayana* to her. She cannot listen longer than hour. Yet it is something. You may need this to Manilal. There is no cause for anxiety. And he need not fret. She is certainly most resigned and has commenced fasting again.

I am drying some bananas for you. It is an experiment. This is not for bread but for stew which will be substantial and not sweet. We must perpetuate Valliamma's memory. Can you suggest anything? Confer with Naidoo and others.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

How are you affairs progressing? Have you fixed up Kennedy? How is Mr. Forest? Is the office paying its way? Is the new lease fixed up to your satisfaction or is it to be a loss? What about Tolstoy Farm? If there is a settlement I shall be impatient to go. You should therefore finish all your projects at once. We may have the Indian Bills even next week.

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

85. LETTER TO KHUSHALCHAND GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]

Phagan Sud 4 [March 1, 1914]

RESPECTED KHUSHALBHAI,

How could I help being happy beyond words that, in deference to my wish, you have sent on Jamnadas also? He has conducted himself in gaol in the same spirit that moved him to come over here. The courage and presence of mind he displayed when going to gaol and while in gaol, few others could have shown in their first experience. I can recall no such instance at the moment. Jamnadas behaved as though he had already gone through the mill. This shows that he had lived in thought through the experience of others and profited by it. Many people learn nothing unless they themselves suffer; but I have observed that Jamnadas has the gift [of learning from the experience of others]. His habit of thinking too much has an unsettling effect on him, but I believe this will disappear in course of time. He keeps well enough.

About the question of his marriage, it would be better, I think, to talk over the matter when we meet instead of my expressing an opinion right now. I have understood your point. After considering all the circumstances, we shall take whatever step we may decide on. I think Chi. Narandas¹ should be able to meet all your special requirements. It should be enough for you to have one son to attend on you, if that is what you want. This too I should like to discuss personally with you when we meet there. Provided a settlement comes off, I hope to start April. Should the struggle start again, there will be nothing to think about. Jamnadas must, in that case, go through it. I have seen in him a courageous spirit which I should be very happy indeed to bring out. I see that all your sons have it in them to be ornaments to the family, to the community and to the whole world. From among them all, Jamnadas may even prove to be the best, thanks to his *karma*². And naturally too. He is the youngest of the four, and so, when the two of you drew his life into being, your spiritual state had attained full maturity and Jamnadas, too, would have that maturity. He has also the advantage of several other circumstances

¹ Third son of the addressee

² Acts or deeds, here meritorious

denied to his three brothers¹. All these, however, are my conjectures. Our duty in the matter is to encourage and develop whatever good we observe in our children. The rest must depend on the working out of their *prarabdha*².

You have two daughters-in-law, at any rate, of the same calibre as your sons. Having known Kashi and Santok, I have always felt that I have been granted such tender-hearted children because of some former good deeds of mine. They have spared no pains to meet my wishes and have made my work here very easy.

As if fortune had not favoured me enough already, respected Kalabhai³ also wants to entrust his son to me. I am not the one to fight shy of accepting additional responsibilities, and my conscience tells me that I have perfect faith in God.

With deepest regards from

MOHANDAS

[PS.]

As Chi. Harilal was with you about a month ago, the letter⁴ to him is addressed c/o you.

With deepest regards from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5637 Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

86. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

CAPE TOWN,

Phagan Sud 4 [March 1, 1914]

DEAR RAOJIBHAI,

I have your letter. It has indeed been a deliverance for Nepal⁵. I have known his wife to be a hard-hearted woman. Death should make us think of our duty and fill us with contempt for the body, but

¹ Chhaganlal, Maganlal and Narandas

² Accumulated merit or demerit of past lives

³ Lakshmidas, Gandhiji's eldest brother

⁴ *Vide* "Letter to Harilal Gandhi", 2-3-1914.

⁵ An indentured Indian who had lived near the Phoenix Settlement with his wife, also indentured. Lying ill in bed, he was burnt to death when his hut caught fire. His wife had ill-treated him because he was of a lower caste.

inspire no fear. It seems that a man does not suffer excessively even when he is burnt to death. When the pain becomes unbearable, he loses consciousness. Those who cling to the body so very tenaciously only suffer the more. One who knows the truth about the *atman* will have no fear of death. Thousands of men, thousands of creatures, are burnt to death, like Nepal, every moment now. In the universe, Nepal is an infinitely smaller creature than even an ant. How many creatures, relatively bigger than Nepal, do we not burn away, knowingly or otherwise, in making fires or using lights at night?

Imagine a being of immense size like Brahma¹. To him, we must be smaller than ants. The very size of his eyes must be so large that we would look like fleas. What if Nepal has been burnt to death by a creature like this? He might have even believed that he might burn away a creature like Nepal for the happiness of a great being such as he was. To us, Nepal is a creature of our size, so that we pity him, afraid of what we might suffer in similar circumstances. But the argument we use in our wisdom about creatures like the ant, the bug, the flea and other countless insects invisible to our naked eye, must be the very argument applied to us by the much wiser Brahma. If we can understand this, we may learn the following lessons from the case of Nepal and others of the kind:

1. We should have compassion on ourselves as on all creatures, looking on them as one, and draw back in alarm from destruction of life for any purpose of ours.
2. We should cherish no fond attachment for the body and have no fear whatever of death.
3. We should strive for *moksha* right now, knowing that the body is all too apt to let us down.

It is very easy to utter these three maxims but it is difficult to ponder over them and, after pondering, it is like walking on a sword blade to put them into practice.

It is morning now. My ideas flow in this direction, for Ba is in pain again and I am trying to free her from the fear of death.

With due regards
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Jivannu Parodh

¹ The Creator, Supreme Being

87. FRAGMENT OF LETTER¹

[CAPE TOWN,
About *March 1, 1914*]²

. . . saved the child. She is making herself miserable with grieving, but to what purpose now? If the woman had restrained her anger, had paused to think, had looked round, things would not have come to such a terrible end. We should, accordingly, pause and think when about to do anything and then do it calmly. If we did so, we would not be misled by anyone, would not follow the example of others thoughtlessly and would continue to go forward. You will be able to achieve something worthwhile only when you have such strength of mind in you. Consider, moreover, that it is your duty twice over to strive towards this end.

Nothing can be said about Ba's health. One does not know when she will leave the bed, if at all. Just now, she wants support even when she wants to sit up in the bed. She lives for the most part on *neem* juice, taking grapes or orange juice occasionally. She is at peace, however. Please do not make yourself unhappy that you are denied the opportunity of attending on her. To make up for that. . .

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5654 Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

88. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[CAPE TOWN]
Monday [March 2, 1914]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have written to you about perpetuating Valliamma's memory. Three Tamils have now died. I think that if there is a settlement there will be a large surplus left. A part of it may be used for building Valliamma Hall in Johannesburg attached to which may be a school building or which itself may be a school, etc. There may be an outhouse for guests, etc. It should stand on a stand by its[elf]³. It must

¹ Only the second page of the letter is available.

² This appears to have been written about the same time as "Letter to Raojibhai Patel", the preceding item, in which Gandhiji has referred to the death of Nepal.

³ This portion of the word, at the end of the line, is damaged in the source.

be in Johannesburg. We shall have plenty of money for the purpose. Confer with Naidoo first please. Will you have this copied and sent to Polak and Miss Schlesin and West for consideration? After the settlement, I shall have no time left. My brother being very ill, I should like to leave at once.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

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

89. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]

*Phagan Sud 5 [March 2, 1914]*¹

CHI. HARILAL,

I have your letter. You apologize in every letter of yours and put up a defence as well. It all seems to me sheer hypocrisy now. For years, you have been slack in writing letters, and then coming forward with apologies. Will this go on till death, I forgiving every time? And what is the point of my forgiving? Forgiving has a meaning only to the extent that the person who has apologized does not err again. My forgiving you all the time means that I should go on doing my duty as father though you may not do yours as son. My duty, of course, I shall continue to do according to my judgment. I don't believe that you are impatient to see us both; equally, this idea that you were to come here sounds insincere to me. Does one who really means to come trumpet it aloud? Now, of course, your coming is pointless, as you say. I see that your ideas and mine differ very much. Your conception of your duty as son differs from mine, but I have no right to enquire what your duty is. If you go on doing your duty as you in all sincerity conceive it to be, I shall be perfectly satisfied. Whether your idea of duty is sincere or not, I and others will be able to judge from your actions. It seems you have also applied your mind to what my duty is, and in this respect, too, our ideas differ.

¹ From Gandhiji's reference to his being in Cape Town with Kasturba Gandhi. it appears this letter was written in 1914.

It should be for me to consider what my duty is. You may, nevertheless, continue to tell me what you think.

I did not reply to your letter. I got it after my release from gaol. Your suggestions, however, were carried out; that is, I wrote to Revashankerbhai that he should have a talk with you and give you more [money] as may seem necessary.

You want my advice regarding Chanchi, and also about your studies. You violate all the conditions I had made and you promised to fulfil. You were asked never to go in for studies at the cost of your health. You have failed to take care of it. No wonder that Ramdas and Manilal have outdone you. And Ramdas has put in a fine effort, indeed, and grown in size as well. Manilal, too, has plenty of strength and would have been stronger yet if he had not taken to the evil ways of pleasure. Even their studies I take to be sounder than yours. Your mind is now running after Bombay. You say you have Revashankerbhai's consent for that. What weight can that consent carry with me? I would submit in all humility to Revashankerbhai's judgment of a diamond. How could I listen to him in the matter of studies? You are, so it seems to me, in a state of stupefaction. What, then, am I to say? You can only think of Davar's classes. That simply stuns me. Do you think it will be much of an achievement to pass the matriculation examination? I do not even understand what it is that you want to do. I would only advise you to do nothing. Wait till my return. Meanwhile, read as you like. Do not, however, start a new venture. Later, you may talk things over with me, but only if you want to.

If, indeed, you wish to go ahead with your plan for studies, you should have Chanchi stay with me and should yourself stay away from me. I shall supply your needs. Think of Chanchi when you turn your mind to earning. If you wish to live as I want you to, stay with me and be my right hand. Use your own judgment in all these matters, taking no thought of my personal inclinations. Weighing my advice against that of others, do what you think best. I am a father who is prejudiced against you. I do not approve of your ways at all. I doubt whether you have any love for us. This statement sounds very harsh, but I see extreme insincerity in your letters. If I am mistaken in this, consider that I am in Kurukshetra¹ and so forgive me, showing me the

¹ The great battlefield of the Mahabharata, figuratively used for turmoil or conflict.

generosity that Shrivana¹ did to his parents. Even worldly children show some marks of love for their parents. You have shown none. Nevertheless, I am so proud a father that I attribute perfection to my children. This is an error. It is spiritual darkness. But, apart from this . . .² have not fulfilled. . . .³ Despite your promise, you did not send me the papers at the last year's examination. You have not taken the trouble to remember to send this year's either. I become angry when writing to you and also feel like crying. This is my ignorant state, my lack of enlightenment. I ought not to be so much attached to you. I will free myself from this. Be patient with me till I succeed.

Now I have given you too long a lesson. I will write no more. I shall be satisfied if you treat me as a friend and show me the regard due to a friend. I want you to improve your character and train your inner self.

I will probably go there in April. Just now I am in Cape Town. Ba is with me. She lies hanging between life and death. Till yesterday, she was very bad indeed. There is again a little improvement. She is a mere skeleton. She gives me no trouble, but, not having succeeded yet in disciplining the palate, she suffers and pines. I am by her side the whole day. Between yesterday and today, she must have consumed the juice of two tomatoes and a teaspoonful of oil.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati. original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 9543

90. LETTER TO SIR BENJAMIN ROBERTSON

7, BUITENCINGLE,
CAPE TOWN,
March 4, 1914

DEAR SIR BENJAMIN,

It strikes me that, with reference to Mr. Polak's note, I should mention perhaps the manner in which relief can be granted in the several matters.

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", 29-3-1910

² A few words are missing here.

³ *ibid*

Immigration. Relief can be easily given in the administration of this Act, as there is one Act applicable to all the Provinces and it can be done by altering the regulations in the desired direction. Inter-provincial visiting and travelling permits should be granted for the asking and either without a deposit or with a small deposit and no more than a shilling stamp to cover the bare cost.

Certificates of identity should be of a permanent duration even as the Transvaal certificates are—why should the Transvaal have an advantage over the other Provinces in these matters?

The question of the withdrawal and return of children should be definitely fixed.

Proof required from wives who would be administratively admitted should be definitely stated. Indeed, it is necessary to go through the regulations clause by clause with Mr. Gorges and then discuss them with General Smuts.

Dealers' Licences. This is a difficult question. The three Provinces have three different laws and they are not administered directly by the Union Government. The control is partly in the hands of the Provincial Governments and partly in those of the municipalities. Each municipality has its own policy and bye-laws. The utmost that can be done is for the Government to address circulars to the responsible bodies warning them of the danger of following a sweeping policy. This method was successfully adopted by the late Mr. Escombe¹ who was himself the author of the Natal licensing law of 1896. And the local administrations will not fail to note the changed attitude of the Union administration if it ever changes for the better.

The Transvaal Gold Laws. In this the Union Government can give definite relief by accepting the meaning that I have ventured to give to the expression 'vested rights' which they have promised in their dispatches to respect. By 'vested rights' I understand the right of the Indian and his successors to live and trade in the township he was living in and trading, no matter how often he shifts his residence or business from place to place in the same township.

Law of 1885 Transvaal. The Government can safely and easily administer the Law in a liberal or, rather, just spirit by granting the

¹ Sir Harry Escombe (1838-99); leading advocate, who pleaded for Gandhiji's admission to the Bar of the Natal Supreme Court; was Prime Minister of Natal for a few months in 1897.

benefit of a freehold title in Locations or Wards fixed under the Law. In this connection I would state that it would be a most dangerous thing for the Government to de-proclaim old established Locations.

Education. The Government have sadly neglected this matter. The wretched schools in Natal and the few at the Cape and the Transvaal serve no useful purpose. The vernaculars are neglected and Indians are becoming dis-Indianised, without becoming Europeanised in the proper sense.

Future admissions. The number of future admissions of new men needed for the wants of the community has not yet been fixed save for the Transvaal. I have suggested at least 40 for the Union. This is far below the average of the past five years.

Every one of these points is covered by the 5th clause of the Passive Resistance declaration.¹ They can hardly be tackled by the Commission. But, in my humble opinion, they can be best dealt with by a full discussion between you and General Smuts. The whole weight of the Government of India will have to be used in our behalf if real peace is to be enjoyed by the Indians of South Africa and the Viceroy so far as the S. A. question is concerned.

May I trouble you to send me a copy of this letter? I have no typing assistance here.

I am, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of a copy of the original: S.N. 5945 & 5954

91. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
March 4, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I propose sending Polak to Johannesburg to take charge of the practice there. Ritch finished, you and I in India and Polak in England, why, the thing is inconceivable. And the whole structure must topple over. I have, therefore, suggested that Polak should take up Johannesburg as headquarters and not go to England for the time being. And he and she have most loyally accepted the proposal. I

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", 12-9-1913

have suggested too that Mrs. Polak should go to England leaving Polak alone here. But she does not cherish the idea. They should rent Mountain View from you and live there. I do not know what they will do. At the same time I do not know whether [the] proposition is a suitable one for you. It must be a business proposition this time. We are princes and just now we must spend money in a princely style. There is no need, therefore, for me to ask you to give me Mountain View. On the contrary, I am thinking of your own dispositions in this connection. If Mountain View can be sold or a better tenant can be found, you need not think of Polak. The proposal has to suit you both.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

92. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]

Wednesday, Phagan Sud 7 [March 4, 1914]

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your letter. You ought not to have hidden from me the fact that you lost the tin of water. Just think how much care I take even in regard to such things and take a lesson from it. But that lesson you will take only if you lay open your heart before me. You will not be able to learn anything so long as you try to hide your mistakes from me, even for a moment. Be sure that hiding or secrecy is a form of untruth, which is like poison in the system. A poison turns other healthy substances also into poison. Even a grain of arsenic is enough to render milk unfit for drinking. Insist on getting up at 4 a. m. always. If it is very cold, sit in the house, cover yourself liberally but do get up early. You may go to bed as early as you like; I do not mind that.

As regards food, you may have three meals a day if you feel the necessity. You need not control yourself in the matter of taking food. It is enough if you observe some rules regarding the articles of food.

Ba is somewhat better today; but still the crisis is not over. She is

bed-ridden. Mrs. Gool and her children are a great help.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 1500 Courtesy:
Radhabehn Choudhri

93. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]

Phagan Sud 8, 1970 [March 5, 1914]

CHI. DEVDAS¹,

Improve your handwriting. Ba's condition has grown very bad of late. She and I both believe that medical treatment has had altogether an adverse effect on her. She herself had asked for such treatment. After she had had two or three doses, her condition became serious. She can eat no food at present. She took a few grapes yesterday, but it seems they did not agree with her. Even if the end is death, we have made up our minds to have no fear of it. You need not worry, therefore. The body is sure to fall, and that, on the appointed day. Remedies occur to us accordingly. The *atman*, besides, is immortal and, though we seem to be concerned only with the body, our real concern should be for the *atman*. For a truth, we don't preserve the body for any length of time after the soul has left it. So thinking, I take the necessary measures for Ba's health and then stop worrying, and I would ask you all to do the same. Realizing, then, the fate of the body, we should cultivate goodness² and disinterestedness. Goodness does not mean outward indifference to objects of desire or a wandering life, but purity of character. Disinterestedness does not mean gloominess but aversion to the pleasures of the senses and absence of interest in the things of this world. If you learn this during Ba's illness, that will be evidence, indeed, of your true devotion to her.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Jivannu Parodh

¹ Gandhiji's fourth and youngest son

² The Gujarati word is an abstract noun from *sadhu*, which in Sanskrit means "good", but in popular usage has come to mean an "ascetic".

94. LETTER TO SIR BENJAMIN ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN,
March 6, 1914

DEAR SIR BENJAMIN,

You will see from the enclosed that every result feared from the Searle judgment is being brought about by the very action of the Government. The original case is reported in *Indian Opinion*.¹ But I send you the *Pretoria News* cutting. I was waiting for the Supreme Court decision. This was invited, as you will observe, by the Government. Now the Highest Court has reversed the decision of the Lower Court and the children of *de facto* monogamous unions [are] declared illegitimate and, therefore, prohibited immigrants. Now, such children and the children of wives to be administratively allowed to enter the Union are to be protected under the proposed settlement. Will you kindly go into this matter and secure, pending settlement, the non-deportation of the child? As I am writing to you, I am not myself writing to the Government in this matter.

May I ask you please to let me have copies of this and my previous letter?²

I am,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of a copy of the original: S.N. 5946 & 5954

95. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
March 7 [1914]³

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Here is the inscription⁴ in 3 languages. The Tamil one you should procure there. The dates have to be filled in, in each case.

Yes, it would be sinful to desire death in cowardice but not when

¹ The case of immigration Officer v. Mahomed Hasan reported in *Indian Opinion*, 11-2-1914 & 11-3-1914, decided that a child of a polygamous marriage celebrated outside the Union was not exempted under Section 5(g) of Act 23, 1913, and, as such, was a prohibited immigrant.

² Typewritten copies of these were later sent by Sir Benjamin.

³ From the contents

⁴ For the Valliamma Memorial

one saddened by grief outside desires it. If properly desired, I think it uplifts one and fits one better to meet difficulties involving danger to one's life.

Mrs. Gandhi's state still remains uncertain. Mrs. Alexander called in to see her and was inquiring about you.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

96. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

CAPE TOWN,

Phagan Sud 10 [March 7, 1914]

DEAR SHRI RAOJIBHAI,

I read and re-read your letter. Shankaracharya has a verse which says that more patience and time are required for disciplining the mind, that is, attaining *moksha*, than is needed by a man who, sitting on the shore, would empty the ocean of all its water drop by drop with a blade of grass. You seem to be in too great a hurry.

I have not got rid of the fear of death, despite much thinking. But I feel no impatience. I keep on trying and I am sure I shall get rid of it one day. We should not let go a single occasion when we may try. That is our duty. It is for God to produce or will the result. Why worry then? When feeding her baby, the mother has no thought of the result. The result does follow, though. To get rid of the fear of death and to drive away desire, make the effort and keep cheerful ; and they will disappear. Otherwise, it will be the same with you as with the man who, resolving not to think about a monkey, kept on thinking of one.

We are born in sin, and we are enslaved in the body, because of our sinful deeds; how can you hope to cleanse yourself of all the impurity just in a minute?

You may live as you like,

Realize God anyhow.

This is the teaching of Akha Bhagat¹. Tulsidasji says:

¹ Mystic poet of the 17th century, famed for his satire; vedantist and rationalist

Whether in adversity or no, repeat over and over again the name of Rama and you will achieve all there is to be achieved.

This is the end we must aim at. Therefore, go on repeating that name. Be clear in your mind who this Rama is. He is unconditioned, formless. Armed with the countless virtues that belong to the godly nature, He destroys Ravana, representing a host of monstrous desires. He practised penance for 12 years to earn this strength. Finally, do not allow your body or mind to remain idle even for a moment. Keep both cheerfully engaged; if you do this, all your troubles are bound to vanish. For the rest, have faith in God; your depending on me will be in vain. This faith will be to some purpose only after you have done what I have advised.

If the heart is pure, the grosser impulses of the body will have no scope. But what do we mean by the heart? And when may we believe the heart to be pure? The heart is nothing else but the *atman* or the seat of the *atman*. To imagine that it is pure is to imply perfect realization of the *atman* and, in the presence of such realization, the cravings of the senses are inconceivable. But ordinarily we attribute purity to the heart when we are but striving after such purity. Say, I love you. This only means that I try to cultivate such a feeling for you. If I have unceasing love, I should be a perfectly enlightened man, which, indeed, I am not. Anyone for whom I have true love will not misunderstand my intentions or words, nor will such a one bear ill-will to me. It follows from this that, when anyone looks upon us as his enemy, the fault is primarily ours. This is also true of our relations with the whites. Perfect purity of heart, therefore, is the final stage. Before we have reached that stage, as we advance towards greater and greater purity, the cravings of the senses will subside in corresponding measure. These cravings do not originate in the senses.

The mind alone is the cause of man's being bound or free.¹

The senses are the points at which the impulses in the mind become manifest. Through them we come to recognize the impulses as such.

And so, by destroying the senses, we do not do away with the impulses in the mind. Eunuchs, as we observe, are full of desires. Those who are such by birth are so full of them that they have been known to be guilty of unnatural acts. I am deficient in the sense of

¹ In the source this has been quoted in Sanskrit.

smell; even so, I feel the desire to enjoy fragrance, so much so that, when I find anyone talking about the fragrance of the rose or other flowers, the mind, like the donkey, immediately runs after it and is held back with the greatest difficulty.

We have heard of men who, passionate in their convictions, cut off their organs when they found it impossible to control their minds. It may possibly be one's duty to do so in such circumstances. Supposing my mind becomes a prey to desire and I cast an evil eye on my sister, I am burning with lust but have not been totally blinded by it. In such a situation, I think cutting off one's organ would be a sacred duty if there is no other remedy. This will not happen to a man who advances gradually. It may perhaps happen to one who has suddenly lost all desire but whose past life was nonetoo good. To want an instantaneously effective method of ensuring freedom from desire and the urgency of the senses is much the same as asking for a son of a barren woman. Such a result can be achieved only with the utmost patience. A mango tree created by magic is only meant for the eye; much the same is true of mental purity brought about with complete suddenness. Yes, it may happen sometimes, that the mind is ready for purification and is merely looking for association with holy men which is a kind of a philosopher's stone. On getting this it becomes instantly aware of its purity and the absence of it earlier becomes a dream. Surely, this [change] is no instantaneous occurrence, but the simple and the shortest and, to that extent, the quickest method is:

Withdrawal into solitude, seeking association with holy men, singing the names of God and telling sacred stories, reading edifying books, unremitting mortification of the body, a spare diet, living on fruits, minimum of sleep, giving up of pleasures; anyone who can practise these things will find control of the mind quite easy as the *amalak* in the hand¹. Practise these and meditate over the rest. Whenever the mind is disturbed with desire, one should turn to observances such as fasting.

. . .'s work was like Ravana's activities. He practised penance and acquired the nature of a demon. Rama did the same and acquired the nature of a god. Thus, different fruits accrue from similar acts according to the motives behind them.

¹ A traditional phrase meaning "as easy as a myrobalan in the grip of hand"

If the work in the field does not progress well, and if you really find that the fault is yours, shake it off with all your energy. The pattern of life of the youngsters depends on that of you elders.

Remember that God comes to us in the form in which we long to see Him. When Tulsidasji wanted [to see] Ramachandra, Shri Krishna became Shri Rama and Lakshmi became Sita.

Cure Maganbhai's cough. Find out the cause.¹

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

Mahatma Gandhijina Patro and Jivanna Zarana

97. LETTER TO ELIZABETH MARI MOLTEÑO

7 BUITENSINGLE,
CAPE TOWN,
March 8, 191[4]²

DEAR MISS MOLTEÑO,

I am sorry both of you had to rush away yesterday. I was in the act of shaving when you were announced. You had hardly gone when I came out of the bath room.

You will be glad to learn that Mrs. Gandhi is decidedly better today. I had a most anxious week but if today's condition continues the danger is over for the time being. I enclose for your acceptance and Miss Greene's a copy of Mr. Andrews lecture³. If you want more copies or if you want me to send copies elsewhere please let me know.

With regards to you both from us both,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Molteno Murray Family Papers. Courtesy: University of Cape-town Libraries

¹ The last four paragraphs have been taken from Jivannu Parodh where the letter is given in two parts under different dates.

² From the contents

³ On Rabindranath Tagore, addressed to University students on February 17 in the Capetown City Hall; *Vide* also "Anglia's Evidence", 18-2-1914 and "Letter to C.F. Andrews", 13-3-1914.

98. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
March 8 [1914]¹

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

If you are sufficiently composed why not re-commence your Gujarati. It would be such a gain if you knew something of it. And you will easily pick it up by getting the household words and commencing to talk straightway.

Eric has written to me about Polak. Of course if Ritch comes and wants to practise, Polak will not worry about it. But I know that Ritch will not resume practice. He is hopelessly insolvent. He has broken his vow. He had gone away without notice. He is mad. I have to [tell] Eric about it. I want to give him about £150 for the pressing debts. I am writing Phoenix to send you cheque for £200 so that you may have enough for disbursements.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

99. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

7, BUITENCINGLE,
Sunday, Phagan Sud 10 [March 8, 1914]²

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I hope you are sending six copies of *Indian Opinion* to Mr. Andrews at 44 City Road, Birmingham. After the next issue, send him the six copies to his address, Santiniketan, Bolpur, Bengal. It would be good to send one copy to Mr. Pearson at the same address.

In my letter to Raojibhai, I have given expression to some of my reflections on Nepal being burnt to death. If you have not read that letter, please take it from him and read it.

¹ From the contents

² This was written after the departure of Andrews from South Africa. Phagan Sud 10 was on Saturday. But since Sunday is mentioned, the date given is that which corresponds to the day and not to the tithi.

Here is a list of persons going with us [to India]. I cannot say whether all those mentioned will go or not. We have still to decide about those whose names have a question mark against them. I have written to Kuppu. You may ask him again to consult his father and decide. Discuss things with Chhaganlal. Other names also may have to be added. to the list. I take as certain all the names except those against which I have made a question mark. I know this is all perhaps like building on sand. Perhaps, the settlement may not come off; other things also might happen. Nevertheless, we want to leave as soon as a settlement is reached; it is therefore necessary to make all the preparations. Banana flour is made here. There is ample facility for getting it made and bananas are always available. I believe if we have biscuits made of banana flour with us on our voyage, nothing else would be required and we can carry on even if bananas are not available. We should get carpets made out of gunny bags for all of us. They will be useful in India also. Get these stitched and washed ready for use. It is necessary to hem their borders also. Two carpets for each would be preferable. They can be used one above and one below. It would be still better if these could be given some sort of coating. Do think about this. We should have something like the jug I have brought for [carrying] water. If we can get the empty tins of olive oil lying with us, repaired so that they can be corked, they would perhaps be cheaper. Get them so repaired that they might be useful in India also. Each one will have blankets, to be sure. They must have at least two, at the most three. It is not desirable to carry much luggage with us. I want every child to land in India with Indian-style clothes on. The very young should have a lungi, a shirt and a cap like the round one of velvet we have and the others should have a dhoti, a shirt and a cap. The grown-ups like you should wear a *safa* and a long coat. But you will decide this by yourselves. It is not quite necessary that you should do exactly what I want. I see no need for the boys to have shoes. However, if they have sandals they may keep them. I think new ones should not be made. But I am not particular about this thing. You may consider this also. It would be good if everyone learnt to eat with one hand only (the right one) and that too sitting cross-legged on the floor. It is desirable that they do not have to be taught to do this after they are in India. They should not take the plate on their lap. This applies to all who are to go. I therefore see no harm if all squat on the ground to dine. If you do so you will have to clean the floor with a wet cloth thrice a day. But that I think is desirable. Think of this also. They should also know how to make obeisance to the elders. What we want the youngsters to do, we elders should demonstrate by doing ourselves. This may cause a little inconvenience in the

beginning, but it is worth while suffering it. They should learn to distinguish between the pure and the impure. We should make all necessary preparations irrespective of whether we go or not. We had stopped for some days the use of toilet paper in the latrines by the boys but we became slack again. I think we should stop its use again. We should explain patiently to the older boys the whole significance and object of making the changes. It would also be well if they knew the geography of Bombay Presidency. The boys, I think, should start wearing dhotis on the steamer. Consider what foodstuffs and how much should be taken with us, and also how to carry them. Try to take as few enamelled utensils as possible. Drinking glasses or cups and such other things, made of brass, would serve our purpose. As we may have to use lemon, we shall take with us the enamelled cups that are already there. But we want to dispense with them as far as possible. In the manufacture of these vessels many a man is ruined. In comparison to the loss [of life] due to kicks and the lathis or sticks, the workers' health has been affected to a greater extent [in this manufacture]. Consider this aspect and then decide.

I see good improvement today in Ba's health. If she survives, take it for certain that our [nature cure] remedies and faith in God have saved her. She has come to realize that the doctor's medicine was the cause of her breakdown. She was tempted by a desire to take the doctor's treatment and I did not interfere. The punishment she received was severe and so the lesson learnt was equally valuable. Ba showed infinite capacity for patience. She did not trouble me at all. The Gools showed great love. The doctor is a generous man. He does not interfere much with what I do. We wanted very much to satisfy him, but Ba later showed great firmness. I always read the *Ramayana* to her and sing prayer songs. She appears to listen to these attentively. I repeat Ramanama also. The intention behind all this is not that she should survive; it is that, whether she lives or dies, her mind should be pure and tender. I have made all preparations and inquired about everything in case she dies. There is a cremation ground here equipped with the necessary facilities. It is four miles away.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5765 Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

100. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
CAPE TOWN,
March 9 [1914]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your two letters and wire.

If I were you I would not disturb the meals you have arranged. Do not change what seems to agree so much only so that on occasions you can do without them. Manilal won't save all the time you imagine. Your description shows that the preparation must take 1 hours. But that loss of time need not worry you. So long as there must be cooking so long must there be loss both of time and life. But habits of long standing cannot be altered in a day. You will observe that my tolerance is again reasserting itself and I am becoming more and more indifferent to the surroundings. Mrs. Gandhi's sickness has given me food for introspection and a review of the past. I am glad Manilal is regaining his balance.

Mrs. Gandhi's recovery (if the improvement continues) is almost a miracle. And she has responded to our natural treatment. I feel too that medical treatment would have killed her, not that she is certain now to live. But hope has revived. I had prepared her for death and had made arrangements for her funeral. There is a crematorium here built owing to the energy of Lucheram¹. She has remained very calm and sweet. I have now introduced in my life the counting of beads. I sing hymns to her in the morning and read the *Ramayana* to her in the evening and also sing hymns. Mrs. Gool sometimes comes and listens. My food you should know tomatoes peeled by warming them and banana flour and coconut biscuits, also ground monkey-nuts or dried bananas stewed. The latter was tried for you. I had it for the first time today. It takes no time and by itself makes a perfect dish. There was very little water in it, of course, there was oil. Mrs. Gool prepared it. Mrs. Gandhi or I had made it, it would have been better I fancy. I add, of course, fresh fruit, principally grapes and a few almonds which I have been taking for the past week to test their effect on the eyes which have much troubled me. I take, I think, five

¹ Chootharmal P. Lucheram

tomatoes though I am not sure. The whole preparation does not take Mrs. Gool longer than 30 minutes, if that. But on a good stove the tomatoes to be soft should take no more than 5 minutes and the banana when done not more than 15 minutes. This much cooking is a concession to Mrs. Gandhi and a temporary indulgence for my palate. Peeling of tomatoes is a necessity. But alone I should peel them without warming.

Now for P. K. Naidoo, I was bound to give him the best advice. And I offered Phoenix. It is today partly a passive resistance farm. Whilst we may not disturb the even tenor of the Phoenix life, force of circumstances must interrupt and then the settlers are involuntarily tested. We may not expose ourselves to temptation. But when it comes, we must face it. Or we have no character. I may not put my hand in a lion's jaw but may I fly away from it when it is in front of me? The simile must not be carried too far because I see it is not a perfect illustration. For if you may not fly away from the lion, you may not from a seductive woman. As a matter of fact you must fly away from both if you cannot face them without fear. You may not kill the lion and you may not succumb to the woman. Reverting to Naidoo, when a man asks me what he should do, must I not propose the best for him? The secret of Phoenix is that it will and can harbour those who will conform to its fundamental rules. And if Naidoo can stand them he will be a help to himself and to Phoenix. Shelat¹ came, was found wanting and went. Even Harilal Thakar went. And Anandlal and Virji. There is a natural process of winnowing going on that very wonderful place. I call it wonderful although it is partly my offspring. I have no doubt it was conceived in the purest spirit, it was born amid most strenuous and holy circumstances and it has been nurtured on a spiritual diet which has been and is being continuously purified more and more. It can become a place that would not hold an impure soul. The future depends upon West and Chhaganlal mostly and partly on Sam. Raojibhai and Maganbhai may be taken away from Phoenix at an early date though not for a year or so perhaps.

Thambi has written to me. He is very bitter against us all. We must meet his bitterness by the greatest gentleness. Simply walk over to him. Tell him you do not want to hurt his feelings. And if he is unwilling to talk, come away. Repeat the performance till your love conquers his passion. This we must do so long as he is not found to

¹ Umiashankar Manchharam Shelat

be, as he is not, a bad coin.

Your affairs I understand a little. I will say nothing. What I may not like I shall tolerate and watch.

I have asked opinion today by wire to post you cheque for £200. From this you should pay Eric in any event for the pressing calls upon the family to the extent of £160. The Newcastle Hospital bill should not be paid by you. But Miss Schlesin writes to me saying she has transferred it to you for you to contest with the Government. But if there is to be no contesting, please pay out the Passive Resistance funds, not your own.

Be cautious about paying P.K. Naidoo or others. Refer them to me when you are in doubt.

What a long letter this! I think I have covered all the points raised by you.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

101. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,

Tuesday [March 10, 1914]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

The greatest grief imaginable has befallen me. My brother¹ died yesterday. I suppose simply thinking up to his last breath of me. What a passionate wish it was on his part to meet me!² And for me I was hurrying everything on so that I could go to India with the quickest despatch and fall down at his feet and nurse him. But it was not to be. Now I must go to a family of widows with my poor self as the head. You who do not quite know the Indian patriarchal [system] cannot quite realize what this may mean. Anyway my desire to go to India is keener than ever. And yet who knows! I doubt very much whether I shall ever realize that desire. However, I must prepare for the pilgrimage and then calmly leave it in the hands of Him who wields

¹ Lakshmidas Gandhi; *vide* also "Letter to C.F. Andrews", 13-3-1914

² *Vide* "General Knowledge about Health [—XXXIV]", 16-8-1913

the almighty power.

These shocks make in me still more intense fearlessness of death. Why should the event agitate one? The grief itself has a selfish touch about it. It is no calamity that my brother is dead, if I am ready to meet death and consider it as the supreme and welcome crisis in life. It is because we fear death so much for ourselves that we shed tears over the deaths of others. How can I who know the body to be perishable and the soul to be imperishable mourn over the separation of body from soul. But there is a condition attached to a real belief in this beautiful and consoling doctrine. He who believes in it must not pamper the body but must be its ruler. He must regulate its wants so as to make it serve the dweller within and not allow the body to master him. Not to grieve over the death of others is to accept a state almost of perpetual grief for this connection between body and soul is itself grievous.

These are the thoughts that rule me just now. I shall not write another such letter just now. This has written itself. Please, therefore, pass on to Polak. Let Manilal read it. And then you may pass on to Chhaganlal for West and others to read.

I am revolving the idea in my own mind of help for the indentured.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

102. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

CAPE TOWN,

Phagan Sud 14, 1970 [March 11, 1914]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have some time to myself just now. Medh writes to say that they are plotting again in Johannesburg to take my life. That would indeed be welcome and a fit end to my work. I would not be frightened by this and stay away from Johannesburg on account of this. In case I die suddenly, be the reason this or any other, I want to set down here certain ideas which I have thought out and which I have not so far placed before you.

“Service of the family should come first.” This is quite correct from the point of view of our supreme interest. He alone who can render such service will be able to serve the community or the country. What that service consists in is the only point to consider. I think selfless conduct will show that quite easily.

The life of service or political work which we have followed so far seems to me of the lowest order. Ours is a notorious family, that is, we are known to belong to a band of robbers. Without disparaging our elders, we may say that they have possibly done service to the people, but only incidentally, while they pursued their selfish interests. Judged by common standards, it would seem that they have acted with a fair measure of justice. That is, they treated people to a smaller measure of oppression. At present, the family has fallen on evil days. Any member who failed to obtain a paid job would be on the streets. The highest our eyes can look up to is Narandas, slaving away in Bombay. Other members of the family just loiter about or, wallowing in the politics of [princely] States, manage to earn just enough for their food from day to day. All of them are busy multiplying, arranging marriages, etc. The utmost limit of a grandmother’s or a daughter-in-law’s ambition is to get [the grandson or] the son married.

How may we save ourselves from this? If possible, we should take another road. We should become farmers, in the first instance. If, to our misfortune, that should bring unbearable hardships on us, we should labour as weavers, etc., and live in the same state as we do in Phoenix. We must reduce our wants to the minimum. As for diet, we should, as far as possible, adhere to the system which we have thought out. Milk, which is generally considered a pure substance, may be taken, but it should be looked upon rather as the opposite of pure. This is an important change. Its roots go deep; and its consequences will be far-reaching. It is a separate question whether or not the change will prove acceptable to all. But knowing at least that this article is denied to millions, one should avoid it. The idea that it is pure flesh and not in keeping with the way of non-violence will never leave my mind. I do not think I shall ever be able to consume milk, ghee, etc., while I inhabit this body. You should do with the minimum use of fire. Any boys from the family who might wish to join should be allowed to do so and admitted. They should not be permitted to stay on if they failed to follow these ideas. Widows who might not wish to live such a life should be respectfully told that you would pay

them each one and a half times as much as would be spent on each if they were to follow that way of life and so clear your debt to them, that, apart from this, you could give them nothing else. Never trouble yourself to get anyone married and provided for. The boy, on growing up, will arrange the business himself if he wants to marry. If it does become necessary to find husbands for daughters, we would offer them to those who are prepared to marry them with no more than a tulsi leaf for dowry. We would not spend a single pie. We would wait till we came across such a candidate and teach the daughter to be patient. We should be prepared for some gossiping in consequence, and to be sneered at. All this, we would bear with love. If we remain upright in our conduct, we would come to no harm. To have offspring is no religious obligation on us. It is none of our duty to multiply numbers in the world. The real secret of life seems to consist in so living in the world as it is, without being attached to it, that *moksha* might become easy of attainment to us and to others. This will include service of self, the family, the community, and the State. We should not stop till we reach that stage.

Whoever joins us in this way of living will be to us as a member of our family. We shall take in Raojibhai, Maganbhai, Pragji and any others who may come forward. Should I meet with an untimely end, it is my desire that you should order your life as indicated here. Be in no hurry to leave Phoenix, but bear these objects in mind and stay on. I am quite hopeful about Maganlal. If Jamnadas gets trained up, he has the necessary spirit. He has determination, too.

After my death, the money needed on account of the widows who have been my special responsibilities should be obtained from Dr. Mehta. If it is not forthcoming, all of you who agree with the aims set out above should make the necessary provision even if you have to put yourselves to extreme difficulty and slave for the purpose. Harilal will have to fend for himself. He may entrust the children to you, or anyone else who is in India. Fuli has enough and to spare, so that there is no question of providing for her. And now remain Gokibehn¹, Nandkorbhabhi², Gangabhabhi³ and Gokuldas's⁴ wife. If they live

¹ Raliyatbehn, Ghandhiji's sister

² Widow of Lakshmidas Gandhi

³ Widow of Karsandas

⁴ Son of Gandhiji's sister, who died within a fortnight of his marriage in 1908.

together, that will be very good of them, graceful of them. If they do not, separate provision should be made for each. Children may be handed over [to them]. But it would be better if they come over to live with the others. In that case, the total cost of maintaining them is not likely to be [even] as much as Rs. 40. The expenses for Ba also should be estimated on a similar scale. She should, at any rate, understand that the right thing for her would be to live with them. And she, too, should hand over the boys. The sons who are prepared to assume responsibility for their mothers should, of course, be welcome to do so. The suggestion made above concerns such of them as apply to us for help. If Harilal takes upon himself the burden of maintaining Ba, let him by all means. It would be better still if he maintained Nandkorbhabhi. Then the problem will remain only in regard to Gokibehn and Goka's wife, and Gangabhabhi. It would be as well if Kaku should assume the responsibility for his mother, and Samaldas¹ on account of his. The way suggested above is for those who would be left with no support. No one will be justified in expecting, or will expect, anything above your own standard of living. Since I consider that to be the best way of living, the ideas outlined above do not appear to be harsh. The logic behind this reasoning is based on poverty which, indeed, appears to be the only sound basis.

After my death, you may show this letter to anyone you like. For the time being, it may be read by Maganlal, Raojibhai, Maganbhai, Pragji and Jamnadas. I only want that these persons should not mention it in other company. If you feel that all of them should not be allowed to read it, show it to those only who, you think, should read it.

I think the letter is so comprehensive that it will provide answers to all the questions which may occur to you. If, however, any point seems to have been left out, ask me. If you want to discuss any questions with me, set them down in writing. If you differ from me, have no hesitation in telling me so. You should also tell me if you feel that the responsibility will be too heavy for you. Make all points by way of criticism that may occur to you.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

¹ Son of Lakshmidas Gandhi, Gandhiji's elder brother

[PS.]

Manilal is not there, otherwise I would have permitted him as well to read this. For the present, make a copy of this letter. If you approve, send it on to him by registered post, asking him to read and return it to you.

[From Gujarati]
Gandhijini Sadhana

103. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

CAPE TOWN,
March 13, 1914

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I had your ocean post message as also cable from London. There was also Reuter's cable giving the gist of your interview with Reuter's agent.¹ I have expanded your ocean letter and sent it to *I[ndian] O[pinion]*.² I took the liberty of omitting Mrs. Gandhi and Manilal because they are your own. I omitted Kallenbach, Polak, and West because their names did not seem to me to fit in with the others. Perhaps you will make time to write to them individually if you have not done so already. Regarding the omission of the last three, I am not decided in my judgment. In such cases I obey the first instinct.

I do hope you had a nice time with your people. For the last two weeks I have felt like writing a letter to your dear father, but I did not know whether it might not be considered presumptuous I could still write, of course. I shall abide by your judgment and if I may write,

¹ The interview took place on March 10, after Andrews arrived in London. He was accorded a reception by Indians, led by Sarojini Naidu, the poetess. The report stated that: ". . . Mr. Andrews extolled the chivalrous patriotism of Mr. Gandhi, during the railway strike, in calling off the passive resistance movement so as not to embarrass the Government. He also extolled the heroism and endurance of the Indians, and the generous and fairminded treatment of himself by the Union Government.

"He said he was immensely impressed with General Botha's sterling character and simplicity, and added that General Botha had assured him that he would do whatever he could to act justly by the Indians."

² The message, despatched on March 1, conveyed Andrews' thanks to friends in South Africa. It was published in *Indian Opinion*, 18-3-1914.

please let me have Mr. Andrews' full name.

Mrs. Gandhi was near death's door last week. I have therefore done hardly anything else save nursing her during the last 10 days. She rallied 2 days ago and the improvement continues. Owing to the illness I have been obliged to remain at home.

I had a chat today with Sir Benjamin. He tells me the report has been shown to him and that it is on the whole good. But as you know we may not accept his verdict.

Copies of the reprint of your lecture¹ have been sent to most of the men with whom you came in contact. The Bishop has written a charming letter in acknowledging his copy. Mrs. Drew is sailing for London tomorrow. She has sent £5—for the P[assive] R[esistance] fund. She sent me some names for sending the reprint to. The papers have published notices as per enclosed cutting². There is a request daily from a few for copies. An attempt is being made to induce Indians to take up copies for distribution among European friends of theirs. W.P. Schreiner had a complimentary copy. He paid for 6 extra copies for his friends in England. So you see your mission is showing a double success. The great saint and the cause that brought you to S. A. are being advertised to the good of humanity.

I suppose I ought to tell you that I had cable news of the death of my eldest brother in Porbunder.³ He was like father to me He it was who sent me to London.⁴ He used to be very bitter against me for being in S. A.,⁵ but his last letter was, to my great joy, one of complete reconciliation. His one wish was to meet me. And I was longing to hurry back to India. But it was not to be. I have now the responsibility of having to look after 5 widows in my father's family and of course their children. However I am quite at peace with myself. There is a very remarkable manifestation of sympathy for Mrs. Gandhi and myself as the news of the loss is spreading among the community.⁶

I hope that you were able to recover your health in London and

¹ Andrews had addressed the university students on February 17 on Tagore.

² This is not available.

³ Lakshmidas Gandhi passed away on March 9.

⁴ This was for his legal studies, in. 1888.

⁵ For Gandhiji's reply to Lakshmidas's charges, *vide* "Letter to Lakshmidas Gandhi", 20-4-1907.

⁶ Gandhiji acknowledged the messages of condolence in "Letter to Indian Opinion", 18-3-1914

that you had a good time among your people.

With love

Yours,
MOHAN

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 4099

104. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]

Phagan Vad 2 [March 14, 1914]

CHI. MANILAL,

I have not delayed in the least in writing to you. It seems I write wrong addresses. It happened in the case of Jamnadas. The same thing happened in the case of Schlesin also. I shall hereafter read the addresses again.

Ba is now getting better. You must have seen what I wrote about Bapa in my letter to Kallenbach. Do write a letter to Chi. Samaldas.

You need not be disturbed by the intrigues that are being hatched there. No man can hasten or delay my death even by a minute. The best way of saving oneself from death is to go seeking it. It is no doubt our duty to take care of our life in a general way. More than this we need not do. We should rather welcome death whenever it comes.

It will not matter if you do not try to save time by discontinuing to cook for yourself. Let things go on as at present. I think it will take three hours at least. You can save time only if you make more changes in your diet. It is not necessary to make the changes for the present. I have written to Kallenbach also accordingly.

Send the list of your books again to Phoenix.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 1499 Courtesy: Radha-behn Choudhri

105. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
March 15 [1914]¹

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Yes, you may expend the amounts you suggest on the stones. The inscription on both should be the same, only the names and the dates will vary.

I know that I have your sympathy and more in the affliction that has befallen me. But I must not say thanks to you. We are so indivisible one soul in two bodies.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Bananas are and should be unripe. Remove the outer skin, cut them into thin discs and dry in the sun 3 days. They are ready to be stored away when they are quite dry and brittle. They can be ground to any fineness or thickness and can be cooked as they are. With nuts and oil and tomatoes they make a perfect meal. But, of course, this is not ideal. The ideal is the uncooked meal. It is however the nearest approach and the least expensive. For travelling where you may not get fresh fruit it is perfect in the form of biscuits. These with dried unripe mangoes could be carried for an army. And they would form a most nourishing diet not at all sweet. Mrs. Gandhi is better but not satisfactory. I fear that she has a fatal trouble in her stomach. The only cure for her so far as I can see is a prolonged fast with the *neem* leaves water. She may have cancer of the stomach. This never yields to medical treatment but it must yield to fasting treatment if the patient has stamina. Mrs. Gandhi has that yet, I think. This information is however only for you. This is alarming and I am only conjecturing. I have informed Chhaganlal. She moves about but in the heart of her hearts she herself is not satisfied. The swelling recurs most obstinately. I am slowly preparing her for the worst again. But the agony may be prolonged. What a cruel man I must be or can be to thus contemplate the death of others. However, such is my state just now. Nothing

¹ From the contents

moves me permanently. If Eric has not the cheque he may have it without questioning. I think you should discuss these things with Polak. The latter may not with the family so long as he is not *persona grata*.

The report will be out on Wednesday I think.¹ This is still supposed to be private. We may then expect the Bill² early.

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

106. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]

Phagan Vad 6 [March 17, 1914]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

You are right in what you say about wheat and dates. Every grain of wheat will yield a plant. That is not the case with a date palm. The part of the date fruit³ which we eat will not grow if planted. So long, therefore, as we are still on the middle level, eating the date fruit is not very objectionable. Groundnut is certainly open to objection, as I have always been saying. We have not, however, reached a stage when it can be given up. Olive is not open to objection because it contains a separable seed. You have rightly pointed out the objection against the sesame seed. Ultimately, we are to give up sesame oil itself and make do with what oil can be obtained from dry fruit. Of course, the objection I have mentioned will probably apply to every variety of dry fruit; almond, for instance, is but seed. You will see on reflection, however, that there is much difference between consuming wheat and consuming almonds. An almond tree continues to flourish, but the wheat plant, once the grain has been removed, is no better than a weed. It is of no other use. No such violence as is involved in the sowing of wheat and other operations is involved in similar operations relative to almond. It is not possible, however, to go very deep into this kind of argument. . I am but ignorant myself. I am telling you of my

¹ The Solomon Commission Report was presented to Parliament on March 17, Tuesday.

² The Indians' Relief Bill which was published on May 28, *vide* "The Relief Bill", 3-6-1914 and Appendix "The Indians Relief Act", 1914.

³ The original has "the date stones".

own conclusions, tentative and immature as they are. The basic principle, undoubtedly, is this: one should make do with the fewest possible articles [of food] and in the smallest possible quantity, no more than what is absolutely necessary to pay the body its hire. It will be best to frame the rules of our diet bearing this principle in mind. A man who cooks a meal of just an ounce of rough-ground wheat and is free in five minutes is far superior to the one who wrings (as I do) the utmost pleasure from a variety of fruits. Another, however, who lives on no more than five bananas will out-distance the first. In other words, one who lives on fruit diet stands a far better chance of rising than the other. Even here, the mental attitude is the primary factor. The motive is the chief thing.

We cannot deduce any rule that, if we can consume the fruit, we can also consume the leaves, the bark, etc.

The reason why certain green vegetables are permitted on *ekadashi*¹ but wheat is forbidden seems to be an obvious one rather than anything abstract. Since people do not have an entire meal of vegetables or look upon them as food, some vegetables were permitted for gratifying the palate; but wheat, being food was excluded and in this way the original aim of eating less on *ekadashi* was to some extent maintained.

Gourds, etc., are, like tomatoes, more or less a kind of fruit. The tomatoes are allowed because they can be eaten uncooked. It is doubtful if gourd and the like, if uncooked, can be digested by all. Radish, etc., are but roots of a weed and the consumption of roots is thoroughly objectionable according to Jain principles. When Ba wanted to have ginger, I ate it with her to know its effects. I liked it and continued to take it after *neem* juice. Ba has quite an enthusiasm for it. Both she and I liked it. She collected some tender shoots of ginger. They were nothing but roots. I ate them for a day or two and relished them very much indeed. This morning, I was filled with compassion and despised myself. It was as though I could see the souls in these pieces of ginger. On one knot of it, there are several tender shoots. To eat them amounted to destroying so many embryos. Deeply pained, I gave up ginger today. I had not done so till now, having kept myself free to eat it when necessary. Henceforth, I will treat it as forbidden and avoid eating it as far as possible. Before I am

¹ Eleventh day of each dark and bright fortnight. Hindus generally fast on this day.

in India, I don't want to place myself under any more restrictions than those I have already accepted. Ginger, however, I will not eat in this country.

Consumption of cooked food involves the destruction of life in an unnatural, and therefore cruel, manner. The destruction of life through eating uncooked food occurs in a natural manner. Moreover, food, when cooked, loses its nourishing element (vitality). Having regard to this, we can practically eat only ripe fruit. To pluck or eat fruit before it is ripe is objectionable. You will see from this that I have not been able to act upon all the results of my thinking. To that extent, my thinking is ahead of my action. But that will remain, of course. The effort is always for eagerly following up thought with action.

If the desire to eat our food while it is still hot comes back again and again, it is because of the hold of a vicious habit of long standing. The desire must be suppressed with the utmost effort. Improper desires will always occur. By suppressing them every time, we grow firmer in mind and gain in spiritual strength.

Ba's condition is not so good, nor so bad. The oedema is quite heavy today but she moves about with courage. I have asked her to eat whatever she relishes. One cannot say what will happen. She is not bed-ridden at present.

I am likely to be detained here for three weeks more.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5697 Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

107. OBSERVATIONS REGARDING COMMISSION'S REPORT

[CAPE TOWN,

After *March 17, 1914*]¹

Reference to the Tr[ans]vaal Gold Law has been omitted by the Commission. A declaration that vested rights will be respected is necessary. I have already given my meaning of vested rights.

¹ The Solomon Commission Report was laid on the table of the House of Assembly on March 17, 1914. *Vide* "Extracts from Solomon Commission Report", 25-3-1914 for the extracts from the Report.

S[outh] A[frica-]born. Indians cannot be kept out of the Cape unless the economic clause is applied to them by special instructions to the Immigration Officers. It is suggested that these instructions should be issued to the officers unless a new condition arises, namely, that there is an inordinate influx of illiterate S. A.-born Indians into the C[olony].

There seems to be an obscurity in the Commission's report on this (the marriage) point.

(a) Plural wives of domiciled Indians should, with their minor children, be admitted irrespective of the fact whether they have previously entered S. A. or not. Such cases are very few. And all these cases might, within a specified period, be notified to the Union's officials or the Provincial officials.

(b) Indi[an] m[arriage] off[icers] should not be prohibited from celebrating plural unions though these would not be legalised.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5977

108. LETTER TO "INDIAN OPINION"

THE EDITOR

INDIAN OPINION

SIR

I have been so overwhelmed with wires from different parts of the Union expressing sympathy with my wife and myself regarding the death of my brother in India that it is impossible for me to thank severally the Associations and individual senders. Numerous messages have been received from Durban, Maritzburg, Johannesburg and other places. I thank all most heartily for their sympathy. Whilst doing so I would like to say just a word. To me as a passive resister and as a firm believer in the oneness of the Soul, my brother's loss should occasion no greater pain than the death of Nagappen, Narayanasamy and Hurbatsing, who were just as much my brothers as my blood brother whose loss so many friends are mourning with me. Valliamah Moonsamy's untimely end is, if possible, a greater stab from the hand of Death than my brother's end. Yet I share the common human failing, and the thoughts that arise in the mind from the loss of my brother, who was in the place of father to me and to whom, next to my

dead mother, I owe all I am in life, are more vivid than those that arose in me when those three brother passive resisters and the sister passive resister died. The idea that is uppermost in my mind just now is that death should cause no fear in us, if we have lived in the fear of God and have done nothing in violation of the voice of our conscience. Then, indeed, is death but a change for the better and, therefore, a welcome change which need not evoke any sorrow. Such a change, I feel, my brother's death must mean for him. And we in South Africa, especially those who are passive resisters, must learn not only not to fear death but must be prepared to face it and welcome it when it comes to us in the performance of our duty. So have died Narayansamy and his three successors. I wish for no better end and I am sure no other passive resister does.

Finally, may I ask those friends who have overwhelmed me with their sympathy in my bereavement to help me, if the points of passive resistance are satisfactorily settled in the near future, in my desire to return to India to fall at the feet of my brother's widow and to take charge of the domestic cares of five widows in my father's family, in which the hand of death now leaves me the responsible head, according to the Hindu usage.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 18-3-1914

109. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]
Thursday [March 19, 1914]

CHI . MANILAL,

I hope it was after careful thought that you made the changes in diet you have done. See that whatever you do is not [done in a hurry] to be given up afterwards, and remembered merely as a dream. Some of it at least must endure for the whole of your life. You have introduced so big a change that you may perhaps find yourself in the same state you were in at the end of *chaturmas*. There is only one way to guard oneself against excessive eating, viz., to serve out the full

quantity for oneself in advance and put away the utensils containing the rest before sitting down for the meal. Ba is all right.

Blessings from

BAPU

MASTER MANILAL GANDHI

BOX 2493

JOHANNESBURG

From the original postcard in Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 104
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

110. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,

*March 20 [1914]*¹

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You seem just now to be the busiest man in our circle. Your correspondence is invariably (almost) written in the train. Well, I hope, the result of this activity will be greater peace for you and a great benefit to the circle. I am not joking. I am serious though naturally I am sceptical about the value of such restless activity. But under exceptional circumstances it may be the lesser evil.

You asked me a question about the counting of beads. I forgot to deal with it. There is undoubtedly great efficacy in knowingly and deliberately uttering some sacred name as often as you can. The love of the owner of the name then grows on you and you ultimately merge in Him. Now every rosary has a stated number of beads. The Hindu rosary has 108. You take the 108 names of the deity once every turn of the rosary. And as the number of the beads is fixed you never omit a name. Thus you simply contemplate the name without worrying to know how often you have taken it or whether you have omitted any. The Muslims have 99 beads to correspond to the 99 names of God. Some Hindus simply mutter the same name. In that case the number of beads is of no consequence so long as it is the same rosary. You are in a position to know then how often during the day you have taken the sacred name. Thus to mutter the name of the Highest without a selfish purpose is a most desirable practice. Hence

¹ From the contents

the universality of rosaries. I want to continue the counting if I can. The more secretly it is done, the better of course. The early morning and sunset are the best times and I try to keep these times at present. I do not cannot for my eyes get up very early nowadays. I am going to try again. I cannot just now have my eyes examined or take another pair of spectacles. I want to observe the effect of the Indian climate on the eyes.

Another question of yours was why was *Indian Opinion* transferred to West and Maganlal? Simply because the Trust-deed¹ contemplates it and the Trustees should not [be] made responsible for what may appear in *Indian Opinion*.

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

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

111. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,

March 21 [1914]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Yes, I have given you a most thankless task to perform. I hope that you will be able to make a healthy impression on Eric. My analysis of Ritch was, I feel convinced, perfect. His children are suffering for his sins. It was a most recklesslike [*sic*]. No more than the present debts are to be discharged and then to the extent of not more than £170 so far as I can see at present. Do not sour Eric by too strong words. We can only put them in the best position possible and then they must rise to it or fall.

As for Mrs. Polak, she must follow her own inclinations. She is a different type. She knows or thinks she knows what she is doing. She is a superior woman. And Polak is a gem of the “purest ray serene”.² He can reflect those he loves. After all the money must go the way it has come.

¹ Of September 14, 1912; *vide* “The Phoenix Trust Deed”, 14-9-1912.

² A popular poetic metaphor authored by Thomas Gray in his “Elegy in a country churchyard”; *vide* also “In Memoriam”, 12-1-1921.

The best translation of *Ramayana* is I think Griffith's. What you want is a translation of Tulsidas's *Ramayana* and no other. I might some day dictate it to you. Meanwhile you should procure Dutt's rendering of the substance.

The Parliament rises for holiday on the 9th April and meets again on the 22nd. Whether therefore the Bill is brought or not before then I propose to leave here at least on the 9th but it may be much earlier.¹ I must see. I shall know more next week.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

112. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

CAPE TOWN,

Phagan Vad 10 [March 21, 1914]

DEAR SHRI RAOJIBHAI,

I have your letter. I had heard about your fast. If you had a reason for going on a fast, I have nothing to say. You will certainly enjoy no solitude there. There should be more of physical activity in Phoenix. That is conducive to peace. There the first place is assigned to service.

The breakdown in J's health has given me a fright. I wish she recovers soon.

I feel anxious on account of Maganbhai. I cannot judge why things do not get right [with him]. I also feel that it would be good if he went along with me. Please keep on preparing his mind to that end. We shall see what can be done in India. I have a persistent feeling that the thing is due to mental illness. I am trying to discover why he enjoyed good health in gaol, but this is all that I can think of. While in gaol, the mind had been forced into an equable state and this had an effect on the body, too, so much so that he kept well despite the sort of food that he had to eat. Cannot he attain to that mental poise out of gaol? Be that as it may, the only right course for Maganbhai seems to be that he should go with me to India. Let him also think it over.

¹ The Indians' Relief Bill was introduced in the House of Assembly on June 2; *vide* "The Relief Bill", 3-6-1914 and Appendix "The Indians Relief Act", 1914.

I shall cite in passing one instance, my own. Ba wanted to take ginger. Since I was under no vow to avoid it, I started taking it along with her in order to test its properties. Ba's tongue loves dainties. She happened to discover some shoots of ginger. I fell in love with them, so much so that I also used to chew four or five of these tender shoots, of the size of a grain of gram. One day, Ba collected a quantity of these from Mrs. Gool's basket and placed them in [our] room. I was struck with horror to see them. The night passed. I sprang out of bed in a fright, early in the morning. How could one eat ginger? This thing, a single joint of which proliferated into so many shoots, must indeed be full of lives. Moreover, to eat fresh shoots was as good as killing delicate babies. I felt extremely disgusted with myself. I resolved that I would never eat ginger, not in this life. But the real fun comes now. Ba saw that I would not take ginger. She asked me the reason. I told her. She also caught my point. She carried away the very tendershoots and pressed me to take something from the rest. I declined. The vow holds, but the tongue and the eye are like dogs. The desire to eat ginger comes over me whenever the eye falls on a piece of it. The tongue starts licking. But just as a dog greedily watching food left over will not dare to eat it in the presence of the master, the tongue is prevented from touching the ginger by the watchfulness of *Mr. Atman*. My eye falls on it the whole day because it is lying just where my papers are. It seems more difficult for me to turn away my mind from ginger than it was to give up sugar or salt, such is the state I find myself in.

What, then, should you blame yourself for? It is not for nothing that the mind has been compared to a monkey that has got drunk. What is the point in having high hopes of learning wisdom from me? We are all sailing in the same battered ship and I, with greater wisdom than the rest by way of experience, point out the direction in which you are welcome to toddling along. We are all in darkness, groping for the same thing. Maybe my steps are firmer and move with greater confidence. To hold me in greater respect than this will amount to arresting your upward progress. When I have conquered all desire, I will instruct you without the least hesitation. For the present, let us pull together in quest of *Narayana*¹ who grants *moksha* and, undeterred even if we lose our way or fall or get knocked about, go on seeking

¹ Name of God Vishnu

with courage and patience.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

Gandhijini Sadhana and Jivannu Parodh

113. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]

Phagan Vad 11 [March 22, 1914]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I got your two letters today. There is always twice the normal quantity of post on Saturdays. Write to Rustomjee Sheth and Motilal¹ about the *neem* tree. It will be good if Maganlal plants one whenever he finds a sapling. From what Mr. Kallenbach has discovered, macaroni can be eaten but only if obtained from a particular source. There is a big risk, however, in that it is an article prepared by non-vegetarians and one concerning which we have no information. We can do nothing else but take their word. The traditional objection of the Hindus against all ready-made articles of food deserves to be respected, as far as possible. Jaggery is not merely [sugar-cane] juice; *kharo*² or salt is added to it. Moreover, sugar-cane juice is boiled and from the whole only the sugar or jaggery is retained. If mangoes were to be processed in the same manner, the product would likewise be unacceptable. As for wind, it will probably be cured if [the sufferer] is given neem leaves and pepper or ginger. Do you take plenty of exercise? For the present you need not force yourself to get up early.

Did you read what I have written³ to Ramdas about fasting? If not, ask for the letter and go through it. I don't want to prevent boys from fasting. Only, it should be done intelligently.

It is uncertain where else, apart from Johannesburg, I shall stop on the way back. The shirts at the Farm are mine. I am afraid I cannot spare any of them for you. You will have to have new ones made. That is easily done. Take my shirt as a model.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5699 Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

¹ Motilal M. Diwan, a leading Indian of Natal

² Substance containing carbonates of sodium and potassium

³ This letter is not available.

114. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]

Phagan Vad 11 [March 22, 1914]

CHI. MANILAL,

I have been getting your letters. I see that your going over there has been for the best. And it is as well that you are alone. You are too quick in making changes. I wish some of them at least endure. It will be enough if your habits become regular there. Personally, I think it will be best if you come along with me. There will be no difficulty if 20 of us are together on the ship. I certainly don't think Jekibehn will be able to stay with me at any rate for some time after we reach India. It is my desire to see you esteemed in India as a *brahmachari* of a high order, your conduct so naturally well-disciplined that it cannot but produce an impression on others. This will require hard work, study and purity in you. No impression can be made by doing anything with the deliberate object of producing one. If, however, the things which commend themselves to one are best, they will impress. You must, therefore, make your own choice and consider what you want to do. You must then cling to the thing till death.

I am sending Chi. Harilal's letter for you to read. Think over the wretched state he has been reduced to. The fault is not his, but mine. During his childhood, I followed a way of life none too strict in its rule and he is still under its influence. Tear off the letter after reading it.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 103 Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

115. FRAGMENT OF LETTER

[CAPE TOWN,]

Sunday [March 22, 1914]¹

Everything is transient, except the *atman*. Not only should we keep reminding ourselves of this but we should work on accordingly. The more I reflect, the more insistently I feel the supreme importance of truth and *brahmacharya*. The latter, together with all other rules of morality, is comprehended in truth. I cannot help thinking, however, that *brahmacharya* is important enough to share the place of honour with truth. It is my unshakable faith that these two can conquer any obstacle whatever. The real obstacles are the evil desires of the mind. If, for our happiness, we depend in no way on our outward relations with others, we would always think of what we ought to do rather than of what people might say.

[From Gujarati]

Gandhijini Sadhana and Jivan Prabhat

116. THE COMMISSION'S REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS²

The report of the [Indian Inquiry] Commission was released last week. We must admit that the report displays a sense of justice on the part of the Commissioners. It is a unanimous report, signed by all the three members. Messrs Esselen and Wylie deserve congratulations on this. We had felt it our duty to protest against their appointment. But they have not allowed their previously expressed views to affect their judgment. The agitation by the community is responsible, we believe, for this good result.

The Commissioners, as also Lord Hardinge, have criticized the action of Mr. Gandhi, and the general body of the Indians who

¹ In the source this letter has been placed in March 1914, but the exact date is not ascertainable. It is, however, likely that the letter was written about the same time as the "Letter to Manilal Gandhi", the preceding item

² This was an editorial note.

acted on his advice, in abstaining from giving evidence. This criticism is not at all surprising. They wanted that the largest possible number of Indians should give evidence. We can understand why the Viceroy also criticized this action. He had both to act consistently with the advice which he had previously offered and to support the Commission. We believe, however, that the Indian community acted wisely in abstaining from giving evidence. To speak plainly, an oath once taken can never be broken. If they had tendered evidence, they would have struck at the very root of satyagraha. Moreover, abstention from tendering evidence has, in the event, proved to be an advantage. We had three hundred witnesses at least. Indian Associations throughout South Africa would have led evidence on our grievances. Then, there were the Europeans ready to tender evidence. Thus, the mere recording of our evidence would have taken six months. After that, the Commission would have taken some more time before issuing the report. It would then have been rendered impossible to introduce remedial legislation in the current session of Parliament, as is now likely to be done. What could have been more disastrous for us? Again, if we had tendered evidence, the spirit of conciliation which we find prevailing today would not have been there. It would also not have been possible for Mr. Andrews to do what he did, sowing the seeds of conciliation so silently and with such deep love and humility. The reason is that our giving evidence would have aggravated animosity. We, on our side, would have made bitter statements and the whites would have retaliated. The latter would have led stronger evidence against the evidence tendered by us, and in that case, would not have had the sense of responsibility that they actually showed. In these circumstances we could not have entertained strong hopes for settlement as we do now. Thus, our remaining faithful to an oath taken in the face of advice to the contrary by the Viceroy was sacred in itself and it has yielded gratuitously other good sweet fruit. Such is the magic power of truth and the efficacy of satyagraha. He who has the fear of God in him need not be afraid of any man.¹ The truth of this has been proved over and over again a million times.

A scrutiny of the Commission's report leads us to the same conclusion. Practically no evidence was tendered by us in regard to the £3 tax and the question of Indian marriages. But these two issues were in the forefront of our struggle, and the Commission's recomm-

¹ An Indian saying

endations on them could not possibly have been better even if we had tendered voluminous evidence. If we had led evidence in regard to the £3 tax, very probably, as it seems to us, the Commission would not have found it possible to criticize it as strongly as it did. All those Indians who were misled into giving evidence rendered a disservice [to the community]. One of them gave evidence about force having been used and his testimony has been summarily dismissed by the Commission. The evidence tendered in regard to the Immigration Act was so flimsy that it undid the effect of the strong note submitted by Mr. Polak to Sir Benjamin; leading such evidence before the Commission could only result in putting us off with mere trinkets. These trivial issues, on which the community could have secured concessions at any time after the settlement or as part of the settlement, provoked the Commission's strictures and proved our petty-mindedness. Let us cite one or two examples. The Commission has recommended that the certificates of identity be issued for three years' duration instead of one year. In fact, we are entitled to permanent certificates [of domicile]. And that was what we demanded before Sir Benjamin. In consequence of the demand for three-year identity certificates submitted to the Commission, our demand for permanent certificates [of domicile] has been set aside. Because of uninformed and scrappy evidence tendered to the Commission on the question of trading licences, the Commission simply dismissed the issue. The issue of the Gold Law was also dismissed by the Commission as it was mixed up with other issues. Thus, in regard to the questions on which evidence was tendered we shall have to be satisfied with much less. Let the community note that all these matters were covered by the fifth point in Mr. Cachalia's letter¹. It contained a demand for reasonable administration of all existing laws. But for this demand, the evidence that was given could not have been given. If, therefore, our countrymen had not been hasty and given the ill-considered evidence that they did, we could have secured much more and the fifth demand would have met with the same fortunate result as the demands in respect of the £3 tax and other matters. No permanent harm has, therefore, been done by their evidence, for the fifth point [in Mr. Cachalia's letter] represents a demand for a standing assurance. If the Government gives, as it will have to give, such an assurance, the community will be justified in taking up further questions like the administration of the Gold Law,

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", 12-9-1913.

and the various trading licence Acts. Efforts are being made to see that this becomes possible. The Commission's report is not the last word on the Indian question. In so far as it adversely affects our interests, it is not binding on satyagrahis, and the community is not likely to be harmed by the misguided evidence given in ignorance by some of its members. The remedy, of course, lies in the community's hands

The Commission's report establishes that our satyagraha was in a just cause, that the charge of breach of promise levelled by us was correct and that all our demands were reasonable. This result is by no means insignificant. Unquestionably it is, as we believe, a perfect success for satyagraha.

If the Government accepts the Commission's recommendation on the marriage question, the following will be the consequences:

(1) In the case of a person who has more than one living wife, one of the wives and her minor children will have the right of entry.

(2) If a man with only one wife wants his marriage to be legally recognized, he can do so, and get it registered before a Maulvi or Brahmin or other marriage officer nominated for the purpose.

(3) A person with only one wife desiring to have his marriage legally recognized can secure a certificate of legal recognition after the registration of his marriage, and his wife will have the same rights as a European wife.

(4) Arrangements are to be made for appointing Brahmins and Mullahs as marriage officers for the purpose of new marriages.

(5) If a person has more than one wife, all his wives and minor children will be permitted to enter; they will have no other legal rights.

(6) Even in the case of a lawful monogamous marriage, the husband will be free to take a second wife as sanctioned by his religion. But the second wife will not be recognized for legal purposes.

(7) No Indian is bound to take any of these steps and non will, in consequence of not doing so, forfeit the rights of his wife or wives.

More than this we did not demand and, we believe, cannot. To conclude: in addition to undertaking legislation about marriages and the £3 tax, the Government will have to do all it can to meet our demands in the Cape and the Free State and the demand relating to the administration of existing laws, and then alone will this epic struggle of ours, which has been going on for the last eight years, come to an

end. For the present, we hope the signs point to its termination. But when one like Rama did not know what the next day was to bring him, who are we that we should claim to know the future?

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 25-3-1914

117. SPEECH AT CAPE TOWN RECEPTION¹

[March 25, 1914]

Mr. Gandhi thanked those present at the function, as also Mr. and Mrs. Gool and other members of the family, for their services to Mrs. Gandhi during her illness and to himself, and likewise all those friends who called to inquire after Mrs. Gandhi from time to time and brought fruit. He explained the implications of the Commission's report and argued with special emphasis that it was in the interests of the [Indian] community that Hindus and Muslims live as brothers. It was perfectly possible, he explained, for each community to adhere to its religion and yet live in peace with the other.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-4-1914

118. LETTER TO MAHATMA MUNSHIRAM²

PHOENIX,

NATAL,

March 27, 1914

DEAR MAHATMAJI,

Mr. Andrews has familiarised your name and your work to me. I feel I am writing to no stranger. I hope therefore that you will pardon me for addressing you by the title which both Mr. Andrews and I have

¹ A meeting of Indians was held under the auspices of the Hindu Sabha to honour Gandhiji, Kasturba and Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer. Vartak presided. The Patidar community donated a sum of £7 10s to be used at Gandhiji's discretion. The following report appeared in the English columns of *Indian Opinion*: "Mr. Gandhi wishes us to state that, during his stay at Cape Town, Dr. Gool was most unremitting in his attendance on Mrs. Gandhi during her serious illness, from which, we are sorry to say, she is not yet quite free."

² (1856-1926); later known as Swami Shradhdhanand; a leader of the Arya Samaj, founder of the Gurukul at Kangri near Hardwar; was killed by a Muslim fanatic.

used in discussing you and your work. Mr. Andrews told me also how you, Gurudev and Mr. Rudra¹ had influenced him. He described to me the work your pupils did for the Passive Resisters and gave me such word pictures of the life at the Gurukula that as I am writing this I seem to be transported to the Gurukula. Indeed he has made me impatient to visit the three places described by Mr. Andrews and to pay my respects to the three grand sons of India who are at the head of these institutions.

I remain,

Yours,

MOHANDAS K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2204

119. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

PHOENIX,

NATAL,

April 1, 1914

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I had your two cables. To the last one I am just now replying.

I doubt whether Mrs. Gandhi will survive the settlement. I am writing this by her bed side. I have to be her doctor, nurse and everything. Then my brother's death leaves the sole charge of five widows and their children in my hands. Dr. Mehta is just now paying the expenses of the others. To this he will, I do not doubt, add the maintenance of my brother's widow. But she and the others are most naturally anxious to have me with them at the earliest possible moment. I would, therefore, grudge having to go to London unless you consider it absolutely necessary. If you do, I shall certainly come if Mrs. Gandhi dies or is better—so well, that is to say, as to permit of my being away from her, I suppose, at least for two months.

As I have already informed you, Indian legislation will not be undertaken before the reopening of the Union Parliament on the 22nd instant.

I do hope that you will materially benefit by the cure at Vichy.

¹ Susil Kumar Rudra; Indian Christian educationist; Principal, St. Stephen's College, Delhi, 1909-23

I know it is useless my asking you not to worry about me or my future. Wherever I may be placed in India I shall carry out my compact with you, viz., that I should observe absolute silence except on the S[outh] A[frica] question for one year at least after my landing in India and about everything else I have promised.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 3775

120. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[PHOENIX,
NATAL,]
Chaitra Sud 8, 1970 [April 3, 1914]

CHI. MANILAL,

The changes you have introduced are excellent. If you keep them up, you may do yourself much good. I have heard a great deal about the moral effects of getting up early. Why should you be afraid of April 1? *Chaitra Sud 5* is looked upon as a sacred panchami¹, which means that you have introduced the change on an auspicious day. In the last analysis, we alone can make fools of ourselves. If we have spirit enough in us, no one dare make a fool of us.

The morning hours should be devoted to the most important activities. It will do if you make it a rule to do a large number of sums in arithmetic. I shall be able to tell you more later. I am sending some books for you. Learn Sanskrit also very well.

Ba takes wheat coffee without milk. Except for that, she is on a fast. She is confined to bed. It seems her oedema will go down. I cannot say what the final outcome will be.

What did you do about the letter from Bapa? I wrote some thing in English about him. What happened to it?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 95 Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

¹ Fifth day

121. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[April 4, 1914]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Herewith Miss Hobhouse's farewell for you to keep. You may explain the meaning of it to Manilal. Her preface is wrong if it were universally applied.

You have made a great change about getting up. You can keep it up if you adhere to the retiring time which you should do.

Mrs. Gandhi is still practically fasting. She is taking wheat coffee without milk or sugar in addition to the infusion of the leaves. The swelling has not left her entirely but I think it is going. Anyway I feel that no other treatment could be better.

The whole of my time is given up to her and she takes it all. She resents my absence even for an hour. She is helpless without me.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

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

122. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Tuesday [April 7, 1914]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You will remember the following in the 2nd Chapter of the *Song Celestial*: "Anger leads to madness which brings on loss of memory. Then the intellect becomes weakened till at last the man himself is undone." Why did you give vent to anger? Manilal describes the apple incident¹. Was that the cause? He says he retorted and was sorry. Anyway your early rising must be for the sake of control of passions.

It is obvious we both fasted practically the same day. For me it was the nativity of Rama. And I had decided in Cape Town that as we

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Manilal Gandhi", 12-4-1914.

laid so much stress on *Ramayana*, I would fast that day and then I further decided to fast every eleventh day of the two halves of the month as I used to before¹. There is no fixed limit for this, so that I fasted on Saturday and then again on Monday. Hence I was up this morning at 2 a.m. Manilal's was the first letter I wrote and yours is the second. You know how little sleep I need when I am fasting.

I have made a very drastic change here which I am asking Jamnadas to describe in his letter to Manilal. He will do so and Manilal must give it to you. Here I would only say that I took a vow on Sunday that I would restrict myself to one helping only whilst at Phoenix. I should endeavour to carry it out elsewhere also.

Mrs. Gandhi is lingering. She is taking a little food now but it is next to nothing. At this rate she can't live many months if that. Yet who knows?

Please return the inscription I sent you. I shall have it rewritten in bold letter.

I see here a bag containing your papers. It has some letters from Mrs. Mayo², etc. I thought I would search there for your Standerton papers but my search was vain. I cannot get over the loss of those papers.³ I cannot reconcile myself to the idea of their having been deliberately stolen. If they are not mislaid, they must have been lost by you owing to your usual habit of rushing. I do not ask questions but I have a vague fear that even now you are rushing and spending money in what to me would be idle speculation. But it is as well I am not with you. Let your progress go along your own line. How long could I reason? Only think, think and think forty times before you do anything at all. Haste is waste. 'Hasten slowly' was Lord John Russell's motto.⁴

And you seem to me to have been hasty in judging Andrews. I fancy that I know him better. Anyway, he does not consider every

¹ *ibid*

² Mrs. Isabella Fyvie Mayo Lafcadio Hearn, British journalist, author of several works on Japan, who married a Japanese woman and became a Japanese citizen.

³ Gandhiji had been arrested on Standerton Road on November 8, 1913 during the third and last satyagraha campaign before he left for India; *vide* "Application for Bail", 8-11-1913 and "The Last Satyagraha Campaign: My Experience", after 23-7-1914.

⁴ For similar references by Gandhiji to illustrate his point, *vide* "Mixed Schools and Morals", 9-12-1911

Indian to be a saint. Nor is he like Hearn.¹ Hearn began by loving the Japs, Andrews began by suspecting Indians. Remember he came avowedly as a missionary to convert. But this is enough. I cannot begin another sheet and must write other letters.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

123. A MARRIAGE PROCLAMATION

The Union *Government Gazette* of the 24th March contains a marriage proclamation which is of some importance, as it bears on the expected legislation on the Indian marriage difficulty. We give elsewhere the proclamation in full. In effect, it requires banns to be published of intended Mahomedan or Hebrew marriages, in terms of the existing Natal legislation. If the proclamation has reference in practice only to Hebrew marriages, we can have nothing to say. If it anticipates the Indian marriages legislation and is intended to be a feeler, it is an ill omen. For the essence of the Indian proposal is that Indian marriages *celebrated in accordance with the religious ceremonial prescribed by any of the great Indian faiths should be recognized by the law of South Africa so long as they are monogamous in fact*. Now Indian religions do not require publication of banns. We have our own method (in our opinion, far superior to that of the publication of banns) of widely advertising approaching marriages. No Indian priest worthy of the name can possibly perform a marriage ceremony if there is any objection offered against it in terms of the religious custom or law. And it is the caste or the guild which takes severe notice of any breach of the canonical law. Whilst we do not wish to offend the sentiment of the Europeans of South Africa regarding monogamy, we certainly do not contemplate surrendering our religious principles by a hair's breadth. We think it but right to utter this note of warning whilst the proposed legislation is still unpublished.

Indian Opinion, 8-4-1914

¹ Lafcadio Hearn, British journalist, author of several works on Japan, who married a Japanese woman and became a Japanese citizen

124. LETTER TO E. M. GORGES

[PHOENIX,
NATAL,]
April 8, 1914

DEAR MR. GORGES,

I would like to bring the following point to your notice. Mr. Polak sent the temporary certificates that were issued to the educated Indians who were allowed to settle in the Transvaal in terms of the Provisional Settlement of 1911 to be exchanged for permanent certificates in virtue of the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913, and I understand that Mr. Chamney has written saying that such certificates are not yet to be issued. May I know why permanent certificates are not being issued?¹

*I am,
Yours truly,*

E. M. GORGES
OFFICES OF THE INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5958

125. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

[PHOENIX,
NATAL,]
April 8, 1914

DEAR MR. LANE,

I notice in the *Union Government Gazette* a Marriage Proclamation requiring those who want to have their marriages celebrated by their Mahomedan or Hebrew Marriage Officers to have notices published of their intention so to do. I do not know whether this proclamation is deliberate as showing the future policy of the Government in anticipation, or whether it is a proclamation required for the Hebrews but necessitating reference to the Mahomedans in terms of the Natal Marriage Law referred to therein. If it is the former, I beg to draw General Smuts' attention to the fact that what has been

¹ A reply to this was received to the effect that the matter was under consideration and it would be dealt with after the passage of the Asiatic legislation.

submitted by me on behalf of the Indian community is that past *de facto* monogamous marriages celebrated according to Indian religious customs should be legalised and that, in future, such marriages should be recognized as legal. The Marriage Proclamation in question introduces the practice of the publication of banns, a practice which is totally opposed to both the Hindu and the Mahomedan usage; nor is any such publication necessary, because of the respective religions themselves requiring an elaborate process which renders fraudulent marriages impossible. I feel that, whilst the legislation to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission is being drafted, I should bring this matter to the notice of General Smuts.

I observe, too, from Mr. Burton's reply to Mr. Meyler that the indentured Indians in the employ of the Railways Department have deducted from their wages instalments in part payment of the £3 Tax. I venture to suggest that a continuance of this practice is hardly consistent with the attitude shown by the Commission regarding the Tax. One of the chief points that the Commission had to advise upon was the £3 tax, and it is submitted that this deduction might have been stopped by the Government at least pending the report of the Commission, and now that the Commission has made such strong recommendations for the repeal of the Tax, I do trust that the officials concerned will be advised, if they have not been already, not to insist upon this deduction, for I assume that, if the Government bring in a Bill for the repeal of the Tax, the arrears will be remitted.

*I am,
Yours truly,*

ERNEST F. C. LANE, ESQ.
OFFICES OF THE INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5957

126. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]
Friday [April 10, 1914]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Just now I am nothing but an efficient nurse devoting my whole energy to my task. Mrs. Gandhi is my sole consideration and she claims me. If I am away from her for any length of time she cries

bitterly. I do not know what is to become. She may recover but there is not much chance. She will linger on for a while but cannot survive this illness. She has to be helped to do everything. I am only praying that there may be no imperative public call on me whilst I am doing this work.

You will now see why I cannot give you love letters at present. I did not or did I tell you that I do not want to perform the opening ceremony regarding the tombstone and I ought not to. We should get our old friend Hosken or any other you may think of.

The drastic changes made here are most satisfying. If they continue, they will form a splendid structure but we shall see. When I have more time I shall go into them more fully.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

127. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

April 12, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Your letter of the 9th is petty, touchy and spiteful. It has made me sad and shows that all your so-called reforms there are simply superficial. What you call a circular letter is no circular letter. It was addressed to you and Polak. In your letter of the 8th, you complain of absence of my letter and in yours of the 9th you resent the very letter which explains absence of anything from me. Polak went for me for not writing and not getting Miss Schlesin to write about Mrs. Gandhi's health. You, Polak and Manilal are sufficiently interested in her health to want to know about it daily; hence the letter from Miss Schlesin and the instructions that she herself should write as often as possible. There would have been no such letter had Mrs. Gandhi not been sick. Now tell me wherein I was wrong in sending you what you call a circular letter. Do you see my point and your pettiness? You are entirely right when you say you are jealous (and wrongly so) of Miss Schlesin and Andrews. Because she wrote the letter, it became an offence to you. And as if your letter, warning me not to send you a circular letter was not enough, you must perforce remark underneath

Miss Schlesin's letter, "Please do not send me such circular letters henceforth". You should be ashamed of having done this.

Manilal writes saying that you were surprised that I should have asked him to retire even [if] you might not have. Why surprised? You and Manilal are not equals. Manilal is a lad having to form his character. If he wants to cultivate the habit of early rising, it is essential that he retires early. Your hours may not be regular. Manilal not being a businessman need never have irregular hours. And I should have thought that you would encourage the boy to keep strictly regular hours even though you may not. I certainly do not expect the boys to keep awake with me because I retire late. If Manilal has misunderstood the position, you may explain it to him. I feel the same thing about his food. If he wishes to keep to a particular course of diet, he should not change with you. If the entirely fruitarian experiment had agreed with him, you should have allowed him to keep to it and made the complicated changes only for yourself.

Mrs. Gandhi is much better but an event happened yesterday which once more proved what I have told you, namely, that she has both the devil and the divine in her in a most concentrated form. She made yesterday a most venomous remark: "Who has opened Devdas's drawer?" suggesting that Jeki had tampered with it. She spits fire on Jeki. I gently remarked that I had opened it. "Why?" was the growling query. I said, "In order to see whether I could find a sheet for you." "That does not contain sheets," was the retort, so much as to convey to me that I had not opened the drawer but I was telling a fib to shield Jeki. This was too much. And I again gently but rebukingly remarked that she was sinful in her thought and that her disease was largely due to her sins. Immediately she began to howl. I had made her leave all the good food in order to kill her, I was tired of her, I wished her to die, I was a hooded snake. The manner of the delivery of these remarks was most vicious. I told her even though she was ill, I could not pity her in her sins. The more I spoke the more vicious she became. I kept completely self-possessed. I apologized to her and told her that henceforth even to that extent I would not remonstrate with her. Nor would I. She has a character and she has none. She is the most venomous woman I have ever met. She never forgets, never forgives. She is quite normal today. But yesterday's was one of the richest lessons of my life. All the charges she brought against me she undoubtedly means. She has contrary emotions. I have

nursed her as a son would nurse his mother. But my love has not been sufficiently intense and selfless to make her change her nature. What wonder if Anglia and others cannot respond to my skin-deep love? What wonder if they misunderstood me? Truly she has so far been my best teacher. She teaches me emptiness of the world, she teaches me patience, forgiveness, greater need for self-sacrifice, for love and charity. The incident leaves me, I hope, a better, wiser, more loving man if it also leaves me sadder. Yes, a man who wishes to work with detachment must not marry. I cannot complain of her being a particularly bad wife or bad woman. On the contrary no other woman would probably have stood the changes in her husband's life as she has. On the whole she has not thwarted me and has been most exemplary. But how can a leopard change his spots? And yesterday's incident would probably not have happened either in an ordinary household. My point is that you cannot attach yourself to a particular woman and yet live for humanity. The two do not harmonise. That is the real cause of the devil waking in her now and again. Otherwise he might have remained in her asleep and unnoticed.

I wish you would not just now repeat walks like the Pretoria walk but allow Manilal to follow the even tenor of his life.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

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

128. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[PHOENIX,

NATAL,

*Sunday, Chaitra Vad 2, April 12, 1914]*¹

CHI. MANILAL,

. . .² Whatever Mr. Kallenbach's hour for going to bed, you must follow one rule alone. And the same about eating. Here is the meaning of the sentences which you could not understand: "All acts done in a purely legalistic spirit (in accordance with the literal

¹ The date was supplied by Raojibhai Patel.

² Some words appear to have been omitted here.

meaning) are, indeed, cursed. Even so, it is stated that those who do not keep doing the things as indicated by [the letter of] the law are all cursed.”¹ The point is that mere bookish souls can never attain *moksha*. The Gita has a verse to the same effect, which you may ponder over. “The Vedas keep on the plane of the three *gunas*; be thou, Arjuna, beyond those *gunas*.”—This is what Shri Krishna said to Arjuna. This does not mean that one need not do the duties prescribed in the *Shastras*. It means rather that doing them is not quite enough, that one must understand their hidden significance, their aim, and go beyond the actions themselves. The man who renounces the prescribed duties and professes himself a barren *Brahmavadin*² will have no footing anywhere. He will have lost the support provided by the *Shastras* while the foundation of inward illumination has not yet been built, so that he is bound to fall. St. Paul therefore told the Galatians: “Do perform the acts enjoined by the scriptures; but you will remain under a curse, if you have no faith in the teachings of the Lord Jesus and do not follow his teachings.” The same meaning is to be read in “bond maid” and “free woman”.³ Bond means *bandhan*. Scriptures are compared to the mother in flesh who, it is pointed out, has the status of a slave so that her children are also born slaves.

Faith, which means *bhakti*, is described as a divine mother, whose children are angels. Read the sentences which precede and follow in the light of this explanation and tell me whether you follow them properly or not. The 56th verse of Chapter 15 in *I Corinthians* means that sin is the sting of death, that, in other words, that a sinful man alone feels death as a sting. For the virtuous, it is the means of attaining *moksha*. The second line means that mere dry knowledge of the scripture has the power of a curse. We observe this at every step. Hundreds of sins are committed in the name of scripture. The meaning of *Romans* V, 20 is simple enough. Scripture made its appearance again and led to more crimes. As the load of sins increased, however, God’s grace also increased in like measure. That is, even in such evil times, men were found who broke themselves free from the chains of dry learning and, teaching the way of *bhakti*, brought out the hidden meaning of scripture; this was God’s grace.

¹ Probably the reference is to Galatians, III, 10.

² One who expounds the nature of Brahman

³ “Abraham had two sons; the one by a bond maid, the other by a free woman.”—Galatians, IV, 22.

St. John, XV, 3 means this: “Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you.” Here “are” denotes the future and “through” should be taken to mean “by acting according to”.

Think twice before introducing changes by way of reform in your life. But I wish that, having once adopted a change, you would cling to it like a leech. Love the virtues of Mr. Kallenbach. Know his weakness when you see it and keep yourself away from it. The latest change you have introduced has not been adopted after due thought. You are not bound to adopt all the changes which Mr. Kallenbach may make. You must learn to think independently for yourself and stick to your judgement. It will not matter if, in doing so, you sometimes go wrong. You are even entitled to oppose my views after you have honestly thought over a matter; in cases in which it seems right to oppose me, opposition becomes your duty. It is my earnest desire that you should understand the idea of *moksha* and aspire for it. This will never come about, however, till you develop a capacity for independent thinking and firmness of mind. At present, you are in the condition of a creeper. It assumes the shape of the tree over which it spreads. That is not what the *atman* does. The *atman* is free and, in its essence, omnipotent.

“It is desire, anger, born of the quality of *rajas*, all-devouring and sinful; know it to be the enemy.”¹ This is the reply that Shri Krishna gave to Arjuna when the latter asked him what it was that drove man to commit sin against his will. It means this: “The cause of sin is desire, anger, which has its origin in the quality of *rajas*; is all-devouring and drives men to sins without number. Know it, for certain, to be the enemy.” This is an established truth. Hence you should have remained quiet when Mr. K. lost his temper. When one’s elders get angry, one should be gentle and not answer back; if forced to reply, one should say: “I will correct myself; please forgive me this time.” There is no admission in this of one’s having acted wrongly on purpose. Later, when the person has calmed down, one may politely put one’s doubt to him, if one has any. You can ask Mr. K., when he is himself, how it was wrong to serve apples picked from a lot which was getting rotten.

David’s Psalm has a meaning which is worth understanding. He desires in it the destruction of the wicked; the significance of this is

¹ *Vide* Bhagavad Gita, III, 37. Here the original verse in Sanskrit has been quoted.

that he cannot bear evil. The same idea appears in the *Ramayana*. Gods and men both pray for the destruction of *rakshasas*¹. The prayer *Jaya Rama Rama* is inspired by the same sentiment. The spiritual significance of the Psalm is that David (Arjuna—the godward attributes²) desires the destruction of Duryodhana and others [the satanic attributes]. This is the *sattvic*³ impulse. It comes into play when one is in a state of bhakti. When one attains to the state of *jnana*⁴, both the impulses subside and all that remains is pure consciousness—Knowledge Absolute. You will not probably find this state described in the Bible. Though David was imperfect, he was a *bhakta*⁵. His sentiments have found expression in the Psalm in simple language and, though a great man, he makes himself humble before God, looking upon himself as a mere blade of grass.

[From Gujarati]

Gandhijini Sadhana

129. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

April 17, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

How curious! No matter how intimate I may be with Gokhale or Andrews or anyone else, you will always be you and you alone to me. I have told you will have to desert me and not I you. So that I should like you finally to dismiss that fear from your mind. If I am called upon to enter Gokhale's mansion or Andrews' without you, I will refuse to enter. Only my own movements may become too hot for you and you always wishing to go the whole length with me may not be able [to] and may fall back. Our joint life does not demand coincidence though that is what you are bringing about. If I can lie on a stone bed and you cannot, you should certainly have a mattress underneath. And though you may lift a ten-stone weight, I shall certainly not attempt to do any such thing myself and still not feel ashamed to be your companion. I shall put up with you and love you

¹ Demons

² *Vide* Bhagavad Gita, XVI, 1-3.

³ Tending to the ethical life, as distinct from the rajasic, tending to competitive striving, and the tamasic, tending to inertia; *vide* Bhagavad Gita, XVIII, 30-2

⁴ Enlightenment

⁵ Devotee

just the same notwithstanding what you may call your limitations, even as you have to do likewise to me. We can therefore but go forward as far forward as our legs will carry us and no farther and still be together, one soul and two bodies. Please therefore be at ease so far as my side is concerned. Take care of your own and everything else will follow.

I have not received the letters you say you are enclosing.

Death for Mrs. Mayo can only be welcomed by her friend.¹ She will go to a higher state and we must not form attachments for the sake of the bodies of people. Through the body we learn to know them but we do not need their bodies to continue to love them.

I shall have the inscription copied as you suggest.

I suppose I need not repeat here the information about the changes here that I have given to Manilal.

Mrs. Gandhi is decidedly better. It remains to be seen whether the change continues.

Some members of the Theosophical Convention visited Phoenix on Tuesday. They were 9 in all. Miss Pillenbury was one of them. I have asked her to describe to you the visit. They dined here. It was the simplest style, no strange food was given them. Indian marrow, rice and potatoes and rice pudding cereal, coffee and fresh lemon drink. Old Nelson was one of the party. They seemed to be pleased. I had sent the message that those who cared could come and visit the Settlement.

With love,

[PS.]

Gokhale has cabled inquiring whether I would visit him in London before going to India. I have answered I might if absolutely necessary, Mrs. Gandhi's health permitting. We shall see.

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

¹ Mrs. Mayo died in the second week of May 1914; *Vide* "The Late Mrs. Mayo", 20-5-1914.

130. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

April 17, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

What about the house at Mountain View which the Polaks want to buy from you? What are the terms you have suggested?

I have a letter from Douglas Hall, written for Gokhale, asking me if I would go to London before returning to India.

Mrs. Gandhi is still feeling well. If the improvement continues, it may be all well.

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

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

131. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

PHOENIX,

NATAL,

Friday, Chaitra Vad 8 [April 17, 1914]

CHI. MANILAL,

Received your letters. Ba is, now at any rate, on the way to recovery again.

Even there, I cannot but think, it will prove a rewarding practice to sit down on the floor to eat. You should clean the place where you sit down, so that no one could object. We have made it a practice to sleep on the floor and so we may have our meal as well. It should be enough if you mop the floor where the meal is to be served. One would feel it awkward if one had to start doing this after going to India. There is humility in sitting on the floor for a meal; it will mean, moreover, that we are adopting a practice followed by crores of people. It is few who have their meals at the table.

My diet consists of 18 dates, 9 bananas, three [*sic*] uncooked groundnuts, four *amatungulu* and two lemons, with two spoonfuls of oil added. I take a quantity of coconut kernel which I can chew. Tomatoes being dear, they have been ordered only for such as cannot

do without them. Not everyone lives on one meal a day. Raojibhai and I alone follow the practice. Ramdas carried on with it for a month. On Mondays and Fridays, everyone goes without salt.

I do not know why people do not fast on the tenth instead of the eleventh day [of each fortnight]; it seems obvious, however, that going without the usual food at least one day in a fortnight purifies body and mind. We want to have the palate under control but, falling short of complete success, we atone for the failure once in a fortnight. Moreover, we commit numerous sins mentally and hence by balancing the account once a fortnight we realize our abject state. To observe the *ekadashi*, it is not enough merely to keep a fast; the day should be spent, rather, in reflecting over matters of faith.

I have already asked two books to be sent to you. The *Gita* transcribed by you will be in addition to these.

“Such passeth from all ‘plaining’ to blest *nirvana*” is a translation of *sa shantimadhigachchhati*¹. It means, he attains to peace. He who has given up all desires, who is free from the sense of “I” and “mine”, who is unconscious of his identity as a separate being, attains peace. In the word “plaining” occurring in the English [translation] above, ‘ex’ has been left out, so that the word is “explaining”. Such a man escapes from all concerns (objects of desire and pursuit) to the happy state of *nirvana*.

One who rises early should make no exception on Sundays. If we do, we shall anxiously await the coming of a Sunday. If, therefore, you seriously want to form the habit, you must get up at the same time on Sundays as on other days.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Swami Mangalanandapuri has been here for the last two days. He will leave tomorrow.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji’s hand: C.W. 96 Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

¹ Bhagavad Gita, II, 71

132. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[PHOENIX,
NATAL,]

April 22, 1914

TO

THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

I HAVE JUST RECEIVED RECORD OF CONVICTIONS AT VERULAM MAGISTRATE'S COURT ABOUT £3 TAX. THESE CONVICTIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE DURING THE CURRENT MONTH. I VENTURE SUGGEST LEAST INDIAN COMMUNITY EXPECTS FROM GOVERNMENT IS THAT THESE FORCED COLLECTIONS OF TAX SHOULD BE SUSPENDED, PENDING LEGISLATION. RECORD BEING PUBLISHED. IF I CAN HAVE REASSURING ANSWER IT WILL AVOID MUCH IRRITATION, ILL-FEELING.

GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 29-4-1914

133. FRAGMENT OF LETTER

[PHOENIX,
NATAL,]

Chaitra Vad 13 [April 22, 1914]

. . . Never perhaps have I spent such days of agony as I am doing now.¹ I talk and I smile, I walk and eat and work, all mechanically these days. I can do no writing whatever. The heart seems to have gone dry. The agony I am going through is unspeakable. I have often wanted to take out the knife from my pocket and put it through the stomach. Sometimes I have felt like striking my head against the wall opposite, and, at other times, I have thought of running away from the world. But then again I reflected: "The simple fellow that you are! Foolish one! Why do you go crazy in this fashion? If you do not preserve your balance of mind at this

¹ One of the inmates of Phoenix Settlement for whom Gandhiji had great regard was found to have been guilty of a moral lapse and had obviously deceived Gandhiji. On being warned by him, the person promised not to sin again; but when the offence was repeated, Gandhiji undertook a fast for 14 days.

hour, full of agony though it be, what use is the little wisdom you have come by?" And so I pass my days at present. I want just now to inform my well-wishers, "See here, my friends, J. has committed terrible sins."

When I knew all this, I thought I must atone for my own sin in putting my faith in one who did not deserve it. I was about to resolve on a fast for 15 days, but checked myself. I thought of Ba. If I fasted for 15 days, that would mean Ba's death. I gave up the idea for the time being, deterred only by this fear. However, I decided afterwards that J. must leave for. . . .¹ To go and live there was the only right thing . . .² could do . . .² would come to no good by remaining here. . . .² I do not know what evil there is in me. I have a strain of cruelty in me, as others say, such that people force themselves to do things, even to attempt impossible things, in order to please me. Lacking the necessary strength, they put on a false show and deceive me. Even Gokhale used to tell me that I was so harsh that people felt terrified of me and allowed themselves to be dragged against their will out of sheer fear or in the attempt to please me, and that those who found themselves too weak assumed an artificial pose in the end. I put [he said] far too heavy a burden on people. He, too, [he added] strained himself to do things beyond his capacity when he was asked by me.

[From Gujarati]
Gandhijini Sadhana

134. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[PHOENIX,
NATAL,]
April 24, 1914

TENDER MY THANKS FOR PROMPT REASSURANCE ABOUT £3
TAX.² MAY I SUGGEST THAT THOSE MEN WHO DURING RE-
CENT PROSECUTIONS WERE IMPRISONED BECAUSE THEY COULD

¹ Some words are omitted here in the source.

² In response to Gandhiji's telegram dated April 22, General Smuts had wired: "Your wire today on subject of prosecution of Indians for failing to take out £3 licence. Representations have been made to the Minister for Justice with view to suspending action re[garding] prosecutions, pending consideration of recommendations of Indian Enquiry Commission by Parliament."

NOT OR DID NOT PAY THE INSTALMENTS BE DISCHARGED, WHETHER AT
VERULAM OR ELSEWHERE?

GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 29-4-1914

135. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

April 28, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You ask me whether it will be inconvenient for me to have you here. What a question? You still observe the distance. What though it were inconvenient? You have still a right to come. So come when you like. Only I may have to leave for Cape Town any day now.

I have been unable to write to you for some days as I have not been able to get up early for the last few days, the nights having been disturbed by Mrs. Gandhi. She is getting better but sometimes requires service during night. The discipline here is becoming more and more severe. The boys may not now get up late on Sundays. It is the same hour for all the days, i.e., 4 a.m. Only two meals are served now. The times are 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. Two days in the week are saltless. The little ones get two bananas and a *naarangi* each at 7.30. The youngsters rise at 6 a.m. The school hours are 4.30 to 7 a.m., 7 to 9.30 physical labour, 9.30 to 10 bathing, 10 to 11.30 dinner, etc., 11.30 to 2 school, 2 to 2.30 recreation, 2.30 to 3.30 Press work, 3.30 to 4.45 agriculture, 5 p.m. supper, 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. service. To bed at 8 p.m. Coffee has now been rejected because I do not want any makeshifts in India. Please let Manilal see this as I shall not be giving him a separate account.

Your scale of diet is too extravagant and rich. Here we allow no more than one ounce of oil per head. You take nearly 6 oz. per head. The other allowances are also on the same liberal scale and it therefore makes the body gross. The scales should be fixed with some consideration for the lives of the poorest of mankind. In any case the scale cannot be followed in Phoenix without causing very great disturbance. We are now using gingili¹ oil as I have been able to procure the finest quality. I commenced the experiment first. The taste has agreed with all. Whether it will agree with all constitutions

¹ Gandhiji has spelt the word as "gingelly".

here remains to be seen.

As for Polak, could he not buy the property and pay rent and interest at the same time? I say this without much consideration. The whole to be paid over in, say, 5 years' time.

I am writing this under too much disturbance. The inscription is being sent by Jamnadas. I must not perform the opening ceremony.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

136. "HIND SWARAJ"¹

I wrote *Hind Swaraj* in 1909 on board the ship during the return voyage from England. Copies of the book having been confiscated in the Bombay Presidency, I published a translation in 1910. It is now five years since the ideas in it were expressed in public. And during this period, many persons have had discussions with me on those ideas. Englishmen and Indians, both have written to me about them, several expressing dissent. At the end of it all, however, I find that the convictions I stated in the book have grown stronger. If only I had the time, I could set forth the same ideas more elaborately, with additional arguments and illustrations. I see no reason at all for revising them.

Numerous requests having been received for a second edition of *Hind Swaraj*, the inmates of Phoenix and the pupils there have found time to print it as a labour of love.

I should like to comment on one thing only. I have gathered an impression that, though *Hind Swaraj* does not advocate the use of physical force at any time and in any circumstances, and advocates always the use of soul-force to gain the desired end, the result of its teaching has been to create hatred for the British and to suggest that they should be expelled through armed fighting or use of violence otherwise. I was unhappy to know this. Such was by no means my object in writing *Hind Swaraj*, and I can only say that those who have

¹ This is the preface to the second Gujarati edition of *Hind Swaraj* which was published in May 1914. For the preface and text of the first edition, *vide* "Hind Swaraj", 22-11-1909.

drawn from it the foregoing conclusion have totally failed to understand the book. I, for one, bear no ill-will against the British or against any people or individuals. All living creatures are of the same substance as all drops of water in the ocean are the same in substance. I believe that all of us, individual souls, living in this ocean of spirit, are the same with one another with the closest bond among ourselves. A drop that separates soon dries up and any soul that believes itself separate from others is likewise destroyed. For myself, I am an uncompromising enemy of the present-day civilization of Europe. I tried to elaborate my view in *Hind Swaraj* and show that it is not the British that are responsible for the misfortunes of India but we who have succumbed to modern civilization. India can be free this very moment if we turn our back on this modern civilization and go back to our ancient way of life, which embodied the right ethical principles. The key to an understanding of *Hind Swaraj* lies in the idea that worldly pursuits should give way to ethical living. This way of life has no room for violence in any form against any human being, black or white.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 29-4-1914

137. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH¹

[PHOENIX]

Monday [May 4, 1914]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You must excuse my not writing to you regularly. I have not a minute to spare and I have no heart to write just now except when I am obliged. I am unable to get up early and unless I can do so I cannot write. The new discipline taxes me to the utmost.

Your telegrams I have misunderstood. I still do not know their meaning. I do not know whether you have to give me some news of further distress or what. However, your letter will say something.

I have, I think, answered all the points you summarised in your last letter. The Nagappan inscription, Manilal can write from

¹ A note by the addressee at the top of the letter reads: "Written during the 'Fortnight Fast'".

Valliamma's. I have not before me the exact dates.

On your diet scale I should like to write more fully when I have the time. Mrs. Gandhi continues to be better.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

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

138. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[PHOENIX,
Before *May 6, 1914*]

TO

THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

I HAVE SEEN TELEGRAM¹ SENT BY THE ANJUMAN ISLAM, DURBAN, REGARDING PHOTOGRAPH[S] REQUIRED FROM INDIAN WIVES SEEKING ENTRANCE INTO THE PROVINCE. UNABLE UNDERSTAND REQUIREMENT IMMIGRATION DEPARTMENT. VENTURE DRAW ATTENTION FACT THAT, WHEN QUESTION AROSE REGARDING EVEN MALES IN TRANSVAAL SOME YEARS AGO, IT GAVE RISE TO SUCH BITTERNESS THAT GOVERNMENT WERE PLEASED WITHDRAW REQUIREMENT. REGARDING WOMEN IT IS A MOST DANGEROUS THING. HOPE MINISTER WILL BE PLEASED INSTRUCT IMMIGRATION OFFICER WAIVE REQUIREMENT AND ACCEPT LOCAL PROOF OFFERED BY THE PARTIES IN QUESTION. UNDERSTAND ALSO THAT IMMIGRATION DEPARTMENT ADOPTING SEVERE METHODS REGARDING INDIAN ENTRANTS GENERALLY. AMONG THESE IS INSISTENCE UPON INDIANS POSSESSING RIGHTS DOMICILE MORE THAN ONE PROVINCE CHOOSING ONE PROVINCE ONLY. SUBMIT REQUIREMENT ARBITRARY, UNCALLED FOR. PRACTICE RECOGNIZING DOUBLE OR TRIPLE DOMICILE NEVER HITHERTO QUESTIONED, AND WHAT EVER LEGAL INTERPRETATION IMMIGRATION ACT 1913, HOPE

¹ The Chairman of the Anjuman Islam of Durban had conveyed to the Minister of the Interior the Indian community's concern at and objection, on religious grounds, to the demand for the photographs of Indian wives, and urged that local proofs be accepted for identification.

GOVERNMENT DO NOT INTEND DEPART FROM EXISTING PRACTICE.¹

GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 6-5-1914

139. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

May 6, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Jeki has been found lying more than once. I therefore told her that she could not stay away from her husband unless she was absolutely superior to him. Indeed she is inferior to her husband. The latter is no hypocrite. But Jeki is a finished hypocrite. You may understand what all these discoveries must have cost me. However she has now consented to go to Fiji. I have Dr. Mehta's authority by cable. So she goes next Sunday escorted by Miss West. She leaves by a Castle boat for Cape Town, and will there book for Fiji.

You did not ask for English inscription. You had it there. You asked only for Gujarati. And that you have. If there was anybody's fault it was mine for the delay. But perhaps you will understand why I was delayed. Nagappan's I have written to you about already.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

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

140. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

PHOENIX,

NATAL,

May 6, 1914

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I have your cable, your own most affectionate letter and Dr. Mehta's letter. How I would like to be by your side during your

¹ In reply to this, the Minister of the Interior telegraphed: "Your telegram today. Matter being inquired into."

illness although I may be utterly helpless for any useful service ! Your cable is for my comfort and convenience. But Mrs. Gandhi is now much better. If her progress continues, in a month's time she should regain most of her former health. In that case and in any case I could come to London taking her with me. And after consultation with you, we may both proceed to India directly and the rest of the party may leave here after we have left. This will enable me to reach India without any great loss of time. At the outside it can be only three weeks. Please therefore cable if I may still come. In view of your own and Dr. Mehta's letter I should much like to come. It would be a disappointment to me, if you do not let me come. Unless, therefore, you are leaving for India to reach there before me, I do hope that your cable will authorise my coming to you.

The draft bill¹ is not yet out. It may, therefore, take quite to the end of June before I am free to move. And it is just likely that a final settlement may not be reached at all. In that event the struggle must recommence and I dare not go to India. I am fully prepared for either event.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 3776

141. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

May 7, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Pardon me for not writing to you promptly or fully. I have not written fully because your letters have not been with me at the time of writing. I have not written promptly because I get no time. Jeki and Mrs. Gandhi have put such a severe strain on me that I feel like doing nothing at all. I have never been so sorely tried as I am just now. I cannot write everything because I have not the energy but when we meet you shall have it all.

I am keeping your letter before me today, so here are the answers.

¹ The reference is to the Indians' Relief Bill.

1. I say that the walks to Pretoria should be stopped. If you want to cultivate regular habits, disturbances should not occur.

2. Yes, there is a letter from the Poet and it is a nice letter. I shall have it sent. It is not by me just now.

3. If I must go to London you may not come because you will be taking the party to India. I should go to India from London.

4. Isaac I fancy is going to Johannesburg. He will not be allowed to come to India. He is just now at Phoenix.

5. Dahya has offered to come to Phoenix and I have said he may. I do not know that he will come to India. Jeki will probably not go to Cape Town as I can get a boat to Australia on the 31st May. But I am not sure. I see there is a boat to Australia on the 20th from Cape Town. I am inquiring.

I have answered about Valliamma and the Valliamma Hall. As to Polak's property, I must consider. The matter may not be done in a hurry. More later.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

142. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR¹

[PHOENIX

On or after *May 7, 1914*]

REQUEST FAVOURABLE REPLY MY WIRE REGARDING PHOTO-
GRAPHS INDIAN WIVES. MEMBERS COMMUNITY GETTING AGI-
TATED. IF DELAY DECIDING MATTER PLEASE INSTRUCT OFFICER EXTEND
TEMPORARY PASSES.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S.N. 5974

¹ This appears to be in reference to the "Telegram to Minister of Interior", before 6-5-1914, and was evidently sent some time after May 6, 1914.

143. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Sunday [May 10, 1914]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You must have little love for me if it is dependent upon letters from me and if it misinterprets absence of letters and does not believe that there must be sound reasons for the extraordinary absence. I have told you that latterly I have gone through mental shocks and agonies I have never gone through before. I do not want to write anything. I do not want to talk to anybody. I want to live in solitude and yet I am talking, writing and living in company. In the day-time I can do little writing. I am unable to get up early in the morning. Can you not enter into my feelings and let your love overlook the omissions and the faults?

Here is Valliamma's inscription in English. This I think finishes the list, does it?

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

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

144. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]

Wednesday [May 13, 1914]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Love is mute, it does not complain. Love is blind, it sees no fault. Love is deaf, it hears no tales. Love ever gives never demands. Love is constant, never varying whether in adversity or prosperity. Love is never hurt. Love never tires. How has yours fared of late!

Manilal knows nothing of Manilal of Fiji. He is an infatuated lad. Now that I know Jeki, I know that she is not a patch upon Manilal of Fiji. The latter is an honest man. He has left what an injured husband would feel. Is it any wonder? He has bluntly given vent to his feelings. Is it not honest? I could only keep Jeki away from her

husband only in the belief that she was infinitely superior to her husband. Now I find that she is inferior. She is a liar, a wretched hypocrite, without pity, without remorse, full of evil passions. Could I ever keep her from her husband? Why, she would soon be as bad as he is and take part in all his enjoyments. Why should she not?

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

145. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH¹

PHOENIX,

Sunday [May 17, 1914]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have not the energy to write to you myself, but it is better that I dictate something rather than I should let you remain without any letter at all. Manilal will give you a translation of my views on regular walks to Pretoria. This fast² has been a very rich but very bitter and painful experience. I have suffered tortures and I am still suffering. It has left me utterly exhausted. However, more I must say later. If you have to go to India in charge of the party, of course I shall meet you at Bombay because I shall precede you and you will certainly be better able to cope with the party on boat than I can. When I go to Cape Town, you will certainly accompany me. I may be in Johannesburg during the week in order to be able to attend to many matters.

Yours sincerely,

FOR UPPER HOUSE,

CHHAGANLAL

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

¹ This letter was followed by a letter to the addressee from Chhaganlal Gandhi; *vide* "Resolutions at Vrededorp Mass Meeting", 30-3-1913.

² *Vide* "Fragment of Letter", 22-4-1914.

146. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

May 18, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

This fast has brought me as near death's door as possible. I can still hardly crawl, can eat very little, restless nights, mouth bad. But it would be all right. The fast was a necessity. I was so grossly deceived. I owed it to Manilal of Fiji, to Dr. Mehta, and to myself. It was one of the severest lessons of my life. The discipline was very great. Everyone around me was most charming. Mrs. Gandhi was divine. Immediately she realized that there was no turning me back, she set about making my path smooth. She forgot her own sorrows and became my ministering angel. And she still remains the same. The result is that she is better in health. I appealed to all not to go in for fasting but to rejoice that one of themselves was trying to purify himself. All caught the fire and I was helped all along.

I felt it my duty not to let you or Polak know because that would have thrown additional care on me and no good purpose could be served by informing you. The step had to be taken by me prayerfully and I took it. I would not miss the experience. What the effect will be I do not know.

Please let Polak read this so that I may not have to write the same thing twice. I am still too weak to write much.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

147. LETTER TO ELIZABETH MARI MOLTENO

PHOENIX,
May 19, [1914]¹

DEAR MISS MOLTENO,

I know that I owe you a letter. But since leaving Cape Town I have passed through so many trials that I have not had the time or the inclination to write really to anybody. Mrs. Gandhi had a very serious

¹ From the contents

relapse and she absorbed all my time. Then followed a disciplinary fast of 14 days the severest trial of my life¹. The fast was broken on Saturday last and I am feeling much better today. Mrs. Gandhi too has responded to the careful nursing and today for the first time after my return to Phoenix I am at the Press working at the desk having just left Mrs. Gandhi to her household work.

Now I know you will excuse me why I should not have written a line to you after that very serious last conversation we had. Do please let me hear from you.

I had a very sweet letter from Miss Hobhouse this week. I am not replying just yet but may do so next week.

Mrs. Gandhi often recalls your love to her and thinks of the kind friends in Cape Town.

Manilal is still in Johannesburg with Mr. Kallenbach. With our united regards to both of you.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Molteno Murray Family Papers. Courtesy: University of Cape Town Libraries

148. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[PHOENIX,]
May 19, 1914

TO
INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN

COULD I KNOW FOR SATISFYING INQUIRERS WHEN INDIAN
LEGISLATION LIKELY BE INTRODUCED.²

GANDHI

From the handwritten draft: S.N. 5970

¹ *Vide* also "Fragment of Letter", 22-4-1914

² The Minister in his telegram of May 20 replied: "Is it your desire to come here and discuss draft Bill with Minister, and if so, appointment could be made for a day early next week. Bill would probably be introduced week following."

149. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Tuesday [May 19, 1914]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Please read the enclosed and return.¹ I am much better today and for the first time working at the Press. More later.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

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

150. THE LATE MRS. MAYO

We regret to announce the death of Mrs. Mayo², which took place last week. The news was cabled to Mr. Kallenbach, and it soon became common property amongst the many who had come to look upon Mrs. Mayo with regard and veneration. Hers was [a] truly noble soul. It was a most strenuous life that she led up to the very end. She was one of the few true interpreters of Tolstoy's teachings, and she will be best known to the world as such. To the Indians of South Africa her memory will be a cherished treasure for her very warm and loving sympathy during their troubles.

Indian Opinion, 20-5-1914

151. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[PHOENIX,
NATAL,]

May 22, 1914

TO

INTERIOR

CAPE TOWN

AM LEAVING FOR CAPE THIS EVENING REACHING THERE
WEDNESDAY MORNING HOPE REPORT MYSELF THEN.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten original: S. N. 5972

¹ The enclosed letter from Emily Hobhouse is not available.

² Mrs. Isabella Fyvie Mayo

152. LETTER TO "THE TRANSVAAL LEADER"¹

[JOHANNESBURG,]

May 23, 1914

[SIR,]

In your today's issue of the *Leader*, you publish certain remarks made by Mr. Justice Mason, to which you give the headings "Credibility of Evidence", "Judge's Remarks on Indians".

I have no desire in any way to controvert His Lordship's statement which may be justified by the facts brought to his notice from time to time, but it should be well understood by the public that Mr. Justice Mason confined his remarks to a certain class of Indians only, whom my Association has no desire to direct from such criticism. He did not, as Mr. Greenberg appeared to suppose condemn Indian evidence on national or racial grounds at all. There are also certain classes of non-Indians equally guilty of attempts to mislead the Court, but I do not presume that, in similar circumstances, you would speak of the Judge's remarks on Europeans. It is notorious that lawyers, like doctors, see mainly the seamy side of life, and they will necessarily draw conclusions from what they see. In spite, however, of

¹ This was signed by A. M. Cachalia and was in reply to the following report in *The Transvaal Leader*: "Some rather strong observations regarding the credibility of Indian witnesses were made by Judge and counsel in the Witwatersrand Local Division yesterday. The case was one in which an Indian applied for the sequestration of a compatriot's estate and the latter resisted an order on the ground that the applicant was not a creditor to the amount of £50 as provided by the Insolvency Law.

"Mr. Justice Mason remarked that the evidence in support of the respondent's case was what one very often found in Indian cases. There generally seemed a number of witnesses for one side fortuitously at hand when the opposite side gave away its whole case. . . .

". . . In giving Judgment, Mr. Justice Mason said that the respondent's case was that, in order to defeat other creditors, the applicant agreed with him to take over certain goods in reduction of his debt, and that that was done. In support of that, the respondent produced witnesses who conveniently happened to be present when the agreement was made, although the parties making it must have known that the arrangement was one which would be somewhat open to criticism in the eyes of the law. Then there were two more witnesses who happened to come on the scene when the arrangements were being carried out, and who seemed to know all about the collusive agreement. Now, these were coincidences which, if true, were of a remarkable character. Unfortunately, however, these coincidences so often appeared in Indian cases. They had got to face that fact."

what might have been to a less just man a strong temptation to exaggerate, Mr. Justice Mason confined his remarks to that section of the community which he believed to be guilty and did not level an indictment against the whole of the Indian community, as one might suppose from the first few lines of your report.

I trust that you will find space for this letter in order to remove any wrong impression that might have been created.

[*I am, etc.,*]

Indian Opinion, 3-6-1914

153. PRAYER SPEECH

[JOHANNESBURG,
May 23, 1914]

I shall not be pleased just because you recite verses from the Gita. I don't care whether or not you read history, do sums in arithmetic or learn Sanskrit. What is necessary is that you should acquire self-control. That is what I want. I may agree to be some one's slave, but not that of my mind. There is no sin as base as being the slave to one's mind. Be wise, therefore, and learn to discipline your mind. So you will be able to live with me. Otherwise I have no need of anyone. Nor am I conceited enough to want to teach you or anyone else. I have a pupil, to train whom is the most difficult task. It is only by training that pupil that I can do some good to you, to India or the world. That pupil is myself, what I call my mind. Only those who thus become their own pupils are fit to stay here. Others who cannot stand such a life had better not stay here. Such a person would do well to leave this place. It is a sin, however, to do anything blindly (without a purpose, mechanically). I want no such thing.

[From Gujarati]

Gandhijini Sadhana

154. INTERVIEW WITH E. M. GORGES¹

PRETORIA,
May 27, 1911

Upon Clause 1 Mr. Gandhi indicated that he valued this provision mainly for the sake of appearances. He thought that the appointment of a large number of Indian priests as marriage officers might easily lead to abuses, as some persons representing themselves as priests might not be of the highest character. He contemplated therefore that a somewhat sparing use would be made of the power of appointment, and that only such priests would be selected as were known to be of unimpeachable reputation. He thought that, for practical purposes, the machinery of registration under Clause 2 would and should become the usual method of legalizing Indian marriages, and he therefore deprecated very strongly the limitation of the right to such marriages only as existed at the commencement of the Act.²

. . . Another point which was considered at the interview between Mr. Gorges and Mr. Gandhi was the expediency of enabling Magistrates generally, whether appointed as marriage officers or not, to register Indian marriages under Clause 2.³

On Clause 3 Mr. Gandhi does not appear to have taken any exception to

¹ On May 30, 1914, the Governor-General, Lord Gladstone, addressed a despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, forwarding printed copies of the draft Indians' Relief Bill, and pointing out certain verbal amendments made therein. In the course of the despatch, the Governor-General reported: "Mr. Gandhi has been summoned from Natal, and a copy of the Bill as printed was handed to him by the Secretary for the Interior on Wednesday morning. After perusing it he saw Mr. Gorges again on Wednesday afternoon. I understand that he seemed on the whole to be satisfied, and that the substance of the interview may be summarised as follows." No other report of the interview is available.

² The despatch continued: "I may mention that I had previously caused to be conveyed to Mr. Gorges an expression of regret at the introduction of the words 'at the commencement of this Act'. Mr. Gorges said that they had been inserted by General Smuts' direction, but he did not know whether the Minister's decision on this point must be regarded as irrevocable. I am therefore not without hope that Mr Gandhi's representations in regard to this clause will not prove wholly ineffective. He will have an opportunity of discussing the matter with General Smuts in the course of the next few days."

³ The despatch here added: "Mr. Gorges, I understand, will suggest to General Smuts the insertion of a provision that, for the purposes of this action, the term 'Marriage Officer' shall include any Magistrate."

proviso (b) of sub-clause (2). He urged, however, that the children of deceased women, who would have been eligible for admission under this clause, should not be excluded from its benefits. Mr. Gorges told my Secretary that he would submit to the Minister an amendment to the following effect: after the word "defined" at the end of the clause insert some such phrase as "or the child of the exempted person and a deceased woman who, had she lived, could have been recognized as a wife within the meaning of this section, or whose marriage could have been registered under the provisions of section 2 of this Act". These, so far as I am aware, were the only points raised by Mr. Gandhi upon the Bill.¹

He, however, made the following representations upon questions of administration. He asked for facilities for the admission and registration of all existing plural wives, whether in or out of South Africa, of Indians lawfully resident in the Union. This, you will observe, is a slight extension of the second recommendation on page 39 of the Commission's Report, where the grant of the privilege is contemplated only in the case of plural wives who had actually lived in the country. Mr. Gorges did not seem to regard the request as un-reasonable, but he told my Secretary that he was not aware of the view which General Smuts might take of the proposal. Mr. Gandhi renewed his request for an assurance that, so long as the immigration of Natal-born Indians into the Cape did not exceed its present dimensions, such Indians should be admitted without the imposition of a test, and particularly without the application of the provisions of Section 4(1)(a) of last year's immigrants Regulation Act. He did not ask for legislation, as presumably he is well aware of the very serious difficulty which the Government would experience if the question of the Cape entry were again to be raised in Parliament even by the introduction of the small amendment recommended by the Commission on page 16 of their Report. I gather that the Commission attached no great importance to this recommendation and that after the position had been explained to them and they had been apprised of the reason why the words "at the commencement of this Act" had been inserted in Section 4(2)(a) of Act 22 of 1913, they intimated that the recommendation was not one which they would be disposed to press.

Mr. Gandhi renewed his plea for a satisfactory statement in respect of the declaration required under the Free State law from Indians entering that

¹ In his interview to Gandhiji on May 30, only a reference to which is available in the Governor-General's despatch of June 5, 1914, Smuts agreed to the three legislative points raised by Gandhiji, *Vide* "Extract from Governor-General's Despatch", 5-6-1914.

Province. This point should occasion no difficulty as General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi had previously come to an agreement upon it.

Mr. Gandhi then raised two new points.

(1) He asked for some declaration or assurance that vested rights under the Transvaal Gold Law should be recognized and preserved. Mr. Gorges told him that this was really a matter for the Mines Department, and suggested that he should discuss it with General Smuts.

(2) Mr. Gandhi urged that a free pardon should be granted to all *bona fide* passive resisters in respect of convictions for *bona fide* passive resistance offences, excluding all offences of violence which had been committed during the passive resistance campaign. I see no reason why the Minister should adopt a *non possumus* attitude towards this request, but I am not aware of his views.

As regards Clause 4 of the Bill, I understand that the Government think it undesirable to interfere with the special legislation governing the status of indentured Indians under the Natal Acts, except in so far as the repeal of the £3 tax is concerned. For this reason they are disinclined to modify any provisions mentioned in Clause 4. Mr. Gandhi, I believe, made no comment upon the clause.

Colonial Office Records: 551/57

155. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]

Thursday [May 28, 1914]¹

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your letter. While you express your regret, you say in the selfsame letter that on that very day you had forgotten to serve so important an item as the vegetable. You say it was left out, without explaining how it happened. Who is to blame? Why did you entrust the task to anyone else? You should have yourself carried the vegetable you had lovingly cooked. You may as well take a lesson from this. There is no need to be sorry for what is past and over, but it is important that one should learn something from it. While there, learn

¹ From its reference to the publication of the Indians' Relief Bill, which took place on Thursday, May 28, it is evident that the letter was written the same day.

to be devoted to your duty and cultivate self-discipline. This cannot be achieved, however, unless one thinks.

Have regard for everyone there, think of the good qualities in others, rather than their weaknesses, and be mindful of your own shortcomings. Instead of gossiping away your time, keep thinking. A single moment wasted is so much [time] lost from one's life and so much stolen from God. Understand this and use every moment well. See that your body becomes tough.

The Bill has been published and is likely to come up next week.¹ One does not know, though. There has been no meeting yet with General Smuts.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 106 Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

156. THE RELIEF BILL

The long-expected Indian Bill has now been published. We reproduce the full text with the schedule.² It is a simple and short measure and seems to carry out the recommendations of the Indian Commission in so far as legislative action is necessary. The Bill removes the marriage difficulty and restores the status as it existed before the Searle judgment. It repeals the £3 tax and remits the unpaid arrears. Lastly, it validates Natal certificates of domicile, if the owner can establish his identity with the certificate by proving that the thumb-impression on it is his own. There is another clause in the Bill with which the community is not concerned. It is the clause which enables the Government to give a free passage to any Indian not otherwise provided for if he renounces for himself and his family all claim to domicile in Natal or any other Province of the Union.

There are certain alterations necessary in the Bill. It will be a proper thing to use for validating future unions the machinery provided in the Bill for validating existing unions. Amendment will also be necessary for protecting the children of deceased wives, where such wives, if alive, could have been recognized under the present Bill.

¹ It was introduced in the House of Assembly on June 2

² *Vide* "The Indians Relief Act", 1914.

Assuming that the Bill with the suggested alterations becomes law, there will still remain the other matters recommended by the Commission and the matters covered by Mr. Cachalia's and Mr. Gandhi's letters. These require administrative treatment and include the Free State question, the Cape entry and the administration of existing laws. If satisfactory assurances are issued in connection with them, the struggle that has gone on for years, and that has meant enormous losses and sufferings to the community, may be said to have fitly and honourably closed.

Indian Opinion, 3-6-1914

157. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

[CAPE TOWN,]
June 5, 1914

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I was thankful to receive your cable. Mrs. Gandhi is much better but still weak. If she comes I shall bring her with me & Mr. Kallenbach may also come so that he may say good-bye to his people and also be with me. If you will not allow me to be with you as your nurse, I would like to go away to India immediately after our consultation.

As I do not know the state of your health I do not want to write a long letter though I feel tempted. I have, however, written¹ to Sorabji & asked him to see you about what I have written to him if you are well. He will then take instructions from you.

The Indian Bill has passed through the first stage. It is quite satisfactory & I am about to have another interview with General Smuts about the other points. There is, therefore, every prospect of the struggle being finally closed. In that event I should leave for London about the middle of July & even earlier if I can.

May I ask you please to cable the state of your health when you receive this?

Mr. Kallenbach who is just now with me wishes to be remembered to you.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 2248

¹ This letter is not available.

158. FRAGMENT OF LETTER

CAPE TOWN,

Tuesday, Jyestha Vad 2 [June 9, 1914]

We cannot pass any judgment on Mr. Sinha on the basis of what we read in newspapers at this distance. Mr. Norton also acted formerly as a public prosecutor in such cases. Who is a leader and who is not is a matter of opinion. Generally, a satyagrahi will express no opinion. In the kind of situation you mention, if one were to offer satyagraha and be imprisoned in consequence, the purpose of satyagraha would have been served. We need not always speak out in such cases. There is no ready answer to the question when satyagraha should be offered. A satyagrahi does not deliberate in advance when embarking on satyagraha. When he finds anything done that violates his conscience, he should use soul-force against it. Even at the time that I first started satyagraha, I considered it to be but a part of dharma. I have discovered from experience that it is the only religion and the only *chintamani*¹, and it has, therefore, developed in me especially in its aspect as dharma. He is a satyagrahi who has resolved to practise nothing but truth and such a one will know the right way every time. One's entire life should be permeated with truth. This will come about gradually through the observance of *yamas*², *niyamas*³, etc. Just as, in learning secular subjects, one has to work at them for many years, so too must one make efforts to understand the nature of satyagraha. As the veils which cover your *atman* and mine fall off, the *atman* of each will shine the more brightly and be the more resolute satyagrahis in battle.

[From Gujarati]

Mahatma Gandhijina Patro

¹ A fabulous gem supposed to yield to its possessor all that he desires; the philosophers' stone

² This means any moral duty or religious observance. The *yamas* are usually said to be ten, but their names are given differently by different authorities. They include celibacy, compassion, truth, charity, non-violence, etc.

³ Any voluntary or self-imposed religious observance, dependent on external conditions.

159. INDIAN GRIEVANCES

The Bill as originally circulated, but not gazetted, has already been amended in the sense indicated as being necessary in our leading article¹ last week. It will be remembered that the original draft required Indians applying for the validation of a marriage by virtue of its provisions to satisfy the Marriage Officer “that there existed at the commencement of this Act between them a union then recognized as a marriage under the tenets of an Indian religion which they profess”. The Bill as amended, and now gazetted, reads that the officer must be satisfied “that there exists between them a union then recognized as a marriage under the tenets of an Indian religion which they profess”. This amendment provides, therefore, for the validation of future marriages celebrated within the Union or elsewhere. Then, again, paragraph 3, sub-section 2, of the Bill is amended to provide that “the child under the age of sixteen” shall include “the child of the exempted person and a deceased woman who, if she had been alive, could have been recognized-as the wife (as herein defined) or whose union with the exempted person could have been registered as a marriage under section 2 of this Act”. The amendment speaks for itself, and the Bill now seems to satisfy the legislative requirements of Passive Resisters. We hope that it will have a speedy passage through Parliament.

Indian Opinion, 10-6-1914

160. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

CAPE TOWN,

Wednesday, Jeth Vad 3 [June 10, 1914]

DEAR BROTHER,

When Ramachandra was about to go to the forest, King Dasharatha asked him to ignore his [Dasharatha's] promise to Kaikeyi and not to go, breach of promise though this might mean. Ramachandra disre-garded this desire born of the common worldly attachment for the son and went to dwell in the forest, thus showing true reverence for his father, and so made Dasharatha's and his own name

¹ *Vide* “The Relief Bill”, 3-6-1914.

immortal. Harishchandra, by selling his wife and showing himself ready even to bring down the sword on Rohit's neck, proved his devotion to his wife and his love for the son. Prahlad, by disobeying his father's order, rendered a service to him and brought about his deliverance. Mirabai¹, by leaving Kumbha Rana, turned the Rana himself into her disciple. Dayanand² ran away from his parents, breaking betrothal already solemnized, and even gave the slip to the men who had been sent after him; in this way he showed his devotion to his mother and father. Lord Buddha went away as his young wife lay asleep.

We find many similar examples. Pondering over them, we must, in the difficult situation in which we are placed, do what seems the right thing from the point of view of true ethics. In the case of Shrivana, the finer, intangible form of service happened to flow in the same channel as outward, physical service. Not infrequently, therefore, we fail to discover from his example what the right course should be. He who habitually follows the path of truth will know the right way at the crucial moment. If the things such as poems about disinterestedness, which we read are of no help to us when faced with moral dilemmas, we will have read them in vain, parrot-like. We could not have reflected over them. If, despite our having read the *Gita*, it does not come to our help at the last moment, we might as well have not read it. This is the reason why I have always said: "Read little, but reflect over the little that you read, understand its significance and be ready to put it into practice."

It is only when we cease to be selfishly attached to those we love that the heart feels true compassion and renders service to them. To the extent that I have grown free of such attachment for Ba, I am able to serve her better. The Buddha, by leaving his parents, brought deliverance to them as well. Gopichand, by his renunciation, displayed the purest love for his mother. In the same way, you will be serving your parents by strengthening your character and cultivating spotless morality. When your soul has grown pure, it cannot but produce a corresponding effect on all those whom you love.

[With due regards,

MOHANDAS]

[From Gujarati]

Gandhijini Sadhana

¹ A medieval saint-poetess of Rajasthan

² Swamy Dayanand Saraswati (1824-83); founder of the Arya Samaj

161. JOTTINGS¹

[CAPE TOWN,
About *June 10, 1914*]

Any marriage whether before or after should be legalised.

Sec. 3: What about the children of other wives, children living here?

The definition of child

The other wives

Their children

The Cape entry

The Free State

The number of entrants

The administration of existing laws—Gold Law, Townships licensing law, Immigration

The other recommendations

Free Pardon

Camay

Ficksburg

Anjuman

Bhayad

Educated Indians who entered before the Act of 1913

Guns for old holders and new ones who may need them

Registration of those who legally enter

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5965

¹ These concerned various matters obviously requiring Gandhiji's attention. The date is assigned on the basis that on June 10 he forwarded to the Secretary for the Interior certain representations on behalf of Ficksburg Indians and the Anjuman Islam.

162. LETTER TO E. M. GORGES

[CAPE TOWN,]
June 11, 1914

DEAR MR. GORGES,

The enclosed speaks for itself. I do not understand the *Mercury* reading of the measure.¹ But, as the principle involved is so great, I would value an assurance that the meaning given to the Bill by the *Mercury* is not the meaning Government attach to the Bill.²

[I have, etc.]

M. K. GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 1-7-1914

163. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

CAPE TOWN,
Saturday [June 13, 1914]

DEAR SHRI RAOJIBHAI,

I got your letter so late today that I am in no position to write to you by today's post or even send a telegram. I shall now send a telegram only on Monday.

Where it is a question of a mother's love or a son's affection, it is something of a moral dilemma for a third party to offer advice. But

¹ The Natal Mercury in an article had doubted whether Indians would be allowed to remain in the Province. It had contended that, when the £3 tax is removed, the privilege of remaining in the country will be taken away from Indians and the only alternative left for them will be either to re-indenture or return to India. It had also pointed out that under the Immigrants Regulation Act the minister had power to declare all Asiatics "prohibited immigrants" on economic grounds and thus to deport ex-indentured Indians.

² On June 22, Gorges replied: "General Smuts desires me to say that it is perfectly clear from the report of the Commission that it was never intended that, by the repeal of the provisions of the existing laws dealing with the £3 licence, the position of the ex-indentured immigrant would be prejudicially affected in some other way; and had there been the slightest doubt on the subject, he is sure that the Commission—consisting as it did of three eminent lawyers—would certainly have drawn attention to it. The Minister himself is quite satisfied that the effect of the Bill as it now stands would not be to bring into evidence the position which the Mercury and African Chronicle would have us believe will be created."

offer it I must. When you took the decision you did on the strength of your father's letter, we were able to judge your mother's feelings. Her letter does not introduce any new factor. It has given rise, however, to a new concern, and love has naturally gained the first place in your heart. If now you can take a decision, with a mind free from selfish attachment, your love can be transformed into a pure and divine thing. You can give it to the entire world, that is, strive to do so. That is the end to which one must love and serve one's mother. Any other form of love is of an earthly character, such as is common in the world, a love purely of the physical frame. You recite poems, often enough, which sing of freedom from such love. Recite this one, *Know this world as of little good*, and reflect over its inner meaning. What is the significance of *The Living One's kinship only with that which breathes*? What is distinctive of the Phoenix way of life is that we strive to cultivate in us what we read about. Your going to India will have but momentary effect; ultimately, there needs must be grieving and weeping, be it after five days or fifteen, and certain separation ever afterwards.

Moreover, we aspire after a way of life in which we would not have a single pie of our own. Consider what men of such poverty would do in a situation like this.

That you should always yearn for a sight of your parents is good indeed. It is your duty [however] to repress the longing for the present and free your life more and more from the sway of attachments. You are enduring exile only for the sole purpose of training your character. This is the condition of *vanavasa*¹ for you. Through it alone will you bring credit to your parents. The way of self-indulgence is not for you; if, instead, you raise your *atman* higher day by day and acquire a greater measure of self-control, you will be free, for the present, from the obligation of returning to India.

In reasoning thus, I have not had the slightest regard to the circumstances in the press. In giving the advice I have done, I have only considered what would best conduce to your spiritual progress.

All the same, if you do feel yourself drawn to India by human attachment to your mother and cannot be at peace with yourself while remaining here, by all means go. Treat what I have said only as advice

¹ Literally, a recluse's life in the forest, like Rama's during his 14 years' exile.

and come to your own independent conclusion, and then act accordingly.

With due regards

MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

Mahatma Gandhijina Patro and Gandhijini Sadhana

164. *FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MANILAL
AND JAMNADAS GANDHI*

CAPE TOWN,

Saturday [On or after June 13, 1914]¹

I should welcome your keeping pace with me, but I don't expect it. I have never wished that you should all follow me in everything I do. But whatever you undertake to do, you must carry out. . . .² There is no question of coercion, of course. Having, however, given up the evil of . . .³, if you cheat me, you are certainly to blame . . .⁴ it may be conceded that the boys have reached a certain level. They refrain from certain things in Phoenix; while there, they regard them as things to be avoided. How, then, can they go after the very same things when away from Phoenix? No one is obliged to do without salt. Everyone refrains on principle from strong spices, addictions of any kind, sweets, rich feasts, tea, coffee, etc. And likewise, sexual indulgence, stealing, untruthfulness and late rising are shunned by all. How can anyone who finds this too strict a rule stay there? Every institution has certain rules which must be observed both in and outside the place. If anyone does not do so, there is no point in his remaining in the institution.

What you mean is that the boys and others do some of the things because of their regard for me and not voluntarily, and that, therefore, they are cheating me. The blame for this may be mine, but I have only one way of escaping it and that is by not staying with anyone. This does not seem to be my duty at present. If R . . . is

¹ From the reference to Norton in the letter, it appears to have been written after "Fragment of Letter", 9-6-1914.

² Some words are omitted here in the source.

³ *ibid*

⁴ *ibid*

driven by his regard for me to make a show of adopting a saltless diet, when I have asked him to do no such thing, and so deceives me, how am I to blame? . . .¹ I don't love you any the less for your not adopting a saltless diet and J . . . any the more for his living exclusively on fruits. There is no special sin or virtue in eating or not eating salt. It is the underlying principle which raises moral issues. Imam Saheb is not the less dear to me because he will never adopt a saltless diet. Miss Schlesin takes an opposite course to mine in all matters, but in some ways I place her character very much higher than that of you all. In all the changes [we introduce], our aim is to practise and develop self-discipline to the best of our ability. What I said that evening was that anyone who is not ready for this may leave me. I think I was perfectly right . . .² I am not much in love with Norton's action nor do I despise Bengali lawyers. A satyagrahi has no concern with them and his field of duty is quite different from theirs. The point of your question is, [how one may know] whether a person is a true satyagrahi or not. If you cannot know this yet, I will only say that it is a matter of intuition, that others cannot explain it. We are making all these efforts to master the palate, etc., in order to be able to understand this. . . .³ Do not think that self-discipline means living on a saltless diet. You may live on a dry crust of bread, two days old, and a pinch of salt. That may, of course, be a much higher thing than my enjoying all manner of fruits and nuts. The moral worth of our actions is to be judged from the motive behind your eating dry bread and my living on fruits.

Purity of character is not put to shame, but rather gains further strength, by what others say against us.

If you have done anything unworthy, confess everything to me. Unless you do so, your fasts and the many other penances you may go through will be in vain. I am getting impatient to be there but cannot run away from my duty.

I am not likely to go back on a pledge once taken, even if the sun were to rise in the west.

If those whom I believed to be very pure are really so sinful, I don't wish to nourish this body and keep it alive even for a moment.

It is not easy for a man to stick to his pledges.

¹ Some words are omitted here in the source

² Some words are omitted here in the source.

³ *ibid*

This letter will make both of you angry. But it would be a blot on my love of truth, such as it is, if I did not say what was in my mind and I would but ill serve you. It is my duty at the moment to cause you pain.

[From Gujarati]

Mahatma Gandhijina Patro and Jivannu Parodh

165. LETTER TO KUNVARJI MEHTA

[CAPE TOWN,]

Jeth Vad 8 [June 15, 1914]

DEAR SHRI KUNVARJI¹,

I have your letter. Thanks. I hope to meet the students in Surat when I return to India.

With due regards

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 2660

166. A HISTORIC DEBATE

The second reading of the Indian Bill was carried by a very substantial majority and became the occasion for a weighty pronouncement on the Government's Indian policy.² General Smuts's speech was studiously moderate and not at all offensive as some of his speeches on the subject have been in the past. General Botha's speech was worthy of the occasion. We feel grateful for his declaration that the Government proposed to stand or fall by the Bill. The other speeches delivered in favour of the Bill were of the same high order and, if the spirit of justice and conciliation that pervaded the speeches is continued in the administration of the existing laws, there need be no fear whatsoever of any Indian trouble arising in the future. We take the speeches as an earnest of the intention of the Government and the legislature that the resident population is to be

¹ Kunvarji Vithalbhai Mehta, manager of the Patidar Students' Hostel at Surat, in Gujarat

² This was on June 8, 1914.

treated with justice and fair play. Contrary to past experience, General Smuts made it clear that, this time, not only had the Government considered the feelings of the Imperial Government and the Government of India, but they had considered the Indian sentiment also. We trust that the same policy will be followed in the future.

What could have contributed to this high tone of the debate? Certainly the watchfulness of the Imperial Government; certainly, also, the courageous handling of the question by the Viceroy. Mr. Andrews' mission of love, too, contributed not a little to the lofty tone of the debate. His spirit seemed to watch and guide the deliberations of the House. And none of these helps would have been at our disposal if we had not helped ourselves. The spirit of Passive Resistance it was which made this trinity of causes possible. Let the community, therefore, understand that its last weapon at a critical moment is Passive Resistance, which has been once more fully vindicated. But we hope and we have reason to believe that the community will not be called upon again to pass through the terrible fire of suffering which it has had to pass through during the last, long years.

Indian Opinion, 17-6-1914

167. LETTER TO MARSHALL CAMPBELL¹

CAPE TOWN,
June 20, 1914

DEAR MR. MARSHALL CAMPBELL,

With reference to this morning's conversation between us about the telegram that appears in today's issue of the *Cape Times* regarding the Indians' Relief Bill, I beg to repeat what I said to you this morning, viz., that I do not know of any such Indian agitation as is referred to in the wire. I am sure that no responsible Indian has taken exception to the Bill. I do not believe for one moment that the Bill makes the Indians, affected by it, prohibited immigrants—a result

¹ This was published in *Indian Opinion*, 24-6-1914. Reuter quoted this as a telegram from Gandhiji.

never contemplated by the Imperial Government, the Government of India or the Indian community or, I feel sure, by the Union Government.

I remain,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

You may make what use you think fit of this letter.

M.K.G.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy signed by Gandhiji: S. N.
5991

168. LETTER TO INDENTURED INDIANS

[CAPE TOWN,
After *June 22, 1914*]

TO
INDIANS COMING WITHIN THE SCOPE OF ACT 17 OF 1895
MY DEAR BRETHREN,

You must have known by now that the £3 tax which you, your wives and grown-up children had to pay every year has been repealed and that the collection of arrears has been suspended. This means that you can live in freedom in this Province without re-indenturing yourselves. The Act of 1891 which applied to those who arrived before 1895 will now apply to you as well. It was in order to bring this about that you, I and hundreds of our brethren put up a struggle and went through suffering. But *The Natal Mercury* has stated that your position has become worse than it was and that now you will be either compelled to re-indenture yourselves or sent back to India. This is not true. The Government has stated categorically in one of its communications that the inference which the *Mercury* has drawn is not correct.¹ The Imperial Government and the Government of India are parties to the settlement. I know how they understand it. They have no doubt that the repeal of the tax means that you can live as free men and that, if you live so in Natal for three years, you will get the same

¹ *Vide* 1st footnote of "Letter to E.M. Gorges", 11-6-1914.

rights of residence as Indians who arrive as free immigrants. And finally I want to tell you that, if, under the new Act, you are treated as prohibited immigrants, as *The Natal Mercury* says you will be, no matter in what part of the world I may be, I shall use all my strength to get-so terrible an injustice removed. I am convinced, however, that the Government intends nothing of the kind and also that the Act bears no such meaning. This is the view of Mr. Marshall Campbell, too, who worked so hard to secure the repeal of the tax. You need have, therefore, no apprehensions on this score and I hope that no Indian will henceforth re-indenture himself out of fear of being expelled from this Colony.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 29-7-1914

169. THE LATE SIR DAVID HUNTER

The news reached Durban on Sunday that Sir David Hunter, K.C.M.G., one of Natal's most sincere and broad-minded public men, had passed away, after an operation at a nursing home in Edinburgh. Sir David was well-known as one who stood up for the weak and oppressed. In as out of Parliament his voice could always be heard in favour of justice and fair-play, especially on behalf of those who were unrepresented in the Legislature. The Indian community will feel his loss very keenly. During his twenty-six years' connection with the Natal Government Railways as General Manager he was known as a humane employer. He always spoke well of his Indian employees and they always thought highly of their Chief. We well remember, at the time of Mr. Gokhale's visit, Sir David speaking at the historic banquet in the Durban Drill Hall, in the capacity of Chairman, saying that, through long and varied experience, he had learned to respect his Indian staff for their faithful and useful service, and he, therefore had satisfaction in believing that they reciprocated his feelings towards them by loyal trust in him. He also spoke of the innate dignity and courtesy which were characteristic of the Indian race. Sir David, along with many others, maintained that the £3 tax was an unjust imposition, and we had the assurance from his own lips that he intended to support its repeal at the earliest opportunity. Had it not been for the unfortunate illness which took him to Scotland in the hope of relief, we are confident that there would not have been a more faithful

supporter of the present Indians' Relief Bill than Sir David Hunter. To the relatives and friends we offer our sincere sympathy and condolence, and we feel sure that the whole Indian community will share our feelings.

Indian Opinion, 24-6-1914

*170. POINTS FOR DISCUSSION WITH MINISTER
OF INTERIOR¹*

[CAPE TOWN,
Before June 27, 1914]

1. Indians born in S[outh] A[frica] to enter the Cape
2. Indentured Indians after 1895
3. The Free State
4. Marriages
5. How many will be admitted & how
6. Assurance that wives would be admitted if they are the only wives in S.A. and that even polygamous marriages will be recognised.
7. Evidence regarding wives
8. This year's entries in the Transvaal, Cape and Natal.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5973

171. LETTER TO E. M. GORGES

CAPE TOWN,
June 27, 1914

DEAR MR. GORGES,

I forgot to borrow from you the Mauritian Ordinance.² Could you please send it to me at Phoenix? I shall return it to you as soon as I have dealt with it.

¹ Presumably, this was a memorandum for the interview Gandhiji had with Smuts on June 27, the gist of which was communicated to Gandhiji by Gorges on June 30; *vide* Appendix "The Indians Relief Act", 1914. Gandhiji acknowledged this the same day; *vide* "Letter to E. M. Gorges", 30-6-1914.

² This dealt with Indian marriages; *vide* "Cable to "the Hindu", 6-7-1914; also "Marriage Law in Mauritius", 8-7-1914.

I think that you took down in your notes for the proposed letter: “wives and their children”. If not, will you please add “children” to “wives” in the paragraph about plural wives?

I trust that your letter will be liberally couched. I have already told you something about the opposition I shall have to face.

I have been thinking over the Gold Law discussion. Protection of the vested rights (in the sense in which I have used the term) of those trading and residing in Gold areas is of vital importance and I hope that General Smuts will apply to the consideration of this matter the same generous spirit that he has, I am grateful to be able to say, applied to that of the other matters we discussed. I trust that on this point also I shall get a definite reply at an early date so as to enable me to make final arrangements for my departure.

You will kindly send me the letters about Messrs Bhyad and Camay too on Monday.

May I thank you for the great patience and courtesy shown to me by you throughout our somewhat protracted discussions?

I am,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of a handwritten copy: S. N. 5996

172. SPEECH AT CONGRATULATORY MEETING¹

CAPE TOWN,
June 27, 1914

Mr. Gandhi, in replying, referred to the period 21 years ago when he first came to this country, an Agnostic. He had since learned, however, to recognize that there was a Divine purpose in the world, and a Divine hand guiding events conformably thereto. In the long struggle for the removal of Indian disabilities, a struggle which had absorbed the best part of his life, he had had many a hard knock, and many things had been attributed to him that he

¹ Gandhiji spoke at a gathering of European and Indian friends who had assembled in the evening to congratulate him on the passage of the Indians' Relief Bill. Senator Marshall Campbell and Hugh M. Meyler, M. L. A., expressed pleasure at the removal of £3 tax and other outstanding disabilities of the Indians in South Africa. The report in the indirect form is from a despatch by the Parliamentary Representative of The Natal Mercury.

had neither done nor intended to do. The method on which he had relied, which he thought was now beginning to be better understood had nothing in it of a lawless or desperate spirit, but he knew always that it made more demands on a man's courage and endurance than methods of violence could do.

Mr. Gandhi said it was a harder form of agitation, which, in the present case, could not have succeeded had his own countrymen not supported him, as was their duty. He felt himself to have been but a tool, and one of many tools. His deep thanks were due to the many European friends whose help had most materially contributed to the success now realised. He remembered how, during the month of the trying march into the Transvaal, a large number of Europeans had met the Indian column at various points along the road and encouraged them with sympathy and practical assistance. Potent, however, though passive resistance was as an instrument for winning reforms—perhaps the mightiest instrument on earth—it could not have achieved success had the Indian community not moderated their demands to what was reasonable and practical. This, again, was not possible until some of them were able to see the question of Indian rights from the European standpoint.

Mr. Gandhi went on to say he had made it his aim to see that question with the eyes of those who had seemed to his fellow-countrymen to be doing them an injustice; and he thought that, after long effort, he had fairly well succeeded. As to the Bill, he would say that it was a settlement of present difficulties. He felt that his countrymen in South Africa, after their struggle of eight years, were entitled to a reasonable period of peace. He had been impressed by the spirit of national and Imperial responsibility manifested in the recent speeches on the Bill in the Union Parliament, and, if that spirit continued, he had no doubt the Government here would be able to solve the problems which still remained in regard to their Indian subjects. He did not see that the peace now accomplished needed ever to be disturbed. There would be no more influx of Indians into the country. Indentured labour had been stopped for ever—let them thank heaven for that. The Indians knew perfectly well which was the dominant and governing race. They aspired to no social equality with Europeans. They felt that the path of their development was separate. They did not even aspire to the franchise, or, if the aspiration existed, it was with no idea of its having present effect. Ultimately—in the future—he believed his people would get the franchise if they deserved to get it, but the matter did not belong to practical politics. All he would ask for the Indian community was that, on the basis of the rights now conceded to them, they should be suffered

to live with dignity and honour on the soil of South Africa.¹

We do not aspire to social equality, and I dare say our social evolution lies along different lines. We have stated so repeatedly — that we shall not at present ask for the whole franchise. We understand who is the predominant race here. In the process of time, when we have deserved it, we shall get the franchise also. I dare say, but that is not a question of practical politics. There will be no further influx of Indians from India—thank Heaven! —so that it is only a question of the fair and just treatment of the Indian population that is here, and, if that population is to live in peace, the least it is entitled to is to have the ability and opportunity of living here in absolute peace, and with honour and dignity. If that is not what we are entitled to, I do not know what we are entitled to.²

The Natal Mercury, 29-6-1914 and 30-6-1914

173. DRAFT FOR HERMANN KALLENBACH

CAPE TOWN,
June 30, 1914

I shall talk to Hoekstetter on business only calmly and dispassionately without any exaggeration.

I shall not be irritated with Wilson but put up with his weaknesses even as I would expect others to put up with mine.

I shall not preach to anyone, i.e., not speak to anyone about my

¹ What follows is from a “special” despatch dated June 29 and published in the issue of June 30. It was preceded by the following resume of a part of Gandhiji’s speech: “It had been his privilege to make life-long companions and friends, almost brothers, in South Africa amongst the Europeans. Where should he go to find such faithful, such noble friends, if he might say so, as Senator Marshall Campbell. Senator Marshall Campbell had shared their miseries and shared their sorrows; even in the thick of the struggle he had come in order to learn, and in order to gain, and he had no doubt that anybody who did join such a struggle did learn and did gain. It had never been a struggle of violence. They had not used passive resistance as a weapon of the weak. to be properly wielded, it required an infinitely stronger weapon than violence. If the spirit which had guided the deliberations of both Houses in the passage of that Bill, and of all their individual friends, was the spirit which would be applied to several other problems, there need be no fear of a recrudescence of passive resistance. After a struggle lasting eight years, the Indians needed a period of peace, and it was for the Europeans not to be sparing of sympathies.”

² The gathering was then addressed by Kallenbach.

life or to anyone about reforming his own, knowing well that I have yet to reform myself and find my ground.

I shall not do more with Dickson than merely asking him to assist me if he would.

I shall consider that with M. I was enjoying freedom, without him I am in prison and therefore be more strict in observing the discipline:- I shall rise earlier, I shall count beads more attentively, I shall not take more than 15 minutes over my stick, shall not take more food but less food, I shall not think evil of anyone and try to be loving and charitable to all and I shall always, before retiring and at the time of rising, ask God to give me strength to follow the Truth wherever it may lead me.¹

2. I shall daily before using the beads read Thomas a Kempis.²

I shall always try to remember “Not to seek to be anything”, but “To seek to be nothing”.

I shall specially be silent to and patient with all my relations.

If only possible walk from and to Mountain View. I shall try to avoid irritation of any kind in my communications with all my workmen and contractors at Mountain View, in the office, at Pretoria and with any person I have any dealings with.

I shall daily think of Cape Town’s discussions, resolutions, vow of silence, real understanding, what my life has been and what it has to and must become, so that I am more ready and fit instrument when I meet M³. at Phoenix or Johannesburg and we take the work up in exactly the same manner as we left it.

The above and anything to be added, I shall read twice daily, morning and evening.

Avoid familiarity and speak as little as possible wherever you may be. Remember your vow of silence.

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

¹ Up to here the draft is in Gandhiji’s hand

² *Vide* also “Letter to The Natal Mercury”, 21-9-1913.

³ Illegible in the source

174. LETTER TO E. M. GORGES

CAPE TOWN,
June 30, 1914

DEAR MR. GORGES,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter¹ 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 closes 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 licences laws of the different provinces, the Transvaal Gold Law, the Transvaal Townships Act², 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

¹ *Vide* "Letter from E.M. Gorges", 30-6-1914.

² The Gold Law and the Townships Act of 1908 prevented Indians from residing or trading except in Locations in all the Gold areas.

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.¹

I am,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5999

¹ The Governor-General, Lord Gladstone, in two despatches, dated July 4 and 10, 1914, reported to the Colonial Office the reaching of the settlement, and analysed in some detail how and to what extent Gandhiji's demands had been met; *vide* Appendix "Governor-General's Despatch to Colonial Office", 4-7-1914.

175. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

IMBERLEY TRAIN,
July 1, 1914

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I cabled¹ yesterday saying that everything was settled. I am not inflicting copies of the correspondence or any other papers on you.

I am making a desperate effort to leave by the 18th instant. My one desire is now to meet you and see you, take my orders from you and leave at once for India. This will be in your hands after I have left, if I leave on the 18th, but before if I leave on the 25th. I shall cable next week when I am to leave. If, therefore, you have any instructions for me will you kindly cable Cape Town or Madeira as the case may be.

I hope that your health is improving.

Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Kallenbach accompany me.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 3777

176. SPEECH AT KIMBERLEY RECEPTION²

[July 2, 1914]

After giving a brief account of the events from the day of the meeting in the Gaiety Theatre, Johannesburg, in September 1906, up to date, and a moving description of the Indians' sacrifices during the period, Mr. Gandhi said:

As a result of these sufferings, today we see that the hearts of the Europeans in South Africa have melted. In this struggle, I was only a soldier in the army of voluntary sufferers. Real honour should go to

¹ This cable is not available.

² A meeting was held in the Beaconsfield Town Hall to honour Gandhiji, with Councillor T. Pratley in the chair. The original report of the speech in English is not available.

those who went through these unbearable sufferings. We also owe thanks to Mr. Kallenbach, Mr. Polak and all other European friends who have helped us during difficult times.

Speaking on the new Bill, he said:

We could see that the Union Government worked to get the Assembly and the Senate to pass a Bill which would satisfy the Imperial Government, the Government of India and the Indians of South Africa. General Botha, it must be admitted, has done much for us, seeing that, for the sake of a community as docile as the Indians, he threatened to resign if the Bill was not passed. We also thank the Opposition for treating this issue, not as a matter of party-politics, but as an Imperial problem. We are thankful, too, to the Imperial Government and to Lord Hardinge, that noble Viceroy of India, for their help. The help which India gave us under the leadership of Mr. Gokhale and the invaluable help from Mr. Andrews—each I of these surpassed the other and it is thanks to them that we have this final and satisfactory settlement today. The spirit which animated the Government in dealing out justice to us will also inspire the administration of the Act and, if so, there will be no occasion again for a struggle like this. But, with their leave, I wish to point out to my countrymen that the remedy for every hardship lies in the first instance with us; after that, we have the weapon of satyagraha. . . . I shall for ever cherish the sacred memory of European friends and the love my countrymen have borne towards me.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-7-1914

177. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Sunday morning, July 5, 1914

MY DEAR FRIEND AND SEEKER,

First the experiment. My ration was 3 bananas, 4 apples, 2 oranges, 6 *naarangi*[s], 4 dates, 4 oz. monkey-nuts, 2 spoonful oil and lemon and orange squash. Had no noises and only one motion for the whole day well bound. I am looking forward to the result of yours which is so thorough.

About Joseph, you were hopelessly wrong. You ought to have bought his ticket- Polak could not be considered. If you did not want to buy, you should not have taken the money and having failed to do either, you should have had the courage to give Joseph the real reason for not buying. It was a lie. Do you think Joseph could not understand? He was quite nice and allowed us to chat away. He was no disturbing factor. Turn your reading to account. Not until you have truth in you, will you make real progress. Fear God only. Do not fear man. Be ever brave but be truthful or do not speak. You could easily have said, 'Joseph, and Polak and Gandhi are going to have a private chat. So better not go but if you must, ask their permission or I cannot help you to get the ticket'. That would have been gentlemanly and honest.

Hope Medh sent the wire to Union Castle.

Finish everything without worry.

May God give you strength and courage.

With love,

Yours,

DAS

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

178. SPEECH AT DURBAN MEETING¹

[July 5, 1914]

The inference that the *Mercury* and other papers have drawn about the £3 tax is altogether wrong and misleading. It does not at all follow from the Act. After the *Mercury's* comments were published, General Smuts was addressed on the matter, and he is also convinced that the Act does not bear the meaning which the *Mercury* has read in it.²

Speaking on the marriage question, Mr. Gandhi said:

Some Indians have asked for a marriage law similar to the one in Mauritius. I have, however, read that law; it is worse, on the contrary [than the law here]. We shall not find anywhere else a better solution to the marriage problem than the one we have secured.

Proceeding, he said that the issue of the right of entry of South Africa born Indians into the Cape and the problem of the Orange Free State had also been satisfactorily settled, and added that the Government had given assurances for reasonable and lenient administration of the Act. Concluding, he thanked them for gathering in such large numbers to honour him.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-7-1914

179. CABLE TO "THE HINDU"³

JOHANNESBURG,
July 6, 1914

THE FINAL SETTLEMENT OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE COMPLETED
ENDING EIGHT YEARS' CONTINUOUS STRUGGLE PASSIVE
RESISTANCE SUBMISSION ENTIRELY MET BY LEGISLATIVE
AND ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES AS REQUIRED. SPIRIT OF JUSTICE
PREVAILED. MINISTERS SPEECHES AND DEBATES IN BOTH HOUSES.
FOR THIS HONOURABLE RESULT THOUGH REACHED PRINCI-

¹ The meeting was held at the Football Ground on Gandhiji's return from Cape Town, after the passing of the Indians' Relief Bill.

² *Vide* 1st footnote of "Letter to E. M. Gorges", 11-7-1914.

³ This was signed by Cachalia, Kallenbach, Polak and Gandhiji.

PALLY THROUGH SUFFERINGS OF THOUSANDS OF RESISTERS BY WAY OF QUICKENING SOUTH AFRICAN CONSCIENCE COMMUNITY IS DEEPLY GRATEFUL TO IMPERIAL INDIAN AND UNION GOVERNMENTS AND ALSO INDIAN PEOPLE UNDER GOKHALE'S GUIDANCE AND TO ANDREWS AND PEARSON'S MISSION. IF ABOVE SPIRIT CONTINUES TO PERVADE ADMINISTRATION EXISTING LAWS NO FEAR REVIVAL OF TROUBLE.

The Hindu, 8-7-1914

180. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

[JOHANNESBURG,
July 6, 1914]¹

HON'BLE MR. GOKHALE
LONDON

WHOLE INDIAN COMMUNITY TENDERS YOU HEARTFELT THANKS CONGRATULATIONS FOR FINAL SETTLEMENT WHICH WITHOUT YOUR SELF-SACRIFICING SERVICES WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN REACHED SO EARLY. WE ASK YOU AS OUR SPOKESMAN CONVEY BY CABLE LORD HARDINGE OUR HUMBLE THANKS FOR HIS GREAT HELP AND FOR FEARLESS MANNER IN WHICH HE FACILITATED SETTLEMENT.

Indian Opinion, 8-7-1914

181. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHOENIX]
Monday [July 6, 1914]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I posted a letter to you at P.M. Burg yesterday.

The boys were in Town. We had a good meeting. Then we took the train to Avoca and walked from there. It is now exactly 2.55 a.m. I woke up at 1.40, left the bed at 2.25, retired at 10 p.m. and slept away at perhaps 10.30 p.m. after a chat with Mrs. Gandhi. I am none the

¹ It appears that this and the "Cable to The Hindu", the preceding item, were salt on the same day.

worse for the walk. Mrs. Gandhi has reconciled herself¹ to uncooked diet now so that there is not much danger of my taking cooked fruit.

They in Durban want you even though it may be for a day. I have told them it is difficult.

Hope Medh sent the wire to Union Castle.

If I am able to get up as early as I have today, I should give you a daily letter.

With love,

Yours,

DAS

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

182. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Tuesday [July 7, 1914]²

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Today I woke up at 4.5 and left the bed at 5.5. Retired last night at 11 p.m. The food was all uncooked. I had Phoenix oranges and Phoenix tomatoes. The former were very nice. Mrs. Gandhi feels all this but is afraid to interfere. She is still pleading with me that I should take banana *chapati*.

The extract I sent you yesterday was from Ruskin's writings.

It is fairly cold here. My packing was practically finished yesterday. Please tell Medh that after all I shall have to bring Revashanker with me.

With love,

Yours,

DAS

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

¹ The source has "myself".

² From the contents it appears that this was written after the preceding item; vide also the following item.

183. LETTER TO E. M. GORGES

PHOENIX,
NATAL,
July 7, 1914

DEAR MR. GORGES,

I have now got a moment to submit my note upon the Gold Law. As you know, after maturer consideration, I refrained from pressing for the insertion of a special clause defining “vested rights” in connection with the Gold Law and Townships Amendment Act, because I felt that any definition in the correspondence might result in restricting the future action of my countrymen. However, so far as my interpretation of “vested rights” is concerned, I think that I shall reduce it to writing. General Smuts was good enough to say that he would endeavour to protect vested rights as defined by me. The following is the definition I submitted to Sir Benjamin Robertson, who, I understood, submitted it to General Smuts. My letter¹ containing, among other matters, the definition, is dated the 4th March, 1914. “By ‘vested rights’ I understand the right of an Indian and his successors to live and trade in the townships in which he was living and trading, no matter how often he shifts his residence or business from place to place in the same township.” I am fortified in my interpretation by the answer given by Mr. Harcourt in connection with the matter, in the House of Commons, on the 27th June, 1911:

Complaints against that legislation (the Gold Law and Townships Amendment Act) have been made and are now being investigated by the

Government of the Union of South Africa, who have lately stated that there is no intention of interfering with any business or right to carry on business acquired and exercised by Indians prior to the date of the legislation.

I have also now traced the note by Mr. de Villiers which I alluded to in our conversation. It is contained in a White Paper published in London in March, 1912, and has the following:

No right or privilege which a Coloured person has at the present time is taken away by the new Act (Act 35 of 1908).

¹ *Vide* “Letter to Sir Benjamin Robertson”, 4-3-1914.

And again,

Section 131, which, before the Billas introduced into Parliament, formed the subject of questions in the English House of Commons and of despatches from the Secretary of State to the Governor, has been amended in Committee so as to safeguard any rights which a Coloured person may, at the present time, have of occupying land in mining areas.

Certainly, prior to the passing of the Gold Law, no restrictions were, to my knowledge, placed upon the movement or the trade of British Indians in the Gold Areas. There can, therefore, be no justification for any restriction now, especially in regard to those who are already settled in their respective townships.

I am,

Yours truly,

M. K. GANDHI

E. M. GORGES, ESQ.
PRETORIA

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 6003

184. SPEECH AT FAREWELL MEETING¹

DURBAN,
July 8, 1914

Mr. Gandhi, in returning thanks, first explained why he appeared in the mourning costume which he had been wearing since the time of the strike.² He hoped they would forgive him for appearing in that strange costume, which he had adopted on his premature discharge from prison, as a sign of mourning. That mourning had gone, yet he retained the costume, and as the alternative was for him to wear evening

¹ A large and enthusiastic meeting of Indians, attended by a number of Europeans, was held in the Town Hall to bid farewell to Gandhiji, Kasturba and Kallenbach on the eve of their departure for England en route to India. W. Holmes, the Mayor, presided. Gandhiji and Ba were garlanded and presented with bouquets. Kallenbach could not attend and a telegram from him expressing thanks was read at the meeting. Addresses on behalf of a number of organizations all over South Africa were read. Indian and European admirers of Gandhiji paid him glowing tributes. Gandhiji then addressed the meeting. This report of Gandhiji's speech has been collated with the one appearing in *The Natal Mercury*, 9-7-1914.

² *The Natal Mercury* reported: "Mr. Gandhi who appeared in Hindu mourning costume, and was received with prolonged cheering, began with a reference to the object of his appearing in the dress he wore that night."

dress, he felt that, in the mental attitude which possessed him at that moment, he could not render a greater respect for them than in appearing as he did. (Cheers.) 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 recognizing 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.¹ 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 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.² 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. It is rather due to the women and children and young people like Nagappen, Narayansamy, 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. I shall never forget that 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.

¹ *Vide* "Memorial to Secretary of State for the Colonies", 15-3-1897

² The Natal Mercury version here has: "Mr. Gandhi defended passive resistance which he described as the cleanest weapon they could use."

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 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 I wish to give. I go away with no ill-will against a 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 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 today lies in one channel, and that of the Indian in another channel. The Indians have no wish today 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 friendship 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 said, he 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, 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.¹

Indian Opinion, 15-7-1914

¹ The meeting ended with a vote of thanks to the Mayor and the singing of the National Anthem.

185. THE END

A struggle of eight years' duration has at last finally closed. The Indians' Relief Bill and the correspondence¹ between the Government and Mr. Gandhi embody a complete and mutually satisfactory and honourable settlement of the problems that were affected by the passive resistance movement. For this happy ending we have to thank the Imperial, Indian and Union Governments, the Motherland, guided and moved by Mr. Gokhale, and Mr. Andrews' mission. The sufferings of thousands of Passive Resisters, the martyrdom of Valliamah, Narayansamy, Nagappen and Harbatsingh brought these forces into being. Passive Resistance, as a lawful weapon, has thus once more been vindicated. The lengthy reference made by Lord Gladstone to the settlement shows its importance. We are grateful to His Excellency for clearly placing before the people of South Africa the Imperial aspect.

It now remains for the Union Government to follow up this happy solution of a difficult problem by a sympathetic and just administration of the laws that affect the Indian community and for the latter to show by its action that it is ever worthy of just treatment. If the community is permitted to enjoy rest, it will be possible to find an easy method of dealing with the matters dealt with in Mr. Gandhi's letter and which some day or other will demand attention in order that the resident population may be restored to the ordinary rights of citizenship. For it must not be forgotten that, though there is cause for thankfulness in that the most pressing grievances have been removed, we shall still labour under legal disabilities which intense colour prejudice has brought into being. Administration of trade licence laws, largely on racial lines, the deprivation of the right to own land in the Transvaal, the precarious position under the Transvaal Gold Law, inter-provincial restrictions—these and many other such limitations of our liberty show how true were Lord Gladstone's words when he said that the Indians' Relief Bill did but the barest justice. Indeed, it can only be taken as an instalment and as an earnest of the future. The struggle will, therefore, have done much more than give us the Bill and the administrative measures, if it has also altered the repressive policy of the Government to a progressive one, such that we may look forward to a steady improvement in the future.

Indian Opinion, 8-7-1914

¹ *Vide* "Letter with E.M. Gorges", 27-5-1914; "Letter to E.M. Gorges", 11-6-1914; 27-6-1914; "Letter to E.M. Gorges", 30-6-1914 & 7-7-1914.

186. THE END OF THE STRUGGLE

The struggle that went on for eight years has come to an end, and such an end as, we believe, hardly any other movement in modern times has been crowned with. The foundation of the struggle was laid in Johannesburg in September, 1906. The issue then concerned only the Registration Act. The Government refused to listen to us. *Gaol-going* was resorted to. While the struggle had not yet ended, the Immigration Act was passed. A conditional settlement followed. The Government failed to honour its commitment. The movement was revived and had to be extended to cover the effect of the Immigration Act on the Registration Act. A new issue was thus added, that there should be no racial discrimination in the Immigration Act. Naturally, our feelings were aroused still further in consequence. The struggle was prolonged and a second deputation went to England.¹ The Union Government, however, refused in so many words to remove the racial discrimination. While the struggle was thus being prolonged, in 1911 again a provisional settlement came about. This covered a third issue. Since a problem created by a law of the Transvaal had to be solved by the Union Parliament, the satyagrahis took the stand that they could not accept legislation which, though it might meet their requirement, would endanger the rights of others. Accordingly, a condition was included in the provisional settlement of 1911 to the effect that the existing rights of Indians in all the parts of the Union should be left untouched. There was no decision, however, until 1913. In the meantime, there was the visit of Mr. Gokhale. The Government gave him a promise that the £3 tax would be removed. Even so, had the Government granted the satyagrahis' demands in full during the settlement in 1913, the movement would not have been revived and the £3 tax would have had to be taken up as a separate issue.

Meanwhile, the Searle judgment raised the marriage question. This also entailed the loss of existing rights. In 1913, the late Mr. Fischer carried through the Immigration Act in the face of our protests. It conceded much, but also denied a few things. The marriage question was left unsolved and in other ways, too, existing rights were endangered. This led to the resumption of satyagraha a fourth time

¹ This was in 1909.

and our demands naturally increased. Now that the Government has had to concede all the demands, the struggle has ended.

We can see from this, if we will, that every time the Government went back on its word, it was obliged to yield more to us. This it is which makes one say that chicanery never pays. Double dealing may remain unexposed only where both sides play more or less the same [dirty] game. In satyagraha, one side alone plays this game. The satyagrahi himself cannot conceivably do so.

We can also see that the more the struggle was prolonged the greater became the strength of the people and their capacity to suffer, so that the suffering that the masses endured towards the end of the last year was unparalleled in modern history. And, if the suffering has been great, the relief obtained has also been proportionately great. This correlation goes to prove another eternal law of Nature. Man can be happy only in the measure that he suffers. He who merely scrapes the soil on the surface can harvest nothing but grass. He alone can harvest grain who ploughs deeper. In other words, it is vain to hope for happiness without undergoing suffering. Thus it is that the life of austerity, the fakir's self-denial and other such practices have everywhere been held in high esteem and their praises sung.

What the community has bought at the cost of so much suffering it will be able to keep and add to, only so long as it retains the same capacity for suffering. If it loses that capacity, it will lose all it has gained, and more. All this is plain enough, but we often lose sight of it.

NEW ACT

Let us now have a look at our gains. The new Act covers two things. In the first place, the £3 tax has been abolished. Arrears have also been remitted. In this connection, it has been suggested by *The [Natal] Mercury* and other papers that in gaining one thing we have lost something else; for, though the Government has repealed the tax, the consequence will be that the indentured labourers, poor creatures, will be obliged to leave this country or continue for ever under indenture. This suggestion is entirely unfounded, as is clear from General Smuts' own letter. The other point is about the marriage question. The manner in which it has been solved gives us more, not less, than what we had been demanding. This Act confirms the position that was believed to obtain before the Searle judgment. Prior to that judgment, we had assumed that the local law recognized monogamous marriages

celebrated under any faith, including marriages solemnized under our rites. Mr. Justice Searle, however, ruled otherwise and held that Christian marriages could be recognized but not Hindu and Muslim marriages, even if such marriages were in fact monogamous. This was obviously an affront to the two religions. Mr. Cachalia therefore desired amendment of the law. The demand has now been met. The Act does not involve any other change. The position with regard to divorce, inheritance and polygamy remains what it was. The Act safeguards the interests of children by a deceased wife. Its provisions are permissive. No one is obliged to have his or her marriage registered. As for those coming from India, the question just does not arise. The main object of getting a marriage registered is to ensure that children's interests do not suffer. Now that the danger has been removed, it is not necessary for any Indian to have his or her marriage registered. We would rather advise them not to do so. The situation required a [new] law. It was necessary to undo the affront to [our] religions. It should be sufficient that we have succeeded in this. The Act has been so drafted as to secure children's interests without requiring registration of the marriages. In view of this, the question whether a marriage is monogamous or polygamous will not arise at all. In any case, one who intends to marry more than one woman, would do well not to have his marriage with any of them registered. It was necessary to have provisions made for appointment of our priests as marriage officers. But we would not advise that this right be availed of. We are of the view that such appointments will lead to dishonesty in the community and expose the priests to temptations. As for marriages already solemnized, there is no need for such appointments since these marriages can be registered before any magistrate. It is the same with regard to marriages that may be celebrated in future. In other words, we can have a marriage solemnized by any *Maulvi*¹ or *Gor*² and get it registered subsequently before a magistrate whenever we choose. We would, there-fore, particularly advise the community, not to take the trouble of getting marriage officers appointed. Before we leave this point, it has to be said that in no other Colony does a [marriage] law go as far as the one passed here does. It has been said that in Mauritius [Indian] marriages are recognized whether polygamous or not, but this is not true and the law there is not as good

¹ Muslim priest

² Hindu priest

as the one here, as we show elsewhere in this very issue.

A third point that has been satisfactorily settled in this Act is that, in case of any doubt regarding the domicile certificate of a resident of Natal, the certificate must be accepted as genuine if the thumb-impression on it is identical with the one on the copy in possession of the Immigration Officer. The result will be that people will not be unnecessarily harassed, as at present, with inquiries and sent away for making false claims in spite of the genuineness of the thumb-impression having been established. Those who can prove the thumb-impression to be genuine have their right secured now. This section does not however mean that one who has been away from Natal for a number of years will, just because he has the [domicile] certificate, be safe. Everyone, of course, will have to prove that he had not left Natal for good.

ADMINISTRATIVE RELIEF

The kind of ameliorative measures needed outside the law can be judged from the correspondence between the Government and Mr. Gandhi. These concern issues such as South African Indians, the Free State and the administration of existing laws. Only one of these points calls for comment here. In view of the promise of reasonable administration of the laws in force, with due regard to existing rights, it will be possible for the community to obtain redress in every case of injustice. This clause, we believe, should prove very useful in future. But its usefulness will depend on how the community's leaders exert themselves. If they sleep on, the clause will have been passed in vain. The laws which will most need to be watched are two: the licensing law in each Province and the Gold Law of the Transvaal. Mr. Gandhi has pointed out in his letter that we shall have to agitate in future to secure amendment of these laws. In starting any such agitation, the community will have to be particularly careful in obeying the laws in question; if it does so, it will, for the present at any rate, enjoy peace.

We must admit that on this occasion the Government have displayed a desire for justice and that the leading members of Parliament have also been actuated by the same desire in their speeches. It would also appear from the speeches of the ministers, and especially from that of General Smuts, that he is inclined to deal justly in future. We advise the community to profit by this desire, and this it will be able to

do only if it has unity, manly spirit and regard for truth.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-7-1914

187. MARRIAGE LAW IN MAURITIUS

We had heard that in Mauritius the law recognized polygamous marriages in the case of Indians. Thereupon we made inquiries. We have not received a copy of the Act. This law was the result of agitation by Indians there. It was passed on December 17, 1912. It provides for the appointment of Hindu and Muslim priests as marriage officers. No Indian marriage is to be recognized as valid unless it complies with the provisions of the Act of 1890. That is, the general law which applies to all applies to our people also. It is specifically mentioned in that general law that the provisions of sections 46 to 51 regulating marriages also apply to Indian marriages. If the husband is below 21 years and the wife below 18, the consent of the parents of both is necessary. There are other sections prescribing the duties and functions of marriage officers, the manner of maintaining registers, etc. Violation of any of the provisions or registration of an unlawful marriage is punishable with a fine up to Rs. 500/-. The following are some of the conditions to be observed by priests under this Act:

1. A boy under the age of 18 and a girl under 15 cannot be married except by special permission of the Governor.
2. If one wife is living, marriage with another woman cannot be contracted unless the former is lawfully divorced.
3. In case of divorce for adultery, the divorced party cannot marry the partner in such adultery.
4. A widow or divorced woman cannot remarry until after ten months.
5. No marriages can take place between a man and his niece, a woman and her nephew, and man and his brother's wife, even where the woman is a widow.

Besides these, there are many other provisions which, how ever, we do not notice here.

What we have given above shows that the general law in Mauritius is applicable to Indians in regard to divorce, polygamous

marriages, the minimum age for marriage and such other essential matters. The only change introduced by the new law is that, whereas Indian priests could not register marriages formerly, such priests can be appointed now for that purpose.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-7-1914

188. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

July 9, 1914

MY DEAR FRIEND,

No letters from you for the last 2 days. Manilal says there should be with you my shoes and neckties, etc. I have not a collar left nor more than one tie. Please search and if the shoes are there you may get them stretched.

Yesterday's function was good I acted for you and against you.¹

I am writing this in the Durban train. Am paying the passage here and sending all my luggage here so that there may be only a little to carry.

With love,

Yours,

DAS

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

189. SPEECH AT GUJARATI MEETING²

DURBAN,

[July 9, 1914]

[Gandhiji] said that he would take the opportunity to address a few remarks to the Colonial-born Indians, as he did not know whether he would have another opportunity to speak to them. To them his first words had been when he came to South

¹ For Gandhiji's speech at the farewell function organized in his honour and for Kasturba and Kallenbach, *vide* "Speech at Farewell Meeting", 8-7-1914

² In his English speech thanking the gathering for the reception to Ba and himself, Gandhiji made touching references to the happy relations which existed between Hindus and Muslims.

Africa and to them his last words would be when he left it. It was they who had assisted him with his first piece of political work in South Africa, when a petition signed by some 10,000 Indians had been addressed to Lord Elgin, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies,¹ against the disfranchisement of Indians. That petition had been successful in its object, the Bill being vetoed, though the Government of the day subsequently in another form achieved its purpose. The Colonial-borns had since also borne their share of the communal work, but they could, if they would, do more. It was they who were the permanent Indian settlers of South Africa. To the Colonial-borns South Africa was their birth-place and home, and it was essential to the well being of all other sections of the community that they should work together with the Colonial-borns. Their responsibility was great. It was they who would have to nurse the settlement, to maintain the happier tone which had now been established between the European and Indian communities and to live down the prejudice which today still existed in South Africa. This they would accomplish in time if they did their duty at all times. He referred to the fact that Nagappen and Valiamma had both been Colonial-borns, as had the ladies who did such noble work at Newcastle. He urged upon them to preserve their national characteristic, to learn their mother-tongue and study the history and traditions of their Motherland, where he would hope to see them some day.

Indian Opinion, 9-9-1914

190. SPEECH AT GUJARAT SABHA FUNCTION²

[DURBAN,
July 9, 1914]

I have but limited time and I only want, therefore, to say a few things to Indian youths born in South Africa. In the van of the satyagraha battle were Indians born here and among them, particularly the poor and the simple people rendered great services. The rich were busy getting richer. My brother Nagappen and sister Valliamma were born here, and so was brother Narayansamy. I would urge you all to follow in their footsteps and advise you to go on a pilgrimage to India, be the difficulties what they might.³

¹ This petition was addressed in May 1895 to Lord Ripon, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies. A copy of this was sent to Lord Elgin who was, at the time, Viceroy and Governor-General of India. *Vide* "Open Letter", Before 19-12-1894 to "Petition to Lord Ripon", Before 5-5-1895

² Held at the Hindu Dharmashala in Victoria Street.

³ Gandhiji next addressed the gathering in Gujarati.

I am grateful to you all, friends, for the honour and the love that you have given us both. Whenever I am honoured, I feel my *atman* is exposed to danger. Whenever, on the contrary, I am attacked or insulted, I realize my imperfections and a new light dawns upon me. In my present state of mind, however, I am not at all likely to be corrupted by praise of me. I feel extremely sad to have to part from you, but sooner or later that was bound to happen. I am about to leave a *bhoga-bhumi*¹ for a *karma-bhumi*². For me there can be no deliverance from this earthly life except in India. Anyone who seeks such deliverance must go to the sacred soil of India. For me, as for everyone else, the land of India is “the refuge of the afflicted”. I am therefore longing to return to the motherland. It is my parting prayer that you should all bear love for one another, regardless of caste or creed.

I have always shown the same respect for Muslims as for Hindus. Hinduism, too, teaches this [regard for other religions], and if anyone says that in this I am not acting like a Hindu, I shall offer satyagraha against him. I make bold to say that certainly no onepresent here is more of a Hindu than I am, perhaps not even as much. Whenever we have a guest, we show due respect to him. We ought to respect members of other communities in the same manner. If every Indian lived thus in amity with others, there is not the slightest doubt that we shall make great advance in South Africa.

As to the honour that has been done to me on this occasion, I have only this to say, that every time I have been honoured I have felt particularly weak and that when I have received blows I have felt accession of strength and progressed towards greater firmness of mind. Those friends, therefore, who speak ill of me these days are, to judge from results, my well-wishers. I shall have been rightly honoured only when every friend becomes a satyagrahi.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 15-7-1914

¹ Land of enjoyment

² Land of duty

191. SPEECH AT SPORTS FUNCTION¹

DURBAN,
[July 9, 1914]

Mr. Gandhi said that he was deeply grateful to the Farewell Committee for having organised those sports and for having set apart that day for the sake of the Indian children and gathered them together at that short notice, and he must confess that he was not at all equally grateful for the function that they had in the Town Hall.² For him that had been insipid, but that function that afternoon would carry with it or would send with him the pleasanest recollections of his stay in South Africa. He knew the community of South Africa, but he scarcely knew the community of India. He felt confident that if he wanted to give a knowledge to anybody as to how the Indian mind in South Africa would run on a particular occasion, he should be able to state accurately the direction in which it would go, but he had no knowledge at all as to what the Indian mind in India itself could do or would do on a particular occasion. To that extent he knew his countrymen in South Africa, and it gave him very great pleasure that afternoon to see those around him when he was about to say good-bye to South Africa and to say good-bye to his dear countrymen and to all those boys and girls. He then addressed the children. He said they had come there that afternoon to indulge in sports, and sports were good, they were excellent, if they knew the meaning of those sports, but he would leave those alone that afternoon and would like to direct their attention to the real sport in life. They had raced for prizes and, as Mr. Baillie had just reminded him, the prize-giving might have a demoralising effect upon those who had the training of the children in their hands as well as upon the children themselves. He shared that fear, but, if they had raced that afternoon for the sake of racing in order to show that during the past few years they had been endeavouring to keep the physical portion of their being in a fit and proper state, it showed also the value of the industry, the courage and the time that they had put forth in a disciplined manner in order to gain that particular purpose in life. But in life there was a better race for them and for him to run—did they know what that race was? All the children who went to churches if they were Christians, or all the children who were Hindus if they had any Hindus to teach them what their own religion taught, or if they were Mahomedans and had priests to tell them, he felt sure that they would all tell them that there was that race in life where they had to make themselves good in future and behave themselves if they grew up as men and women. In his opinion, if he might

¹ Gandhiji spoke at a children's sports function held in the Albert Park, Durban. A brief report of the function appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 15-7-1914.

² *Vide* "Speech at Farewell Meeting", 8-7-1914

address a few remarks to the teachers also, having played at teaching himself for a number of years, it seemed to him that the real teaching consisted not in giving the children a knowledge of letters merely, but in developing their character, and that, in so far as the boys and girls developed their character whilst they were still tender and whilst they could still be moulded, and, if their teachers told them that character was the first, the middle and the last and that their knowledge of letters was purely and simply an aid to develop that character, then he thought that they were doing well in attending those schools and it was well for their parents also [to allow them] to do that; but, if their parents sent them, if they went to schools, merely to have a knowledge of letters, so that they might earn a few pounds anyhow in future, then he was afraid that their education was not education and he felt that he should say that little word to them that afternoon.

Presently they were going to receive prizes, but they had been told that the Sporting Association of the Natal Province was about to receive a wandering trophy from Mr. Rustomjee, and he understood that it was not a trophy which was intrinsically valueless, but that it had actually cost a sum of over £30. He hoped that the Natal Sporting Association deserved that trophy, but he did not dwell upon the trophy because it was a valuable thing, but he did hope that the Natal Sporting Association would behave in a sportsmanlike spirit, and in that real sport in the world and in that race in life would set a noble example to the children, the boys and girls who had gathered together there that afternoon, by gaining trophies not from one Parsee Rustomjee but from everyone of their countrymen in South Africa by placing themselves at their disposal and by serving them in a sportsmanlike manner. And, even as these schools had run the races and put their whole spirit into the race, so he hoped that the Association would do so, and he thought that they had given him an earnest of what they were doing from the manner in which they had conducted those proceedings, because it was, he thought, on their shoulders that the brunt of the burden had fallen, led as they had been and still were by Mr. Rustomjee. And one word for Mr. Rustomjee. Friend though he was to him, client though he had been to him, trustee though he was of the Phoenix Settlement, he did wish to commend to them the services of Mr. Rustomjee. He knew that he had worked himself practically to death in connection with that farewell, but he did hope it had not been because a friend of his was going away from South Africa, but in order to show what they had got to do in South Africa, in order to show that South Africa had a reputation, or the Indians in South Africa had, in keeping up the reputation of the Motherland, and he showed also by his energy and by his supporting all such movements what they had got to do. He knew that Mr. Rustomjee was at times hard to please. But if they did please him, he (the speaker) knew also that they had no better, no more constant, leader to work with in South Africa. Mr. Rustomjee knew no distinction of race or religion. He was a Parsee among Parsees, but also a Mahomedan among Mahomedans in that he would do

for them, die for them, live for them. He was a Hindu amongst Hindus and would do for them likewise. There were many others whom he (the speaker) might point out in South Africa who could equal Mr. Rustomjee in many respects and surpass him, but none his equal in constancy and courage. And before he left the Port of Durban, he would leave that parting word with them. If there was anything of public work to be done, let them trust Mr. Rustomjee, but let them also obey him. They should bear with Mr. Rustomjee, but also with his faults. There was no human being without faults. Even the sun and moon had spots. God alone was spotless; it was not given to any mortal being to be spotless. Let Mr. Rustomjee's faults take care of themselves, and let them see his merits, and they knew what he had been to them during the giganthic strike. In conclusion, he asked them to pray for him, to give their love to him, and send him nice messages, and, in return, he promised that, in whatever part of the world he might be, he would not forget his countryman with whom he had mixed in South Africa and how they had loved him, and he prayed that God might give him strength to love them in return. God alone knew him and could see his heart. It may be that he had loved them wisely, it might be that he had loved them ignorantly, and thereby performed a service or disservice to them; then, God was also great enough to forgive him, but they should also forgive him if he had not loved them well enough, served them well enough, but knew that all he had done and endeavoured to do had been done from the bottom of his heart. Mistakes he had committed, for which they should pardon him. But if they had seen traces of love in him, let them pray to the Almighty that that love might grow abundantly and come forth to them also as some poor return of the love and generosity and consideration they had shown to him and Mrs. Gandhi in their darkest hours.

Indian Opinion, 2-9-1914

192. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY DHEDS¹

[DURBAN,
July 9, 1914]

This morning, gentlemen of the Dhed community called on me to extend an invitation, but, not aware of who they were, I expressed my inability to accept it owing to pressure on my time. Had I known their caste, I would have certainly come earlier. I feel proud that I am now meeting [members of] this caste. They are our own brethren, and to regard them with the slightest disrespect not only argues our own

¹ Gandhiji addressed members of the Dhed community, traditionally charged with sanitary duties.

unworthiness but is morally wrong, for it is contrary to the teaching of the *Bhagavad Gita*.

Mr. Gandhi then explained how the training of children's character was far more important than literary education. They might learn less, but the education they received would have some meaning only if they understood what they learnt.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 15-7-1914

193. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHOENIX,
July 10, 1914

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter today. This time I do not want to miss a single day if I can help it.

I have here your waistcoats and trousers which I am bringing with me as also your papers.

Yesterday and today I have not been able to get up early having retired after midnight. The functions in Durban compelled me to take only the 9.30 p.m. train from Durban. The temptation to take cooked fruit was great but it is finished now. I am not likely to succumb between tomorrow and Sunday. Here is the train coming so good-bye.

With love,

DAS

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

194. SPEECH AT PRETORIA¹

July 10, 1914

Mr. Gandhi, in replying to the address and speeches, expressed pleasure that Mr. Stent had presided over the gathering. Mr. Stent had consistently advocated their cause, and he (the speaker) felt personally grateful to him. He reciprocated Mr. Chamney's sentiments. He had certainly stood up against Mr. Chamney and the

¹ Gandhiji attended a farewell meeting at Pretoria, presided over by Vere Stent Chamney, Hajee Habib and Mangalbai eulogized Gandhiji's work and leadership.

management of his office, but there had been no personal ill-will on the speaker's part, and he always received the utmost courtesy at Mr. Chamney's hands. He appreciated the compliment Mr. Chamney paid him by coming out to arrest him with one man only to assist, when the speaker was at the head of 2,000 men and women. It showed the confidence Mr. Chamney had in him as a passive resister. He thanked them for the purse, the contents of which, in common with those of any others received, would not be used for himself, but first for the furtherance of the interests of the Indians of South Africa, and, secondly, for any work he might have to do in India which had commended itself to them in the course of the conversations they had had. He felt that the settlement they had received was a kind of Magna Charta. It was not a final settlement in the sense that they had no wrongs left. They had to exercise patience and cultivate European opinion, in order to get those wrongs redressed. They had to maintain the sympathy which men like Mr. Stent might think fit to extend to them. He paid a glowing tribute to the work done for the Indian cause by Miss Schlesin.

Indian Opinion, 29-7-1914

195. THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

[Before *July 11, 1914*]¹

I shall be at least far away from Phoenix, if not actually in the Motherland, when this Commemoration Issue is published.² I would, however, leave behind me my innermost thoughts upon that which has made this special issue necessary. Without Passive Resistance, there would have been no richly illustrated and important special issue of *Indian Opinion*, which has, for the last eleven years, in an unpretentious and humble manner, endeavoured to serve my countrymen and South Africa, a period covering the most critical stage that they will, perhaps, ever have to pass through. It marks the rise and growth of Passive Resistance, which has attracted world-wide attention. The term does not fit the activity of the Indian community during the past eight years. Its equivalent in the vernacular,³ rendered into English, means

¹ En route to India, Gandhiji left Phoenix on July 11.

² The "Golden Number" of *Indian Opinion*, dealing with the Indian struggle in South Africa, was released on December 1, 1914.

³ "Satyagraha", the phrase Gandhiji preferred to use; vide "Gujarati Equivalents for Passive Resistance, Etc..

Truth-Force. I think Tolstoy called it also Soul-Force or Love-Force, and so it is. Carried out to its utmost limit, this force is independent of pecuniary or other material assistance; certainly, even in its elementary form, of physical force or violence. Indeed, violence is the negation of this great spiritual force, which can only be cultivated or wielded by those who will entirely eschew violence. It is a force that may be used by individuals as well as by communities. It may be used as well in political as in domestic affairs. Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence and invincibility. It can be used alike by men, women, and children. It is totally untrue to say that it is a force to be used only by the weak so long as they are not capable of meeting violence by violence. This superstition arises from the incompleteness of the English expression. It is impossible for those who consider themselves to be weak to apply this force. Only those who realise that there is something in man which is superior to the brute nature in him, and that the latter always yields to it, can effectively be Passive Resisters. This force is to violence and, therefore, to all tyranny, all injustice, what light is to darkness. In politics, its use is based upon the immutable maxim that government of the people is possible only so long as they consent either consciously or unconsciously to be governed. We did not want to be governed by the Asiatic Act of 1907 of the Transvaal, and it had to go before this mighty force. Two courses were open to us—to use violence when we were called upon to submit to the Act, or to suffer the penalties prescribed under the Act, and thus to draw out and exhibit the force of the soul within us for a period long enough to appeal to the sympathetic chord in the governors or the law-makers. We have taken long to achieve what we set about striving for. That was because our Passive Resistance was not of the most complete type. All Passive Resisters do not understand the full value of the force, nor have we men who always from conviction refrain from violence. The use of this force requires the adoption of poverty, in the sense that we must be indifferent whether we have the wherewithal to feed or clothe ourselves. During the past struggle, all Passive Resisters, if any at all, were not prepared to go that length. Some again were only Passive Resisters so-called. They came without any conviction, often with mixed motives, less often with impure motives. Some even, whilst engaged in the struggle, would gladly have resorted to violence but for most vigiland supervision. Thus it was that the struggle became prolonged; for the exercise of the purest soul-force, in its perfect

form, brings about instantaneous relief. For this exercise, prolonged training of the individual soul is an absolute necessity, so that a perfect Passive Resister has to be almost, if not entirely, a perfect man. We cannot all suddenly become such men, but, if my proposition is correct—as I know it to be correct—the greater the spirit of Passive Resistance in us, the better men we will become. Its use, therefore, is, I think; indisputable, and it is a force which, if it became universal, would revolutionise social ideals and do away with despotisms and the ever-growing militarism under which the nations of the West are groaning and are being almost crushed to death, and which fairly promises to overwhelm even the nations of the East. If the past struggle has produced even a few Indians who would dedicate themselves to the task of becoming Passive Resisters as nearly perfect as possible, they would not only have served themselves in the truest sense of the term, they would also have served humanity at large. Thus viewed, Passive Resistance is the noblest and the best education. It should come, not after the ordinary education in letters of children, but it should precede it. It will not be denied that a child, before it begins to write its alphabet and to gain worldly knowledge, should know what the soul is, what truth is, what love is, what powers are latent in the soul. It should be an essential of real education that a child should learn that, in the struggle of life, it can easily conquer hate by love, untruth by truth, violence by self-suffering. It was because I felt the force of this truth, that, during the latter part of the struggle, I endeavoured, as much as I could, to train the children at Tolstoy Farm and then at Phoenix along these lines, and one of the reasons for my departure to India is still further to realise, as I already do in part, my own imperfection as a Passive Resister, and then to try to perfect myself, for I believe that it is in India that the nearest approach to perfection is most possible.

Golden Number, Indian Opinion, 1914

196. SPEECH AT DURBAN BANQUET¹

[July 11, 1914]

Mr. Gandhi thanked those present for the hearty way they had received the toast. Amid all the kind words that had been spoken of him, there was a danger of developing a swollen head. When much praise was being bestowed, that was the time to beware. Speaking of the Settlement, he said that, whilst it was a settlement of the present difficulties, it was not a complete settlement. It was not a charter of full liberties.² There were many questions which would require patience to solve. One of these was the licensing question. He had never been able to find a solution. It would need much tact and a sense of justice on the part of the Government and a desire to meet all the requirements of sanitary and building by-laws on the part of the Indian community. A certain class of Indians were born traders and if these people were to be driven from their means of livelihood, a serious position would arise. The value of the settlement lay in the struggle which preceded it—a struggle which quickened the conscience of South Africa—and the fact that there was a different tone prevailing to-day. (Hear, hear.) It would rest upon themselves to keep up that tone. That which they had gained was but a portion of that which they had to gain. Speaking generally of the opposition with which they were faced, he said that, although there was great prejudice, in his opinion, unreasonable and unjustifiable, there was also a spirit of justice behind that prejudice.³ He appealed to his fellow-countrymen to exercise patience and try to live down prejudices which were against them. They had not received all they were entitled to, but it depended very largely upon themselves whether they received in the future a full measure of justice. Referring to the Provincial barrier, he said that the Union was no Union for them so long as they were confined within their own Province. They appealed for and should have freedom of movement no matter to what Province they desired to go. In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi spoke of the British Constitution and ideals, and remarked that so long as both were retained as they were, and the traditions maintained then it was a good thing, but evil would be the day when the Constitution crumbled, and its ideal was changed.

¹ A public dinner in honour of Gandhiji at Durban was attended by the Mayor, other prominent Europeans and about 30 Indians. Addresses were presented to Gandhiji and Miss Schlesin on behalf of the Farewell Committee. The Hon. Robert Jameson, J.P., presided.

² The report in *The Natal Mercury*, 13-7-1914, added here: "Many things had been given up, and in return they had received only a portion."

³ *The Natal Mercury* reported Gandhiji as having said here: "The trading question was a big one, and in order that the community should live in peace, it would be a question that would have to be settled on amicable and just lines."

(Applause). Although he was going home to India which was dear to him, he assured them that he would never forget South Africa, and next to the homeland it would be nearest his thoughts. (Applause.)

Mr. Gandhi again rose, on behalf of Miss Schlesin, to thank the donors of the address and set of books presented to her. He said that Miss Schlesin had played a great part in the passive resistance movement. She had worked night and day and thrown herself heartily into the work. She had not hesitated even to court imprisonment but that was denied her. For many years she had acted as his secretary and rendered valuable assistance to him in his public work, but she was also no less than a sister to him. She had organised the Transvaal Indian Women's Association and had acted, since its inauguration, as honorary secretary.¹

The Chairman (the Hon. R. Jameson) had recalled an instance which he (the speaker) thought he might have forgotten, and that was when the scene was laid in his office and he had approached him tremblingly, but also in the fullest faith, that he was a friend of the community, that he had guided him, as he well said, as a father would guide his child, in many things which he wanted to do as a humble burgess of that beautiful borough, the garden of South Africa. He had approached him first with that proposal of his in connection with the offer of forming an ambulance corps and he, naturally, as a soldier, had put a damper on his enthusiasm. He had uttered words of caution. The speaker had gone away chastened but he had gone to another friend. He did not know whether he was a soldier, but he knew that he was an Imperialist and also that he had a kindly corner in his heart for him— Mr. Laughton. His eyes beaming with delight, because he had never thought that the Indians could ever make any such offer, he had said, never mind what Jameson said, he should make the offer and he would see that the Government would probably accept it, but even if they did not, his countrymen would rise in the estimation of the Colonists of Natal. That sealed their fate. The offer was made and was rejected. He went over to Dr. Booth who was then in charge of St. Aidan's Mission and asked him whether he would give them ambulance lessons. He formed the class and gave them those lessons for three or four weeks. They continued to have them. Most of those who made the offer were Colonial-born Indians. Just then they all had the fear that the enemy, now the friends of the British Empire, were descending upon Maritzburg and finally might take the Port of Durban also. The offer, was renewed, this time with better hope. Dr. Booth went over to the Bishop of Natal,² who intervened—and he would not take no for an answer— till at last the offer was not only accepted, but they were able to form a very decent Stretcher-bearer Corps which, as they all knew, did its humble share. If he had

¹ The gathering was then addressed by the Mayor who said Gandhiji had done splendid work for the Indians not only in Durban but also in South Africa. He wished him godspeed on his voyage. The report which follows appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 23-9-1914.

² *Vide* "Indian Ambulance Corps", 13-12-1899

dealt with that matter in some detail, it was in order to render a humble tribute to the European friends and to say that at that time, as on many other occasions, there had been a perfect blending, a perfect harmony and a perfectly friendly tone, that at that time they were not without European sympathy and without European friends. With what a heavy heart, then, would he leave South Africa when he had all those rich memories. If he dwelt upon that incident, he also dwelt upon it in order to show to his countrymen that, if they always clamoured for their rights, if they always wanted to resist any encroachment upon their rights, they had also to recognize their obligations as members of a state. That was an occasion which offered itself for such a recognition on the part of the Indian community, and though they had been only a few thousand, he thought that they had done whatever it was in their power to do, and he wished to remind his countrymen of that occasion and wished them to understand that the settlement also carried with it obligations.¹

Indian Opinion, 22-7-1914 & 23-9-1914

197. SPEECH AT VERULAM²

July 12, 1914

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

When I agreed to come over to Verulam, I had no idea in my mind that I would receive an address. I came only to pay homage to my indentured brothers and to explain to them the facts under the new law. Moreover, a visit to this place is for me like going on a pilgrimage, for the Indian friends here played a great part in the recent strike; and in what wonderful a manner! When all the so-called leaders were resting in their private rooms or were busy making money, the indentured brethren of this place, the moment they happened to hear that a strike was on in Charlestown and elsewhere about the £3 tax, struck work too. They looked for no leaders. The leaders at Verulam, Tongaat and Isipingo were busy going round

¹ Brief reports in *The Transvaal Leader* and *The Star*, both of 13-7-1914, said: "Mr. Gandhi made an important statement to the effect that Indian disabilities were only partially satisfied by the Relief Bill, and added that the question of equal status was bound to come up in the future. He was leaving South Africa for some years, but might return."

² Gandhiji addressed a farewell meeting of about 5,000 indentured and other Indians. Some representative Europeans also attended. Addresses and purses were presented to him on behalf of Tamils and other Indians from Verulam and Tongaat. E. H. Langston presided. Gandhiji first spoke in Hindi and then in English. For the speech in English, *vide* the following item.

collecting money. But spontaneously, the friends here struck work. This proves that poverty is real wealth. The poor are like kings. They will have their way. Be it here or in India or anywhere else, our salvation lies through poverty. The poor are the soul of a great movement like this.

As I accept the addresses that you have presented to me, I remember an injunction in the scriptures: “Man! Flee from a place where you find yourself being praised, or at least plug your ears with cotton-wool.” I keep turning over this injunction in my mind whenever I hear myself praised. But, on this occasion, I have not been able to act as enjoined. When one can do neither, the injunction says: “*Jiva*¹, if you cannot act as enjoined here, offer all the praise you receive to Lord Krishna.” And this is what I do. Obedience to such religious injunctions and the path of uprightness will ensure success in every undertaking. What I mean to say is that you are not right when you attribute our success to me. It was the strength of our indentured brothers that brought us success. It is they who have done something really great. Even if I and those near me had continued to be in gaol to this day, a settlement would not have come about as quickly as it did.

[Having explained that the tax, including the arrears, would not be collected henceforth, Gandhiji said:]

The prevalent impression that because of the repeal of the tax Indians would have to remain permanently under indenture or be repatriated is entirely mistaken. On the expiry of your contract, you can stay as free citizens. My own advice to you is that you should never re-indenture yourselves. You will, of course, have to complete the term of the present contract; no one can escape that. Those who become free can obtain passes from the Protector at Durban. Free Indians who remain here for three years will be treated as domiciled here. After completing three years, anyone who wants to go to India and return will be able to do so. Such a person should go to India at his own expense, and not approach the Government for the purpose. But those who have made up their minds not to return here will be able to claim from the Government the expenses for the journey to India.

I take this occasion of my visit to Victoria County to offer thanks to Mr. Marshall Campbell for help in securing the repeal of the

¹ The individual Self, conscious of its separate identity

tax. He worked indefatigably in the Senate to achieve that end, unmindful of his own interests.

Your feeling unhappy, as you say, at my going away binds me all the firmer to you in love. But I am leaving Phoenix behind me. You may approach Mr. West or the other inmates on any matter connected with the law or when you are up against any other difficulty. They will encourage you, advise you and work for you. They will not charge you a single penny and, in case they can be of no help, they will direct you to the right quarters. If ever they start demanding money from you at Phoenix, you should refuse even to turn your eyes in that direction again. I shall, of course, continue to work for you. You are under indenture with one person for five years, but I am under indenture with 300 millions for a life-time. I shall go on with that service and never displace you from my heart. All the money I have received here, I shall use for local purposes and the books for my own study.

It made me very unhappy to know that, during the recent strike, provoked no doubt by excessive cruelty or some other cause, you raised your hand in retaliation. Had I been with you, I would have had my head broken rather than allowed you to do what you did. For the future, however, I wish to put before you one important suggestion. If it should ever happen that the Government is harsh with you or that your employers ill-treat you, you should fearlessly strike work; sit yourselves down at one place, go hungry if they do not give you food, suffer yourselves to be abused and kicked and finally, if such be your lot, submit even to hanging or being shot dead, but do not waver in your faith in God. If you act thus, even the stoniest heart will melt. Such is the power of satyagraha. Have trust in it. This alone is pure satyagraha. It is a weapon which surpasses all weapons, all your clubs and other weapons. Cling to it—therefore; it will never fail you in times of need. Good-bye to you.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 22-7-1914

198. SPEECH AT VERULAM¹

July 12, 1914

Mr. Gandhi asked the chairman's permission to speak in Hindustani first, and, then, in as brief as possible English, so that it might be interpreted into Tamil, which he did not speak. . . . He would not elaborate his Hindi remarks regarding the presentations and praise to himself. The money would be used for such public purposes as commanded themselves to him on reaching India, but preference would be given to South Africa. He then continued:

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 our 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 county. 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

¹ The speech was translated into Tamil.

under provocation or not, but you retaliated, and have used sticks and stones, and you have burnt sugarcane. 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.

If you want any advice or guidance, all I can suggest is that you go to Phoenix to Mr. West [or Mr. Chhaganlal Gandhi]¹, if you do not want to pay Mr. Langston, or any of his brothers in law. I have no doubt that if you go to Mr. Langston with a certificate from Mr. West [or Mr. Chhaganlal Gandhi], saying that you are too poor to pay a lawyer's fee, that the lawyer in Mr. Langston will sleep, and the man within him will rise, and he will give you advice free of charge. Do not sign any document unless you first consult Phoenix, and Phoenix advises you to sign it. If Phoenix ever fails you, or wants a penny from you, shun Phoenix.

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.

Mr. Gandhi then lowered his voice to address the Europeans near to him. He asked his European friends to forgive those Indians who during that awful time retaliated. He had no part or parcel in such retaliation but there were times in life when one lost self-control, and the brute in one arose, and one felt that might was right, and worked with the doctrine of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth". He again asked for their forgiveness. He thought that sometimes the European employer was inclined to be selfish, and he asked them to bear in mind that the indentured Indians were human beings, with the same sentiments as themselves. They were not cattle, but had all the weaknesses of themselves, and all the virtues if they were only

¹ This addition is found in *Golden Number, Indian Opinion*, 1914.

brought out. He made a plea for sanitary housing, and asked that the Europeans would look upon their indentured Indians as fellow-beings, and not as Asiatics who had nothing in common with them. The indentured Indian was a moral being.

Do not place him in surroundings in which he cannot rise from hideous immorality. He is not beyond reclaiming, but is capable of responding to every moral pressure and realising the highest moral height.¹

Let them credit them to the fullest extent with their weaknesses, as also at least with the possibility of all the virtues. Would they not then treat their Indian employees even as brothers? It was not enough that they were well treated as they well treated their cattle. It was not enough that they looked upon them with a kindly eye merely; but it was necessary that employers should have a much broader view of their own position, that they should think of their employees as fellow human beings and not as Asiatics who had nothing in common with them who were Europeans, and they would also respond to every attention that might be given to them. Then they would have an intelligent interest not merely in the material or physical well-being of their men, but in their moral well-being. They would look after their morality, after their children, after their education, after their sanitation, and, if they were herding together in such a manner that they could not but indulge in hideous immorality, that they would themselves recoil with horror from the very imagination that the men who were for the time being under their control should indulge in these things because they had been placed in these surroundings. Let them not consider that, because these men were drawn from the lowest strata of society, they were beyond reclamation. No, they would respond to every moral pressure that might be brought to bear upon them, and they will certainly realise the moral height that is possible for every human being, no matter who he is, no matter what tinge of colour his skin possesses.²

The Natal Mercury, 14-7-1914 and *Golden Number, Indian Opinion*, 1914

¹ What follows is an additional report found in *Golden Number, Indian Opinion*, 1914.

² S. D. Shroff then proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman. A number of Indians insisted on prostrating themselves before Gandhiji. A photograph was taken and then Gandhiji and Kasturba left for Durban by the 1 o'clock special train.

199. SPEECH AT DURBAN MEETING¹

[July 12, 1914]

SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

The honour I have received today is the highest ever in my life, for your love has been simply beyond words, and seeing so many of my indentured brothers and sisters makes me happy indeed. You must have heard quite a few things about the Settlement, some of them, perhaps, false. The indentured friends will be able, on the expiry of their contracts, to buy land and settle down as free men. If, however, you are not sufficiently vigilant after my departure or if you weaken, the Government may even exploit the situation to its advantage. In that case, all that you did last year to win relief from your sufferings you must repeat and suffer again. You will not for that purpose need my presence or that of other leaders. If thus, in the hour of your difficulty, you turn to satyagraha instead of looking for leaders, success will assuredly be yours.

I shall now tell you something else. For Indians born here, this is their motherland. They have a better right here than other Indians. Their future is bound up with that of this country. I would ask them to be vigilant. They would do well to turn their attention to land instead of crowding lawyers' or other offices. Besides, whenever as a community you find it necessary to oppose the authorities, you should employ the same weapon as you did during the last eight years to a successful end.

Brothers and sisters under indenture, yours is a very wretched state. I have had information from several sources throwing doubt on the value of the repeal of the £3 tax. The money thus saved [it has been suggested] will go to wine-dealers and goldsmiths. The labourers will be robbed at either place. This is quite true. To goldsmiths, of course, I can say: "Dear friends, give up robbing. It can have no good result. Do not reduce your brethren to a miserable state. Do not rob your poor kith and kin by mixing copper or brass with gold." To the wine-dealers, I can say nothing. But I shall address myself to you. If you resolve that you will have no intoxicating drink, the wine-dealers will close down their shops. I have often seen numbers

¹ Gandhiji addressed a meeting of indentured labourers and other Indians held on the Football Ground, Durban,

of men and women, lost in drink, engaged in street-brawls or going tipsily along public roads. I have been deeply moved by such sights. What a pity, I would say, that my brothers and sisters should be in such a state! Through this wretched habit of drinking, how low have we sunk in this country? Losing all sense, we have fallen into immorality and vice. In order that we may be freed from this condition, the young among us must come forward. They must reason and plead with the obtuse, entreat them and dissuade them from drinking. They must station themselves near wine-shops and turn away Indians who might approach these. If, in doing so, they have to suffer insults or assaults, they must put up with them, too. This course, if adopted, would help destroy the evil habit. You will all become better in the result. The whites here will also look on you with respect. Your pecuniary condition will improve as well, and you will be set on the right path. I, therefore, beg of you to shake off this evil habit.

I will never forget your love for me and it will be my chief duty in India to look after your interests. I am under indenture with you all for the rest of my life, so that I am not likely ever to put you out of my heart. May you, too, not forget me.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 22-7-1914

200. PARTING MESSAGE¹

[DURBAN,
July 12, 1914]

Whether you are Hindus or Muslims, Parsis or Christians, work unitedly as Indians. Forget religious differences and never allow your heart to shrink. The community will retain the prestige it has gained only if all of you work together. If, during my stay in South Africa, I have harmed anyone, maybe unknowingly, please forgive me.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 22-7-1914

¹ Gandhiji gave this message at Durban on the eve of his departure for Johannesburg.

201. SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG¹

[July 13, 1914]

Mr. Gandhi . . . declared that at last a settlement had been reached that was honourable to both sides, and in keeping with the dignity of passive resisters; for the Government had conceded every tittle of what had been asked for by Mr. Cachalia in his last letter² before the negotiations were interrupted last year. To have asked the Government to go further would, Mr. Gandhi declared, have been a breach of faith on the part of passive resisters, to which he could be no party.

The Transvaal Leader, 14-7-1914

202. SPEECH AT FAREWELL BANQUET³

JOHANNESBURG,
July 14, 1914

Mr. Gandhi said that they or circumstances had placed him that evening in a most embarrassing position. Hitherto those who had known him in Johannesburg had known him in the capacity of one of many hosts at gatherings of that kind, but that evening they had placed him in the unfortunate position of being a guest, and he did not know how he would be able to discharge that duty. For the other he thought long experience had fitted him, if he might say so with due humility, most admirably; but the present position was entirely new to him and Mrs. Gandhi, and he was exceedingly diffident as to how he was going to discharge the new duty that had been imposed upon him. So much had been said about Mrs. Gandhi and himself, their so-called devotion, their so-called self-sacrifice, and many other things. There was one injunction of his religion, and he thought it was true of all religions, and that was that, when one's praises were sung, one should fly from those praises, and, if one could not do that, one should stop one's ears, and if one could not do either of these things, one should dedicate everything that was said in connection with one to the

¹ On their arrival at Park Station, Gandhiji and Kasturba were greeted by a large crowd of Indians. They were seated in a cab drawn by enthusiastic admirers and taken in procession. Later Gandhiji addressed a meeting.

² *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", 12-9-1913.

³ A farewell banquet was given in the Masonic Hall, Jeppe Street, in honour of Gandhiji, Kasturba and Kallenbach. They were presented with addresses on behalf of the British Indian Association, the Chinese Association, the Tamil Benefit Society, the Transvaal Indian Women's Association and the Gujarati, the Mahomedan and the Parsee communities. Offering his four sons to Gandhiji, C. K. T. Naidoo said: "On behalf of myself and my wife, I have the honour to present these four boys to be servands of India."

Almighty, the Divine Essence, which pervaded everyone and everything in the Universe, and he hoped that Mrs Gandhi and he would have the strength to dedicate all that had been said that evening to that Divine Essence.

Of all the precious a gifts that had been given to them, those four boys were the most precious, and probably Mr. Chamney could tell them something of the law of adoption in India and what Mr. and Mrs. Naidoo, both of them old gaol-birds, had done. They had gone through the ceremony of adoption, and they had surrendered their right to their four children and given them (Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi) the charge. He did not know that they were worthy to take charge of those children. He could only assure them that they would try to do their best. The four boys had been his pupils when he had been conducting a school for Passive Resisters at Tolstoy Farm and later on at Phoenix. Then when Mrs. Naidoo had sought imprisonment, the boys had been taken over to Johannesburg, and he thought that he had lost those four pearls, but the pearls had returned to him. He only hoped that Mrs. Gandhi and he would be able to take charge of the precious gift.

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 bitternesses 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 then, as it still was, by Mr. Hosken. It was last, but not least, Johannesburg that had given Valiamma, 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—she went to gaol, came out of it a wreck, and within a few days died. It was Johannes-

burg again that produced a Nagappen 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 Hurbatsingh given to them. He (the speaker) had had the privilege of serving imprisonment with him. Hurbatsingh 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! And, therefore, whenever he had spoken, he had said that, if the Indian community had gained anything through this settlement, it was certainly due to Passive Resistance; but it was certainly not due to Passive Resistance alone. He thought that the cablegram that had been read that evening showed that they had to thank that noble Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, for his great effort. He thought, too, that they had to thank the Imperial Government, who, during the past few years, in season and out of season, had been sending despatches after despatches to General Botha, and asking him to consider their standpoint—the Imperial standpoint. They had to thank also the Union Government for the spirit of justice they had adopted at that time. They had, too, to thank the noble members of both Houses of the Legislature who had made those historic speeches and brought about the settlement; and, lastly, they had to thank the Opposition also for their co-operation with the Government in bringing about the passage of the Bill, in spite of the jarring note produced by the Natal Members. When one considered all these things, the service that he and Mrs. Gandhi might have rendered could be only very little. They were but two out of many instruments that had gone to make this settlement. And what was that settlement? In his humble opinion, the value of the settlement, if they were to examine it, would consist not in the intrinsic things they had received, but in the sufferings and the sorrows long-drawn-out that were necessary in order to achieve those things. If an outsider were to come there and find that there was a banquet given to two humble individuals for the humble part they played in a settlement which freed indentured Indians from a tax which they should never have been called upon to pay, and if he were told also that some redress were given in connection with their marriages, and that their wives who were lawfully married to them according to their own religions had not hitherto been recognized as their wives, but by this settlement those wives were recognized as valid wives according to the law of South Africa, that outsider would laugh, and consider that those Indians, or those Europeans who had joined them in having a banquet, and

giving all those praises and; so on, must be a parcel of fools. What was there to gloat over in having an intolerable burden removed which might have been removed years ago? What was there in a lawful wife's being recognized in a place like 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 preface¹ 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 recognized 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 loftily. 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 Amptill, 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 Amptill had congratulated him, and that great nobleman had never deserted the cause

¹ *Vide* "Lord Amptill's Introduction to "M.K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa", 26-8-1909.

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 recognized 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 that 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 struggles 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 Law 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 watertight 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 Cape Town, 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 Cape Town; 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 goodwill, with due response on the part of either party, the Indian community need never 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.¹

Golden Number, Indian Opinion, 1914

¹ Kallenbach then thanked the gathering. Miss Schlesin was given an address. The proceedings concluded with a speech by Dr. Krause.

203. INTERVIEW TO "THE TRANSVAAL LEADER"

[JOHANNESBURG,
July 14, 1914]

I am going to India for good. I am going with the intention of never returning, and if ever I have to return to South Africa or leave India, it will be owing to circumstances beyond my control, and at present beyond my conception.

The Settlement I consider to be entirely honourable to both parties. I believe both General Botha and General Smuts have acted most justly. There has been no mental reservation whatever. The one desire on the part of General Smuts was that there should be no misunderstanding left, and he endeavoured to appreciate the Indian standpoint at every stage of the interviews that he gladly gave me, even when he was pressed with work.

And I do feel that nothing could have been finer than the co-operation that the Opposition gave whole-heartedly.

In fact, the whole spirit of the debate, both in the Senate and the Assembly, in spite of a jarring note from Natal, was of a highly Imperial order. And it will be a thousand pities if either my own countrymen, by excessive agitation, or Europeans spoil that tone and destroy the good effect produced by the Settlement. It respects all the reasonable demands of the Europeans with reference to immigration and such other matters, and it concedes to the Indians entirely what they have been fighting for and suffering for during the last eight years. Throughout my travelling I have noticed a very exemplary attitude on the part of European friends, many of whom have been really strangers to the question, and certainly strangers to me personally.

[REPORTER:] Is the struggle really at an end—will Indians here not fight, constitutionally no doubt, for political equality?

We have never asked for political equality. We do not hope to get that.

You want the vote?

No; my view on that would be to leave the question of the political vote severely alone, and my firm conviction is that passive resistance is infinitely superior to the vote. I have never asked for the

vote. What I always have insisted on was the removal of racial distinctions, not for equality.

Mr. Gandhi then went on to recall some of the more remarkable incidents in his career, particularly the march of the Indian strikers into the Transvaal in November last year which he described as his most wonderful experience in South Africa.

Through that march, I learned to love human nature more, and to appreciate that no matter whether the human spirit flourished under European or Indian, under the Western or the Eastern sky, it could respond in an equal measure to the same chord.

In recounting his experiences on the march, Mr. Gandhi did not dwell on the hardships; these he seemed to have forgotten. But he recalled the little acts of kindness that were done by obscure individuals. There was the station master who brought him a glass of milk and a couple of boiled eggs, and many other delicacies to tempt a starving man.

It seemed rank ingratitude to refuse them, but I kept to my vow, and I explained to the station master that I seldom ate eggs, and could not taste the milk and the other nice things he had brought, because I had to accept the same treatment as the rank and file. He seemed hurt; and I was sorry, but I was not ungrateful, and I hope the kind soul understood.

At another place the proprietor of an hotel said to me: "You are shivering. Come to my hotel, and I will put you up." I thanked him, but declined, and, pointing to my companions, I said: "They too feel the cold, and are shivering." "Oh! It is not a case of putting you on the verandah," he said, "I will give you a room." His kind offer I was obliged to decline.

At another place we reached, a woman who ran a small store placed everything she had at our disposal. I remonstrated, but she would have her way. She said: "Though you are all Indians, you are suffering and I hope I have enough of the old British sense of sympathy left in me to help you." At Charlestown and Newcastle the whole community helped us, and we helped them. There was no pilfering, no drunkenness.

I explained to the men before they started that they would win, not by putting their sticks over the shoulders of others, but over their own. It took them some time to see it, but that was the condition on which I allowed them to come with me. So our army kept on its way. We rose before the sun in the morning and did the best of our day's march before food passed our lips. Then we halted for a small

ration of bread and sugar. It was, you will admit, a wonderful thing for two thousand men to have marched so far without violating the law, without stealing or rioting.

As to the treatment of himself personally, and of his family during those troubled times, Mr. Gandhi could not find words to express his appreciation.¹

The Transvaal Leader, 15-7-1914

204. LETTER TO INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

[JOHANNESBURG,
Before *July* 15, 1914]

DEAR BROTHER OR SISTER,

On the eve of my departure from South Africa, I should like to leave a brief message in writing.

There has been no limit to the love I have received from the Indians in this country. I am sure those who have given such love will always prosper. I hear it said that our community is ungrateful. My heart tells me that this is said in ignorance and impatience. Were the Indian people really so, I would have felt no pride in being called a son of India, nor could I recite with utter sincerity the sublime poem, *India, a refuge of all those that suffer*.

Though I have had more than human love from Indians, I also know that there are some of them who believe themselves, and are taken by others, to be my enemies. For me, however, they are no enemies. Those who speak ill of us sometimes prove to be our true friends. I do not consider at the moment whether this is so in my case

¹ In the course of his report, the representative of *The Transvaal Leader* summed up thus his own estimate of Gandhiji: "So it is humanly certain that the most arresting figure in the Indian community in South Africa today is to say good-bye to a country in which he has spent many years, crowded with experience and exertion, his work on behalf of his countrymen at last crowned with success. When a man has been imprisoned so often that were his offences not merely political he would have qualified as an 'habitual', when he has times without number endured fatigue, and fasted with a smile, when he has moved steadily on over obstacles that might daunt the bravest, to the goal on which his eye has been fixed, you might picture him physically as an Apollo, and imagine his heart made of the fibre that belongs to martyrs. In the qualities of the heart and of the soul you may believe the best of Gandhi, but you would wonder, did you see him, that so frail a figure could house so vigorous a character."

or not. I only want to show that I am not free from responsibility for their speaking ill of me. If I had perfect love for them, they would never have bitter things to say against me. Such love, however, is hardly possible for man. Whilst I lack it, I shall bear their hostility; I shall not regard them as my enemies.

There are easy and effective measures which will enable Indians to live in peace in this country. All religious andagonism, as that one is a Hindu or a Muslim, a Christian or a Parsi, should be forgotten. Let there be no provincial distinctions such as Bengalis, Madrasis, Gujaratis, Punjabis, etc. All ideas of high and low which divide men into Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras should be abandoned. Indians are all subject to the same laws; if so, how can we fight them disunited?

We need must observe truth. I know it is futile to expect, in this land, that everyone will be perfectly truthful; it should, however, be possible for us to adhere to truth, by and large. Otherwise, Indians cannot live on here as Indians, or human beings.

Whenever there are hardships, they will have to be fought courageously. Should Indians refuse to fight them, blinded by self-interest or because of weakness, they will assuredly be overwhelmed by disaster.

If the leaders are selfish, greedy, lazy, given to lying and licentious, the common people will make no progress. And so, should the latter remain backward, the responsibility will be that of the leaders and theirs, too, will be the guilt.

Indians from Bombay are often rude to those hailing from Calcutta and Madras and indifferent to their feelings. The term *colcha*¹ has still not gone out of use in our language. Such ways are fraught with danger and, if not abandoned, will assuredly bring the community to grief. The people from Bombay know very well that their compatriots from Calcutta and Madras are far more numerous than they. Even from the point of view of self-interest, therefore, it is necessary that we show them due regard.

Even good Indians show contempt for Colonial-born Indians. I have believed, and still believe, that they are wrong in doing so. Colonial-born Indians do have some defects; but, then, who has not? They have also many fine qualities. It is worth noting that, if the

¹ Probably, a corrupt form of "coolie"

satyagraha campaign has been a glorious performance, it was because of the sacrifices of Indians born in this country. Large numbers of such Indians, and many women too, have gone to gaol. To help forward any Colonial-born Indians, either educated or uneducated, will be an act of piety on the part of the community meriting a reward, and I am sure it will be duly rewarded, for such has been my experience.

We are very dirty and some of us behave so abjectly, because of greed, that the whites feel disgusted, as they well might. If the leaders exert themselves, they can end all the filthiness that we notice around us. That there should be too many people sleeping in small rooms, that these should hold stores of foodgrains, fruit, etc., and never be washed, that lavatories should be kept unclean, that bedsteads should never be aired in the sun, that the windows should never be opened, that the place should never be dusted, that sleeping, cooking, bathing, relaxing, should all be done in one and the same room—this is pathetic indeed. This way we turn ourselves into denizens of hell in this very world. This state of affairs must change.

Gold-smuggling by members of the community is on the increase. Some Indians want to get rich quick. They will get into trouble and disgrace the name of the community as a whole. I wish they would rein themselves in.

As some Tamils and Calcuttamen have become slaves to the wicked habit of drink, so have some Gujaratis too. The Indian who weans them from this will be a man of noble soul indeed. Indian businessmen can exercise a good influence, if they mean to, over these helpless brethren whose state is so pitiable.

As I understand it, the Settlement which has taken place is a charter of our freedom. We could not have accepted less than what it gives. More it is not possible to secure at present. It is my emphatic advice, therefore, that every effort should be made to preserve what has been obtained and to resist the Government if it seeks to take away anything from it. If it places upon the terms of the Settlement a construction different from ours, or mine, or if a court does so and the Government then refuses to make any modifications, there will be cause for friction and the Government will again invite the charge of breach of promise.

The main difficulty for the present will be regarding the Dealers' Licenses Act. Even in this matter, however, redress will be

easier wherever things are under the jurisdiction of the Union Government. Where, on the other hand, licenses are granted by the municipalities, things will be very difficult. The remedy for this is to put up a fight whenever licenses are taken away, apply to courts and petition the Government, hold meetings and pass resolutions. If, at the end of all this, there should be no redress, there will be nothing for it but to resort to satyagraha. This is easy to offer in the matter of licenses. If only the hawkers show courage, the struggle for licences could be won. It is possible that traders will have to suffer for some time. I hope they will not fail to do their duty at the critical moment. We must demand complete freedom to trade, and ought to get it. Everything depends on the traders.

The Gold Law in the Transvaal is a very oppressive measure. The settlement secures to all the right to carry on business wherever they are doing so at present. People can shift their business from one place to another in the same town, but they cannot go over to another town. So much can be taken as included in the clause on “existing rights”. If the Government permits less than this, that will be a breach of the terms of the Settlement. To secure more than this, independent efforts will be necessary, and I don’t think these can be made at present. Great care will have to be exercised to see that they do not keep us in the dark and pass complicated laws on these and related subjects. In regard to the Gold Law also, it should be easy to offer satyagraha against it, if it is administered with excessive severity.

As regards the Transvaal Law of 1885, I don’t see any possibility of our being able to touch it at present.

On the issue of marriages, it is not possible to secure anything more for the present. To waste efforts on that will interfere with other important tasks. There is no better law elsewhere than the one which has been enacted.

We need not fight for votes or for freedom of entry for fresh immigrants from India. I think we shall have to rest content at present with the removal of the taint [of racial discrimination] from the law.

However, if the Indian community is strong and itself enterprising, if it maintains unity, truthfulness and courage, the following expectations may be realized in 15 years:

1. Complete freedom of trade.
2. Full rights of ownership of land in all Provinces and

3. Freedom of movement from one Province to another.

In order to bring all this about, it will be necessary to have the Licensing Acts, the Gold Laws, the Township Act, Law 3 of 1885 and the Immigration Act amended, for which purpose public opinion will have to be cultivated among the whites of South Africa. This is not difficult to do.

The community need not be anxious on account of the indentured labourers. There is nothing in the new law which can be interpreted to mean that the Government may send them away. I appeal to all Indians to help Mr. Polak and seek his help. No one is as well informed about our question as he. He has regard for the community, is honest, has ability and is full of enthusiasm. It is my earnest request to Indians in all Provinces that they utilize Mr. Polak's services and follow his advice. Others will not be able to draft petitions as well as he can. He will not accept money for any public work, which means that he will remain in South Africa only if he can pay his way by his professional work; otherwise, he will leave for England. I know that he still does not earn enough to meet his needs and, therefore, I earnestly appeal to the Transvaal Indians to entrust their legal affairs to Mr. Polak.

Indian Opinion is run only for the service of the community. So is Phoenix. Those who have settled there have not done so with the intention of making money. They draw only as much as they need for a simple and plain life. It will be so much of a loss to the community if it does not utilize the services of those who are working in this spirit. Mr. Omar Hajee Jhaveri and Parsee Rustomjee are now the owners of the Phoenix lands and its managing trustees in South Africa. The community can get all information about Phoenix through them or even directly. I request every Indian to understand the objects of Phoenix. I cannot help saying that it is a great field for anyone aspiring to serve India. This, some may indeed feel, is rather improper of me to say in view of my close association with Phoenix; it is, however, my sincere belief.

Though I am leaving for the motherland, I am not likely to forget South Africa. I should like friends who may have occasion to go to India to come and see me there. I do intend, of course, to work in India in regard to the disabilities here. And I shall be able to work better if the people in South Africa ask for my services. I think the expenses to be incurred in India on this work by way of stationery,

postage, printing, etc., should be met from here. The money I have been given I propose to use only for this purpose.

Above all, I wish to say that it is up to the community to win its freedom and that its ultimate weapon, an irresistible one, is satyagraha.

If I have harmed any Indian, knowingly or unknowingly, if I have been the cause of pain to anyone, I crave God's forgiveness and theirs.

I am, of course, a satyagrahi and I hope always to remain one, but in December last I fell more under the spell of indenture. Since the term *girmitio* ("indentured labourer") is already in use about me in Gujarati.

I am,

As ever,

The community's indentured labourer,

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6020

205. *TRIBUTE TO PASSIVE RESISTANCE MARTYRS*¹

BRAAMFONTEIN,
July 15, 1914

Mr. Gandhi said he thought that, in Johannesburg, among their intimate European friends, Mrs. Phillips was the oldest, and therefore, if they considered her to be the mother of the family, they only gave her her due. Mrs. Phillips had set the seal upon that that morning by unveiling those two monuments. He knew that he was uttering a truism when he said that Mrs. Phillips had taken the trouble, but it was not the physical trouble. What he wished to refer to was that Mrs. Phillips had come there with a heart just as sore as any Indian's and he hoped that the noble words that she had uttered would go down into the hearts of every one of them. He personally had never felt tired of repeating his sentiments again and again in connection with that dear sister—a daughter to her, to him a sister—and that dear brother Nagappen, and whenever he had thought of those two and the neglected grave of Narayansamy, whose bones were now resting at Lourenco Marques, he had felt the littleness of the

¹ Gandhiji attended at 11.30 a.m. the ceremonial unveiling of memorial tablets erected in honour of Nagappen and Valliamma in Braamfontein cemetery. Kasturba, Miss Schlesin and Mrs. Polak were among those present. Gandhiji spoke after Mrs. Phillips, wife of Rev. Charles Phillips, the Acting Chairman of the European Committee, had unveiled the memorials.

service rendered by all of them. Mrs. Polak had just reminded him how lightly they had treated the sickness of the girl whose body lay under that cold stone. He recalled also a scene when he left Durban, and when he had paid a hurried visit, with Mr. Polak to see Valliamma—that was a most affecting scene. She was just coming out. Her mother was there. Her mother, most loving and attentive, thought that she must hurry forward Valliamma. He felt guilty that there was any hurry at the time, but she was brought out. She was almost in a swoon. They three carried her in the best manner they could. There was no feather mattress, no stretcher, in the room where she lay, simply the wooden floor; not that they were cruel to her, but their discipline was so rigorous and exacting that those who were in immediate charge, as Thambi Naidoo, would not think of having any other things or taking any other things. That was her lot inside and outside prison, that was her spirit, that was the spirit also, he well remembered, of the young lady by her side in the same condition, who had just been delivered of a child. He did not know whether they should not now consider themselves criminally guilty. At the same time he did not know because, as Passive Resisters, they held the soul immortal, and the body merely subject to the spirit, and if the body might be lost for the perfection of the soul, they held it was the right thing. Valliamma herself, he fancied, if he knew anything of that soul, would have spurned the idea of being treated differently from her other sisters. Those scenes would never be effaced from his memory. Nagappen's face he could not recall so vividly as Valliamma's, but he knew full well how that brave lad had suffered in that horrible camp prison, exposed to the most severe weather, and how unnecessary it had been to send him there. But the desire then had been not to do something for Passive Resisters but to bend their spirit. But today they recognized the steel of which Nagappen's heart was made. He came out of prison a wreck, but he said. What did it matter? He had to die but once, and he was ready to go to gaol again if it was necessary for him to do so, and so that undaunted spirit died. But yet they were not dead, for they would live, and live for ever in the memory of every Indian. It was a matter for mourning that they were no longer with them to set them a noble example, but when he thought of it a little more deeply, it was a matter for rejoicing that they had amongst them such three noble souls who had usefully lived out their lives for the sake of truth—he would not say for their country. Little they knew of their country. He believed they were perfect strangers to it—they were Colonial-born. They had no idea of their Motherland; to them South Africa was their Motherland; but this they knew, that it was a sacred fight, a religious fight, a fight for truth. They lived for the truth, and for it they died, and therefore he felt that they had every cause for rejoicing and instead of appreciating them by stones, they should erect in their own hearts, every one of them, imperishable memorials, and, whenever they felt like succumbing to temptation, remind themselves of the imperishable names of these three. Then, indeed, would they have done honour to their graves in the true spirit and then only

would it have been worth Mrs. Phillips' while to have come there all the way to perform that ceremony.

Indian Opinion, 29-7-1914

206. SPEECH AT TRANSVAAL INDIAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION¹

JOHANNESBURG,
July 15, 1914

Mr. Gandhi said that they had spoken of him that day as a Protector and a Guru but he felt that he was undeserving of either title, but if they would accept him as their devoted brother, it was the highest honour that he could claim from them, and he knew that it would be a precious privilege to him to think of them, wherever he might be, as his sisters. And as their co-worker and fellow-Passive Resister, but with greater experience than they possessed, he could only tell them to continue the work they had commenced, and that the work they had done was noble. They should hold together as one woman, and, if the call to duty came again, they should not fail to respond and should not fail to do even as Valliamma had done. They should not forget Mrs. Vogl². She had done much selfless work. They could still receive her assistance in taking sewing classes and much other work. Her companionship too was worth catering for. She was a true woman who felt for them. She would do more if she could, and she would never fail to do all she could. They owed her a great deal, but the best honour that they could pay Mrs. Vogl was not to pile gifts upon her, but to follow her advice and receive her assistance, which she was most anxious to give in connection with classes and such other matters. In India sisters gave their blessings to their departing brothers, whether younger or older than they. He hoped that his sisters there would give him their blessing, no matter in what part of the world he might be placed.

Indian Opinion, 5-8-1914

¹ The meeting of the Transvaal Indian Women's Association was held in the Ebenezer Church Hall to bid Gandhiji farewell. Mrs. Rama Moodaley, President of the Association, was in the chair.

² She conducted classes for Indian women and took keen interest in the Indian cause.

207. SPEECH AT MUSLIM MEETING¹

[VREDEDORP,
July 15, 1914]

Before answering the questions, Mr. Gandhi, who was applauded by a section, assured them that he appreciated it as a high honour that they had invited him, because he knew that some of them were opposed to the Settlement and had moved heaven and earth that the settlement should not become final. He had not despaired of pleasing even these countrymen of his. The first question was on whose authority he had accepted or arranged this settlement with the Government. It was on the authority of the general body of the Indians throughout South Africa, because when the final letter of Mr. Cachalia was sent, it was sent in the name of the British Indian community.² He was the secretary and carried on the negotiations, and when he found that there was nothing he had to abandon but that he could get all, he did not consider it necessary to come to them again³. It was not possible for any public man to do otherwise. If he had done less he would have been an unworthy servant. He did his duty when he carried out the full terms of that letter. Of course, General Smuts wanted this Settlement accepted by the community in general—he did not want to leave any

¹ Gandhiji addressed a crowded Muslim meeting at the Hamidia Islamic Society Hall, convened for the purpose of expressing Muslims' dissatisfaction over the Settlement. Essop Ismail Mia presided. Gandhiji's speech largely comprised statements made in reply to various questions put to him by the Chairman of the meeting and by other speakers. *Rand Daily Mail*, 16-7-1914, reported Mia's observations as follows: "The Chairman whose remarks were interpreted—sometimes with the aid of Mr. Gandhi himself—asked on whose authority the compromise was made with the Government. He next referred to the funds of the plague hospital, and wished Mr. Gandhi to say what had become of the funds. Ever since the commencement the Indian Association had subscribed, and he wished the accounts to come before the public, and that Mr. Gandhi should explain the position. Four points had been put forward, and Mr. Gandhi, according to his view, had gained only one and a half. In the marriage problem a question had cropped up which required explanation, affecting the Mahommedans. He would explain to his merchant friends what they had gained during their eight years' struggle. Mr. Gandhi had said in Durban that no man could satisfy everybody. He wished to say that Mr. Gandhi had left them with the battle to be fought all over again. As regards the marriage question, not only the Mahommedans, but the Hindus also had said that they had gained nothing."

² *The Transvaal Leader* report of the same date has here the words: ". . . without a word of protest. It was supported by all throughout."

³ *The Transvaal Leader* report has: ". . . he did not think there was any need to hesitate as to whether he should keep it open or conclude the agreement. He had abandoned nothing, but gained everything."

loophole. In the series of meetings so far there had been as much unanimity as possible. The next question was what had they gained out of the Settlement? He suggested that they had gained everything they had asked for. They had gained to the fullest extent and in the most liberal manner.

The next question was what had he done with the hospital moneys? There had been some misunderstanding about this. The origin of this fund was as follows: The stands in the old location had been expropriated, and he acted on behalf of certain claimants against the Town Council.¹ He did not charge the full legal fees, which, taxed, would have amounted to £40 or £50. He agreed to charge so much a stand, and told them that he did not want it all for himself. £5 he would use for his own purposes, and set the balance aside as the nucleus of a hospital fund. He had ideas at the time of going to England, [of] qualifying as a doctor,² and coming out again to minister to their needs; but those were castles in the air. There were no public funds—no charity.³ The whole of that fund had been used up in the course of the passive resistance movement for public purposes and South African public purposes; but he was unable to hold himself responsible to the public in connection with those funds; but even a child could come and look at his public dealings.

With regard to the accounts of the British Indian Association, he had also to inform them that, every time they had held a committee meeting, he had submitted accounts of disbursements. Later on he had several funds—the anti-Indian law fund, the passive resistance fund, and the funds from Bombay. All these he had accounted for, some in the columns of the Press. He was not taking the books away, and at any time they could ask Mr. Polak as to the disposal of the funds. So long as they were not unreasonable, they could certainly inspect what had been done.

The next question was how many points had been gained. The points in Mr. Cachalia's letter were the marriage question, the £3 tax, the Orange Free State and the Cape entry question, and the administration of the existing legislation with due regard to the Indians' feelings. They had got these five points, and a little more. Now what had the merchants gained? The merchants had gained everything that the community had gained, and had gained probably most of all. The Indian community had raised its status in the estimation of Europeans throughout South Africa. They could no longer be classed as coolies by General Botha and others. The term had been removed as a term of reproach, silently but effectively. If they had not fought for the past eight years, no trace would have been left here of Indians as a self-respecting community. They might have been able to live in the Locations and eke out the miserable existence of coolies and dogs. If they had asked for more they would not

¹ *The Transvaal Leader* report here adds the words: “. . . 75 out of the 99 entrusting their claims to him. He received part of the costs from the Town Council and was authorised to charge attorney and client fees . . .”

² *Vide* "Letter to H.S.L. Polak", 8-9-1909

³ *The Transvaal Leader* report adds: “. . . but simply his fees and those funds were not used for a hospital . . .”

have got it, and would have been hounded out of court and been regarded as a community not to be trusted. He explained what they had gained by the Settlement in regard to marriage,¹ and concluded by stating that he would continue to serve the community. That was his religion.²

¹ *The Transvaal Leader* report here furnishes details of Gandhiji's reply on this point: "He had not yet heard a Hindoo say he was not satisfied with the marriage question. That was where they had gained a little more than they asked. Before the Port Elizabeth case, they thought one Indian wife would be recognized, no matter what her religion. That was overturned; and they came to the conclusion that they should ask the Government to legalise one-wife marriage throughout South Africa. Polygamy had been a question in this country for 50 years, but the only question which arose concerning the Settlement was that of monogamous marriages. What they asked in this respect was granted, and a little more also, for Magistrates were allowed to legalise marriages. Polygamy they could practise, but it was not legalised. Natives could only have one wife. Sir William Solomon wanted to go as far as that with the Indians, but he (Mr. Gandhi) said, 'No; if you do, we will fight.' All he expected the South African Government to do was to become tolerand of polygamy, but not to legalise it."

² Here H. O. Ally, who had in 1909 accompanied Gandhiji on a deputation to England, raised a number of points, as reported by *Rand Daily Mail*: "It was only fair that Mr. Gandhi should call a mass meeting and explain the Settlement. They had heard one thing from his speeches in Cape Town and another thing from his speeches in Durban. In his speech at the Masonic Hall again, Mr. Gandhi had admitted that the Colonial-born question was not settled. Many things were not settled, and yet with what right or face could any Indian organisations apply to General Smuts in the future, and say there were certain disabilities and grievances that were killing their people—in the face of Mr. Gandhi's expressions here of the 'final honourable settlement'?"

"Cables and congratulations had passed between Gokhale, the Imperial Government and India. Where could they ask for more redress? What they wanted him to explain to them was how they were going to live in future. They had trusted Mr. Gandhi. He (the speaker) was one of his admirers. He (Mr. Gandhi) knew that it was his elder brother that was talking to him. It was not one who was jealous of him. Mr. Gandhi had been a staunch patriot, and he had said so to his detractors. But he (the speaker) never knew that Mr. Gokhale cabled to Mr. Gandhi that it was a mistake not to submit to the Commission the real grievances of the Indians throughout the Transvaal. He now understood that Mr. Gandhi had received such a cable and had spent about £200 on sending a lengthy cable to Bombay about the oath to continue passive resistance until the four points were settled. Now about this settlements. No sensible man expected the Union Government to legalise polygamous marriages. But Mr. Gandhi ought to know very well, because a message was sent to him from that Hall, that it was impossible for Mussulmans to break one syllable out of their holy *Koran*. He was told that, whatever he did with regard to the marriage question, not to bind the Mussulmans with regard to one man one wife, because they would be transgressing the law of God. And the *Koran* said that 'Whosoever transgresses the statutes of God will be cast into hell fire for ever.'

Mr. Gandhi, in reply, said that there was no compulsory registration of children who were South-Africa-born. Up to the age of sixteen they were entirely free. If all passive resisters had fallen and he was the only one left, he would have died in that cause. As for the future, he had said that the Settlement was final in the sense that passive resistance was closed. His own letter¹ to General Smuts had left the door open. The Settlement was that of the passive resistance on the questions that were on the board for which they had fought and bled and suffered. It did not close anything else. It did not prevent them from holding mass meetings, passing resolutions and taking up new passive resistance. The inter-provincial immigration was an open question yet. That was not in the terms of the Settlement, and it was a fair matter for agitation on the part of the Indian community.

The Settlement did not bind himself or the Indian community not to restart passive resistance if they came to the conclusion that they had grievances which would justify it. Take the Free State question, the licensing laws, the gold laws, and the township laws. He had warned his countrymen, however, that they must educate Europeans on these matters. On the marriage question the Settlement did not violate one iota of the Holy *Koran*. He had admitted that they did not expect a Christian community to legalise polygamy, so that there was no point at issue. Day and night his programme was so full that he was not allowed time for meals. He was addressing meetings all the time—some twenty mass meetings in the last few days.²

After a number of speeches in Hindustani, Gujarati and Tamil, Mr. Gandhi replied. He did not think the letter he had received was representative of Mahomedan opinion. It was their duty if they wanted a meeting at that time to call it and invite him. With regard to the £1,200, he pointed out that *Indian Opinion* was a public Indian property—it was only nominally registered in his name. The money was

Therefore they could not accept the law and would remain in the country as unmarried. Not a single Mussulman had accepted the Cape law of 1860. In fairness it was his duty to call a public meeting before talking of an honourable final Settlement. He challenged Mr. Gandhi to call a mass meeting and produce the minute books of the British Indian Association. At the time of the 1909 passive resistance movement Mr. Gandhi had said that he would continue to resist until all children were free, even if he were the only person left.”

¹ *Vide* “Letter to E. M. Gorges”, 30-6-1914.

² At this stage, there were further questions put to Gandhiji. According to *The Transvaal Leader* report: “Mr. Stent asked how Mr. Gandhi could say he represented *Indian opinion*, when the Hamidia Islamic Society and the Hamdad Society passed a resolution on March 31 saying that he and his friends had no authority to act for them? He had been deliberately repudiated by the two societies. Mr. Gandhi received certain funds for the passive resistance movement, and it was up to him to give an account of them. Habib Motan asked if Mr. Gandhi did not take £1,200 for the Phoenix newspaper.”

expended on behalf of the public, and he had rendered the accounts and had published them. Still he told them again that they could go to Mr. Polak and see what had been done with the money. He eulogised Mr. Polak for his work and self-sacrifice for the Indian cause. He (Mr. Polak) would be secretary of the British Indian Association. Mr. Polak had certainly been receiving his living out of the passive resistance fund but he had contributed his all to that fund.

Rand Daily Mail, 16-7-1914

208. *SPEECH AT TAMIL MEETING*¹

JOHANNESBURG,
July 15, 1914

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 Tamils 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 ceremony² 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 marched 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

¹ Gandhiji spoke at a meeting of the Tamil community which, among others, was attended by Kasturba, Miss Sehlesin and a number of ladies, Indians and Europeans. Thambi Naidoo presided.

² *Vide* "Tribute to Passive Resistance Martyrs", 15-7-1914

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 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-borns. 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 could now 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 tomorrow 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 bickerings 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.¹ He hoped Mr. and Mrs. Naidoo knew exactly what they had done. They had surrendered all right to those children for life, and they could not possibly do anything to advance their

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Farewell Banquet", 14-7-1914.

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 them-selves. 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 leaven 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.¹

Indian Opinion, 5-8-1914

209. SPEECH AT PRETORIA²

July 16, 1914

Mr. Gandhi, in replying, said that he was very pleased that Mr. Stent had consented to preside. Nothing could have been more fitting, on account of the way in which Mr. Stent had advocated their cause. When the speaker first came to Pretoria he found comments in the *Pretoria News* advocating their cause. He inquired, and was told that Mr. Stent was a negrophilist and took up many an unpopular cause at great

¹ The gathering was then addressed by Kallenbach, Polak, P. K. Naidoo and Thambi Naidoo.

² Gandhiji arrived at Pretoria by road at 8 a.m. An address was presented to him in the Indian Location. Chamney, Vere Stent, Hajee Habib and several others paid tributes to Gandhiji.

personal risk to himself. Mr. Stent had consistently advocated their cause, and the speaker felt personally grateful to him. He reciprocated Mr. Chamney's sentiments. He had certainly stood up against Mr. Chamney and the management of his office, but there had been no personal ill will on the speaker's part, and he always received the utmost courtesy at Mr. Chamney's hands. He appreciated the compliment Mr. Chamney paid him by coming out to arrest him with one man only to assist, while the speaker was at the head of 2,000 men and women. It showed the confidence Mr. Chamney had in him as a passive resister. He thanked them for the purse, the contents of which, in common with those of any others received, would not be used for himself, but first for the furtherance of the interests of the Indians in South Africa, and secondly for any work he might have to do in India which had commended itself to them in the course of the conversations they had had. He spoke feelingly of the many European friends he was leaving behind, and said that on their memorable march he had had much sympathy and encouragement from Europeans; it was for this reason that that march had made him love South Africa more than ever before. It was during that period he had realised that, although South Africa was a land largely ruled by materialism, there was no need to despair. He felt that the settlement they had received was a kind of Magna Charta. It was not a final settlement in the sense that they had no wrongs left. They had to exercise patience and cultivate European opinion in order to get those wrongs redressed. They had to maintain the sympathy, which men like Mr. Stent might think fit to extend to them. He spoke of the tremendous force of passive resistance, which he hoped they would not need to use again, and said Indians could not separate politics from religion; with them the two things were as one. He paid a glowing tribute to the work done for the Indian cause by Miss Schlesin.¹

Rand Daily Mail, 17-7-1914

210. SPEECH AT MEETING OF GUJARATIS²

JOHANNESBURG,
July 16, 1914

My Gujarati brethren have done a great deal for me and Mrs. Gandhi but they did not, I must say, render as much service in the cause of the struggle as the Tamil community did. I wish the Gujaratis to learn a lesson from the Tamils. Though I do not know their

¹ Gandhiji then spoke in Hindi and, after a meeting with the leaders of the community, left for Johannesburg.

² The Gujaratis had gathered to bid farewell to Gandhiji and Kasturba.

language, they have given me the greatest help in the fight. On the other hand, though I can explain my aims best to Gujaratis because I know Gujarati, they have failed in their duty. They cared [more] for money. It makes me very unhappy to hear that some members of the community have fallen a prey to drink. They must be pitied. Those who know better have a duty to help such persons break free from the vicious habit. Some are engaged in smuggling gold. They believe that thereby they are helping India economically. Ill-gotten money, however, is never secure. I have not yet attained a state in which I would not seek monetary help. Even so, I would on no account accept help offered from such ill-gotten money. You will perhaps feel that, every time I speak to you, I use fairly harsh language. My bitter words will, however, prove wholesome to you in the end. I am going far away from you, to the motherland, but I can never forget your affection.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-8-1914

211. THE LEGAL POSITION

[Before July 18, 1914]¹

As the removal of the £3 tax has given rise to the fear that it makes the Indians affected by it prohibited immigrants and that, therefore, their position becomes worse than before, it may be worth while examining the true legal position. For, if it is a fact that the removal makes them prohibited immigrants, the first clause of Paragraph 2 of the letter² from the Secretary for the Interior addressed to Mr. Gandhi, providing for the issue of discharge certificates to such Indians, does not, as *The Natal Mercury* says, take them out of the category. That clause was inserted, not for the purpose, as the *Mercury* would have us believe, of securing these poor men's right of domicile. It was inserted simply to enable the men to move about the Province without vexatious inquiries from the Police and to free them from liability of arrest for being without passes. Now the contention that has been made by the *Mercury* is that, if the men do not pay the tax, they

¹ Evidently, this item was written before July 18 when Gandhiji left for England *en route* to India.

² *Vide* Appendix "Letter from E.M. Gorges", 30-6-1914.

have to perform one of the other two conditions of their contract, namely, to re-indenture or to repatriate themselves to India, and, if they do not do either—so it is argued—they can be declared prohibited immigrants in virtue of Section 30 of the Immigrants' Regulation Act of last year, which defines the term "domicile", declaring those who may have entered the Union under terms of conditional residence prohibited immigrants. If the above contention were correct, those Indians who have not paid the tax for years could all have been declared prohibited immigrants and driven out of the Province immediately after the passing of the Immigrants' Regulation Act. But no such thing was done. The contracts containing the conditions as to re-indenture or re-patriation are made with the Immigration Trust Board, a private body. It is a well-known maxim of law, that contracts which are opposed to public morals or are in restraint of personal liberty, are invalid. Therefore, the clause as to repatriation, being against public morals and in restraint of personal liberty, is invalid, and a special statute would be necessary to make them valid and effective in law. This is what the late Natal Government tried and failed to obtain from the Government of India, and the only thing—though it was a wrong and shameful thing—that the then Government of India consented to do, was to make the men, who did not repatriate themselves, liable to pay the tax. Therefore, the tax being removed, the clause as to repatriation or re-indenture becomes ineffective and valueless. Another maxim of law is that any Statute which does not provide a sanction, that is, a penalty, for a breach of any of the obligations which it may impose upon the subject is powerless to compel the subject to perform that obligation. This was clearly laid down by the Supreme Court of the Transvaal in a case that arose out of Law 3 of 1885, which requires Indians to reside in Locations. If they do not so reside, no penalty is provided in that Law, and the Supreme Court has, therefore, held that Indians cannot be compelled to live in Locations, and that position remains unchanged, and, in spite of the Section referred to, Indians reside where they like in the Transvaal. It is, therefore, absolutely clear, so far as the legal aspect is concerned, that the Indians affected by the repeal of the tax are exactly in the same position as those who came under Law 25 of 1891. Adding to this the fact that the Commission themselves, composed of three distinguished lawyers, recommended the repeal of Section 6 of the Act of 1895 in question, and considered the repeal to be sufficient to put the men who came under it in the same position as

those who came under Law 25 of 1891, that the Government of India and the Imperial Government, too, hold the same opinion as the Commission, and understood clearly that the men, after the repeal of the tax, would be free to settle in the Province after completing their present indenture and that the Union Government themselves have declared that such is also their reading of the law, we fail to see the slightest cause for alarm. The *Mercury* further has suggested that, whilst the assurance of the Union Government may be enough, should the legal interpretation placed upon it be found to be true, that assurance will not be of any value if General Hertzog were to become the Premier. We cannot share this fear, no matter what policy General Hertzog may have on the Indian question. In a constitution[al] State such as the Union of South Africa is, General Hertzog would be bound by the promise made by his predecessor to third parties. He can change policy, he can alter laws, but he cannot, he dare not, alter or commit a breach of promise made by predecessors in office to third parties. If he could, it is easy to see that there would be an end to government, and that people could not with any assurance have dealings with governments where there is Responsible Ministry [*sic*]. Lastly, our countrymen need have no fear as to the future. Many things are possible; they are highly improbable. It is possible that the Supreme Court may interpret the law as the *Mercury* has. It is possible, though highly improbable, that any future Government or even the present Government would commit a breach of the promise deliberately made. Surely, in those circumstances, with the clearest conscience and with the fullest justification before the world, Indians can make use of the same irresistible weapon of Passive Resistance, as they have hitherto done.

Indian Opinion, 22-7-1914

212. FAREWELL LETTER¹

[CAPE TOWN,
July 18, 1914]

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 circumstance. 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.

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

¹ Gandhiji released this to Reuter's Agent at Cape Town. Addressed to Indians and Europeans in South Africa, it was also published in *Rand Daily Mail*, 20-7-1914, and *The Transvaal Leader*, 24-7-1914.

administration of the existing laws, my countrymen will have comparative peace, and South Africa will hear little of the 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 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 almost the 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 today will continue, and that it will enable Europeans to recognize 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 this 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 interviews 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 home 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.

I am, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 29-7-1914

213. FAREWELL SPEECH AT CAPE TOWN¹

July 18, 1914

Mr. Gandhi, who was received with cheers, said he thanked them most heartily and sincerely for the honour they had done his wife and himself on this day of their departure from the land of their adoption. He thanked those who had framed this beautiful address for the sentiments that had been expressed. He wished he could believe with them that he deserved even one tenth of what they, in their generosity, had been good enough to say about the little service that he might have rendered to

¹ Accompanied by Kasturba, Kallenbach, Mr. & Mrs. Polak and Miss Schlesin, Gandhiji arrived at Monument Station by the Imperial Mail. The party was received by a large number of European and Indian friends and was taken in procession to the Docks. Here Gandhiji was presented with gifts, an address by the Madras Indian Association, and another telegraphed by Port Elizabeth Indians. After Dr. J. H. Gool and Dr. Abdurrahman, Cape Town leaders, had eulogized his services, Gandhiji addressed the gathering.

his countrymen in South Africa. The speeches which had been made by Mr. Gool and Dr. Abdurrahman had also been tuned similarly, but if he had done anything for his countrymen in South Africa, that in itself was sufficient reward for him.

You have presented me with costly gifts. If you have at all followed my life, you would know how inconsistent these gifts are with the life I have endeavoured to lead, in however small a manner, during the past few years, the life which I have sketched out for myself in India. However I take these rich gifts as an indication of your love, of your sympathy, and your support. May God grant that I should so behave in India as to retain this love of yours. May God grant that this love, although distance may separate us, will extend as the ages go by.

Continuing, Mr. Gandhi said that they had done well in referring to the loss Lord Hardinge had sustained,¹ “that noble Viceroy and faithful friend of ours”, and he would endeavour to convey their sincere sorrow, in which he heartily joined, to His Lordship.

It was very hard for him, he said, to part from them, but though he was apart from them in body, he was sure that in spirit they would be knitted together. It was 21 years ago that he landed on the shores of Natal, when he came as a stranger in their midst. He did not know any of his countrymen; they did not know him. He knew not a single European.² He had only a vague knowledge of the geography of the country. He found that he was leaving a country with great resources, with beautiful scenery, and with a beneficent climate, and certainly, in spite of the hard knocks he had received, with a people who had the great spiritual view, and one need not fear or despair of a land which had produced an Olive Schreiner—(cheers.)—W. P. Schreiner, and a John X. Merriman. (Cheers.) These noble men and women would live when they had gone, and a land which had produced these noble men and women was a land that had a great future.

Continuing, he said he would carry away with him happy recollections of many European friendships that would last when he had gone from South Africa.

Turning and placing his hand on the shoulder of Mr. Kallenbach, he said:

Why, I carry away with me not my blood brother, but my European brother. Is not that sufficient earnest of what South Africa has given to me, and is it possible for me to forget South Africa for a

¹ The reference is to the death of Lady Hardinge.

² *Indian Opinion*, 29-7-1914, reporting the speech says: “Since then he had made many friends, some of them his staunchest and most faithful being amongst Europeans. He had learned to love the country, its beautiful scenery and splendid climate...”

single moment? (Cheers.)

Our difficulties, your difficulties are by no means over, but I do hope [and trust]¹ you will treat this generous settlement that has been given to us in the spirit in which it has been given, backed as it is by those long-drawn-out sufferings extending over a period of eight years, backed as it is by those historic debates in both Houses of Parliament, and backed as it is by the Imperial and Indian Governments—a settlement so well meant, so well conceived should be fruitful of a great future. But the future is entirely in your own hands. Let me hope that we shall deserve by our conduct whatever may be in store for us.

[I] would like to make a final appeal to our European friends who take an interest in the British Indian question in South Africa. Let me appeal to them to take a humanitarian view of the question, the imperial view of the question. Rightly or wrongly, for good or for evil, Englishmen and Indians have been knit together, and it behoves both races so to mould themselves as to leave a splendid legacy to the generations yet to be born, and to show that though Empires have gone and fallen, this Empire perhaps may be an exception and that this is an Empire not founded on material but on spiritual foundations.

That has been my source of solace all through. I have always believed there is something subtle, something fine in the ideals of the British Constitution. Tear away those ideals and you tear away my loyalty to that Constitution; keep those ideals and I am ever a bondman. (Cheers.) Both races should see that those ideals of the British Constitution always remained a sacred treasure.

I say good-bye, farewell. I shall never forget you. So much love, so much sympathy has overwhelmed me in spite of my trials and tribulations in South Africa, and that love and that sympathy which I have received, not only from my fellow countrymen, but from my European friends, will never be forgotten, but will always remain a sacred memory. (Cheers.)

Cape Times, 20-7-1914

¹ These words are reported in the introductory paragraph of the speech.

214. INTERVIEW TO "THE CAPE ARGUS"¹

CAPE TOWN,
July 18, 1914

Well, let me say that I shall carry away with me the happiest recollections, and that I hope it will be my pleasure while away to find that my countrymen are being treated with justice in South Africa.

Indian Opinion, 29-7-1914

215. MESSAGE OF THANKS²

CAPE TOWN,
July 18, 1914

May I convey, on behalf of Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Kallenbach and self, our deepest thanks to hundreds of senders of telegrams from all parts of South Africa which awaited us upon our arrival on board. These telegrams, containing messages of love and sympathy, will be an additional reminder to us of what South Africa has meant to us. We trust that the goodwill shown to us personally by so many European friends will be transferred to those to whose cause our lives in South Africa were dedicated.

The Natal Mercury, 20-7-1914

¹ Just before s.s. *Kinfauns Castle*, by which Gandhiji was sailing, weighed anchor, a *Cape Argus* representative approached him for "any final remarks he would like to make". Of his departure from South Africa Gandhiji later wrote in the following terms: "I sailed for England, to meet Gokhale on my way back to India, with mixed feelings of pleasure and regret,—pleasure because I was returning home after many years and eagerly looked forward to serving the country under Gokhale's guidance, regret because it was a great wrench for me to leave South Africa, where I had passed twenty-one years of my life sharing to the full in the sweets and bitters of human experience, and where I had realized my vocation in life." "Conclusion": *Satyagraha in South Africa*.

² Gandhiji sent this by wireless to Reuter's Agency soon after he sailed for England *en route* to India.

216. LETTER TO ELIZABETH MARI MOLTENO

July 20, 1914

DEAR MISS MOLTENO,

I had your two letters. I am sorry we were not able to meet to say goodbye to one another. Mrs. Gandhi and I cannot forget the affection you and Miss Greene showed us during our stay in Cape Town. May God reward you for it.

Do please write to me occasionally. My address will be Rajkot *via* Bombay.

With our united regards to you both,

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Molteno Murray Family Papers. Courtesy: University of Cape Town Libraries

217. THE LAST SATYAGRAHA CAMPAIGN: PREFACE

[S. S. KINFAUNS CASTLE

July 23, 1914]

I have left South Africa, but not my connection with that land. I said in many of my speeches during the final days that I would not give up that connection. My writings in *Indian Opinion* will furnish some proof of my keeping the promise. In them, I shall express my thoughts from time to time, hoping that readers will like them and find them useful as well.

I am commencing this article on board the *Kinfauns Castle*. Five days have passed since we left the Cape. We are travelling third class, Mr. Kallenbach, my wife and I. This is my first experience of a voyage to England in this class. Of first class I have had experience on several occasions. I must say that we are happier in third class than we could have been in first. There are no attendants here keeping constant watch on us. We feel no pricking of conscience that we are living in special style, segregated from the poor. One does not have

here the feeling of closeness one has in first class, nor has one to submit oneself to meaningless conventions. There are no inconveniences in particular. The usual ones which attend on poverty prove wholesome in the end. I do not mean by these comments of mine that every Indian should travel third class. I have always felt that those who are rich and wish to live among the rich must, of course, travel first class, as a matter of duty at least; otherwise, we are likely to invite the charge of miserliness. It is certain, however, that travelling in first class for the sake of better comforts is sinful. Men like me, moreover, who travel at public expense and whose mode of travelling has no bearing on the prestige of their community must necessarily travel third class, or in a still lower class, if there be any.

All three of us live almost entirely on fruit, though we cook fruit which may not have ripened, or boil things like groundnuts. The labour is generally Mr. Kallenbach's. He has at present accepted manual work as a kind of religion and takes joy in it. For Mr. Kallenbach and my wife, this is the first occasion when they have had no sea-sickness. I believe it is their simple habits and their fruit diet which have made the difference. We are getting more convinced by experience every day that a fruit diet is the best. We hardly ever come into contact with other passengers. We have divided up our time and do everything at the appointed hour, so that the days pass easily.

The love of our Indian brethren in their thousands and the honour they accorded us are constantly in our minds. That love reminds me of the wonderful power of the soul and its extraordinary properties. The functions at Durban, Verulam, Johannesburg, Kimberley and Pretoria are, we find, impossible to forget. The Cape Town friends, moreover, placed us under a crushing burden of gratitude by taking out a procession. Where so many showed such immeasurable love, whom shall we thank by name? The white people, too, made an excellent demonstration of their affection. During the final days, we drank the cup of their love also full to the brim. Occasions such as these prove that there is no bar or permanent division as between the whites and Coloureds and that, if both the sides make the required effort, the evil in South Africa can be overcome. If one side at least were to practise satyagraha on every occasion and in every manner, it is my firm faith, borne out by experience, that even such effort, one-sided as it would be, would suffice to remove the evil of colour-

bar. So much by way of preface.¹

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 26-8-1914

218. *THE LAST SATYAGRAHA CAMPAIGN:
MY EXPERIENCE*²

[After July 23, 1914]

During the last campaign, the very highest limit was reached. I have had simply no time to write of the experience. I had meant to share it with the readers of *Indian Opinion*. They will remember that the last struggle was, as it were, the third chapter in the story of satyagraha. When the first chapter came to a close, we, at any rate I, had thought that it was definitely the last. When the time came for the second chapter to open, many friends said to me: "Now who will fight? The community cannot be expected to put forth so much strength every time." I laughed when I heard this. My faith in truth was unshakable and I replied, "The people, having tasted once the joy of struggle, will fight now with even greater zeal." And that was precisely what happened. On the first occasion, a hundred or two hundred Indians went to gaol. The second time, not only did hundreds court imprisonment, but the whole of Natal woke up and leaders came from there to join the struggle. The fight dragged on, but the morale never went down and we advanced. When it came to launching the last fight, I heard only talk of defeat. "Every time the Government deceives you," they said, "and you allow yourself to be imposed upon and the people's interests suffer. This will never do." I

¹ An editorial note at the end of the article stated that this was followed by a long account of the latest satyagraha campaign, which had been held back for publication in the Golden Number of *Indian Opinion*. *Vide* the following item.

² Gandhiji started writing this article on board the ship after he had prepared the prefatory one, *vide* the preceding item. It seems to have been sent to Chhaganlal Gandhi in two or more instalments. It could not apparently be completed owing to Gandhiji's illness and his preoccupation in connection with Indian Ambulance Corps work in London. Chhaganlal Gandhi collected the different parts of the article for publication in the Golden Number of *Indian Opinion*. This special issue also carried a comprehensive survey of the entire Indian struggle in South Africa and its implications by the Editor of *Indian Opinion*; *vide* Appendix "The Struggle and what it has meant".

had to listen to bitter words like these. I knew only too well that neither I nor anyone else had any remedy against the Government's foul play. If, after we have accepted a promissory note, the signatory refuses to honour it or confesses his inability to do so, how are we to blame? To me it was clear that, if the Government broke its promise, though we would have to put in greater efforts, it would have to yield all the more. The longer the time taken to repay a debt, the heavier the burden becomes. This unalterable law applies to both material and moral obligations. My reply at that time was, "Satyagraha is a kind of struggle in which there can be no defeat and no cause for regret. A man can only become stronger through the struggle. He suffers no exhaustion and at every stage he gains fresh strength. If truth be on our side, the Indian community will work harder this time and earn an even more glorious name." When I made this reply, I never dreamt that 20,000 poor Indians would arise and make their own and their country's name immortal. General Botha observed in the course of a speech that the whites had not been able to start and conduct the kind of strike that the Indians had done this time. This fight was joined by women and by many young boys of sixteen, so that the campaign became much more of a moral struggle. South African Indians became the talk of the world. In India, rich and poor, young and old, men and women, kings and labourers, Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, citizens of Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Lahore—all were roused, became familiar with our history and came to our assistance. The Government was taken aback. The Viceroy, gauging the mood of the people, took their side. All this is public knowledge. I am stating these facts here in order to show the importance of this struggle. My main purpose in writing this article is to reveal certain details with which I am particularly familiar, which are not known in India and even to Indian friends in South Africa.

The training imparted in Tolstoy Farm proved to be of great use in this last fight. The mode of life accepted by the satyagrahis on the Farm became an invaluable asset in the struggle. It was copied and improved upon in Phoenix. When Tolstoy Farm was closed, the pupils who wished to, came over to Phoenix. The discipline was severe and there was an understanding with each pupil and his parents that those of the pupils who chose to live in Phoenix should, provided they were of a suitable age, join the struggle, if it was launched again. To tell the truth, the education in Phoenix was for the most part a preparation for satyagraha. The rules applied also to the families living in Phoenix.

Only one of them kept aloof. The result was that, leaving aside those engaged in running Phoenix, all were fully prepared when the agitation started. Thus the third struggle began with the residents of Phoenix. I shall never forget the scene when those men, women and children marched out. Each had but one thought— that this was a holy war and that all were setting out on a pilgrimage. They set out singing hymns, one of which was the famous “Let not thy mind be affected by joy or sorrow”. The strains of music that issued from the throats of those men, women and children still echo in my ears. The great Parsee Rustomjee was among this band. Many had thought that Mr. Rustomjee had suffered so much in the previous struggle that he would not join this one. Those who said so did not know his true greatness. That women and children should go forth and he stay behind was unthinkable to him. Two other incidents of this period stand out in my memory. There was an argument between Mr. Rustomjee and his lion-hearted son, Sorabji, who insisted that he would accompany his father. “Father, let me go in your place,” he said, “or take me along with you.”

The second incident was the meeting between the late Hoosen Mian and Rustomjee. When Mr. Rustomjee went to see him, tears streamed from his eyes and he said, “Kakaji¹, if I had been well, I would have accompanied you to gaol.” Bhai Hoosen loved his country dearly; though bed-ridden, he gave full support to the struggle and spoke constantly of it to all who visited him

Among those who remained behind in Phoenix were boys under sixteen. Although they and the others who managed the affairs of Phoenix stayed out of prison, they did better work than those who went to gaol. Day and night were one to them. They placed themselves under the strictest vows till such time as their companions and elders should be released, lived on saltless diet and fearlessly took upon themselves even the most onerous tasks. When the strike began in Victoria County, hundreds of indentured labourers took shelter in Phoenix. To have looked after them was in itself a very great achievement. It was equally an achievement to have gone on doing their work in complete fearlessness in spite of the danger of raids by their masters. When the police came and arrested Mr. West, they prepared themselves for the possibility that others also might be taken. But not a single person moved out of Phoenix. As I have said already,

¹ Uncle

only one family remained an exception. The Indian community can never truly measure the services that the Phoenix workers rendered to it at that time. This secret history has yet to be written, that is why I am recording a part of it here in the hope that some lover of truth might collect further information and might appreciate the services of the Phoenix workers at their true worth. I am very much tempted to write more, but I drop Phoenix here.

When the Phoenix batch went to prison, Johannesburg could not remain behind. The women there became restive. They were fired with the desire to be in gaol. The entire family of Mr. Thambi Naidoo got ready. His wife, sister-in-law, mother-in-law, Mr. Moorgan's relatives, Mrs. P. K. Naidoo, Valiamma, who made herself immortal, and other women came forward. They marched forth with children in their arms. Mr. Kallenbach took them to Vereeniging. The idea was that, when they crossed the Free State border and returned, they would be arrested. Their expectations were not fulfilled. They somehow managed to spend a few days in Vereeniging, where they tried to get arrested by going round with baskets, hawking, but they were left free.

This frustration held within itself a glorious future¹. If the women had been arrested in Vereeniging itself, the strike might not have taken place; at any rate it would never have reached the proportions it finally did. But the community was in the [protective] hand of God. He is ever the protector of truth. When the women were not arrested, it was decided that they cross the Natal border. If they were not arrested even there, they were to fix, along with Mr. Thambi Naidoo, their headquarters at Newcastle. Accordingly, they proceeded to Natal. At the border, the police did not arrest them. They made their home in Newcastle. There Mr. D. Lazarus handed over his own house to the women; his wife and sister-in-law, Miss Thomas, took it upon themselves to look to the comforts of the women satyagrahis.

The plan was that in Newcastle the women should meet the indentured labourers and their wives, give them a true idea of their conditions and persuade them to go on strike on the issue of the £3 tax. The strike was to commence on my arrival at Newcastle. But the mere presence of these women was like a lighted match-stick to dry fuel. Women who had never before slept except on soft beds and had seldom so much as opened their mouths, now delivered public speeches among the indentured labourers. The latter were roused and,

¹ Literally, "immortal hope"

even before I arrived, were all for commencing the strike. The project was full of risk. I got a wire from Mr. Naidoo. Mr. Kallenbach went to Newcastle and the strike began. By the time I reached there, Indians in two coal mines had already stopped work.

I was sent for by the Committee of European Sympathizers presided over by Mr. Hosken. I met them. They approved of the strike and decided to support it. I stopped for a day at Johannesburg and proceeded to Newcastle and stayed on there. I saw that the people's enthusiasm was tremendous. The Government could not tolerate the presence of the women and finally they were sent to gaol as "vagabonds". The house of Mr. Lazarus now became a dharmshala for satyagrahis. Food had to be cooked there for hundreds of indentured labourers. Mr. Lazarus was not to be daunted. The Indians in Newcastle appointed a committee. Mr. Sidaat was elected chairman, and the work proceeded apace. Indians in other mines downed tools.

Thus, as the strike by the Indian workers in the mines was spreading, a meeting of the Mine-Owners' Association was held. I was invited to attend.¹ A great deal of discussion ensued but no solution was found. Their proposal was that, if we called off the strike, they would undertake to write to the Government about the £3 tax. This, the satyagrahis could not agree to. We had no quarrel with the mine-owners. The object of the strike was not to hurt them but rather to invite suffering on ourselves. And so the suggestion of the owners was unacceptable. I returned to Newcastle. when I reported the result of this meeting, enthusiasm mounted still higher. Work stopped in more mines.

Till then the workers had always resided at the mines where they worked. The Council of Action in Newcastle felt that, as long as the labourers continued to live on their masters' estates, the strike would not have its full effect. There was the risk that they might be either tempted or coerced to resume work. Then again, to live in the master's house or eat his bread while refusing to work for him would be immoral. The workers' continued stay on the mines was morally wrong. This last taint, it was felt, would sully the purity of the satyagraha movement. On the other hand, to house and feed thousands of Indians was a stupendous problem. Mr. Lazarus' house was now too small. The two poor ladies laboured night and day but found it impossible to cope with the work. It was decided, even in the

¹ *Vide* "statement at Chamber of Commerce", 25-10-1913

face of this, to adopt only the right course, whatever the cost. Messages were sent to miners to stop work and proceed to Newcastle. The moment these messages were received, an exodus from the mines began. Indians from the Belangi mine were the first to arrive. It appeared as though bands of pilgrims were daily streaming into Newcastle. Men young and old, women—some by themselves, others with children in their arms—all arrived with bundles on their heads. The men, one saw, were carrying trunks. Some arrived by day, others by night and food had to be provided for them. How can I describe the contentment of these poor people? They were pleased with what they got, no matter how little. Rarely did one come across anyone with a downcast look. A smile played on every face. To me they appeared to have come from among the 33 crores of gods. The women were like goddesses. From where could shelter be provided for all? For bedding, straw was spread on the earth and the sky was their roof. God was their protector. Someone asked for a *bidi*¹. I explained that they had come out, not as indentured labourers, but as servants of India. They were taking part in a religious war and at such a time they must abandon addictions such as drinking and smoking. Those who were unable to give them up should not expect their requirements to be paid for from the common coffers. The good men accepted this advice. I was never again asked for money to buy a *bidi*. The exodus from the mines continued. One pregnant woman had a miscarriage on the way. In spite of numberless hardships of this kind, no one gave up the struggle or turned back.

There was a tremendous increase in the Indian population of Newcastle. The houses of Indians were over-filled. The number made available was enough to accommodate women and old people. I must state here that the white people of Newcastle showed us great courtesy, even sympathy. No Indian was harassed by them. One good lady even gave her house free for our use; other assistance of a minor nature was also received from a number of whites all the time.

It was, however, not possible to keep thousands of Indians permanently in Newcastle. The Mayor became apprehensive. The normal population of Newcastle is about three thousand. An additional ten thousand could not be accommodated in such a town. Labourers stopped work in other mines too. And so the question arose: what should be done? The intention behind the strike was to court imp-

¹ Tobacco rolled by hand in a dry leaf and smoked like a cigarette

risonnement. The Government could have arrested the workers if it had so wished, but there were not enough prisons to house those thousands. Hence, they had not so far touched the strikers. The one simple way left to us now was to cross the Transvaal border and get arrested. We thought that the congestion in Newcastle would thereby be relieved and the strikers could also be put to the test. In Newcastle, the agents of the mine-owners were trying to lure away the workers. Not a single person had yielded; even so, it was the duty of the Council of Action to keep them away from all temptation. It seemed desirable, therefore, that they should march from Newcastle to Charlestown. The distance is about 35 miles. To provide railway fare for thousands was out of the question. It was therefore arranged that all able-bodied men and women should do the journey on foot. The women who could not walk were to be taken by train. There was a possibility of arrests on the way. Moreover, this was the first experience of its kind for them. It was therefore decided that I should myself take the first batch. It consisted of about 500 persons of whom 60 were women, with their children. I shall never forget that scene. The company walked along raising cries of "Victory to Dwarkanath", "Victory to Ramachandra" and "Vande Mataram". Each person was given enough cooked rice and dal to last for two days. Everyone carried his or her things in a bundle. The following conditions were read out to them:

1. It was probable that I would be arrested. Even if this happened, they were to march on until arrested themselves. Though every effort would be made to provide them with meals, etc., on the way, they should not mind, if by chance, food was not available on some day.
2. For the duration of the struggle, they should abstain from drinks.
3. They must not retreat even in the face of death.
4. They should expect no shelter for night halts during the march, but should sleep on the grass.
5. No trees or plants on the way should be harmed in the least nor should any article belonging to others be touched.
6. If the Government's police came to arrest anyone, the latter should willingly surrender.
7. No resistance should be offered to the police or any others; on the contrary, beating should be patiently borne and no

attempt should be made to protect oneself by offering violence in return.

8. They should cheerfully bear the hardships in gaol and live there as if the gaol were a palace.

There were persons of every caste and community in this pilgrim-band. There were Hindus, Muslims, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras. There were men from Calcutta and there were Tamils. Several Pathans and Sindhis from the North found it difficult to accept the conditions requiring them to refrain from defending themselves in case they were beaten; not only did they accept it, however, but, when the testing time came, they actually made no move to defend themselves.

And so, the first batch started on its march. On the very first night, we had the experience of sleeping out on the grass. On the way, warrants were received for the arrest of about 150 persons and they surrendered themselves readily. A single police officer had come to make the arrests. He had no assistant; how the arrested men were to be taken away became a problem. We were only 6 miles from Charlestown. So I suggested to the officer that these persons could proceed along with me and that he should take them into custody at Charlestown, or do whatever he thought fit after obtaining instructions from his superiors. The officer agreed and left us. We arrived at Charlestown. This is a very small township, with a population of barely 1,000. There is only one main road and the Indian population is negligible. The whites were amazed, therefore, at the sight of our party. At no time had so many Indians appeared in Charlestown. There was no train ready to convey the prisoners to Newcastle. Where could the police keep them? There was not enough room for all these arrested persons at the Charlestown police station. And so, the police handed them over to me and agreed to pay for their food. This is no small tribute to satyagraha. In the ordinary course of things, how could people arrested from among us be placed in our charge? If some of them had escaped, the responsibility would not have been ours. But everyone knew that it was the job of the satyagrahis to court arrest and they had, therefore, full confidence in us. The arrested men thus stayed with us for four days more. When the police were ready to take charge of them, they went away willingly.

More and more people were being recruited to our party. On some days 400 would join, on others even more. Many arrived on

foot, while women came mostly by train. These were put up wherever there was space in the houses of Indian merchants of Charlestown. The local Corporation also offered us houses. The whites did not give us the slightest trouble. On the contrary, they went out of their way to help us. One Dr. Briscoe took it upon himself to give us free medical aid and, when we proceeded beyond Charlestown, he gave us *gratis* some expensive medicines and useful instruments. Our food was cooked in the mosque premises. The fire had to remain lit all the twenty-four hours. The cooks came from among the strikers. During the final days, four to five thousand persons were being fed. Yet these workers never lost heart. In the morning, the meal consisted of mealie pap with sugar and some bread. In the evening they had rice, dal and vegetables. Most people in South Africa eat thrice a day. The indentured labourers always have three meals, but during the struggle they remained content with only two. They like to have small delicacies with their meals, but these, too, they gave up at this time.

What to do with these huge crowds of people became a problem. If they were kept somehow in Charlestown, there was the likelihood of an epidemic breaking out. Moreover, it was not desirable that so many thousands accustomed to hard work should be kept in a state of idleness. It needs to be mentioned here that, although so many poor people had come together in Charlestown, not one of them committed a theft. The police had never to be called and they had no extra work on our account. However, it seemed best not to keep waiting in Charlestown. It was therefore decided to proceed to the Transvaal and, if not arrested, to go on ultimately to Tolstoy Farm. Before commencing the march, the Government was informed that we were proceeding to the Transvaal to court arrest, that we had no desire to stay there or to claim any rights, but that, as long as the Government did not arrest us, we would continue our march and finally stay on Tolstoy Farm. If, however, the Government promised to withdraw the £3 tax, we were willing to return. But the Government was in no mood to consider this notice. It was misled by its informants who assured it that the strikers would soon be exhausted. The Government had a notice printed in all languages and distributed among the strikers.

At last the time came for us to proceed beyond Charlestown. On November 6, a party of 3,000 left at day-break. The procession was more than a mile long. Mr. Kallenbach and I were at the rear. The

procession reached the border where a police party stood in readiness. When the two of us reached the spot, we had a talk with the police. They refused to arrest us and the procession went on in a disciplined and peaceful manner through Volksrust. On reaching Standerton Road outside the town, we halted and had some refreshments. It had been arranged that women should not join in this march, but later it became impossible to check the tide of enthusiasm and a few women managed to accompany the procession. However, some women and children still remained behind in Charlestown. After crossing the border at Volksrust, Mr. Kallenbach was sent back to look after them.

On the following day, the police arrested me near Palmford. I was charged with having brought unauthorized persons into the Transvaal. There was no warrant for the arrest of anyone else. Therefore, on reaching Volksrust, I sent the following telegram¹ to the Government.

The procession went ahead. I was produced before the magistrate at Volksrust. I did not, of course, wish to defend myself. But as some arrangements had yet to be made regarding those who had gone beyond Palmford and those left behind at Charlestown, I asked for time. The Government pleader objected, but the magistrate pointed out that bail could be refused only in a case of murder. He then asked me to furnish a bail of £50 and gave me time for a week. The amount was immediately paid by a merchant in Volksrust. As soon as I was released, I went straight to the marchers. Their enthusiasm was doubled. Meanwhile, a wire came from Pretoria to say that the Government had no intention of arresting the Indians who were with me. Only the leaders were to be arrested. This did not mean that all the rest would be allowed to go free. But the Government had no desire to make our work easy by arresting all of us or to provoke agitation in India on this account.

Mr. Kallenbach followed with another large batch. Our party of over 2,000 was nearing Standerton. There, I was again arrested and the hearing was fixed for the 21st. We, however, proceeded on our way. But now the Government could stand this no longer and it took the step of separating me from the rest. At this time, preparations were afoot to send Mr. Polak to India with a deputation. He came to see me before leaving. But “our undertakings remain unfinished, and the will

¹ This is not reproduced here. For the text, *vide* “Telegram to Minister of Interior”, 7-11-1913

of God prevails". This is what happened. On Sunday I was arrested, for the third time, near Greylingstad. The warrant this time was issued from Dundee and the charge was that of instigating the workers to stop work. I was removed from there to Dundee in utmost secrecy. I have mentioned above that Mr. Polak was in the march with us. He now took charge. My case came up for hearing in Dundee on Tuesday. All three charges against me were read out and I pleaded guilty to all of them. I then made, with the Court's permission, the following statement.¹

I made myself quite comfortable in gaol. Afterwards, proceedings were taken against me in Volksrust and I was given another three months of gaol, besides the nine months I got at Dundee.

About this time, I learnt that Mr. Polak had been arrested and that instead of going to India he found himself in gaol. I, for one, was delighted, because this, to my mind, was a far more weighty deputation than the other one. Soon after this, Mr. Kallenbach was arrested and he also, like Mr. Polak, found himself lodged in gaol for three months. The Government was sadly mistaken when it imagined that, once the leaders were arrested, the people would surrender. All the strikers were put into four special trains and taken to mines in Dundee and Newcastle. They were subjected to much cruelty and they suffered terribly. But they had come forward to suffer. They were their own leaders. They had to demonstrate their strength, left as they were without any leaders, so called; and they did so. How well they did is known to all the world.

Rightly indeed has Dayaram² sung:

Who without utmost suffering has attained to a vision of
Krishna?

Find any, if you can, among the saints of the four ages;

Rare are the men who have much love for a *Vaishnava*;
Persecutors all and enemies to *bhakti*.

Dhruva and Prahlad, Bhishma, Bali and Vibhishana,

Vidur and Kunti, with her princes, were all ill-used.

Vasumati, Devki, Nandji and Yashomati,

¹ This is not reproduced here. For the text, *vide* "Trial at Dundee", 1-11-1913.

² (1777-1853); Vaishnav poet; author of numerous lyrical compositions popular all over Gujarat

Unhappy Vraj-lovers all, happy in their love.

Nala, Damayanti, Harishchandra and Tara,
Rukmangada and Ambarish, and many others, full of misery
their lives;

Narasinh Mehta and Jayadev, and Mira as well—
Suffering first for them and only then showers of bliss.

Vyas knew suffering of body and mind, and so did Tulsi and
Madhav,
For the *Kapalis*¹ secret lore Shiva is blamed by all mankind. Past
endurance the suffering of Janaki, Mother of the world, She
suffered, though sinless—she whom all adore.

With no store of past actions working out as Fate,
Even such a one suffers the threefold pain;
Inscrutable are the ways of God and their causes,
Irresistible His will.

Sin and virtue are but words,
The world dances as Nandkumar makes it dance;
Not a leaf stirs but by the wish of Daya's lover
Though in the unripe mind the delusion never clears.

[From Gujarati]

Golden Number, Indian Opinion, 1914

¹ Sect of Shiva-worshippers, reputed to follow occult practices of worship

219. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[ON BOARD SHIP,]

Shravan Sud 6 [July 28, 1914]¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Go on writing to Nayak about the money due from him. Take Motilal's help as well. I am writing to Nayak.

It is only today that I write this letter. The note above was set down lest I should forget the thing. All three of us² are keeping excellent health. Ba behaves wonderfully. She gives no trouble about food. She has reduced the intake of wheat to a minimum. She lives for the most part on raw banana, boiled groundnut and milk. After the wheat *bati* brought from there has run out, she is inclined to give up even wheat for the present. For one hour I teach Gujarati to Kallenbach and for one hour, at seven in the evening, I explain the *Gita* to Ba and read the *Ramayana* to her. She attends to both with great interest. I do not feel any of the inconveniences usual in the third class, but see many advantages. We do not come into contact with other passengers and that saves us plenty of time. We have framed time-tables and the fixed routine is never upset. The Company has stocked all fruit so that we get bananas, oranges, etc., in plenty. It also supplies almonds, etc. If any cooking has to be done, it is attended to by Mr. Kallenbach.

The party³ who were to leave for India must have done so and, therefore, I address nothing to them.

The separation this time was a very painful experience. I received much love in Phoenix. "The creeper of love I have planted and watered with tears."⁴ I can utter this from my own experience and rich has been the harvest I have reaped.

I am sending plenty of material and you will see that I have not finished. I shall send more after leaving Madeira, that is, post it from Southampton. I hope I shall not let you run short of matter.

¹ The letter, with the exception of the first paragraph, was written on July 28.

² Gandhiji, Kasturba and Kallenbach.

³ A batch of some twenty-five Phoenix students, a few teachers and Maganlal Gandhi left for India in the first week of August 1914, to join Tagore's Santiniketan.

⁴ This is from a lyric by Mirabai.

I have kept you with me from your childhood as though it was through divine inspiration that my eyes rested on you. So far, I have not been disappointed in you. I pray God to give you strength so that I may never be. Strive to observe the five *yamas* all your life.

Win everyone's love in Phoenix. That is the way of *daya* (charity). Think over the deep implications of *daya*. I have just finished reading *Yogadipaka*. I read in it that the *atman* advances through action that is natural to it and falls back through action that is contrary to its nature. I found this definition of *swadharma*¹ more convincing [than the usual one]². I would very much like to go on writing, but my time-table will not permit my doing so. You will, however, be able to develop these ideas further.

This letter is for all three of you to read. I shall be content, therefore, with much shorter letters to Raojibhai³ and Pragji.⁴

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6048

220. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

[LONDON,]

Shravan Sud 7, 1970 [July 29, 1914]

[DEAR SHRI RAOJIBHAI,]

I cannot forget your love. I think it has been a wonderful achievement for you to have won over Ba. I notice here that she has changed much.

Remain firm in the vows you have taken. Cling to them like a fanatic. You will then be able to win over M[anibhai], conquer the world and become master of yourself; you will also achieve India's freedom. In other words, one single key ensures victory of every kind, such is the path that we follow. This ancient path is indescribably easy

¹ One's own duty determined by one's nature and station. According to the *Gita*, death in pursuit of *swadharma* is preferable to duty foreign to one's nature, however attractive in itself.

² Which interprets *swadharma* as the duty traditionally assigned to one's caste

³ *Vide* the following item.

⁴ The letter addressed to him is not available.

and also difficult.

Increase still further the simplicity we have adopted. You were free so long as I was there. Consider yourself in prison now. Do not let the palate run away with you. Do not tell yourself, 'I may have this, and this too'; keep thinking, rather, 'I have got rid of this slavery, and now I will of this too,' and so be victorious.

Keep me fully informed how you live. Live with Shri Pragji as with a blood brother. Give your whole-hearted attention to agriculture, spread your fragrance all over Phoenix and see that the place grows into a centre of pilgrimage. Keep silent, as far as possible.

Do not give up Tamil. Get into the habit of speaking with Muthu and others.

[BLESSINGS FROM
MOHANDAS]

[From Gujarati]
Gandhijini Sadhana

221. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

60, TALBOT ROAD,
BAYSWATER, W.,
[LONDON,]
August 7, 1914

MY DEAR CHHAGANLAL,

I am just now laid up in bed with the old pain in my left leg, and shall not, therefore, be able to write you in Gujarati. Miss Polak is taking down this letter for me. Herewith copy of my letter¹ to Polak which will tell you all about the circumstances here. I am not sending you the balance of the Gujarati writing², as I am afraid it might be lost. I shall see how things go next week.

Please remember me to all at Phoenix and from the copy herewith you will see why I am not writing my letters this week. There is nothing to worry about as to the pain in my leg; it is due to

¹ This is not available.

² For the article under reference; *vide* "The Last Satyagraha Campaign: My Experience", After 23-7-1914.

overstraining yesterday. I have not yet got rid of the effect of the long fast.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

PHOENIX

(NATAL)

S. A.

From a photostat of the typewritten original signed by Gandhiji in Gujarati: S. N. 6040

222. *SPEECH AT LONDON RECEPTION*¹

August 8, 1914

To you, Mr. Basu, and to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, I can only say that you have both overwhelmed me; I do not even know that I can struggle through what I have to say. I would make the briefest reference to the tremendous crisis² which has overwhelmed the Empire. Since we reached England and heard the news, I have been reading and thinking about it. I think of husbands and sons who have gone to fight, of mothers, wives, and sisters left weeping behind. I ask: 'What is my duty? I am an exile of 21 years from my Motherland, so cannot speak as the representative of the imaginary India which my friends tell me I have pictured.' If I were in South Africa, I should certainly speak as the representative of my people. I have not yet come to any conclusion, but trust we can do something in concrete shape. I hope those of you who are as young as I am, those who are fellow-students of mine—I am still a student—will think what can be done, consult with our elders and follow their advice if it commends itself to our consciences.

It is impossible to express in adequate terms the sense of

¹ After his arrival in England on August 4, Gandhiji, Kasturba and Kallenbach were given a reception at Hotel Cecil by British and Indian friends. Among those present were Sarojini Naidu, Satchidanand Sinha, Lala Lajpat Rai, M. A. Jinnah, Mrs. Wybergh and Albert Cartwright. The Hon. Bhupendranath Basu presided. Sarojini Naidu paid a tribute to Gandhiji and garlanded the chief guests.

² The outbreak of World War I

gratitude which Mrs. Gandhi and I feel to you all. We come among you almost as barbarians. We have lived isolated on a little farm, cut off from the cities. That is why I said we were "barbarians". We have worked in the limelight, and you have seen what we have done in exaggerated form. If we merit any approbation, how much more those behind us, who went into the battle with simple faith, with no thought of appreciation.

What will you say to Hurbatsingh, an ex-indentured Indian, 75 years of age, who was with me at Volksrust Gaol? He was 6 feet tall and of noble carriage. "Why have you come?" I asked. "How could I help it?" was his reply. "In the evening of my days I am content to pass the rest of my life in prison to deliver my countrymen." He remained in gaol and died there.

What do you think of the young lad, Narayansamy, whose parents came from what is falsely called the Benighted Presidency, Madras? He had never seen India except as a deportee; he starved for some days when he returned. He died.

And what of Nagappen, another lad from Madras who suffered imprisonment. He worked as a prisoner on the African veldt in the bitter cold of winter, in the early morning when there was no sun. You know what the cold of a London winter is like, but few of you know the biting cold of the early mornings of winter on the veldt. Unfit for work, he still held on, but at last he died.

Then there is Sister Valliamma, a girl of 18. She went to prison and was only discharged when she was very ill. I remember well when Mr. Polak and I went to see her; how we lifted her with greatest care on to her carpet, and tended her to the best of our powers. She died, leaving thousands of Indians in South Africa to mourn the loss.

There were 20,000 strikers who left their tools and work because there was something in the air. People said that they did not know why they had struck. There was a half-truth in that saying; they went out in faith. Violence was entirely eschewed. These men and women are the salt of India; on them will be built the Indian nation that is to be. We are poor mortals before these heroes and heroines.

But victory is due not only to their work. They quickened the conscience of the Empire and of South Africa. Success was due also to the help given by the Motherland in the hour of trial of her sons and daughters, led by that saintly politician, Gopal Krishna Gokhale; to the stand made by India; and to the action of that great Viceroy,

Lord Hardinge. Success would, however, have been impossible had not the conscience of South Africa been quickened, had not the people realised the moral force which Indians could bring to bear against brute-force.

Marching over the veldt last November, Europeans came to our aid. I have spoken elsewhere of unreasonable and unreasoning prejudice; but the masses stood aside; they never worried us; and during the march they helped us and showed us practical sympathy.

The Botha Government, too, “played the game”. Mr. Smuts said to me: “We do not want any misunderstanding; we want all the cards on the table. Take these documents; read them; come to me again and again if you are not satisfied; we will make changes.” And he did.

You see many things conspired to enable the Settlement to be made. But I must mention one more: Mr. Andrews. You have no notion what he did; how he worked in selfless zeal, preaching love for India through his Master—the poet-saint at Bolpur whom I have come to know through Mr. Andrews—Rabindranath Tagore.

I have called the Settlement the Magna Charta of the British Indians of South Africa; after due deliberation I repeat my statement. It is the Magna Charta of British Indians, not only because of its substance, which is great enough, but for its spirit, which indicates a change of attitude on the part of South Africa and the South African Government. The sufferings of our countrymen sealed the Settlement. The discovery was made that the ancient force could be applied in South Africa; conviction came after the sufferings of eight long-drawn-out years. They saw that Indians, when in earnest, were irresistible; that they would not take a bit less than the minimum they demanded.

Mr. Cartwright is here; he has been our staunch friend throughout and I honour him for his help. But I tell him here that he almost tried to weaken us. I remember, and he will remember how he came to me in Johannesburg Gaol, and said: “Will not this letter do?” “No, Mr. Cartwright,” was my reply; “not until this alteration is made.” “But everything is achieved by compromise,” he urged. “There can be no compromise on principles,” I answered. There never was any compromise on principles from 1906 to 1914.

The Settlement is final on all the points of our passive resistance, but not of all our grievances. Grievances remain which will have to be

redressed in no distant future. But I hope it will not be by way of passive resistance. They are capable of settlement by pressure of Indian public opinion, by pressure from Downing Street, and from Delhi or Calcutta. The attitude of South Africa has changed; that is our greatest asset. On our behaviour depends the future settlement in South Africa.

I thank again, on behalf of Mrs. Gandhi and myself, Mr. Basu and Mrs. Naidu for all their kind words. But you have only seen the bright side; you do not know our weaknesses. Indians are altogether too generous; they overlook faults and magnify virtues; this had led us to incarnating our heroes. I think of what is written in our scriptures—that it is our duty to fly away from praises, we must lay them all at the feet of the Almighty. I hope we have enough courage, and courage to lay them at His feet, in whose name and in the name of Mother India we have endeavoured to do our duty, but nothing but our duty.

Indian Opinion, 30-9-1914

223. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

[LONDON,]

August 10, 1914

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
COLONIAL OFFICE, S.W.

SIR,

Mr. Hermann Kallenbach is a German by birth, his parents having migrated from Russia and settled in Germany at the border town of Russ, East Prussia. He is a Jew by religion, an architect by profession. He has settled in South Africa for the last 18 years. He is owner of Tolstoy Farm in the Transvaal and considerable other landed property in the same Province.

He has been connected with my activity in South Africa for the last 10 years and has come with me, both of us being on our way to India.

Mr. Kallenbach never formally became a British subject, but as he was coming with me to India, both of us came to the conclusion that it would be better for him to become naturalised. Before, therefore, we left South Africa, that is before the 18th July, he filed his

application for naturalisation with the Secretary for the Interior at Pretoria. He was to have taken the oath of allegiance in India, where his papers were to follow him. Owing to the crisis, both Mr. Kallenbach and I are now stranded here and both of us hope shortly to be able to offer our services as non-combatants during the crisis that has overtaken the Empire.

I write this, however, to ascertain whether, as Mr. Kallenbach does not yet hold the certificate of naturalisation, he is to take any steps in connection with the notices published requiring Germans to register themselves.

In any event, Mr. Kallenbach wishes to place himself entirely at the disposal of the authorities.

I have the honour to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 551/68

224. A CONFIDENTIAL CIRCULAR¹

[LONDON,
August 13, 1914]

We, the undersigned have, after mature deliberation, decided for the sake of the Motherland and the Empire to place our services unconditionally, during this crisis, at the disposal of the Authorities. We advisedly use the word 'unconditionally' as we believe that, at a moment like this, no service that can be assigned to us can be considered to be beneath our dignity or inconsistent with our self-respect.

Indian Opinion, 16-9-1914

¹ This was sent round in connection with and preceded the Indian offer to assist the British Government during the War, *vide* the following item. It was signed by Gandhiji, Kasturba, Sarojini Naidu and fifty others.

225. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR INDIA

[LONDON,]

August 14, 1914

TO
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA
[SIR,]

It was thought desirable by many of us that, during the crisis that has overtaken the Empire and whilst many Englishmen, leaving their ordinary vocation 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 Kingdom as could be approached during the 30 hours that the organisers gave themselves. The response has been generous and prompt and, in the opinion of the undersigned, representative 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.

It may be added that some of those whose names are sent herewith are already doing work in connection with some of the organisations that are already rendering assistance, and we have no doubt that, if our humble offer is accepted, as the news permeates the Indian community, many more volunteers will come forward.¹

M. K. GANDHI
and others

Indian Opinion, 16-9-1914

¹ The Under Secretary of State for India, Charles Roberts, replied to this communication, indicating Government's qualified acceptance of the offer. *Vide* Appendix "Letter from C.Roberts", After 14-8-1914.

226. LETTER TO C. ROBERTS

[LONDON,]

August 24, 1914

DEAR MR. ROBERTS,

You have no doubt heard of Mr. Hermann Kallenbach who has been associated with the Indian movement in South Africa for the last 10 years. His parents originally came from Russia and settled in Germany at Russ, East Prussia. Mr. Kallenbach was born there and has been a German subject. He has settled in South Africa for the last 18 years and has carried on the profession of an architect. He is owner of considerable landed property in the Transvaal. Not having exercised the duties required of German citizens in the Transvaal, Mr. Kallenbach forfeited, according to German law, the rights of German nationality. As he was accompanying me to India before we left South Africa, both of us came to the conclusion that he should become naturalised. He, therefore, completed his application for naturalisation on the 15th July last at Johannesburg. And instructions were left with his solicitor to forward the certificate to his Indian address, as we did not expect to stay in London for any length of time. He was to have taken the oath of allegiance in India.

As I do not know what Mr. Kallenbach's legal status exactly is, for his protection, I have placed the above facts before the Colonial Office and am now awaiting their answer.

Mr. Kallenbach is desirous of joining the Indian Volunteer Corps and taking First Aid instruction in the class that is being formed under Dr. Cantlie. But he does not wish to take any such steps without the knowledge and approval of the India Office. Will you kindly consider the matter and, if this letter reaches you in time, favour me with your reply before Wednesday morning; the class, as you know, commences at 10 a.m. that day.

I remain,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

CHARLES ROBERTS, ESQ., M.P.

INDIA OFFICE

Colonial Office Records: 551/68

227. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

84-85, PALACE CHAMBERS,

WESTMINSTER,

LONDON,

*Bhadarva Sud 5 [August 26, 1914]*¹

CHI. MAGANLAL,

As my affairs are in a mess, I do not know what to write. I am attending these days one of the training classes² recently started for nursing the wounded. All told, we are 59 Indians in this class, which will run for three weeks. After that, I may have some idea when I shall be there [in India]. There may be some difficulty, perhaps, about Mr. Kallenbach's going.³ In that case, my departure is likely to be delayed. I have been coming up against one obstacle after another to my going to India.

You may commence writing to me. All of you are on your trial there. Use money with the utmost care. Let everyone be scrupulous in observing the various restrictions on food. That will keep you collected both in body and mind and bring credit to Phoenix. I am not writing this time to everyone. Next week, I may possibly get more time. Send me a list of the persons in your party.⁴

I read in *Indian Opinion* that all of you were honoured in Durban. Let everyone of you be absorbed in studies there. I hope Maganbhai⁵ is keeping well. If you need anything, see Mr. Deodhar⁶ of the Servants of India Society. I think you are put up with Revashankerbhai⁷. I had a letter from him in which he said that you

¹ From the reference to the First Aid Class it appears this letter was written from England in 1914.

² These were conducted by Dr. James Cantlie, an authority on Red Cross work, at the Regent Street Polytechnic.

³ Kallenbach, being a German, was denied a passport to India.

⁴ The reference is to the party of Phoenix inmates bound for India.

⁵ Maganbhai Patel

⁶ Gopal Krishna Deodhar (1869-1935); a social worker who worked for the Servants of India Society and Sevasadan, an institution for women's uplift, in Poona

⁷ Revashanker Jagjivan Jhaveri, brother of Dr. Mehta and a life-long friend of Gandhiji

would stay with him.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5656 Courtesy: Radha-behn Choudhri

228. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[LONDON,]
Bhadarva Sud 14 [September 3, 1914]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I wrote a letter to you last week.¹ I hope you get all my letters. Here I am quite engrossed in work. It seems that one who wants to do his duty should expect no leisure.

Today we had an examination in first aid. I too had to read a lot. The questions were as follows: "What is the cure for opium poisoning?" "What is the treatment for a broken collarbone?" "What should be done to stop bleeding from a wound in the palm?" We are 70 Indians in the class. From tomorrow begins the next session. And, besides, I must see all these volunteers who keep turning up. There is no knowing what the outcome of the War will be, or whether we shall have to go on special duty. Things are thus in an uncertain state. Ba keeps excellent health. My weakness has not disappeared yet, thanks to fasting. Mr. Kallenbach is learning Gujarati. I am yearning for letters from you all.

This letter is for all of you to read. I see that you will be tried much more severely than we thought. For the present, I do not write separately to Maganbhai, Manilal, Jamnadas, and others. I shall see next week. Keep writing to me. I am anxious to hear about the health of Maganbhai and Santok.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 2763

¹ *Vide* the preceding items

229. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[LONDON,]

Bhadarva Vad 13 [September 18, 1914]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I had no time last week to write to you. Most of the time is spent in the training class for first aid to the injured and the rest with Mr. Gokhale. He is keeping good health at present. They will give us training for two more months and then send us to the front. This means that my going to India in the immediate future is out of the question, unless the War suddenly comes to an end.

All of you may want to know why I have undertaken even the nursing of the wounded. Recently, I used to say, in South Africa, that, as satyagrahis we cannot help in this way either, for such help also amounted to supporting a war. One who would not help a slaughterhouse should not help in cleaning the butcher's house either. But I found that, living in England, I was in a way participating in the War. London owes the food it gets in war time to the protection of the Navy. Thus to take this food was also a wrong thing. There was only one right course left, which was to go away to live in some mountainor cave in England itself and subsist there on whatever food or shelter Nature might provide, without seeking assistance from any human being. I do not yet possess the spiritual strength necessary for this. It seemed to me a base thing, therefore, to accept food tainted by war without working for it. When thousands have come forward to lay down their lives only because they thought it their duty to do so, how could I sit still? A rifle this hand will never fire. And so there only remained nursing the wounded and I took it up. This is how I communed to myself. I cannot say for certain that the step I have taken is the right one. I have thought much about the matter though, but so far I have discovered no alternative.

My guess is that we shall be here for at least four months more. The War should not go on longer than that. Ba is keeping good health. She can even walk long distances. Here she has given up wheat as well. She takes only milk in addition to what I do. Mr. Kallenbach, too, enjoys excellent health. He keeps up his study of Gujarati. Mr. Sorabji sees me every day. He has joined the War along with me. We

are 70 in the class. He has passed the first examination, that is, the entrance examination [for the Bar]. He will take three more years to be called to the bar. I am growing more convinced with experience that coming here for degrees serves no useful purpose whatsoever. The students' plight is pitiable. Maybe they do get some education, but they learn nothing. Their character is ruined. Perhaps the coming over of a very small number may be useful (only at a mature age, though).

All of you should read this letter. Make a copy and send the original to Dr. Mehta. Send the copy to Harilal. Write to me regularly at this address: 84-85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, London. I do not write separately to the others. This may be taken, therefore, as meant for all.

You must be finding yourselves in a trying situation indeed, all of you. I pray to God to be your help and to give you the firmness of mind to do your duty. Send a copy of this letter to Samaldas¹ also. He should join us. Who knows when I shall be able to bow down my head before the sisters-in-law. I am eager to know if Maganbhai has been to his people. See if you can arrange for [teaching] Tamil to Fakiri² and Kupp³. You may see Mr. Natarajan⁴. He will guide you. Ask everyone to write to me. Tell me how things are with Kalyandas⁵.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati original: C. W. 5766; also S. N. 6052 Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

¹ Son of Lakshmidas Gandhi, Gandhiji's elder brother

² Boys who accompanied Maganlal Gandhi to India

³ *ibid*

⁴ Kamakshi Natarajan, editor of *Indian Social Reformer*, Bombay

⁵ Kalyandas Jagmohandas Mehta; *vide* "Kalyandas Jagmohandas [Mehta], 11-5-1907.

230. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[LONDON,]

Bhadarva Vad 14 [September 19, 1914]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I still hesitate to send you what I have written, so afraid I am about the post. There have been no letters from you so far by the latest mail. To me this country seems like poison. My soul is in India. I am, however, staying on because I think I must. I want to write more about this but I have neither the time for it just now, nor the mood. Do go on writing to me here. Give my salaams to Imam Saheb. I wish to write again to him. I do not know, though, when I shall be able to do so. Ask Raojibhai and Pragji to write.

I have given £190 to Sorabji for admission to the Bar. Debit that to Dr. Mehta's account and send me a draft for the amount by registered post. If I am not here, the letter will follow me to India.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6051

231. CIRCULAR REGARDING TRAINING CORPS¹

September 22, 1914

In response to a desire widely expressed by Indian students resident in the United Kingdom to take some active part in the defence of the country and in service abroad, it has been decided to organise a Field Ambulance Training Corps in connection with the Red Cross Society, and to give members of this Corps, when adequately trained, an opportunity of serving with the Indian Army in Europe. The nucleus of such a Corps has already been formed in London, and drilled and trained for some weeks under Dr. James Cantlie, and steps are now being taken, with the co-operation of the War Office and the authorities of the London University Officers'

¹ The original entitled "Indian Field Ambulance Training Corps" was drafted by Gandhiji and Mr. Mallet; *vide* "Letter to C. Roberts", 25-10-1914

Training Corps, to expand and develop this nucleus into a highly organised corps. The Government of India has given its sanction, and Lieutenant-Colonel Baker of the Indian Medical Service (retired) has consented to act as Commander of the Corps.

Indian gentlemen desirous of joining it should send in their names without delay to the Indian Volunteers Committee, 60, Talbot Road, Bayswater, London.

The Corps is intended mainly for residents in London; but Indian students from other centres will be admitted if they desire to join. Men with medical training will be able to undertake special duties, but all men willing to train and serve will be of use. Applicants will be asked to enrol themselves in the Indian Field Ambulance Training Corps, and will require to be passed by a Medical Board as physically fit. They will then be drilled almost every day by trained instructors in London, at an hour which will not interfere unduly with their ordinary studies or occupations; and at each week-end they will be expected to go into camp for further training from Friday night to Monday morning. A camping ground within easy reach of London will be placed at the disposal of the Corps, and uniforms and equipment will be procured. After some weeks of training—which will involve hard and steady work—they will, when efficient, be entitled to volunteer to serve for six months as a Detachment under the Red Cross Society in connection with the Indian troops abroad. The terms and conditions of such service will be announced later. But it is hoped that the Red Cross Society will be able, in the first instance, to find places in the Detachment sent abroad for 10 Medical Officers and for 50 other recruits who would serve as Nursing Orderlies, Dressers, Compounders, Bearers, &c. The rates of pay on active service will probably be 20s. per day for Medical Officers and 4s. per day, with free rations, for the rest. Preference in the filling of these places would be given to recruits who, in the opinion of the Commanding Officer, were the most efficiently trained.

From a printed leaflet: S. N. 6053

232. LETTER TO DR. ABDURRAHMAN

[LONDON,
October 1, 1914]

DEAR DR. ABDURRAHMAN

I think you should inform the Minister that you represent not only the Malay community but the other Mahomedans also who are not Malays. At the same time, a statement of your case should certainly be submitted to him. You will read in this week's *Indian Opinion* counsel's opinion which would show you that the resident Mahomedans are also affected by the judgement. What you desire is that (you will tell him) non-Christian marriages celebrated according to the rites of the respective religions of the parties should be recognised and that if a deputation was received a way out of the difficulty might be found and further that the Minister will then notice the intensity of the feeling roused. I hope that you will be satisfied with nothing less than an alteration of the Law—no assurances can be accepted as sufficient.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5758

233. SPEECH TO INDIAN FIELD AMBULANCE CORPS¹

[LONDON,
October 1, 1914]

Mr. Gandhi spoke of Dr. Cantlie's splendid spirit in all the work that had been done, but added that, if he had one weakness, it was his keen desire "to make us wear kilts in order to keep ourselves thoroughly warm!" The one who laughed longest and

¹ At a public meeting held at the Polytechnic Institution, Regent Street, the Indian Voluntary Aid Corps, which was trained by Dr. James Cantlie in First Aid, Sanitation and Hygiene, received recognition from the War Office as the Indian Field Ambulance Corps. Col. R. J. Baker, an ex-member of the Indian Medical Corps, took over charge of further instruction. Gandhiji presided over the meeting which was addressed by the Aga Khan and attended, among others, by Kasturba, Sarojini Naidu, Ameer Ali and Kallenbach. Earlier, Gandhiji presented Dr. Cantlie with a set of Tagore's works in appreciation of his services to the Corps.

loudest was Dr. Cantlie himself. To the Directors of the Polytechnic Institution Mr. Gandhi also paid a fine and deserved tribute; it has made a home for the Indian Corps, given them the use of its splendid equipment, of its rooms and halls, of its many facilities, for practically nothing because dominated by the spirit of patriotism and service.

When speaking of H. H. the Aga Khan—to “introduce” him, said Mr. Gandhi, would be an impertinence, especially by one who had been for more than twenty years an exile from his Motherland—Mr. Gandhi, as might be expected, fastened upon the offer of His Highness to serve as a private in the British ranks in this time of crisis. It was a noble example set by one to whom every avenue in the army might be open; it would comfort, encourage and cheer the Indian Corps, who would gladly serve His Highness. A word was added about the unfailing encouragement and substantial financial help which His Highness had always given to the struggle in South Africa, of his help to Mr. Gokhale in his strenuous work on behalf of the Indians in South Africa, and of the thrill of joy which touched not only the hearts of the Aga Khan’s followers, of whom there were some in the midst of the struggle, but of all Indians, irrespective of creed.¹

Mr. Gandhi afterwards expressed on behalf of Hindus complete sympathy with Mussulmans in their resentment of Mr. Lloyd George’s words, and made the suggestion that they should raise a farthing subscription and present to the Chancellor of the Exchequer an authentic narrative which would prove that the Prophet of Islam was not the monster he thought him to be.

Indian Opinion, 4-11-1914

234. LETTER TO COL. R. J. BAKER

LONDON,
October 13, 1914

DEAR COLONEL BAKER,

I thank you for your note of today’s date, supplemented by the message sent by you, verbally, through Mr. Venkatraman who was good enough to take [my] note to you.

I am aware that strict military discipline requires that all complaints by members of a Corps should be sent to the commanding officer through section leaders. I am also aware of the fact that, in the military sense, I am no more than any other private, but I have been

¹ The gathering was then addressed by the Aga Khan,

under the belief that in the interests of the Corps, and unofficially, I would be allowed to act as a humble channel of communication between you and the members of the Corps, so as to avoid any friction or stiffness, especially in the initial stages, when the members who have never undergone military discipline are likely to misunderstand experiences which may be quite new to them. I also thought that you would not mind recognising my representative capacity as Chairman of the Volunteer Corps, and would not resent my approaching you in the matters affecting the Corps, and it was in that belief that, being entirely a cripple, I took the liberty of inviting you to my room so that we could have a mutual discussion, which I have always known to be far more satisfactory than letter-writing, and if you think it worth while, I would still ask you to favour me with a call.

Meanwhile, and in any case, here are the complaints so far as they have been brought to my notice.

First, grievous dissatisfaction has been caused by the appointment of section leaders without reference to the feeling of the members of the Corps. They are disappointed, and I share their disappointment, that they were not in any way consulted as to the appointment. The leaders appointed may or may not be desirable persons, and I hardly know any of them, but I think that the efficient and smooth working of the Corps demands the appointments of officers who are likely to be popular with its members. I, therefore, venture to suggest that the appointments already made may be recalled, and that the members of the Corps may be invited to elect section leaders and other officers whose appointment would depend entirely upon you, and in the event of your not approving of the choice made by the members, that they should elect others in the place of those rejected by you.

The other complaints are of minor importance. The blankets supplied are not considered enough, nor of sufficient length. The quantity, as also the kind of rations, requires revision. There are still some other matters with which I will not burden this note, which is, I fear, too long as it is.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the typewritten office copy signed by Gandhiji: S. N. 6069B

235. RESOLUTION¹

[LONDON,
October 13, 1914]

This meeting of the Indian Volunteers of the Indian Field Ambulance Training Corps hereby places on record its deep sense of regret in connection with the appointment of corporals without reference to the wishes of the members of the Corps and expresses further regret that the Commanding Officer has not seen his way to comply with the reasonable request of the Chairman of the Corps suggesting that the appointments already made may be recalled and that members may be given an opportunity of electing during the training period Corporals and other officers subject to confirmation by the Commanding Officer, and respectfully resolves that, unless the appointments above mentioned are recalled and some means adopted of ascertaining definitely the wishes of the members of the Corps in making fresh appointments, the members will be reluctantly obliged to abstain from further drilling and week-end camping.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 6069B

236. LETTER TO COL. R. J. BAKER

[LONDON,]
October 14, 1914

DEAR COLONEL BAKER,

I have to say with the greatest regret that Your letter in reply to mine of yesterday's date was a severe disappointment to me. I had come to look upon you as a good-natured and soulful Commander who, being free from red tape and stiffness, would carry everything before him and that in the sweetest manner possible. But your letter disillusions me. I made a most reasonable suggestion well knowing the feeling of the Corps. My special vocation in life has been to smooth over difficulties between officials and my countrymen, and I may tell you, although I occupied no official rank in the late South African Indian Ambulance Corps consisting of 1200 men, there never was a

¹ This was passed at a meeting of the Corps held on October 13 and was sent to Col. Baker; *vide* the following item.

hitch between Colonel Gallwey and the Corps.¹ And though officially there were even several Europeans who occupied ranks, Colonel Gallwey and Major Baptey, who was under him, were good enough not to take any steps without reference to me with a view to ascertaining the wishes of the Corps. And you may know that we were attached to a column of 30,000, were under strictest military discipline, and the Corps was called upon to work at the most critical period of the Boer War and when, in the initial stages, British arms had suffered reverses. I assure that nothing can be further from my thought than to undermine your proper authority or to do anything subversive of military discipline, but if you desire to train us for that discipline, in my opinion, there is no other way than the one I have ventured to suggest. It will enable you to know your Corps better, and may I say that, by accepting my humble advice, you will add to your popularity and prestige.

We had an enthusiastic meeting of the Corps last night. There were 53 members present. I attended though I was in agony and in defiance of medical instructions. The subjoined resolution was carried by 49 votes against 2 dissentients. I have asked the members present to attend at the drilling time this afternoon. If you could possibly see your way, in the interest of the Corps, to alter your decision, the drilling will go on. If you could not do so, those of us who voted for the resolution and the others who may fall in with it will be informed of your unfavourable decision and will therefore respectfully withdraw.

I hope that you will reconsider your decision and avoid what would undoubtedly be a catastrophe. I assure you that I am most anxious to please you as our Commanding Officer, but I am equally anxious to serve my countrymen many of whom have joined this movement upon my advice.

Mr. Gandevia who has kindly offered to take this letter to you will await your reply.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the typewritten office copy signed by Gandhiji: S. N. 6069B

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Ganddhi", 23-1-1902 "Speech at Calcutta Meeting", 27-1-1902

237. LETTER TO C. ROBERTS

[LONDON,]
October 16, 1914

DEAR MR. ROBERTS,

An unfortunate situation has arisen in connection with the Indian Field Ambulance Training Corps which may disrupt it if it is not handled in the right spirit.

Last week, Colonel Baker appointed section commanders without reference to the wishes of the members of the Corps. There was grave dissatisfaction and, when it was brought to my notice, I shared it. On Tuesday morning I appealed to Colonel Baker to recall the appointment, and appoint those whom the members of the Corps may choose, subject to further election by them, in the event of the choice not being accepted by Col. Baker. He, however, much to my surprise, took up what to my mind was an untenable attitude. He thought that any complaints that the members might have to make could only be brought before him through the section commanders and that recall of the appointments would be subversive of all discipline. My committee at once called a meeting of the members of the Corps and a resolution was adopted on Wednesday night requesting Col. Baker to recall the appointments and to allow us to submit names for his approval. He not only did not accede to our request but considered it a grave breach of military discipline to have convened the meeting.

I submit that Col. Baker has grievously misunderstood his position and that of the Corps.

I venture to think:

1. That up to the present we are only probationers undergoing training in ambulance work.
2. That we have yet to sign contracts which would bind us in the military sense.
3. That the internal administration of the Corps should rest in the hands of the Volunteer Committee.
4. That our services have been accepted only as a voluntary aid detachment and that, therefore, the full military code can never apply to us.

I may be permitted to draw your attention to two precedents within my knowledge. At the time of the Boer War the Indian Ambulance Corps was 1200 strong. There was also a European

Ambulance Corps, I think much larger. We were all under Col. Gallwey's command. But Col. Gallwey never claimed to interfere with the internal administration of the Corps, although we were under military discipline. And we were not then, as the Corps is now, merely a training body. We were in action at the most critical period of the war. Col. Gallwey did not appoint section commanders. We appointed our own leaders and others. As it so happened, all orders ultimately passed through my hands. Similarly, at the time of the Zulu rebellion in Natal, we were under Col. Sparks' command.¹ Col. Sparks never appointed officers of our Corps. We appointed from among ourselves our officers and the sole responsibility for carrying out orders as to military duty rested upon one of us. You may be aware that both Corps found honourable mention in dispatches. There may be precedents to the contrary². I do not know the military code. If a grave and punishable breach of discipline has been committed in the calling of the meeting alluded to above, or in any other manner, I alone must be held responsible and I shall cheerfully bear the penalty. But if the Corps is to be held together, I cannot help feeling that the appointments of the corporals should be recalled, the status of the Corps exactly defined and the position of Col. Baker and my Committee determined.

I need hardly assure you that I have addressed this communication to you in no irresponsible manner. I know that this is not the time for squabbles or quibbles but for solid work. I fear however that Col. Baker's uncompromising attitude has made it impossible for many of us to work through him unless he can alter his attitude. I venture to trust that you will be able to suggest a way out of the difficulty.

I am,

Yours truly,

M. K. GANDHI

CHARLES ROBERTS, ESQ., M.P., ETC.

INDIA OFFICE

From the typewritten office copy signed by Gandhiji: S. N. 6069B

¹ *Vide* "Indian Stretcher-Bearer Corps", Before 19-7-1906.

² The original has "country".

238. *EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO J. E. ANDREWS*¹

[LONDON,]

October 20, 1914

Charlie has been writing to me. . . . You are likely to be grieved over his having given up the clerical robe. I hope however that such is not the case. His action is no change; it is, I feel convinced, expansion. He preaches through his life as very few do, and he preaches the purest love. . . . Charlie has evidently a mission (of) whose extent even those who are nearest him have no conception. May I plead for your blessings to Charlie in all his work? It will be such a comfort to him to know that nothing he has done has grieved you.

Charles Freer Andrews

239. *LETTER TO C. ROBERTS*

16, TREBOVIR ROAD, S. W.,

[LONDON,]

October 22, 1914

DEAR MR. ROBERTS,

I thank you for your letter received this morning.

I am unaware of the regulations governing Red Cross contingents, and though I think that the Indian Corps can be isolated from the Red Cross Detachments in that it is a unique corps and is being treated as a Red Cross Detachment only because it is the Viceroy's wish (no doubt for the better safety of the Corps). I shall be prepared to advise the Committee to accept the position stated in your letter and resume duties which have been unhappily suspended. But before I advise the Committee, I would like an assurance that the principle of consultation which Col. Baker will recognize is not to be merely personal to me but that it would apply to my Committee and that its status and existence will be recognized by Col. Baker and that the principle of consultation is to be applied to all matters affecting

¹ In early August 1914, Andrews had taken a critical decision to leave the Order, on conscientious grounds. His father and some of his friends were disturbed over this. Andrews relied on non-Christians among them to speak for him, and Gandhiji wrote to Andrews' father. The full text of the letter, however, is not available.

the internal administration of the Corps. I presume, too, that the circulars, which have been issued presumably by Col. Baker inviting Indians individually to offer their services, will no longer be issued if my Committee resumes co-operation with him. I am sure His Lordship will consider that the recognition I am asking for the Committee is solely for the sake of ensuring success and efficiency.

As I am calling a meeting of the members of the Corps for tomorrow, may I ask for a reply perhaps by express delivery. I shall thank you if you will kindly lend me your copy of Army Regulations referred to in your letter.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the typewritten office copy signed by Gandhiji: S. N. 6069B

240. LETTER TO C. ROBERTS

16, TREBOVIR ROAD,
LONDON, S. W.,
October 25, 1914

DEAR MR. ROBERTS,

I have to thank you for your prompt reply of the 23rd instant. The correspondence between us was read to the meeting referred to in my letter of the 22nd instant and with but two dissentients, the meeting passed a resolution expressing deep regret over your letter under reply and authorising me to negotiate for a settlement on the lines of my last letter.

I fear very much that there seems to be a complete misunderstanding between the India Office and my Committee as to its functions and the relative positions of Col. Baker and the Committee. The issue of the circular¹ which was drafted by Mr. Mallet and myself, and of which I enclose copy herewith, was simultaneous with the appointment of Col. Baker as the Commanding Officer. That circular expressly contemplates exclusive recruiting by my Committee. And up to the time of the unfortunate rupture, recruiting has been exclusively done by it with the knowledge of Col. Baker. It is, therefore, hardly fair to suggest that I am now even challenging Col. Baker's *right* to

¹ *Vide* "Circular regarding Training Corps", 22-9-1914.

recruit—a right which never belonged to him. Indeed, if I may say so, we have a right to complain that, whilst we were trying our best to heal the breach, circulars inviting recruits were issued by Col. Baker and even the Students' Department intervened and more or less formally wrote to those who were likely to respond to Col. Baker's efforts. These attempts suggest that there is no intention on his part to retain my Committee's co-operation. It would certainly have been more becoming, if he had waited for the result of the negotiations carried on by me for a settlement. If, therefore, in spite of resumption of duties by the Corps, Col. Baker were to continue recruiting, the Corps would lose its national and voluntary character and his action would be contrary to the circular referred to by me and the practice based upon it. It would moreover be contrary to the spirit of your letter of the 18th August wherein the signatories to the offer were invited to form a committee. The least that is, in my opinion, due to the Committee, is, in the event of a settlement, to be allowed to retain its exclusive right to recruit.

Your letter further suggests that it would be impracticable for Col. Baker to accept the principle of consultation with my Committee in matters affecting the internal administration of the Corps. It has not, I feel sure, been Col. Baker's experience hitherto. He has not, for instance, found it impracticable to seek and value the co-operation and advice of the Committee rendered through me as to the method of managing the Commissariat, the way of dealing with the difficult question of different sections wanting different foods as also of dealing with the equally difficult question of uniforms. It is, not suggested by me that upon matters of rendering service and doing work my Committee might be consulted. I am well aware of the fact that, in the forms of contract voluntarily signed by us, we have undertaken to obey all lawful commands of our commanding officer. But we have not undertaken to subscribe to the exercise by that officer of functions that we have all along understood do not belong to him. I may be allowed to state that I have before now known how to obey and I hope that, if it becomes my good fortune to serve during this crisis in any capacity whatsoever for which I may be fitted, I shall not be wanting. And I think I may say the same of my fellow-workers. Throughout this unfortunate affair, their one desire has been to fulfil the letter as also the spirit of the contract forms signed by them.

I have already written at much greater length than I had desired

to. My Committee and I are very anxious to see a settlement. And as I know that nothing conduces to a mutual understanding so much as personal conversation, may I avail myself of your offer to visit me again when necessary. I am under strict medical orders not to leave my bed at least for a fortnight. I shall, therefore, be deeply grateful, if you could find time to come over.

Any time and day will suit me.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the typewritten office copy signed by Gandhiji: S. N. 6069B

241. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

LONDON,
Kartak Sud 7, 1971 [October 25, 1914]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have not been able to write to you lately.

Being better today, I have sat down to write. I am still confined to bed and shall be so, it seems, for another ten days at least. This time the pain was extreme and the reason for it, in my opinion, was that I listened to doctor friends. Pressed by everyone, I agreed to take things against which I had not taken an inviolable pledge. I ate dal, rice, and vegetables for four days. The pain went on increasing all these days, instead of subsiding as expected. On the fifth day, I took salt. The pain on that day was unbearable. On the sixth day, I gave up the doctors and went back to my own remedies. The pain vanished entirely and the piles also disappeared. The pain returned, however, thanks to my own foolishness. On the day I ate salt there was blood in my cough, for the first time in my life. I still get it. And so Mr. Kallenbach brought a white doctor, a vegetarian whom I know. He said that there was no need for salt, but pointed to the need for roots and tubers. He suggested, moreover, that the body having grown extremely weak through fasting, I should not take oil, nuts, etc., for the present. Hence I live at present on barley water, eight ounces of fresh fruit, and eight ounces of soup of turnip, carrot, potato and cabbage mixed. The body is extremely emaciated. I do not have full

faith even in this treatment. Since, however, I have not myself hit upon the key to my health, I am trying out this experiment. The pain has stopped. Blood continues to come up while coughing. I have lost all taste for food and hence this is an excellent opportunity for mastering the palate. The doctor has stopped lemon as well, so that, in the absence of oil, the soup of turnip, carrot and cabbage is not very inviting, but I take it with relish. In the beginning, barley water did not taste nice. But now I think I can stand it. I write all this in detail to you, but there is no need to worry. I hope I will be all right, and that too, I still feel, with fruits. It is yet to be seen whether this is borne out by experience. Friends insist that I should take milk, but I have flatly refused to do so. I have told them that I have vowed not to consume it and would not therefore have it even if I should die without it.

Ba's stamina is wonderful. She is coming to have more faith in my remedies.

I have had to start a satyagraha here against the India Office, details of which I will give in my next letter.¹

Follow all the ideals of Phoenix even at the cost of extreme suffering. Tell me in detail how everybody is keeping and what has been the effect of the environment on the minds of the children after going there.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Gandhijini Sadhana

242. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[LONDON,

About end of *October 1914*]²

. . . ³ I shall let you know its details in my next letter.

Mr. Gokhale left by the last mail [steamer]. Do meet him. He has promised to give monetary assistance if needed. He is of the opinion that we cannot use for our expenditure there the funds lying

¹ Some portion appears to have been omitted here in the source.

² Gokhale arrived in Bombay on November 13. He was likely to have sailed for home about three weeks earlier, soon after which this letter was written.

³ Some portion of the letter is missing in the source.

with us; nor can the expenses on account of the voyage of all of us be met from these funds. He has, however, told me that he would make the necessary arrangements after my arrival there. We can use the purse-amounts. Remain faithful to all the aims, even at the cost of extreme suffering. You have three sources for help: Dr. Mehta, Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Andrews. Draw upon any of them as you may find convenient. So long as Dr. Mehta is ready to meet the expenses, I think you should not seek anybody else's assistance. Please write to me in detail what your expenses are, what food you eat, how all of you keep and what effect the atmosphere has on the inner life of the boys, etc.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5775 Courtesy: Radha-behn Choudhri.

243. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[LONDON,]

Kartak Sud 13 [October 31, 1914]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I am in no condition to write a long letter to you. I am still confined to bed and I fear I will have to stay there. There is no danger, however.

There is nothing else to do but to let Mr. Polak draw whatever he wants. You can discuss the matter with him. I can think of no advice to give you from here on this matter. I have already written¹ about Lakshmi. I cannot say how long I shall have to stay.

The satyagraha here is over. We got what we wanted.

Tell Pragji and Raojibhai that I will write to them later.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6060

¹ This letter is not available.

244. LETTER TO "INDIA"

[LONDON],
November 4, 1914

TO
THE EDITOR
INDIA
[LONDON]
SIR,

There were at the Netley Hospital last Sunday nearly 470 Indian wounded soldiers. Many more are expected to arrive shortly, if they are not there already. The need for Indian Volunteer orderlies is greater than ever. Nearly 70 members of the local Indian corps are already serving as nurses there. Leaving aside the medical members of the corps, there are now very few left to answer the further call when it comes.

May I, therefore, trespass upon the hospitality of your columns to appeal to the Indian young men residing in the United Kingdom to enlist without delay? In my humble opinion, it ought to be our proud privilege to nurse the Indian soldiers back to health. Colonel Baker's cry is for more orderlies. And in order to make up the requisite number, as also to encourage our young men, several elderly Indians occupying a high position have gone or are going to Netley as orderlies. Among them are Mr. M. A. Turk had, a former vice-president of the Rajkumar College in Kathiawar; Mr. J. M. Parikh, barrister-at-law; and Lieutenant-Colonel Kanta Prasad, of the Indian Medical Service (retired), who has served in five campaigns.

I hope that the example set by these gentlemen will inspire others with alike zeal, and that many Indians who can at all afford to do so will be equal to the emergency that has arisen. Those who desire to enlist can do so at the Indian Volunteers Committee's rooms at 16, Trebovir Road, near Earl's Court, at any time during working hours.

[I am, etc.,]

M. K. GANDHI
CHAIRMAN,
INDIAN VOLUNTEERS COMMITTEE

India, 6-11-1914

245. A CIRCULAR LETTER¹

[LONDON,]
November 4, 1914

There were at the Netley Hospital last Sunday nearly 470 Indian wounded soldiers. Many more are expected to arrive shortly, if they are not there already. Nearly all the available members of the Indian Volunteers Corps are working either as nurses or as orderlies at Netley.

The cry is for more orderlies.

The Committee thinks that it should be considered a proud privilege by us to be able to nurse our own wounded countrymen. Atleast two hundred more recruits will be required in order to cope with the work that lies before us. The service will be required for no more than three months. Students, therefore, will not be called upon to sacrifice more than three months of their time after being enlisted.

Several of our elderly countrymen have gone to Netley as orderlies. Mr. M. A. Turkhad, ex-Vice-President, Rajkumar College, Kathiawar, Mr. J. M. Parikh, Barrister-at-Law, and Lieut. Col. Kanta Prasad, I.M.S., (retired), who has served in five different campaigns before, are now working as orderlies at Netley.

Indian Opinion, 9-12-1914

246. LETTER TO MAGANBHAI HARIBHAI PATEL

Kartik Vad 1 [November 4, 1914]²

BHAISHRI MAGANBHAI,

I have your letter. I felt great pity for you when I read it. I can see that you are facing a real dilemma.

Consult Bhai Maganlal and take whatever money you receive.

I don't see anything wrong in your having you son with you. It would be better if you brought your wife there after I return. I intend

¹ This was signed by Gandhiji and Gandevia.

² From the contents and from the letter to Maganlal Gandhi dated November 6, 1914, which has reference to this letter; *vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 6-11-1914 *Kartik Vad 1* in the year fell on November 4.

to involve you all here in the war if my stay here becomes prolonged.¹ Let us see what happens. Today there is no time to write more.

I don't think that Raojibhai can be freed all of a sudden. Still I shall write to Phoenix. It is only natural that when we meet our dear ones we should feel unhappy by the thought of those who are away from us. But that feeling subsides. I am writing this to comfort you, not because I do not want Raojibhai to come.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

More from letter to Maganlal. Show this letter to Chi. Maganlal.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 11010. Courtesy: Suryakant C. Patel.

247. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[LONDON,]

Kartak Vad 9 [November 5, 1914]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter.

It does not seem proper that I should write to Mr. Polak from here. Mr. West and you may do what seems best. However, if you insist on my writing, I will. Send me the accounts subsequent to the point where Maganlal left off, so that, in due course, I may publish them in Bombay. Mr. Gokhale has been able to do nothing about the accounts. He has told me not to publish them till I have met the Committee.

I shall have to stay here for at least three months more—how much longer, is yet to be seen. I have sent another offer², a copy of which will be sent to you by Mr. Polak. You will see from it that I wish to include South Africa and our group³ in India.

I am not quite well yet, but not confined to bed either. I take short walks. Let us see what effects that will have. Today is the third

¹ Gandhiji as Chairman of the Indian Volunteers' Committee in London had been recruiting Indian volunteer orderlies to nurse wounded Indian soldiers at the Netley Hospital.

² This is not available.

³ The reference is to the Phoenix party.

day since I started.

It does not seem likely that I shall go to France. I may have probably to go where our wounded soldiers are. Perhaps Ba and Mr. Kallenbach may also be able to join me. The latter has been staying with me and will remain with me for the time being. He has had to take out a pass. He suffers no inconvenience, though.

I am sending Chi. Maganlal's letters with this. I have already sent some matter [for *Indian Opinion*] to you. I have been able to do nothing after that. I hope to be able to write if I keep well. Miss Smith¹ told me again yesterday that she continues to send contributions regularly.

Ba keeps excellent health. Here she is exercising the utmost control over the palate. Now, we go out for a short walk.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6061

248. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

[LONDON,]
November 6, 1914

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I saw your letter to Mr. Kallenbach. I have been out of bed for the last five days and am slowly regaining my strength. Please do not worry about me.

You will be pleased to learn that the quarrel with Col. Baker has been adjusted. He has conceded the two points for which we were fighting. I do hope that you benefited by the voyage and that you are keeping well.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 2249

¹ She used to write a newsletter from London for *Indian Opinion*.

249. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[LONDON,]

Kartak Vad 3, [November 6, 1914]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

This is no time to write long letters. My health is improving. If I am better next week, I will give you more details. Do not worry about me. I expect to improve. I have been out of bed these three days.

I have had a letter from Mr. Maganbhai I have sent a reply¹. Read it and act upon it. . . .² Send for money from Phoenix, if necessary. Mr. Sorabji has gone to the Hospital which has some of our wounded troops. Seventy more from among us have gone to him. I could not go on account of my ill-health. I hope to be able to send some papers along with this.

The satyagraha started here has succeeded. Mysterious are the ways of Providence.

Ba keeps good health. Mr. Kallenbach is staying with me.

I am trying to bring you all here, in case I have to stay here for long. I hope to send a copy of the letter³ I have written to Mr. Roberts. No one should be upset over that letter, nor build any hopes on it. If you do not receive a cable⁴ from me before this letter, you may understand that nothing has come of my offer.

Tell all of them that I am unable to write a separate letter to each of them.

There has been no letter at all from Jamnadas. Let them not think that because I do not write to them, they too need not write to me.

Please let me know what your food expenses come to there. If you do not have to come here, I believe, so far as I can see today, I shall be free from here within about three months. But nothing is certain. Nothing can be said definitely before I leave this and actually reach there.

¹ This is not available.

² Some portion is found to have been omitted here.

³ This is not available.

⁴ There is no evidence that this was sent.

If any of the sons of revered Kalabhai or revered Karsandas comes, take him with you. Write to Nandkorbhabhi that I will make all the arrangements after I reach there.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5776 Courtesy: Radha-behn Choudhri

250. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

LONDON,

Kartak Vad 10/11 [November 13/14, 1914]

CHI . MAGANLAL,

I did get the letters which Manilal and you wrote from Delhi. The mails have been very irregular, so that letters arrive on no fixed days.

You are all getting plenty of experience. Stay in Santiniketan so as to be helpful and give them no cause to be displeased. Perhaps, you may find it more convenient to get from elsewhere any articles of food you cannot do without. From here I can make no suggestions. After due consideration, do whatever is necessary. Be quick in teaching Hindi to the Tamil children, otherwise they will be ill at ease. Pick up a little Bengali, as you are staying there. It will not take much time to learn it. Find out a Tamilian, if available. It would be good if Dr. Mehta spares Mr. Rajangam. Many unforeseen responsibilities have devolved on you. I should like you to come out successful.

Mr. Sorabji and others have already gone down to nurse the wounded. I could not go on account of my ill-health. I am trying hard now, but difficulties crop up.

Make yourself useful to the Poet¹, Mr. Andrews and Mr. Pearson. See that everyone shows respect to the elders. You should all rise earlier than the residents there.

Write to me regularly. Please let me know how much expenditure was incurred per head on account of food in Bombay.

Blessings from

BAPU

¹ Rabindranath Tagore

[PS.]

Treat this letter as meant for all of you. I am unable to send you all the papers I wanted to. Read the accompanying carefully and ponder over them. Show them to Jamnadas as well and preserve them. Show to Andrews if he wants to see them. Tell him about them. The other papers, I shall send later.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5777 Courtesy: Radha-behn Choudhri

251. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

[LONDON,]

Kartak Vad 10/11 [November 13/14, 1914]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

Had a letter from you after a long time. Here we always remember you.

You must be married now. May your life be pure. I pray that all the hopes you have cherished be fulfilled. Remain firm and be always devoted to what you think is your duty. Given patience and faith, everything will come off all right. Keep writing to me at length. Do not look for long letters from me at present. I keep good health. It is improving now, though there is considerable weakness. It is with my own treatment that I am recovering. At home, we have kept up the Indian style in everything. We take meals sitting on the floor and likewise make our beds too on the floor. Whatever cooking is necessary, we do ourselves. Mr. Kallenbach is with us. I keep on our own dress when I see anyone. When going out, I have to put on the English dress.

I see that I shall be detained here for at least three months more. Sorabji and others have gone to attend to the wounded and are already busy. There is a possibility of my going next week.

Give my humblest greetings to the respected Khushalbhai and Devbhabhi, as also to Raliatbehn and Gangabhabhi, and tell them that I am getting impatient to see them. Give me all the news.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5688 Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

252. LETTER TO PRAGJI DESAI

LONDON,

*Kartak Vad 12 [November 15, 1914]*¹

DEAR PRAGJI,

I have your letter. I can well understand that you have doubts. I think I have sent² to someone the replies to your questions. All the same, I shall try to answer them again. A satyagrahi cannot support war directly or indirectly. There are no two opinions about that. I am not such a perfect satyagrahi. I am trying to be one. Meanwhile, one should go as far as one can. Soon after I landed here, the War started. I spent some days thinking out my duty. It seemed to me that to go on living in England, keeping my thoughts to myself, also amounted to taking part in the War. It was obvious to me that, if this island were not protected by the Navy, the people would starve and they would all fall into the hands of Germans. I am being protected, therefore, by that Navy, which means that I was indirectly supporting the War. As a satyagrahi, it was my duty to go away to a spot where I would not need such protection and could do without the food so procured. Such a place would be the mountains here. There, one is not under any protection. If the Germans took me away, I should not mind. I must subsist on whatever fruit or grass or leaves grew on the mountains. This food is not protected by the Navy. I am not, however, ready for this manner of living. I could not summon the necessary courage. It is for cultivating such courage that I am going to India, where the circumstances are favourable. They are not so here, and to create them here one must have an *atman* a hundred thousand times stronger than mine. What is my next duty, then? Brothers, husbands and sons have gone, rightly or wrongly, to get themselves killed, leaving behind weeping sisters, wives and mothers. Thousands have already been killed. And am I, doing nothing, to continue enjoying myself, eating my food? The *Gita* says that he who eats without performing *yajna*³ is a thief. In the present situation here sacrifice meant, and means, self-sacrifice. I saw, therefore, that I too must

¹ In the original, Gandhiji has given *Kartak Vad 3*, November 6, at the top, but he says at the end of the letter that he resumed writing on November 14 and finished it on November 15.

² *Vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 18-9-1914.

³ Sacrifice

perform *yajna*. I myself could not shoot, but could nurse the wounded. I might even get Germans to nurse. I could nurse them without any partisan spirit. There would be no violation of the spirit of compassion then. And so I decided to offer my services. Now, I am not a private individual, but a public figure. I must also talk to others. These others are out for fighting and are not opposed to war. I must address them; an unconditional letter, which I did.¹ But you must have seen in it a sentence to the effect that we would unconditionally undertake any work for which we were qualified. Everyone knows that I am not fit for active service. I could not, therefore, be asked to fight. This is the explanation for using the expression “unconditional”. The main point, however, is whether I could even undertake to nurse the wounded. I have explained it, therefore, at greater length. It is possible you may even then remain unconvinced. If so, write to me again. I shall keep writing to you in reply whenever I have time. Gradually, you will come to see the point. It is after much deliberation that I have taken this step. Whenever I was questioned there, I used to reply that I could not even join in ambulance work now. You have seen that my position is still the same. It is on a level with the idea that I must not kill a snake. But so long as, in my cowardice, I fear a snake, I would certainly remove it to a distance, if not kill it outright. This also is a form of violence. If, while I am removing one, it struggles hard, I should hold it so tight between the sticks that it might bleed, and even be crushed to death. Even so, my statement that I ought not to kill a snake would and must hold true. So long as I have not developed absolute fearlessness, I cannot be a perfect satyagrahi. I am striving incessantly to achieve it, and will continue to do so. Till I have succeeded, do all of you save me [from doing anything wrong] and put up with my cowardice. You should all keep struggling to make yourselves fearless.

Let everyone there read this letter and then send it to Medh. Afterwards, send it on, or a copy of it, to Chi. Maganlal, so that he, too, may have some points explained.

I have written this letter in three instalments. I am so busy even here. I commenced it last week, resumed it yesterday and finished it today, the [*Kartak vad*] 12th².

Further news you will get from the other letters. Sorabji is busy

¹ *Vide* “A Confidential Circular”, 13-8-1914

² November 15, 1914

nursing the wounded.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5657; also from a photostat: G. N. 2659 Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

253. *LETTER TO A. H. WEST*

LONDON, S.W.,

November 20, 1914

MY DEAR WEST,

I have your welcome letter after months. You all say that you had not heard from me at all. That's strange. Certainly, not a mail has been missed by me—either I wrote myself or Sorabji for me, at least to someone or other in Phoenix. It is evident, therefore, that my letters have all, or some of them, miscarried.

I wish that your surmise was true and that I was working among our wounded soldiers. Most of the members of the Corps are certainly doing so, at Netley. When the last batch went I was bedridden. In any case, my presence was necessary here, in order to get together the required number of men. I was to have followed, however; but now unheard of difficulties are being put in my way and am prevented from going to Netley, or to any of the other hospitals where our wounded soldiers are being received. It seems to me that I am being prevented, because the officials immediately in charge fear that I might make mischief. The ostensible reason given to prevent my going is ill health. I may be quite wrong in my surmise, however. At any rate, I have placed the whole facts before Mr. Roberts, the Under Secretary for India—and I should know before long probably.

So you will see that I have not yet been separated either from Mrs. Gandhi or Mr. Kallenbach. We are all now living under Mr. Gandevia's roof. He, as you know, is the Secretary of the Corps. He is the proprietor of a boarding house for Indian students. He has placed one of his best rooms at our disposal.

I envy you your gardening work. Just now my own health seems to have been completely shattered. I feel that I hopelessly mismanaged my constitution in the fast. I was in a hurry to regain my lost energy. I, therefore, overfed the system and overstrained the body in

compelling myself to take long strenuous walks. I was too impatient and am paying the penalty: I can now scarcely walk with any strenuousness without the original pain starting. The ribs seem to have become shattered—they will not stand any strain, nor the groins. I, therefore, am obliged largely to keep indoors and remain in bed. Of food I can take very little—the slightest excess would upset me. In spite of all this, I am able to attend to my work. Nor does all this imply that I am only skin and bones. By carefulness I am able to undo the mischief done. The mental and moral atmosphere is also a great drawback. Everything appears so artificial, so materialistic and immoral that one's soul almost becomes atrophied.

I am longing to go to India and so is Mrs. Gandhi; but a sense of duty and—I am not sure that, on this occasion, it is a right sense of duty that compels me to remain here.

I share your views about the War. If I had the moral strength, however, I would certainly be the passive resister that you have pictured in your letter.

I am glad that you all are getting on well there and that your little ones are doing so well and add to the joys of your life. I hope that everything there is going on peacefully.

Please remember us to all. I may not be writing any other letter this week so that I would like you to show this to everybody.

This letter is being taken down, you will be glad to know, by an Indian friend. After James, he is the first Indian friend I have found capable of taking shorthand notes. He is just now staying in the same house with me awaiting instructions to proceed to one of the hospitals where our Indian troops are. His name is Manic Lal Chandra, and has been in England for about four years. Mr. Chandra, from what I understand, is a much-travelled man.

I shall try and write to Polak, but you may pass this letter on to him lest I fail to do so.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten original signed by Gandhiji: C. W. 4416
Courtesy: A. H. West

254. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

[LONDON,]

November 26, 1914

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I have your cable to which I have replied.¹ I cannot bring my malady under control. Nor can the doctors. They would say that they could if I followed them implicitly. This I am unable to do. I do not want to live on any terms. Dr. Allinson, the Vegetarian doctor, considers my own treatment to be perfect in the circumstances. Dr. Mehta has been most attentive. I listen to him wherever it is possible. I had a serious relapse last week. I am still in bed but much better and seemingly progressing. Pray do not be anxious about me. If I cannot recover, I shall try to leave for India.

We all wish that in your cable you had said something about your own health. I hope that it is much better. Anyhow you have now surroundings you were longing for.

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

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 2250

255. LETTER TO MRINALINI SEN

16 TREBOVIR ROAD, [LONDON] S.W.,
November 30, [1914]²

DEAR MRS. SEN,

Mr. Sen told me that you would gladly give me lessons in Bengalee whilst I was confined to my room. I think that I am now in a position to take them. Could you kindly come for say _ hour daily on any day that may suit you? Any time between 2 to 3.30 or 5.30 to 6.30 will be suitable for me. I have a good Bengalee grammar. If you

¹ This cable is not available.

² The year has been inferred from the reference to Gandhiji's learning Bengali while confined to his room in London. He began learning Bengali during his illness in October-December 1914; *vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 10-12-1914.

have a simple Bengalee book or a newspaper, I would prize it. We may read together from any of them.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library Courtesy: Arati Sen

256. *LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

Magshar Vad 2 [December 4, 1914]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I am still confined to bed. I have sat up to write a long letter to you. I do not know when I shall finish it. Have no anxiety on my account. I have a very sweet letter from Mr. Andrews. He says that Gurudev also, on his part, will be very happy to have you all in Santiniketan. He adds that your presence there will help to remove whatever unhealthy caste distinctions still remain and that, on the whole, your visit will certainly benefit Santiniketan. It is up to you all to see that it does. If all our Phoenix ideals are kept up, Gurudev's expectations are sure to be fulfilled. Let everyone of you give some service rather than ask for any. Do not forget agriculture. You must not think that you will not be there to enjoy the benefit of the trees you plant. Rise earlier than the others do. Do your own cooking, of course, but also undertake cooking for the whole establishment, if you can. Out of respect for Gurudev and by way of inducement to you all, I have started study of Bengali in my bed. I have completed Mrs. Murat's grammar and the Bengali primer. This is the fifth day. I started the study on Monday. Today is Friday. I see that it is easy for a Gujarati to learn Bengali. Everyone of you should pick it up. The alphabet, too, is simple. Study of Gujarati and Tamil should also continue. Sanskrit, of course, you must be doing.

Your boarding expenses are to be borne by Gurudev. Approach Rajangam through the Doctor for his help in Tamil. The latter says that his sons are there. You must be in correspondence with him. Send for Maganbhai's son. More later. This letter is meant for all. Ba is pining to see you all. Her nursing is incomparable.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5655 Courtesy: Radha-behn Choudhri

257. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[LONDON,]

Magshar Vad 8 [December 10, 1914]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I got the letters from all of you. In my present helpless condition, I do not write to everyone. Hence, take this letter as meant for all and, on your part, all of you continue to write to me.

You say you would ask me for permission for when after I return. But I give it straight from here. After observing the conditions there, make any exceptions that you find necessary. Do not wait to consult me. Only, in all that you do, remember the need for self-discipline.

You are right in concluding that agriculture is the only real prayer and service. It is not only fitting but it is actually one's duty to keep repeating God's name, whether we are busy in the fields or having our meal, whether playing or wandering aimlessly, during a bath or at any other hour. One who wants to lose himself in Rama, who is striving to do so, requires no particular hour; all the same, it is necessary to have some kind of a rule for the young. And so the time not meant for work in the fields should be specially appointed for prayers, that is, just before daybreak, when it is still dark. The *shastras* lay down that *sandhya*¹, etc., should be performed before dawn. The evening hour that we have set apart is the right one.

Intensify your interest in agriculture. Plant fruit-trees.

Send for wheat from Bombay. Use the indigenous grinding stones. Make copra or ground-nut oil at home. You will get both milk and ghee by crushing fresh cocoonut kernel to a fine paste and straining it through a piece of cloth. It seems this is very beneficial. Since it is certain that you will be there for quite some time, there is nothing wrong in stocking the necessary articles. Wheat must be available in Calcutta. It seems they do not use tamarind there.

I have written a letter² to Mr. Pearson, which I think he will show you. It will be an excellent thing if the elders among you undertake to do some service for every teacher.

As for the expenditure on all of you, that on Kuppū's and

¹ Prayer to Sun-god, usually in the morning and evening

² This is not available.

Naidoo's sons and for Maganbhai will be met from the Satyagraha Fund. For you, Manilal and others, I shall make some arrangement. The money for Sivapujan, Shanti and Navin is to be provided by the respective parents. The expenses for Chhotam are to be met from the Satyagraha Fund.

From what Mr. Andrews wrote, it appeared that Gurudev would bear the expenses. But you need not discuss the question. Let him, if he does; if not, it should not matter.

Make everything you can with your own hands. Get used to doing without the things which you cannot make.

If only we learn to maintain ourselves by agriculture and manual labour, there will be nothing more for us to earn or learn. That is what I too must learn. I may, however, pass away without doing so. Let that not happen to you.

If Gurudev is likely to be put to inconvenience and if there is not enough room there, ask him to let you live in a tent or make some other arrangements.

Personally, I have always felt, and it now appears that there is no institution today in the world to excel Phoenix in its ideals or its way of life. If there is any, the civilized world has not heard of it. I am happy that all of you have the same impression. While I am yet to recover, Ba has had an acute attack of menorrhagia since yesterday. I do not know what God has willed. Ba is confined to bed and so I have forced myself to get up. Let none of you be anxious, however.

Since my diet was deficient in organic salts, Dr. Allinson¹ has advised me to take roots and tubers and leafy vegetables. And so, even in this dangerous condition, I am making experiments. My diet is as follows: In the morning, I have soup with two or three tea-spoonfuls of dry banana brought from there² and ground-nut, with tomatoes and a spoonful of oil added. At noon, I take a small carrot and one half of a small raw turnip, with eight biscuits, made of wheat or banana flour, boiled. Sometimes, in place of carrot and turnip, I take two leaves of cabbage, crushed. In the evening, two spoonfuls of rice, boiled, with vegetables as above or dry figs, soaked in water, with a small piece of bread made of banana flour or wheat. This is the routine at present.

¹ Dr. T. R. Allinson, author of books on health and hygiene which Gandhiji found helpful; a member of the London Vegetarian Society till he was censured for his unorthodox views on birth control

² South Africa

The intention is to replace cooked items with uncooked articles and wheat by nuts. I take two apples in the morning. I have been taking raw vegetables for nearly a month now. I have observed no harm from this at any rate. You used to say that vegetables could be eaten raw, but I would not believe it. I find many persons here eating vegetables raw. The practice has many implications. I cannot write about them, however. Later, I may. I have taken a final vow here not to have milk and ghee. Doctors were very insistent, and I feared I might give in if I did not take a solemn vow. Hereafter, I will never consume these things in this present life. I will take other vows when I am there, though I cannot be sure that I will not take some here meanwhile, occasion arising.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6097; also *Gandhijini Sadhana*

258. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI¹

[LONDON,
About *December 10, 1914*]²

[CHI. CHHAGANLAL.]

I have established very good relations with Mr. Charles Roberts. Also with his wife. He took great care of me during my illness.

Write a letter of condolence on the death of Miss Smith's mother, on your behalf as well as on behalf of the press. When writing for the press, consult Mr. West. That lady has been giving us excellent help. Perhaps Mr. Sorabji will ask that his wife be sent to England. If so, pay her up to £100 for the fare. She will ask for it.

Send me immediately the bank balance, the Satyagraha [Fund] balance and the accounts of whatever remained after the withdrawal by Maganlal. It will not be possible now to publish the accounts in India. We are not to blame for the delay.

If I keep well, I will start writing for Indian Opinion. It is necessary to ask the parents of Shanti, Sivapujan and Navin for money to

¹ From the contents this appears to have been addressed to Chhaganlal Gandhi. The first three pages of this letter are not available.

² From the reference to the expenses regarding Shanti, Sivpujan and Navin the letter appears to have been written about the same time as "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi"; *vide* the preceding item.

meet their needs. If Sivapujan's parents cannot pay for him, let me know, so that the amount may be debited to the Satyagraha Fund. There are also outstanding dues on account of Shanti. Remind Chi. Jayashanker about this. Let me know the total amount I received by way of purses and the names. Indicate also which of the amounts belong to the Emergency Fund. I have not yet told you that the funds of the Transvaal [British] Indian Association have been handed over to me. The transfer deed is with me. Credit the amount to my account and debit it to the Association's. Include this amount too under "purse". I think the purse amounts will have to be used to run the institution in India. The expenses for persons other than the satyagrahi boys cannot be met from the Satyagraha Fund. I shall, however, be in a better position to judge after I reach India.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6047

259. ACCOUNTS OF INDIAN AMBULANCE CORPS

[LONDON,
December 18, 1914]

Receipts	£	s.	d.
His Highness the Aga Khan	200	0	0
His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda	50	0	0
Mr. Ratan J. Tata	50	0	0
Mr. Karimbhoy Adamji Peerbhoy	15	0	0
Contributions from members of the Corps for ambulance class fees, etc.	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
Total	318	6	6
EXPENDITURE			
Stationery and printing	16	6	0
Stamps, telegrams, telephone, etc.	1317	7	0
Members' travelling expenses	1812	0	0
Ambulance class fees, etc.	29	17	8
Balance	<u>239</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>3</u>
	£ 318	6	6

India, 25-12-1914

260. INTERVIEW TO REUTER¹

LONDON,
December 18, 1914

In the course of an interview with Reuter, the Indian leader emphasised that the settlement made in South Africa was a most happy thing for the Indians, who were rallying to the Government in the time of the great crisis. He had he said, the most pleasant recollections of his last interviews with General Botha and General Smuts.

Mr. Gandhi paid a tribute to the Union Government for taking into account Indian feelings, even in small matters and he was glad to be able to announce this in India. . . .

Indian Opinion, 23-12-1914

261. SPEECH AT LONDON FAREWELL²

[December 18, 1914]

Mr. Gandhi, who was received with cheers, said that 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 declared, too, that despite the dictum of two doctors, he felt that if he had been allowed to take his part even now, the work itself would have cured his weakness! When the Ambulance Corps was formed, it had been a matter of great joy to him that so many students and others came forward and willingly offered their services. Men such as Colonel Kanta Prasad, and Mr. Turkhud, and Mr. Parikh were none of them expected to do the work of hospital orderlies at Netley, but nevertheless they had cheerfully done it. Indians had shown themselves thereby capable of doing their duty, if they received recognition of their rights and privileges. (Cheers.) The whole idea of the Corps arose because he felt that there should be some outlet for the anxiety of Indians to help in the crisis which had come upon the Empire. (Hear, hear.) He thanked Mr. Roberts for his appreciation of the services that are being rendered. It was, he said, after prayerful consideration as to how Indians would help in the crisis that the Corps had come into

¹ This is an extract from a Reuter's dispatch covering also a farewell reception to Gandhiji and Kasturba held later in the day; *vide* the following item.

² Gandhiji and Kasturba were given a farewell dinner at Westminster Palace Hotel, attended among others by Charles Roberts, Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Polak and Miss F. Winterbottom. J. M. Parikh presided. After Sir Henry Cotton, J. M. Parikh, C. Roberts and Mrs. Olive Schreiner had spoken, Gandhiji replied. The report has been collated with a despatch from the London correspondent of *Amrit Bazar Patrika* published in *Indian Opinion*, 27-1-1915.

being; his joy was mixed with pain because he could not do his part; he had himself pleaded hard with Mr. Roberts that some place should be found for him but his health had not permitted, and the doctor 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.)¹ As for his work in South Africa, that had been purely a matter of duty, and carried no merit with it, 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 on Indian questions, as India was a foreign land to him. (Laughter.) But the India of his imagination was an India unrivalled in the world, and 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.² He could not conclude without expressing his warmest appreciation of the great kindness which Lady Cecilia Roberts had shown to his wife and himself in the illness. They had landed in England as strangers, but they had speedily fallen among friends. There must be something good in the connection between India and England, if it produced such unsolicited and generous kindness from English men and women to Indians.³

We are blest with many friends, who have helped and cheered us, and we hope and pray that we may so discharge ourselves as to deserve the kind things that have been said and the tribute of this gathering as well as that arranged on our arrival from South Africa. We hope this is not a final good-bye to so many good friends.

India, 25-12-1914 and Indian Opinion, 27-1-1915

¹ The *Amrit Bazar Patrika* report quoted Gandhiji as saying here: "My hope is to come back and if the War should last till then, I shall be ready to do my share of service as a nursing orderly."

² The *Amrit Bazar Patrika* version has: "India, he felt, was the country where the greatest spiritual treasures were to be found for the comforting and uplifting of the whole world and all could work towards strengthening the tie between India and Great Britain by each giving of its best to the other."

³ What follows is from the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* report.

262. *LETTER TO A. H. WEST*

. S. N. C o. S. S.,
December 23, 1914

MY DEAR WEST,

I am thoroughly done up now but on the approach of Xmas eve I cannot help sending you loving thoughts. Our departure was sudden & early. We are keeping well considering the stormy weather. My health improving I hope to resume writing for I.O. Please send to Miss Smith a message of condolence on her mother's death.

I have been so often prevented from reaching India that it seems hardly real that I am sitting in a ship bound for India. And having reached that what shall I do with myself? However, 'Lead Kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom, lead Thou me on.' That thought is my solace & may it be yours in the darkest moments.

With love to you all from both of us.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 4417 Courtesy: A. H. West

263. *LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH*

S. S. "ARABIA",
December [23, 1914]¹

MY DEAR FRIEND,

This is the fifth letter I am writing to you during the voyage. The first was written before reaching Sheerness. My last letter was written in a gloomy mood. But somehow or other the gloom went with the disappearance of the gateway to Europe. It is strange yet true. But why strange! Perhaps it should be considered quite natural.

Our joint life is becoming stricter. Our menu now is for Mrs. Gandhi a portion of the special bread, three biscuits soaked in water, 3

¹ The source has December 3 in Gandhiji's hand, evidently a slip as he set sail for India on December 19, 1914. From the opening sentence in the letter, the date is presumed to be the 23rd, the fifth day of voyage.

plums, a fig, two tomatoes and 3 oranges, also a spoonful of oil and 6 almonds. This twice a day. Mine was ground-nut, butter spoonful, two biscuits, 6 plums, 2 oranges, one tomato and teaspoonful pine kernel. This for breakfast; for the evening meal ground-nut preparation with the other things and no biscuits but 6 walnuts. Before retiring, I shall drink a lemon. These simple meals satisfy us both and now for me there is no hankering. The only thing to complete our happiness would be your presence. We always talk about you at meal times, what you would be doing there at the time, how you would make the stewards work here and how you would have insisted on some cooked things and how you would have wanted more tomatoes and more oil and how I would have protested against both. This return to the old style has improved my health wonderfully though the pain in the side has not yet left me. However, that may leave me in India. Today I have worn somewhat to Mrs. Gandhi's disgust, the Indian dress I used to in South Africa. The passengers looked surprised as I appeared on the deck but I think the surprise has passed away.

I have been more and more devoted to my Bengali studies and I fancy I have made marked progress. Before retiring I invariably read the *Bhagavad Gita*, *Ramayana* and sing one hymn.

We have mixed but little with the passengers. One very noted suffragist is on board. She has become interested in us. So we talk to her now and then.

So much of our life. But yours we left you unhappy, a lonely calf! That cow must be wretched that leaves her calf! And yet the leaving was the only thing possible and I think it was the best. I shall feel very sad if you keep me without a cable even when we reach Bombay. I dare not expect any news of you at [Aden]¹ which we reach tomorrow.

And now a personal touch before I reach India. I have been harsh to you, apparently cruel even, rude too as you thought. But the words came out of the purest love. If I did wrong, it was not because I love you less but because I loved too well. I became impatient to see you do what I thought was the right thing. Pardon me then if I hurt you as I know I did. You made no secret of it. I did not heed it. I hope I did right in not heeding it. Let that love keep you and me on the path we have chosen. It is a strange path, it is difficult but not inaccessible. With sufficient attempt we shall reach it. The glory, if we

¹ The source has "Arden".

want it, lies in the attempt not in the reaching. Tolstoy even said that the goal ever receded as [one] went nearer.

Mrs. Gandhi, who is sitting by me, wants me especially to send her love to you.

And now, may this letter be redirected to you in India. May you have left before this reaches London. If it does reach you in London, please give the purport of this unless you would read it to Sorabji, Gandevia¹ and Mehta.

With love,

Ever Yours,
OLD FRIEND
LATE UPPER HOUSE

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

264. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

ON S. S. ARABIA,
Wednesday, Posh, Sud 7 [December 23, 1914]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Wonderful is the sport of God! I have been able to leave London unexpectedly early and in an unexpected manner. It remains to be seen whether I reach home safe. I cannot feel that I am in India till I have landed in Bombay. I have been disappointed many times. We are both keeping good health, now at any rate. We are very careful. Let us see whether I regain my former strength. We live on the food we have brought from England. Mixing two parts banana flour and one part wheat flour, we have made biscuits and *rotis*. We eat these and dry fruit, soaked in water. Ripe fruit we obtain from the ship. Ripe bananas are over, so they put half-ripe bananas into the oven for ripening before giving them to us. We have brought our own stock of groundnuts, dates, etc. We have our meals both times only in the cabin. We have second-class tickets. There is no third-class or deck accommodation on this ship. It is very crowded. There is no room for moving about on the deck. I think we should reach Bombay on January 11th or 12th.

¹ Secretary of the Indian Field Ambulance Training Corps

I study Bengali on the ship. I have not been able to read much on account of the cold.

Every effort is being made for Mr. Kallenbach. He will come as soon as he gets permission.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6098

265. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

December 26 [1914]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Much to our surprise there was no cable from you at Gibraltar. The inference I drew was that there was no reply yet received. We reach Malta tomorrow (Sunday). I hope to have a word from you then.

The voyage has been uneventful. The pain in the ribs continues. The weather is still cold, though the sea is calm. Our menu still continues the same. I have taught the baker how to make our bread. So I am making use of Allinson's meal they have on board, thanks to your foresight. He makes it much better than we should. I asked him to whip the water before adding it to the flour. This aerates the bread and makes it very light. They supply delicious oranges and now tomatoes also. So you see we have really more than we want. Though the temptation to take cooked food is great (the 2nd Steward has offered to have anything specially prepared) we have hitherto resisted it.

I do not get up early. There is no stove to warm myself at. I, therefore, remain in bed up to 9 a.m. and keep warm. Mrs. Gandhi does likewise.

I do fairly decent strolling on deck. The groins are still keeping well.

For reading what time I get I devote to Bengali. I write as much as I can in order to get a hold on the alphabet. Not much time however can be given to study owing to the severely cold weather. One cannot keep warm for long.

So much for ourselves. What about you, I wonder! Mrs. Gandhi

often misses you. It shows how people are sometimes appreciated when they are not available.

I can only repeat the formula. Do not allow circumstances to master you. We are made to master them. If we succumb to them, they unman and enslave us. If we control them we ever ascend and grow manlier. Study of Gujarati is a necessity. And do read *The Light of Asia*, Bunyan, Thomas a Kempis again and again and yet again.

I take it you are giving some time to Mrs. Olive Schreiner. It may not be amiss to give W.P. Schreiner a call. His offices are in Victoria Street.

With love,

From Your
OLD FRIEND

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

266. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

December 30 [1914]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Yet no cable from you. You have made me somewhat anxious. I am hoping against hope that I may have something from you at Port Said this evening. For we reach that place about 9 p.m. tonight.

I have had somewhat of a setback. The piles reappeared and the pain in the side seemed to be slightly greater than before. I attribute the piles to the pure wheat bread I described to you. We have therefore dropped it and we are now living purely on biscuits made there and fruit. The piles have subsided and I am hoping that the ten days that now remain will not cause any complications. I have found a very decent Bengali scholar. So I am reading Bengali with him. All the time I can get is given to Bengali only. Mrs. Gandhi too is not well. She is just now beside me with a severe headache on. I have put her in one of our sleeping chairs. Such are the ups and downs of life and such the hopes and disappointments. I notice that I have lost much in London in mental equilibrium. My mind wavers and longs for things which I had thought it had laid aside. How we are deceived! We fancy that we have got rid of particular desires but suddenly we

discover that they were only asleep in us and not dead. No, London has done me no good. Instead of returning to India a man full of health and hope, I am returning a broken-down man not knowing what he is to do or be in India and I did not know before too. But it was a joy not to know, now it is not a joy. The anchor of hope is not there to buoy me up. So, my dear Lower House (the expression has still a sweet flavour), beware of London! You are in the city of Darkness. Let the Inner Light guide you and keep you on the narrow and straight path. I am free of the place and yet it haunts me.

No more now.

With love,

Yours,

OLD FRIEND

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

267. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[About 1914]¹

. . . then it is possible. I wish that such things should occur to you. I firmly believe that there is some [truth] in it. I easily experience the presence of some great men. Now something more about diet.

At 1 o'clock. I take bananas, grapes and groundnuts. I have enough groundnuts. When that is over, I will take almonds. The groundnuts also seem to suit me here. Even then, I am an exception as far as groundnuts are concerned. Rama and Mr. Kallenbach also take groundnuts. However, for the last two days, they are taking almonds. In the evening, we have gruel made of queni mill and some hand-made bread without powder. Both butter and milk are added to the gruel. Some salt is added to it and so also sugar. From today, sugar has been removed from my diet. I take some groundnuts in the evening also. It does not spoil the taste of my mouth. Mr. Kallenbach keeps fine. Rama takes a glass of milk and a piece of bread in the

¹ From the contents, the letter appears to belong to the year 1914; *see* references to usefulness of milk in "Letter to Jamnadas Gandhi", 2-7-1913; 19-7-1913, "Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", 11-3-1914; to benefits of a fruit diet, *ibid* to Santok's health, *ibid* and to good health of jail inmates *ibid* which match the references to these subjects as mentioned in this letter.

morning. His health has become very good. I do not feel that milk is necessary but that can be said for sure only after special experience. I, on my part, have not taken milk for a long time but there is no adverse effect on me. Most of the Indians who were in the jail, had done without milk and ghee, but they came out quite healthy. Lakhs of poor like Thambi Naidu never get milk. The experience of such people suggests that one can preserve one's strength even without milk. There may be many reasons behind the instruction to the householder to keep a cow. One is that a householder quite frequently uses his semen and is, therefore, advised its use. The late Raychandbhai¹ had written that a person who wants to observe unadulterated *brahmacharya* should give up milk. It is obvious that *brahmacharya* serves the purpose of milk for many. Otherwise many a youth from Kathiwar, used to drinking milk have left this world. I had told Dr. Mehta² of my opinion that all of them were lustful and that is why they had gone. He had agreed with me. Dharamsi is no more. What is the reason for his going? He would have drunk plenty of milk and partaken [of food from] a number of offerings. But in a room like a store-room, he most probably regularly played with the body of a small innocent girl. Leading such an immoral life, eating *rotis* made of mill-flour and enjoying the rich 'malarial' food of Bombay, he 'ruined' his health and left this world. Such is the favour shown by God to India that either demons will survive in India, or religious persons. Persons pretending to be religious men, either consciously or unconsciously, will not survive. Our eyes will open only when such things happen on a large scale. Such thoughts come to my mind quite often. All this is not for running down milk but to help one to get rid of his attachment for milk.

I have discovered one thing. It takes a lot of time to cook queni mill. How can we waste so much time? I have not found a reason here to live on just dry fruits. It seems that at present we will have to keep wheat with us.

I soaked wheat in water for about 12 hours and then roasted them. I thought they would pop up but that did not happen. On

¹ Raychand Ravjibhai Mehta, also known as Rajchandra; a poet and a man of great character and learning; died young at the age of thirty-three. His writings exercised a great influence on Gandhiji, greater than the writings of Ruskin or Tolstoy or Thoreau.

² Dr. Jivraj Mehta

being roasted, wheat became hard. I added hot milk and sugar to it. It became gruel. Chewing it took a lot of time. I, no doubt, ate it with relish but not Rama and Mr. Kallenbach. I have had a coffee-mill bought. In it, I ground the roasted wheat into rough powder. I soaked the powder in a mixture of water and milk for 10 minutes and added a pinch of salt and a spoon of butter. Mr. Kallenbach and I ate it without sugar. Rama added some sugar to it. After that, we had two bananas and an apple each. I think that was sufficient. Roasted wheat can be eaten as it is. It is good if cooked the way I have described. It also tastes good if it is roasted in *ghee* and jaggery. Water should be added to it. It is also good if you eat it with cow's milk or tinned milk. This thing should be eaten in place of bread or *roti* and is meant to save time. It is clean. It would have no worms like the flour. It is enough if the wheat is roasted once a week. It does not require a big stove, etc., and one can very easily prepare the best food in ten minutes. Wheat can be sent from here if you want to prepare the food I have described and you do not get wheat there.

Why should we indulge in such activities? Why should we experiment with food? Where will it take us? Such thoughts come to me quite often. Every seeker of self will have such thoughts. They are not worthless and in our condition, they are necessary. We are setting up everything new. If we [do not experiment], to what things would we cling? Our normal food is full of rituals and takes a whole day to eat. To cling to that food, is attachment. Living on fruit is the best. At present, however, fruit diet alone will not do. So, we have to think of something close to fruit diet. With that aim in view, I feel like making innocent experiments. Maybe there is some attachment in that too. At present, I do not feel that way. Experience suggests that as we start leading a simple life and as we become firm in our search for self-realisation, our craving for variety in food dwindles. The [craving] for food I had an year ago is there no more. Mr. Kallenbach keeps on testing me. He also feels the same way. From that it appears that I am on the right path. I had to do the same in England twenty years ago and could thus subsist on a non-violent diet there.

Now I have written enough. This letter has been written on the basis of the questions raised by you and Purshottamdas in your letters. Both of you should read it. Send it to Chhaganlal if you think it proper. If you fear that the views about food will provoke him, do not send it to him.

For prolonging the life of Santok, it is very necessary for her to take simple food, Kuhne's baths and, if required, mud-packs, and agreeable exercises. She should sleep in the open with the face uncovered. If she feels cold, she can wrap a shawl around her head but the face should be kept out of the cover. If the face is kept uncovered, one will breathe through the nose only. One can manage without water for a day but without air one cannot live even for a minute. If the water is polluted, it can have an adverse effect on one's health. One can easily imagine how much worse will be the effect of polluted air on one's health. But we remain indifferent to things which we do not see with our naked eye. We would touch the feet of God if we could see him without naked eyes . . .¹

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 32926

268. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

S. S. ARABIA,
*Paush Vad 3 [January 3, 1915]*²

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Today is Sunday. We will reach Aden in the morning. I was very much depressed and despondent till Port Said. Whatever the reason, but the moment I left behind the gateway to Europe, I cheered up, was full of hope again and the joy of returning to mother country became more intensified. I spent the time on the Red Sea in a state of spiritual bliss. I regularly read Tulsidas's *chaupais* for spiritual company. I am reading them with a new zest. For all I know, the Indian soil itself might act as spiritual company for me. I have gone back to my normal diet and Ba does not interfere. Everything seems to be going on very well. Only time will tell whether it is transient or lasting.

Both of us were not well but now we seem to be all right. I still have pain in the ribs but that does not make me uneasy. From today, I have started wearing my Indian dress of the South African days. In India, I will wear only our customary dress. Here, the dress of South African days seems more suitable.

¹ The letter is incomplete.

² Though *Paush Vad 3* in the year 1915, when Gandhiji returned to India from South Africa, corresponded to January 4, a Monday, the letter was actually written the previous day as the first sentence of the letter indicates.

I am occupied in my study of Bengali and for that reason, I am not writing other letters. Show this to all the inmates of the Phoenix Ashram. Ask Bhai Pragji¹ to translate it or if you have the time, do it yourself and send it to Johannesburg.

Ba sends her blessings to all of you. Tell Imam Saheb that I will definitely see his father.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 32904

269. INTERVIEW TO "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE"

January 9, 1915

On January 9, 1915, the day of his arrival in Bombay from abroad, Gandhiji was interviewed by a representative of *The Bombay Chronicle*.

I need hardly say that having been out of India for practically [a] quarter of a century, and without interruption for over 13 years, both my wife and I were exceedingly glad to see again the dear old Motherland, and the kind and hearty reception which the public gave us has added to the joy, and overwhelmed us. I can only hope that by our future conduct we shall have deserved this welcome.

As the public know, I, in common with many of our countrymen, offered my services to the authorities in connection with the War. These services were accepted,² and I had hoped that I should be able to render personal service in one or other of the hospitals that had been placed at the disposal of the wounded Indian soldiers. Unfortunately, however, I was suffering from pleurisy, and the Commanding Officers in charge of the various sections would not listen to my going to any of the hospitals. Meanwhile, Mrs. Gandhi had a relapse of an old malady, and the Under-Secretary of State for India³, on hearing this, immediately wrote to me saying that, after all, my work, so far as the organisation of the corps was concerned, was finished, and that as both of us were ill. we should at once return to

¹ Pragji Khandubhai Desai, Gandhi's co-worker in South Africa; among the earliest to arrive at the Tolstoy Farm; taught the youngsters at the Farm and wrote regularly for the Gujarati section of *Indian Opinion*

² Vide "Letter to Under-Secretary for India", 14-8-1914

³ Charles Roberts

India. Hence it is that we are here before our time.

I know that the public would like something with reference to the South African situation, and I can but repeat what I have said so often before, that every point on which passive resistance was directed has been completely gained, through the great assistance that was rendered by our noble Viceroy¹ and the generous public of India, led by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale². I must confess that the Ministers there were very frank, and entered into the spirit of the struggle, and, as you are aware, General Smuts³, speaking during the debate on the deportation of the leaders of the railway strike, distinguished passive resistance from the latter and justified our position. There is now a spirit of sympathy, and, I think a desire to consult Indian opinion before undertaking any special legislation affecting us in South Africa. I have, therefore, every hope for the future. Not that all the disabilities have been removed, but the bulk of them have, and by proper conduct on our part, and sympathetic administration on the part of the Government, there need be no fear of a repetition of the miseries so many of us have had to go through.

Questioned as to his future movements, Mr. Gandhi said he had come to India to settle here, and he would not go back to Africa unless circumstances rendered it necessary. He did not know what he would do here, but he would be at the service of Mr. Gokhale, whom he had for years recognised as his guide and leader, and his movements would be largely controlled and directed by him. Mr. Gandhi concluded:

For the present, as Mr. Gokhale has very properly pointed out,⁴ I, having been out of India for so long, have no business to form any definite conclusions about matters essentially Indian, and that I should pass some time here as an observer and a student. This I have promised to do, and I hope to carry out my promise.

The Bombay Chronicle, 11-1-1915

¹ Lord Hardinge

² Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915), educationist and statesman.

³ J. C. Smuts (1870-1950), South African general and statesman, later Prime Minister

⁴ *Vide* "Speech at Reception by Ahmedabad Citizens", 2-2-1915.

270. INTERVIEW TO “THE TIMES OF INDIA”

January 9, 1915

Questioned regarding the position of Indians in South Africa, he [Gandhiji] said that it was much better than it was before the settlement, all the points to which passive resistance was applied having been gained. He thought that on the whole the Indian community was satisfied with the “relieving legislation”¹ that had been passed. The future, he said, very largely depended upon the Indians themselves, as well as on the personnel of the Ministry.

One great thing which I think has been attained is that the Government have recognised that, in any legislation affecting the British Indians in South Africa, Indians should be consulted and their wishes respected as far as possible. This I think to be an advance in the right direction. This happy result has no doubt been arrived at owing to the valuable assistance afforded to our great and righteous cause by H. E. Lord Hardinge and the magnificent response made by the Motherland under the spirited guidance of my esteemed friend, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale.

Describing the present attitude of the Indian settlers in South Africa, Mr. Gandhi said there was no hesitation on the part of the whole community in offering their services to the local and Imperial Governments during the war. Though the occasion for the acceptance of the services had not arisen, the offer was much appreciated by the Governments. Mr. Gandhi added that on the whole the present Ministry² was not unsympathetic and, as it understood Indian questions, was probably better able to understand the Indian mind and therefore better calculated to advance Indian interests than any other Ministry. The material position of the Indians in the colony was not all that could be desired, but its improvement depended upon the future commercial outlook.

Mr. Gandhi said that he intended to devote his time to study Indian problems during the remainder of his life and he did not propose to return to the scene of his former activities unless some unforeseen call was made upon him.

The Times of India, 11-1-1915

¹ Indian Relief Bill (1914); *vide* “Letter to Lazarus”, after 17-4-1915.

² With Louis Botha as Prime Minister

271. SPEECH AT RECEPTION, GHATKOPAR

January 11, 1915

At a reception to Mr. and Mrs. M. K. Gandhi at Ghatkopar [Bombay] on Monday, Mr. Gandhi was presented with an address enclosed in a silver casket, with fetters made of gold, Rao Bahadur Vassanji Khimji presiding.

Mr. Gandhi, in acknowledging the gifts, described the silver casket and the fetters as somewhat unsuitable to a person who had neither a roof over his head nor locked doors to his house. Fetters, whether of gold or of iron, were the same to him, as they were fetters after all. A function like the one they held, he said, was most uncongenial to him, and the temptations it involved would tend to spoil a person like him whose only thought was to serve his Motherland, irrespective of praise or blame, with no expectation of any reward whatsoever.

The only idea behind his work was duty. He had only been able to do so far one anna of it and he had returned to his country after all these years to try his best to do what he could of the other 15 annas in the years that were left to him. He hoped for nothing and wished for nothing, beyond being able to fulfil the duty that lay before him. He entreated them all to accept whatever service he could give, and not to give him costly presents which he could not use, and which could be put to far better uses. He sincerely trusted that they would not misunderstand him; he was only expressing his innermost feelings.

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-1-1915

272. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Posh Vad 10¹, 1971, Monday [January 11, 1915]

CHI. MAGANLAL²,

I have your letter. I was filled with tears of joy when, nearing Bombay, I sighted the coast. I am still beside myself with joy. I don't like Bombay, though. It looks as if it were the scum of London. I see here all the shortcomings of London but find none of its amenities;

¹ The Original has *Posh Vad 11*, which appears to be a slip, for that day was a Tuesday.

² Son of Khushalchand Gandhi, Gandhiji's cousin. Maganlal had assisted Gandhiji for about a decade in his activities and experiments in South Africa; left Phoenix in August 1914 with a party of about 25 students and teachers for India, and with the party stayed at Tagore's Santiniketan.

this is also one of the benefits of living in India. It would seem that Lady India had resolved to exhibit nothing but the scum of London lest we should be thrown off our balance by the amenities. I feel suffocated by all this public honouring. I have not known a moment's peace. There is an endless stream of visitors. Neither they nor I gain anything.

My health is good, on the whole, and the same is true of Ba¹. I am divided in my heart over three places Rajkot, Porbunder and Bolpur. It will take more than a month before I am there². You do well to stay on patiently there. A farmer should not go about from place to place. A farmer's son would be violating his dharma if he were to neglect sowings that he might go and see his father. You have spread your fragrance there; it must be that some good deeds of yours and mine are now bearing their fruit. Mr. Andrews³ writes much in praise of you. We are to meet before long, so I won't write much. This letter is meant for you all.

I think all of us should know the Hindi, Urdu, Tamil and Bengali scripts. It would be good if the children could be taught all these. I gave much thought to this matter while on board the ship.

I have made considerable progress in the study of Bengali. I shall leave here on the 16th for Rajkot.⁴ I shall return before February 5, to leave for Poona immediately and from there proceed to Bolpur. Let me know the shortest way to that place. Ask Mr. Andrews or Mr. Pearson⁵ about it. I am glad that your difficulties about food are over. I have been living entirely on fruit, subsisting mostly on bananas, groundnuts and lime.

Blessings from

BAPU

¹ Kasturba Gandhi

² At Bolpur

³ Charles Freer Andrews (1871-1940), British missionary who took great interest in Vishwabharati University founded by Tagore; his devoted services for many years in the cause of the Indian people won him the name 'Deenbandhu' "brother of the poor"; he was deeply attached to Gandhiji.

⁴ Actually Gandhiji left for Rajkot on January 15. *Vide* "Diary for 1915".

⁵ William Winstanley Pearson, a Christian missionary and an active supporter of Indians; for some time teacher at Santiniketan

[PS.]

Tell me if I should bring anything. I have not been able to bring any books from England. We may get them here, if you send me the names. Mr. Kallenbach¹ has not been able to come, since he did not get the permission.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5660. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

273. SPEECH AT PUBLIC RECEPTION, BOMBAY

January 12, 1915

A public reception was accorded by the elite of Bombay to Gandhiji and Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi at Mount Petit, on January 12, 1915, over 600 distinguished citizens being present, including Europeans. The Hon. Sir Pheroza Shah Mehta², who presided, warmly welcomed the guests of the evening.

Replying to the toast, Mr. Gandhi said that he did not know that the right word would come to him to express the feelings that had stirred within him that afternoon. He had felt that he would be more at home in his own Motherland than he used to be in South Africa among their own countrymen. But during the three days that they had passed in Bombay, they had felt—and he thought he was voicing the feelings of his wife, too—that they were much more at home among those indentured Indians, who were the truest heroes of India. They felt that they were indeed in strange company here in Bombay, and that reminded him of one thing said to him by a great Englishman, namely, that duty would be merited [*sic*] at the last.

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 expression but he asked them to believe sincerely that these were his feelings. He felt all that his elders had done for him, all that his political leaders had done for him, all that Sir Pheroza Shah Mehta had done for him and he could recall many an incident when he, i.e., Sir Pheroza Shah Mehta, had cheered him up while he was a young briefless barrister in his disappointments. He had had the honour of receiving instruction, guidance, and advice from many other distinguished countrymen of his own, and

¹ Hermann Kallenbach, a German associate of Gandhiji in South Africa, who left South Africa for India with Gandhiji, was not allowed by the British Government to go to India because of the War and was held up in London.

² (1845-1915), one of the founders of the Indian National Congress, its President in 1890 and 1909.

would he not be ungrateful if he did not do what they told him to do? He had paid his respects to the Grand Old Man of India—Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji¹—that morning. His life was an inspiration to him and in that connection he dared not leave out one name, that of his guide—at least his political leader, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale. (Cheers.) His life was more than an inspiration to him. Mr. Gokhale had been to him more than a brother. He also must not omit to mention the deep debt that he owed to all his countrymen, let alone the memory of his revered parents, who taught him to respect them and through them the whole country. They were paying these regards to them, who were but poor creatures, while the real heroes were the indentured labourers. He wished to remind them of the indentured Indian that staggered him in jail. When he met that Indian, he did not know what inspired the latter to go to jail, and what inspired him to utter the words he did utter. He told the Indian that there was no occasion for him to go there and that he had never advised such of his countrymen as Harbat Singh² to go there. But that old Indian said that he could not restrain himself from going there when he saw his poor brothers and sisters go there for the honour of the country. How could he leave himself out, he asked, and added that he wanted to die there. They were alive and he was dead. That man was the hero and there were many of his type. If he had lived and come out to India, they would not have noticed him, perhaps he too would not have noticed him. All honour was due to the memory of Harbat Singh.

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 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. They had not come to receive big entertainments like that because they did not think they were worthy of such presents. He felt that 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 blessings of the whole country in their endeavour to serve the Motherland. Hitherto, he said, they had known nothing

¹ (1825-1917), the first Indian to be elected member of the British Parliament in 1893; President of the Indian National Congress thrice, in 1886, 1893 and 1906; author of *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*; vide “The Grand Old Man of India”, 3-9-1910.

² An old man of 75 from Uttar Pradesh; vide “Speech at Public Reception, Madras”, 21-4-1915.

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. He again thanked them most sincerely for the very great honour done to himself and his wife.

The Bombay Chronicle, 13-1-1915

274. SPEECH AT NATIONAL UNION MEETING AT BOMBAY

January 13, 1915

At a meeting convened by the Bombay National Union at Hirabag [Bombay] on the 13th instant to welcome Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Tilak¹ was present, though no formal invitation was sent to him. The meeting was attended by about 250 persons. Mr. Tilak addressing the gathering said that they were only doing their duty in honouring Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, as they had fought for the honour of India in a distant land. He said that India ought to produce more men and women of the self-sacrificing spirit of the honoured guests, and impressed upon the audience that this was the lesson they had to learn from the career of Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi's speech was colourless and formal; he expressed the gratefulness of the Indians in South Africa to the mother country which contributed lavishly to the fund² for their relief during the late struggle. He said it was a pleasure to meet Mr. Tilak in Bombay as he fully intended to pay his respects to him when he visited Poona.

Mr. Baptista said that it did not matter whom Mr. Gandhi selected as his guru (this refers to a remark made by Mr. Gandhi that Mr. Gokhale was his guru), so long as he always held before him the ideals of honour and self-respect, as he had done throughout his life. Both he and Mr. Ali Muhammad Bhimji referred to the gallantconduct of the Indian troops in support of the cause of right in the present war.

Bombay Government Police Abstracts, 1915, p. 40, Para 60

¹ "Lokamanya" Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920); Indian patriot politician and scholar.

² Passive Resistance Fund: *vide* "Letter to J. B. Petit", 16-6-1915.

275. *SPEECH AT SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, BOMBAY*

January 14, 1915

The premises of the Servants of India Society's¹ Home in Bombay were tastefully decorated for the entertainment that was given to Mr. & Mrs. Gandhi on the evening of 14th January by the members of the Bombay Branch of the Society and by some of those who were associated with it as its helpers, supporters and co-workers....Among those present were Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Sir Vithaldas Thakersey, Sir Jagmohandas, Shet Dani, Shet Hansraj Pragjee, Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, Lady Jagmohandas, Mrs. Sonabai Jayker, Mrs. Bahadurjee and others. On the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Devadhar spoke on behalf of those that were assembled.

Mr. Gandhi, then, in the course of a brief speech, said that he was proud to have seen so many men and women who helped the Servant of India Society, which would soon be the sphere of his work. He had accepted Mr. Gokhale as his political leader and guide and he considered those people fortunate who had the privilege of being associated with Mr. Gokhale in their work. He would go over the country for one year and, after studying things for himself, he would decide his line of work. In conclusion, he thanked all the ladies and gentlemen, on his behalf as well as on behalf of his wife, for the honour they did them.

Sir Bhalchandra garlanded Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Ramabai garlanded Mrs. Gandhi. After the distribution of flowers, etc., the whole assembly partook [of] refreshments. . . .

Indian Opinion, 10-3-1915

276. *SPEECH AT GURJAR SABHA RECEPTION, BOMBAY*²

January 14, 1915

A garden party in honour of Gandhiji and Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi was given by members of the Gurjar Sabha, Bombay, on the grounds of Mangaldas House, on January 14, 1915. Messrs M. A. Jinnah³, Chairman of the Sabha, who presided on the occasion, and K. M. Munshi⁴ having spoken (in English) welcoming the guests,

¹ Founded by Gokhale in 1905 with headquarters in Poona, the members being life-workers in the service of the nation

² A brief report of this also appeared in *Gujarati*, 17-1-1915.

³ Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), Muslim leader, founder and first Governor-General of Pakistan

⁴ (1887-), lawyer, politician and author; founder and President of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan; Governor of U.P., 1952-7

Gandhiji replied as follows:

Mr. Gandhi, who spoke in Gujarati, thanked Mr. Jinnah for presiding at this function and said that while he was in South Africa and anything was said about Gujaratis, it was understood to have a reference to the Hindu community only and Parsis and Mahomedans were not thought of. He was, therefore, glad to find a Mahomedan a member of the Gurjar Sabha and the chairman of that function.

With regard to their words of praise and welcome, he was at a loss to say anything. As he had said so often before, he and his wife had done nothing beyond their duty. He did not wish to repeat the same thing, but he desired to say that he considered all these good feelings and kind words as their blessings and he prayed to God. that those blessings might enable him and his wife faithfully to serve their country. They first intended to study all the Indian questions and then enter upon the service of the country. He had looked upon the Hon. Mr. Gokhale as his guide and leader and he had full confidence in him and he was sure that Mr. Gokhale would not put him on the wrong track. He had visited His Excellency the Governor¹ that morning and while thanking him for the honour, he also mentioned the same thing that he was absolutely confident that under the guiding spirit of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale he would be adopting the right course.

Continuing, Mr. Gandhi said that the chairman had referred to the South African question. He had a good deal to say on this subject and he would explain the whole situation in the very near future to the Bombay public and through them to the whole of India. The compromise was satisfactory and he trusted that what had remained to be gained would be gained. The South Africans had now learnt that they could not utterly disregard the Indians or disrespect their feelings.

With regard to the Hindu-Mahomedan question he had much to learn, but he would always keep before his eyes his twenty-one years' experience in South Africa and he still remembered that one sentence uttered by Sir Syed Ahmed², namely, that the Hindus and Mahomedans were the two eyes of Mother India and if one looked at one end and the other at the other, neither would be able to see anything and that if one was gone, the other would see to that extent only. Both the communities had to bear this in mind in the future.

In conclusion, he thanked them for the great honour done to him and his wife.

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-1-1915

¹ Lord Willingdon

² Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-98), educationist and reformer; founder of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh

277. FRAGMENT OF LETTER¹

[Before *January 15, 1915*]²

. . . You must have seen Radha³. You should urge her to write to me. Ask Raliatbehn⁴ to have patience. We shall meet only when God wills it. She should not be quite so eager that we should meet. I am taken up with such difficult tasks. I indeed very much want to see her, but I have simply no time. Tell me all about conditions at home. Let me know how Fuli does. Give me all details now about the conditions in the home, who is in charge of shopping, and so on.

I met Harilal. He looks very handsome. . .

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6714

278. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

ON THE TRAIN,
[*January 16, 1915*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Not a minute's rest. Your cable received. I am sorry. I shall try.

Good-bye.

Love,

Yours,

OLD FRIEND

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

¹ Only the seventh page of this letter is available.

² The letter appears to have been written immediately after Gandhiji's arrival in India and before Gandhiji left Bombay for Rajkot.

³ Maganlal Gandhi's daughter

⁴ Gandhiji's sister; also known as Gokibehn

279. SPEECH AT RAJKOT IN REPLY TO CITIZENS
ADDRESS¹

January 17, 1915

I have not been keeping very fit and, during the last thirty-six hours, my health has gone down very badly; but I have conserved my strength as much as possible in order to be able to visit my native town, Rajkot. Coming here, I fully realize what a loss I have suffered in the death of Shri Kevalrambhai, whom I respected as an elder. This is a painful thought to me. I have been laid under an obligation by Shri Pandit who has won the affection [of the people] of this Province by his fine qualities and who has expressed good wishes for me. I regard it as my good fortune, moreover, that in the absence of Shri Kavelrambhai I have been presented this address by you, a friend of his. His Excellency the Governor told me that the spontaneous demonstration of popular feeling towards me suggested that I was likely to have a fruitful career. I have had today first-hand proof of the truth of this. The daughter of my friend, Mr. Shukla², was the first to put a *tilak* on me and garland me. I look upon this as a blessing. The honour I have been receiving in Rajkot is beyond all bounds. In India it has become a kind of custom to accord such excessive honour.

Hills, they say, look pleasing from a distance; you have only heard my praises. But we have done nothing in particular. We have come here only as novices ready to learn. Everyone must have observed that nowadays people work with a variety of motives. It is extremely difficult to know what is in the heart of any individual. We are now in India and you will find it easier to form a correct opinion about us from what we do. The world is full of selfish men, who work with some ulterior motive or other. But to work in this manner is like mixing poison in milk. We have much to learn from Kathiawar and, when we have gone through the training, you will have an opportunity of testing us. I must tell you, however, that you will then see our failures also; I ask of you that [even then] you should keep up, unimpaired, the love which you have shown today. Let the rest of the

¹ Bejonji Meherwanji Damri, the Dewan of Rajkot, presiding

² A barrister practising at Rajkot; friend and fellow-student of Gandhiji

country forsake me, if it will, because of any failure of mine; if the people of Rajkot even then overlook my shortcomings with a generous heart I shall believe that your expression of love today was really the result of genuine feeling. This love of yours will be put to the test at that time. As for our achievements in South Africa, I tell you that people of lower standing than ours did a thousand times better work than we. An old man of 75 and a young girl of 17 both died in jail.¹ I am a barrister and it is natural, therefore, that I should feel impelled to work. But innumerable men and women, poor souls, gave their lives in the service of the nation, suffering the hardships of Jail life, merely because of their faith and as a matter of duty. What honour will you do to them? These persons, like truly heroic spirits, sacrificed their lives. Accepting, now, this honour you have done to us as a form of blessing, we dedicate our services to the country and declare here that we should be thought of as good children of Rajkot if we always show ourselves keen on doing our duty; but as unworthy ones if we are found to be remiss. I thank you all.

[From Gujarati]

Kathiawar Times, 17-1-1915

280. *SPEECH AT RECEPTIONS BY RAJKOT
MODH COMMUNITY*

January 20, 1915

. . . In reply, Mr. Gandhi pointed out that men who entered public life had to make their hearts hard indeed. He had lost an elder brother² and had also had to bear other losses. Nevertheless, when attending parties, he had to agree to being entertained with songs, poems, etc., though he was in mourning. If he kept back his grief in order to receive such honour, it was because he received it as a symbol of the people's love. People should understand the real meaning of what little he had done and when he undertook something to serve the interests of the community or the people at large, he would demand their help as a matter of right because of their love for him.

If the people respond favourably at such a testing time, I shall believe that the love you have shown towards me on this occasion is

¹ Harbat Singh and Valiamma; *vide* "Speech at Public Reception, Madras", 21-4-1915.

² Laxmidas Gandhi, who passed away at Porbunder on March 9, 1914

sincere. If they refuse the help I ask for, I shall believe that you have only been following one another blindly, like so many sheep, and that it is just the same whether an address is written on a sheet of gold or silver, or merely on paper, none of them being of greater worth than dust. I must admit that, when I returned to India as a barrister, the Modh community elsewhere deserted me but that the Modh people here at Rajkot stood by me. I would be an ungrateful man to forget this and hence I regard the honour I have received today as a blessing.

[From Gujarati]

Kathiawar Times, 24-1-1915

281. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

January 22 [1915]¹

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Harilal has written to you at my instance. But I wanted to give you a line no matter where I was. We left Rajkot this morning. We are here at a place called Jetpur. I am writing this squatting on the verandah of a nice isolated bungalow. Addresses have been raining on me. I am perfectly sick of them. I doubt very much whether they will serve any purpose. However there they are; I [am] receiving them at the cost of my health. I am due at Poona about the 10th February. Pleurisy has become chronic. It is not very painful but it necessitates great care.²

So you are not free to come. There is a divine purpose in all this forced separation.³ I am anxiously waiting for your letter. And then I may be able to do something. My constant prayer every day is that you may be rightly guided during your stay in London and that you may take no new step hastily.

May I ask you in all you do to think over the past and keep before you our joint ideals?

I had your first letter at Rajkot. The second should have reached

¹ From the contents

The addressee was not allowed by the British Government to visit India because of the War and was held up in London.

² *Vide* also *An Autobiography*, Part IV, Ch.s XLI and XLII.

³ The addressee was not allowed by the British Government to visit India because of the War and was held up in London.

me by this time but it has not.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

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

282. SPEECH AT RECEPTION AT DARBARGADH¹

January 22, 1915

Mr. Gandhi said that he was much gratified to see that Hindus and Mahomedans were united on the occasion and knowing that they had done so he had accepted the invitation to come down to Dhoraji. In the future he would undertake to bring about happier and closer relations between these two communities.

Kathiawar Times, 24-1-1915

**283. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY PORBUNDER
MODH COMMUNITY**

January 25, 1915

I am happy beyond words in accepting your blessings, here in this place of my birth and my childhood days. As for my services to the country, I ought to say that it is not for me alone to follow truth. All of us can follow it if we choose, and, if we do, not I alone but all of us shall deserve honour and be able to play our part in some great task.

[From Gujarati]

Kathiawar Times, 31-1-1915

¹ A place near Dhoraji in Saurashtra

284. *SPEECH AT PORBUNDER IN REPLY TO CITIZENS' ADDRESS*

January 25, 1915

After visiting a few places, I shall come back here. So many herbs grow on the hills round here. There is much I can learn about them. I shall move about for a week in the company of my friend Mr. Jaikrishnabhai, the ex-Curator, and be in your midst afterwards.

[From Gujarati]

Kathiawar Times, 31-1-1915

285. *LETTER TO MAJOR HANCOCK*

RAJKOT,

January 26¹, 1915

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry that during my stay in Porbunder I was not able to pay my respects to you. I shall try to seek that opportunity another time when I am again in Porbunder. Meanwhile I would like to thank you for the great kindness that the officials and the public of Porbunder showed to my wife and me during our stay there. I would also like to thank you, if I may, for your help during the passive resistance struggle in South Africa. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale told me of the kindly worded letter that accompanied the generous gift.

I am,

Your faithfully,

M. K. GANDHI

MAJOR HANCOCK²

From a copy of the original: C.W. 5661. Courtesy: District Deputy Collector, Porbunder

¹ According to the Diary for 1915, however, Gandhiji left for Rajkot on the 27th.

² Administrator of Porbunder State during the Rana's minority; later, Political Agent to the Viceroy in Western India States Agency

286. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS BHAGWANDAS¹

RAJKOT,
Maha Sud 11 [January 26, 1915]

I got your kind telegram at Gondal. I hope you received my reply telegram². I am sorry I have not been able to accept the people's invitation but I hope that you will all forgive me, seeing that I am helpless. I am in such poor health that, if I did not have to call on my widowed sisters-in-law at Rajkot and Porbunder, I would probably not have come to Kathiawar just at present. On my way to these two places, I passed Gondal and other towns where I was obliged to stop. In thinking of visits to Bhavnagar and other cities, I am afraid for my health and my time is also over. I can now hope to see you all only when I come to this side again after two or three months.

Please accept the respectful greetings of

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Kathiawar Times, 31-1-1915

287. SPEECH AT GONDAL RASASHALA³

January 27, 1915

The eminent *vaid*⁴ is a good scholar of Sanskrit and Ayurveda and the *rasashala*⁵ he has established has been serving the people through Ayurveda. The literature published by the Pharmacy is very useful to the people. I used to read some of it in South Africa. I was very much flattered by the compliments a scholar like him paid me in the address which he has read. I shall cherish them for ever. I think highly of Ayurveda. It is one of the ancient sciences of India, which ensures the health of the millions in her thousands of villages. I advise

¹ Chief of the business community of Bhavnagar

² Not available

³ Gandhiji paid a visit to Rasashala Aushadhashram, a celebrated Ayurvedic pharmacy at Gondal, in Saurashtra, and addressed a large gathering of citizens including the Dewan of the State, Ranchhoddas Patwari.

⁴ Jivaram Kalidas Shastri, who presented the address on behalf of the Rasashala

⁵ Pharmacy

every citizen to live his life in accordance with the principles of Ayurveda. The Pharmacy, the dispensary and the *vaidraj*, all have my blessings that they may be enabled to render the best possible service to Ayurveda.

[From Gujarati]

Report of Rasashala Aushadhashram, Gondal, 1948

288. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY GONDAL CITIZENS

January 27, 1915

Shri Gandhi . . . referred to the obligation which His Highness the Thakore Saheb had laid him under, and, being himself unworthy of the epithets applied to him, to his search for someone in India who would be worthy of them, to his struggle over the years, and the struggle that he wished to carry on, to be so worthy, and said that he had tendered all this praise as an offering to Lord Krishna. Giving his blanket to Keshavji Sheth, he asked the Sheth to spend the hundred rupees¹ in the service of the country or for some pious purpose. Pointing out, in conclusion, that it was *brahmacharya* that led to all the virtues and ensured success in one's tasks, he said that it was yet to be seen whether the sentiments expressed at the moment would remain the same when the time for testing came.²

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 7-2-1915

¹ The price offered by Shri Sheth for the blanket, which had been put to auction

² The English report in the *Bombay Chronicle*, 1-2-1915, adds: "He [Gandhiji] said the essential qualities a servant of the country should possess were simplicity of life, truthfulness and *brahmacharya*, and it was his ambition to establish somewhere in the vicinity of Kathiawar [Saurashtra] an institution where the rising generation of the country could be trained in those ideals."

289. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

RAJKOT,
January 28, 1915

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your second letter. Your diary is silent as to your studies. Do you read the *Imitation of Christ*¹? Do you attend to the rosary? Do you read Gujarati? Do you read the *Song Celestial*? The idea of California frightens me. I do not want to restrain you but I would like you not to come to any hasty decision. Do let me try to bring you out here. You need hardly be assured that I shall leave no stone unturned to have you here. At every turn I think of you. At times I feel glad you are not here. For, some of the positions I pass through are most trying. Other times I wish you were here for you would have gained greatly from the experiences you would have passed through in common with me.

Mrs. Gandhi has up to now remained a pure fruitarian. It is a most wonderful thing indeed. I have found no difficulty in remaining a fruitarian up to now. I anticipate none now.

Harilal and Jamnadas are going with me to Bolpur.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

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

290. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY AHMEDABAD CITIZENS²

February 2, 1915

Ahmedabad is the capital of Gujarat and the place where I took my [matriculation] examination³. The reason why I have especial regard for Ahmedabad is that one of my fellow-workers and

¹ By Thomas a Kempis

² Sir Chinubhai Madhavlal, Baronet, presiding

³ In 1887

fellow-sufferers in the satyagraha campaigns was Mr. Surendrarai Medh, a resident of this place. This place has made an important contribution to the satyagraha struggle. Today I have come on a pilgrimage to it.¹

We have done no more than our duty. I have come to India to learn. My revered guru, Mr. Gokhale, gave me a piece of advice: One who had been out of India for 25 years should express no opinion about affairs here before he had studied things carefully. Accordingly, I keep my ears open and my mouth shut.

[From Gujarati]

Kathiawar Times, 7-2-1915; also *Gujarati*, 14-2-1915

291. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

BOMBAY

February 6, 1915

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letters. I am writing against time. My travels are not yet finished. I leave here for Poona very shortly and then go to Bolpur. In a fortnight's time I may have some peace at Santiniketan. My ribs are not yet right. I have asked Jamnadas to write to you at length. More next week I hope.

With love,

Yours,

OLD FRIEND

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

¹ The last two sentences are from *Gujarati*, 14-2-1915.

292. *SPEECH AT MISSION SCHOOL, BOMBAY*¹

February 7, 1915

This function today has given me greater pleasure than any grand reception ever did. I will try to avail myself of every opportunity of meeting you and keeping in touch with you.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 14-2-1915

293. *LETTER TO C.F. ANDREWS*

BOMBAY,

February 7, 1915

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have hardly any time left to me to attend to correspondence. I have a moment left whilst I am waiting for Mr. Setalvad² to come. I shan't be long before I am with you. We go to Poona tonight. I may leave for Bolpur on the 18th or even earlier. Hope to drop you a wire as soon as the date is fixed. With love,

Yours ever

MOHAN

From the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5663. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

¹ Gandhi visited, without any formal invitation, a Mission School for the children of *Antyajas*, i.e., low-caste Hindus, whom he later described as Harijans, God's folk.

² Dr. Sir Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad, a leading member of the Bombay bar; Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University

294. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO
MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI'

February 7, 1915

Truthfulness, *brahmacharya*, non-violence, non-stealing and non-hoarding, these five rules of life are obligatory on all aspirants. Everyone should be an aspirant. A man's character, therefore, is to be built on the foundation of these disciplines. Beyond doubt, they are to be observed by everyone in the world. Though a business man, one must never utter or practise untruth; though married, one must remain celibate; though keeping oneself alive, one can practise non-violence. It is difficult to be of the world and yet not to steal (to observe the rule of non-stealing) and not to hoard wealth or any other thing. One must, nevertheless, keep that as an ideal to be attained and have some limit in these respects; when the mind has begun to turn away from these things, one may even embrace the supreme renunciation.

Everyone who observes these vows will be able to find a way out of all perplexities.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi

295. LETTER TO MAHATMA MUNSHIRAM

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY,

POONA CITY,

*Magha Krishna Paksha 8 [February 8, 1915]*²

MAHATMAJI,³

I had your Wire; my reply telegram⁴ must have reached you. I

¹ Son of Anandbehn, Gandhiji's sister

² From the reference to the addressee's looking after Gandhiji's children (Phoenix teachers and boys), the letter appears to have been written in 1915. In 1915, *Magha Krishna Paksha 8* corresponded to February 7, but Gandhiji went to Poona from Bombay only on the 8th.

³ Mahatma Munshiram (1856-1926), later known as Swami Shradhdhanand; nationalist leader; was active in the Arya Samaj; one of the early pioneers of national education, he founded the Gurukul at Kangri

⁴ Not available

had written¹ to Mr. Andrews asking him to thank you for the trouble you took looking after my children and for the affection you showered on them. But, as I am anxious to pay my humble respects to you, I deem it my duty to go there without waiting for an

invitation. I hope to wait on you on my way back from Bolpur.²

Yours respectfully

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2205

296. LETTER TO MAGANBHAI H. PATEL

Wednesday [Before February 10, 1915]³

BHAISHRI MAGANBHAI,

I have your letter. I will never leave you so long as you do not want to leave me. I am aware of your trouble. I want to take work from you keeping that in mind. Take the vows only when you think it right to do so. I shall arrange to have the meeting with your father in good time. The rest from my letter to Maganlal.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 11009. Courtesy: Suryakant C. Patel

¹ Letter not available

² Gandhiji left for Bolpur on February 15. He could, however, reach Kangri only on April 6.

³ This letter appears to have been written before the one to Maganlal Gandhi dated February 10, 1915 (*vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 10-2-1915), wherein Gandhiji, mentions the addressee's father.

297. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

February 10, 1915

DEAR MR. KALLENBACH

The bearer Mr. Khandwala proceeds to England for his studies. Will you please guide him and introduce him to friends?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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

298. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[POONA,]

Maha Vad 11 [February 10, 1915]¹

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I am writing this letter from the [Servants of India] Society's premises in Poona. I have talked to Chi. Jamnadas² about the clothes you have sent for. I saw Maganbhai's³ father. We had a long talk. He was even pacified somewhat; for the present, however, he will not send his son. We shall have to wait for three months.

I think Chi. Narandas's⁴ son will be with me. I have not even considered whether it will be possible to accommodate all. If it is not possible, we shall come away from there earlier. There will be some delay, of course, since nothing will be decided in a hurry. Meanwhile, I have decided to bring along those who live with us, that they may not be left to fend for themselves.

I am not bringing the *sitar*⁵ and *tabla*⁶, as I am told by Prof. Barve that they will be available there; that is, in Calcutta, of good

¹ From Gandhiji's tour itinerary mentioned in the letter, it appears to have been written in 1915.

² Addressee's younger brother

³ Patel, a teacher in the Phoenix school, who came to India with the addressee

⁴ Addressee's younger brother

⁵ A stringed musical instrument

⁶ A percussion instrument

quality and cheap in price.

Most probably, we shall leave on Monday, that is, on the 15th. We have decided to take the route you have suggested. I don't write much, since we are to meet soon. I shall reach Bombay on Sunday. If, therefore, you wish to send any telegram, send it there.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I shall be accompanied by Ba, Harilal¹, Jamnadas, Kaku, Ranchhod, Shanti, Chhotalal—Chhabildas's. These at any rate, and I, are coming. There may be one or two more.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5644. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

299. REPLIES TO QUESTIONS AT POONA MEETINGS

February 11/12, 1915

Mr. Gandhi came to Poona on Monday morning . . . was garlanded at several places during his drive through the city to the buildings of the Servants of India Society, where he put up. On Thursday evening the Deccan Sabha met him in a friendly gathering. The next evening he was treated to a friendly party by the Sarvajanic Sabha in its hall. Mr. Gandhi's conversation at both these conversazione parties was most enjoyable and edifying. To see the living embodiment of simple life and high thoughts was an education in itself. His unassuming demeanour and free and hearty talk were revelations of the pure and burning spirit within. He was asked several questions to which he gave straightforward replies.

Asked about his future plans he replied that he had not yet settled anything and that it was not certain that he would join the Servants of India Society.

Respecting South Africa he was asked why it was that some people there still complained that the question was not yet finally and satisfactorily determined and in what sense he thought it finally settled. Mr. Gandhi replied by pointing out the difference between grievances for which people were ready to sacrifice property and life—in fact, become passive resisters—and grievances which were not felt so acutely. There was a settlement as far as the former kind of grievances were concerned, though there remained others such as those relating to locations and racial distinctions on tramways and railways, towards the removal of which attempts still

¹ Gandhiji's eldest son

must be made. But these latter, though serious, were not felt so acutely as to justify the initiation or continuation of the Passive Resistance Movement.

Asked wherefrom exactly the pressure came upon the Union Govt.,— what exactly as the difficulty which in a way forced that Govt. to yield, he replied that it was the favourable European public opinion in the colony which made it possible for the Passive Resistance Movement to succeed. He recognised the value of the representations of the Indian Government and the Imperial Government, but he thought all these would not have availed much, had the passive resisters not the advantage of the sympathy of the general European public towards their cause. The passive resisters, weak, indigent and unarmed as they were; could not have marched in the way they did in a foreign and alien country had not the tacit sympathy of the general population been on their side. In their march they emptied tanks of water belonging to the Europeans with impunity and even without much remonstrance, and that was saying much in a country where water was very deficient. Some of the white settlers even helped the marching party with food. One of the passive resisters was tempted to steal a blanket but he was not prosecuted by the European owner but generously forgiven. That showed the attitude of the general public of white settlers. The Bantoos, that is, the original settlers, were not at all hostile, but favourable, if anything, to the Indian cause. The opposition came mainly from some Boers and the trading and industrial classes of the European white population. The planters and the traders—those were the strong opponents of Indian claims. The traders did not stand competition with the Indian merchants and hawkers. The planters opposed the Indians but they could not do without Indian labour.

Asked whether the traders and planters wanted to send Indians bag and baggage back to India, Mr. Gandhi said that the planters wanted Indians very badly—but only as indentured labourers. The plantations would be waste lands without Indians. Indigenous labour was not so steady and skilful as the Indian. In fact it was the Indians who were largely contributing to the industrial prosperity of the colony. And Mr. Gandhi clinched his point by remarking that he had always said to the planters to boycott Indians, if they really did not want them. That was in their hands and Indians could not have legally complained about it. But the Indians were useful labourers and traders and they could not be spared—that was why they were not boycotted.

Asked whether there were any temples for Hindus and mausoleums of the Mahomedans, he said there were some but they were more or less apologies of temples and mausoleums. He knew the priests there, and he was obviously sad when he had to speak of their character.

Asked how people from different provinces managed to speak with each other, he proudly referred to Hindi. As to social customs, he said that there was inter-dining among the different sections of the Hindus, but not intermarriage.

To the question, whether the Indians there would be absorbed by the population of their country of adoption, he had to give an emphatic “No”—thanks to the Indian civilization. It was obvious from his manner of speech that the “so-called western civilization” was not very highly thought of by him and that he felt a pride in speaking of the Hindu civilization.

The Mahratta, 14-2-1915

300. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

*February 12 [1915]*¹

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have seen your letter to Mr. Gokhale. Yours to me has not yet reached me. The idea of California does not appeal to me. But I must not interfere. If you think that your pecuniary position will warrant the enterprise and that London will not make you happy, you may go. The best thing, however, is to await Mr. Gokhale’s arrival there. You will then discuss with him the whole thing. I feel that if you went to a farm in England it would be better. And all this is subject to the result of my efforts to bring you here. This effort I can only make after reaching Bolpur. I reach there next week.

Your letter shows that you were most miserable at the time of writing. There is no peace but from within. And this I know that any peace brought from without is false and transient. We must all therefore search within. Then there is no disappointment. Try, try again and yet again.

Yes, India is still the place of spirituality that I have pictured to myself. It has brought me unconscious peace. There is much to criticize, much to disappoint; underneath it all there is an intense spirituality. The basis of life is spiritual. You can therefore build straightway. Not so anywhere else and in the same degree.

Mr. Gokhale is better than he was there but he is no more at peace with himself here than he was there. His nature is to worry.

Your answer to Gandevia was right. You could not give pecuniary assistance with your sensitive nature. I can quite understand that the incident must have added to your unhappiness. My heart goes out to you. My comfort is that I shall not leave a stone unturned to

¹ From the contents

secure your permit. If I fail¹ — I do not know.

With love and sympathy,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

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

301. SPEECH AT POONA PUBLIC MEETING

February 13, 1915

On Saturday Mr. Gandhi visited the Anath-Balikaashram of Prof. Karve², the Fergusson College and the Anandashram, at all of which places he was warmly welcomed. In the evening there was a public meeting held in the Kirloskar Theatre. The speakers were Sirdar Nowroji Padamji, the President, Sir R. G. Bhandarker³ and Mr. Wadia.

Mr. Gandhi made an appropriate reply in which he referred to Poona as a place of learning, culture and noted for the spirit of self-sacrifice of its citizens—a city which, whether he made his future ‘home’ or not, would be considered by him and his wife as a sacred place of pilgrimage. He had, he said, rendered very little service to the country, but what little he rendered had raised such high expectations about him that he feared, they perhaps would be disappointed and he prayed that in case he disappointed the people’s hopes about himself, he would be judged in a spirit of generosity and forgiveness. He closed his speech remarking that his guide and teacher⁴ had asked him to endeavour to close his lips and keep open his ears for some time. He finished off his nice little speech with expressing thanks for the honour done to him and hoping to be judged generously if he slipped in future.

The Mahratta, 14-2-1915

¹ For the significant Shakespearean echo of the uncertainty expressed herein, *Vide* “Message to Gokhale’s Life”, before 4-2-1916.

² D. K. Karve (1858-1962); social reformer; “Bharat Ratna”; founder of the Indian Women’s University; *vide* “Speech on Indian Women’s University”, 23-2-1916.

³ (1837-1925), Orientalist and author Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University; leader of Hindu social and religious reform movements.

⁴ G. K. Gokhale; *vide* “Speech at Reception by Ahmedabad Citizens”, 2-2-1915.

302. SPEECH AT PRIZE DISTRIBUTION TO STUDENTS
IN BOMBAY¹

February 14, 1915

It seems India is now under the deadly sway of the Iron Age. I have been moving about in this country for a month and seen on what an enormous scale fraud is prevalent here. I had firmly resolved that for twelve months I would go round everywhere, keeping my ears open and hear everything, but address no meeting and express no opinion on any subject. But I must advise you, students, to read these prize-books carefully, to reflect over their real import and, keeping in mind all the profound truths set out in them, follow the path enjoined by religion. Whether you are a girl or a boy, you will grow up one day and have to carry a heavy burden of worldly duties; give some thought, therefore, to the future. Truth is revealed not only in our scriptures but in the scriptures of other religions as well.²

It is the duty of students to assimilate whatever they have learnt. They should have religious and moral instruction, as much of it as they can usefully apply. They need education in such measure that it would not become too much of a useless burden on them. I should like to address a few words exclusively to students. Men and women students, you will benefit from what you have learnt only to the extent that you have assimilated it. That should be the object of this institution too. You should ponder over the element of truth in whatever books of religion you read. If you cling to truth, success is yours. I would advise you, from my experience, to profit well from your education. That will be to your advantage and to your country's as well.³

[From Gujarati]

Kathiawar Times, 17-2-1915 and *Gujarati*, 21-2-1915

¹ At the function of the Sanatan Dharma Nitishikshan Pravartak Samiti, founded by Manmohandas Shroff; Gandhiji presided.

² From *Kathiawar Times*

³ From *Gujarati*

303. SPEECH AT KAPOL HOSTEL, BOMBAY¹

[February 15, 1915]

I am not in the least surprised that you have collected Rs. 70,000 for the Hostel, as the Kapol community is quite wealthy and it is the duty of its richer members to provide for the education of its poorer members and help them to employment. I thank you for your kind words. I would not, normally, have found it possible to pay this visit to the Hostel, but Dr. Jivraj Mehta² had lived here and had had an illustrious career and I was, therefore, keen on seeing the place. Of him, I will say in brief that, young and patriotic that he is, I am confident he will prove himself useful to the country in the years to come. I am indebted to the Kapol community because Jagmohandas Shamaldas gave me a substantial loan. When I returned as a barrister, I was afraid he might ask for an instalment but Mr. Mulji Barbhaiya came to my help. In conclusion, I would ask the students to speak in their mother tongue instead of using a hotchpotch of English and Gujarati in their speech. Finally, I should urge everyone here to work for success, to cultivate character and to serve both one's family and country.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 21-2-1915

304. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

SANTINIKETAN,

BOLPUR,

*February 17 [1915]*²

MY DEAR FRIEND,

You may now send all letters c/o Servants of India Society, Poona City. There is no responsible party in Rajkot and letters may

¹ On the occasion of Gandhiji's and Kasturba's visit to the Hostel. Sheth Tribhuvandas Varjivandas presided.

² (1887-), Minister of Finance, Bombay Government, 1950-60. He later became the first Chief Minister of Gujarat on the bifurcation of the old Bombay State in May, 1960. Appointed High Commissioner in London in December, 1963.

³ Inferred from the contents

get lost. The letter you say in yours to Mr. Gokhale you have written to me, has not yet been received by me. It may follow me.

I reach the above place today. I am just now at Burdwan, waiting for a change. Andrews has come here to fetch me. Bolpur is about 20 miles from here. I have a big party, i.e., 6 young men, with me. Of course, Mrs. Gandhi is inseparable. My eldest brother's two boys, the other brother's one boy and Chhotu³, Chhabildas Mehta's son, whom you know, Harilal and Jamnadas—these form the party.

After consultation with Andrews, I propose to write to the Viceroy⁴ myself about you and see what reply is received. I hope that you will war is over and that within a short time. Anyway I shall try.

Though I am not yet free from pains, I am better. Both of us are still strictly fruitarians.

Andrews sends his love to you. He is by me as I am writing this.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

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

305. *SPEECH AT SANTINIKETAN RECEPTION*³

February 17, 1915

The delight I feel today I have never experienced before. Though Rabindranath⁴, the Gurudev, is not present here, yet we feel his presence in our hearts. I am particularly happy to find that you have arranged for this reception in Indian style. We were received with much pomp in Bombay, but there was nothing in it to make us happy. For there, purely western ways were imitated. We shall proceed to our goal in our own eastern ways and not by imitating the West, for we are of the East. We shall grow up in the beautiful manners and customs of India, and true to her spirit, make friends with nations having different

¹ Chhotalal

⁴ Lord Hardinge

³ Presented by the inmates

⁴ Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941); poet and artist, won Nobel Prize or Literature in 1913; founder of Santiniketan, now a University

ideals. Indeed, through her oriental culture, India will establish friendly relations with the eastern and western worlds. Today I feel a close kinship with this Ashram in Bengal. I am no stranger to you. I liked also the distant land of Africa because the Indians there have not given up their Indian habits and customs.

Gandhiji ended his speech by offering his thanks to the audience.

From a Bengali report in *Tattvabodhini Patrika*, February, 1915

306. TELEGRAM TO H. N. KUNZRU

[BOLPUR,
February 20, 1915]

EXPRESS
KUNZRU¹
SERVINDIA
ALLAHABAD

MR. GOKHALE PASSED AWAY². PROCEEDING POONA
TONIGHT'S MAIL. MEET ME CHHEOKI. BETTER IF YOU
JOIN ME.

GANDHI

From the draft in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5672. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

¹ Hriday Nath Kunzru (1887-), President of Servants of India Society; Liberal politician and parliamentarian

² On February 19

307. TELEGRAM TO KARSANDAS CHITALIA

[BOLPUR,
February 20, 1915]

DEFERRED
CHITALIA¹
SERVINDIA
BOMBAY

HEARD TERRIBLE NEWS. REACHING POONA MONDAY EVENING.
TELL REVASHANKER² SEND LETTERS POONA.

GANDHI

From the draft in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5666. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri.

308. CABLE TO TRANSVAAL B. I. ASSOCIATION

BOLPUR,
[February 20, 1915]

DEFERRED
GANDHI
JOHANNESBURG

GOKHALE DEAD. SUGGEST UNIVERSAL MOURNING. WE HALF
FASTING.

GANDHI, POONA

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

309. SPEECH AT SANTINIKETAN ON GOKHALE'S DEATH

February 20, 1915

My one desire tonight is that my heart may reach your hearts and that there should be a real at-one-ment between us.

You have all learnt something about Tulsidas's *Ramayana*. The

¹ Associated with Bhagini Samaj, Bombay, and Servants of India Society.

² Revashanker Jagjivan Zaveri, a friend of Gandhiji and brother of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

most stirring part is that about the companionship of the good. We should seek the company of those who have suffered and served and died. One such was Mr. Gokhale. He is dead, but his work is not dead, for his spirit lives.

The masses came to know of Gokhale's efficiency in work. All know Gokhale's life of action. But few know of his religious life. Truth was the spring of all his actions.¹

This was behind all his works, even his politics. This was the reason he founded the Servants of India Society, the ideal of which was to spiritualise the political as well as the social life of the nation.

It was fearlessness which ruled all the actions of his life. But as he was fearless he was also thorough. One of his favourite *shlokas*² from the shastras says: Real wisdom is not to begin a thing but to see the thing through to the end. This characteristic of thoroughness may be seen from this incident. He once had to speak to a large audience and he spent three days in order to prepare a short speech for this meeting and he asked me to write out a speech for him. I wrote out the speech. He took it and smiled his heavenly smile, discussed it with me and said, "Give me something better, rewrite it." For three days he worried over it. When the speech was given, it thrilled the whole audience. He delivered his speeches without notes, but he did so, because he was so thorough, that one might say he wrote his speeches with his own blood. As he was thorough and fearless, so he was gentle. He was human from top to toe in all his dealings. He was sometimes impatient, but he would ask forgiveness, coming forward with his smile, whether to a servant or a great man, saying, "I know you will forgive me, won't you?"

He had a great struggle during the latter days of his life, a struggle with his conscience. He had to decide whether he should continue to take part in a struggle at the expense of his health. His conscience ruled every action of his life. He did not wear it on his sleeve, he wore it in his heart. Therefore he is living still, and may we all have the strength to carry out his last wish. His last words to those members of the Servants of India Society who were with him were: "I do not want any memorial or any statue. I want only that men should love their country and serve it with their lives." This is a message for

¹ This paragraph is from *Tattvabodhini Patrika*.

² Verses

the whole of India and not only for them. It was through service that he learnt to know his own nature and to know his country. His love for India was truthful and therefore he wanted nothing for India which he did not want for humanity also. It was not blind love, for his eyes were open to her faults and failings. If we can love India in the same way that he did, we have done well in coming to Santiniketan to learn how to live our lives for India's sake. Copy the zeal which he showed in all he took up, the love that was the law of his life, the truthfulness which guided every action and the thoroughness which was characteristic of all his work.

Remember that our shastras teach us that these simple virtues are the stepping stones to the higher state of life, without which all our worship and works are useless.

I was in quest of a really truthful hero in India and I found him in Gokhale. His love and reverence for India were truly genuine. For serving his country, he completely eschewed all happiness and self-interest. Even while lying on his sick-bed, his mind was occupied in thinking about the welfare of India. A few days ago, when at night he was under the grip of a painful ailment, he called for some of us and began talking about the bright future of India, as envisaged by him. Doctors repeatedly advised him to retire from work but he would not listen to them. He said, "None but death can separate me from work." And death at last brought peaceful rest to him. May God bless his soul!¹

From *The Ashram*, handwritten monthly magazine of Shantiniketan, June & July, 1915; also a Bengali report in *Tattvabodhini Patrika*, February, 1915

¹ This paragraph is from *Tattvabodhini Patrika*.

*310. LETTER TO CHIEF TRAFFIC MANAGER,
E. I. RAILWAY*

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY,
POONA CITY,
[February 23, 1915]¹

THE TRAFFIC MANAGER
EAST INDIAN RAILWAY
CALCUTTA
SIR,

Mrs. Gandhi, two friends and I travelled on the 21st instant by the 3 up mail from Burdwan to Kalyan en route for Poona. We were holders of 3rd class tickets Nos. 7186 to 7189. Upon the train-steaming in, I found that the 3rd class compartment was uncomfortably crowded containing far more passengers than the number specified on the label. However, we tried to get in. The station clerk who was standing by prevented us from doing so. I suggested that we would stand in the carriage as it was necessary for us to reach Poona at the earliest possible moment. The clerk would not listen to me. I then suggested that we should travel in an intermediate compartment until we could find accommodation in the 3rd class carriage. This suggestion was accepted. We got into an intermediate carriage. The station clerk duly reported the matter to the guard who insisted that we must pay the difference between the 3rd class and intermediate fares as far as Jubbulpore or we should not travel by mail train at all and go by the passenger train which was to follow. I protested but my protest was of no avail. I had therefore no alternative but to consent under protest to pay the difference which was taken from me at Assansol. The excess fare ticket number was 274577. I paid Rs. 19-12-0. I asked the ticket master to note on the ticket that I paid the excess fare under protest. He disregarded my request. As I had no desire to travel in an intermediate compartment, I and my party were looking for an opportunity of transferring to 3rd class compartment which we did at Mughalsarai. Here I asked the ticket collector to mark on the excess fare ticket that I had changed to the

¹ From the reply of the addressee.

3rd class compartment but he declined to do so.

I submit that, in the circumstances above mentioned, my party should have been found seats in the 3rd class compartment, failing that, permitted to travel intermediate without extra fare until the pressure had been removed; in any case it was unfair to insist on excess fare being paid as far as Jubbulpore and that as my party actually transferred to the 3rd class compartment at Mughalsarai, there is no warrant for the retention of the excess fare between Mughalsarai and Jubbulpore.

I trust that the Railway Administration will direct a refund of the full excess fare.

I have thought it to be my duty to bring this matter to your notice, as; much for the sake of the recovery of the excess fare paid (having operated upon public funds for my travels) as for the principle 3rd class passengers are entitled to proper treatment. I observed that they were roughly handled by several officials who were rude and impatient. I have no doubt that the Administration do not desire to see 3rd class passengers in any way roughly handled by inconsiderate officials.¹

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

From the draft in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5667. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

¹ In his reply dated March 27, the Acting Divisional Traffic Manager defended the action of the railway staff, but wrote: "As the difference in fares was correctly realized according to rules, and there is no record at Moghulsarai of your having travelled from that point to Jubbulpur 3rd Class, under ordinary circumstances refunds are not granted, but I am prepared to accept your statement and will send by Postal Money Order the difference in fares between Moghulsarai and Jubbulpur."

311. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY,
POONA CITY,
February 23, 1915

MY DEAR SISTER,

What would you say of a brother who does not inquire about his sister's health, does not acknowledge her message of goodwill and who does not even send a note of sympathy on her father's death? You will believe me when I tell you that I have not had a moment's rest after our landing. I thought therefore that I would write to you on settling down somewhere. Then I heard from Mr. Gokhale just when I left for Bolpur that you had lost your father. I said to myself then that I would write to you on reaching Bolpur. But no sooner did I reach Bolpur than I had to retrace my steps to visit the desolate home of the Society.¹ Oh! the pity of it. And yet my *Rajya Guru* died as very few had the privilege of dying.

And now excuse me for the delay in writing to you. My sympathies are with you in your sorrow. You have enough philosophy in you to bear the grief that has overtaken you. Do please let me know how you are keeping.

With regards from us both,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original: Padmaja Naidu Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ Gopal Krishna Gokhale had passed away on February 19.

312. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

POONA,
February 25 [1915]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

You do not expect a long letter from me this week. This death¹ has severely taxed me and is still doing so. I have hurried back here from Santiniketan. I have not yet joined the Society² and I do not know that I ever will. My abstention will perhaps be the best service I shall render to the memory of the Master. However, I do not know.

I am asking Maganlal, who is with me, to write to you at length.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

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

313. LETTER TO RATILAL M. SHETH

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY,
POONA,
*Phagan Sud 13 [February 27, 1915]*³

BHAISHRI RATILAL,

I have your letter. My health is improving.

I am indeed very happy that you think of using the looms. I would advise alteration in Indian looms, only after they have been patiently handled and such alteration is found necessary. An intelligent man may suggest improvements, but only after he has learnt to operate a hundred per cent Indian loom and produce cloth on it. There will be some propriety in that. Yarn, too, it seems to me, should be spun on our own spinning wheels. That way, I see, lies the prosperity of the country, of its poor, that is. More about this when we

¹ Of G.K. Gokhale on February 19, 1915

² The Servants of India Society

³ Gandhiji was in Poona on this date.

meet.

The man who knows in his heart of hearts that this mortal frame is liable to perish any moment will be ever ready to meet death. That he might be so, the householder will limit his external activities and expand the inner and live accordingly. Following this rule, though a householder you can limit the scope of sense-pleasures. You can introduce even into your business some degree of holiness. Before deciding on any course of action, you can ask yourself whether it is essential. That way, you will also discover very easily what will be most conducive to your highest good. All this can be explained more clearly only in a personal discussion.

Let me know what kind of cloth you keep.

Remember this about what I may write or say, that I too am a novice like you. Possibly, I have more experience. You are welcome to profit by that experience.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4648. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

314. EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

POONA,

Phagan Sud 14, February 28, 1915

I got your letter here. It seems to me that for the present, you must do nothing but prepare for the future. I think it will be a good thing if you start studying Hindi and Marathi as languages. It will be better still to learn hand-weaving at the same time. If you haven't formed the habit of going out for a walk every day, you should. At least four hours should be spent in body labour.

We shall think of some other book after you have completed *Yogadarshan*¹.

I shall be there most probably on Thursday and start for Bolpur again the same day.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi

¹ Aphorisms on Yoga by Patanjali

315. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

SERVANTS OF INDIA [SOCIETY],

POONA,

March 2 [1915]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have before me your two letters. I have not left out a single week. But when I was physically unable to write, being engaged here, there or elsewhere, I asked someone to write to you. I am happy, am progressing, am strong spiritually and becoming stronger physically but I hate the rush and the constant moving about. Yet it is necessary, I feel. Before I settle down I have to see certain things.

I was in Bolpur last week but Mr. Gokhale's sudden death brought me back to Poona. What an end! He died in harness. He was in full possession of all his faculties to the last and was working away. I was with him the Sunday previous to his death, which took place on the Friday following. Well, I am without a helmsman. But it is well. He lives in the spirit and his spirit is enthroned in my heart.

I have not joined the Society. Yet I pleaded for admission but there were differences which could not be bridged. So I am to travel about and see things for myself and study. This I shall do.

Meanwhile I am trying to settle the boys somewhere, possibly near Bombay, i.e., 150 miles from it — in Ahmedabad. Maganlal is now in Ahmedabad looking into affairs [*sic*]. He has risen to the occasion fully. I retain the idea that there is something in the atmosphere here which enables you to be easily spiritual. In spite of the rush I am going through there is peace within. May such peace be also yours.

I was going to concoct a letter to the Viceroy about you in conjunction with Andrews when I was called away, as I have said before. I hope to try again on reaching Bolpur. If I fail, I can only advise that you should stay in London where you are. Better to put up with the ills we have than to risk having greater ones whilst trying to avoid what we have. No happiness obtainable from without. You may study agriculture there. I can understand that. And is there not a better chance of our meeting earlier if you are there than if you were anywhere else? Surely that thought should rivet you to England. You will be surprised that Mrs. Gandhi has developed a passion for you. She thinks of you at every turn. She thinks that our life is incomplete

without you. This is not my favourable construction method but this is how it is happening with her just now.

It surprises me with what tenacity she holds on to a purely fruitarian diet and mostly uncooked. I am living on purely uncooked fruitarian food. The meal today consisted of 3 bananas, 1, 2 small cucumbers, 2 tomatoes and 2 ripe figs and a few green grapes. The latter two were brought by friends only today. You will notice absence of ground-nuts. These I omitted only today because I had a full dose yesterday. I am always better when I have only a few ground-nuts. Of course I am having no physical exercise worth naming. I fancy that you too would have been satisfied with such food. I am going to take up other salad vegetables if necessary in order to compete with the poorest.

I think that you should ring up Lady Cecilia¹ and inquire whether she received the letters you sent. They must have missed her. There is no other explanation. In any case the least that you owe her is to inquire through the phone or walk over to them. I should do that most decidedly.

Now I think I have given you enough. I shall resume the chat next week.

Yet best to address letters c/o Servants of India Society. They will thereby reach me more quickly wherever I am.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

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

316. LETTER TO D. B. SHUKLA

Phagan Vad 1 [March 2, 1915]²

BHAISHRI,

I have your letter. May I thank you for sending Rs. 1500?

My health is fairly good. There is still pain in my ribs but Dr. Dev said that there was no pleurisy now.

¹ Lady Cecilia Roberts, wife of Charles Robert, Under Secretary of State for India

² From the post mark

I am left without shelter through revered Gokhale's death. I am thinking of leaving here on Thursday and returning to Bolpur.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

REVERED BHAISHRI DALPATRAM BHAVANJI SHUKLA
BARRISTER
CIVIL STATION
RAJKOT

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2326

317. LETTER TO SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN

March 3, 1915

DEAR SIR WILLIAM¹,

The national calamity that has befallen us has prevented me from replying earlier to your letter.

Many caskets of the kind sent to you have been brought to India. But the Cape Town one was, as it were, destined to go to England. It was the last one received in South Africa just on the day of embarkation for Southampton. Then we stayed in London and the thought of leaving the casket in England was developed during the time. Mr. Roberts, Mr. Kallenbach and I agreed that the best institution where it could be housed was your own house. It will only be a small personal tribute to one whom I have been taught to love and regard as one of India's best friends. The depositing of the casket with you may serve as an effort in binding the two nations together.

May I therefore ask you kindly to keep it yourself. I am sure that had Mr. Gokhale read your letter he would have joined me in my request.

With respects,

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

From the typewritten office copy: S.N. 21645C

¹ (1838-1918), President, Indian National Congress at Bombay, 1889 and at Allahabad, 1910.

*318. SPEECH AT GOKHALE CONDOLENCE MEETING,
POONA*

March 3, 1915

At a crowded meeting of the citizens of Poona held at the Kirloskar Theatre on March 3, 1915, under the presidentship of the Governor of Bombay, to condole the recent death of Mr. G. K. Gokhale, the following resolution proposed by Gandhiji was passed:

That the citizens of Poona in public meeting assembled place on record the great loss the whole country, and especially Poona, has sustained in the untimely death of the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale who was the leader of the whole country and who by his devotion and self-sacrifice has left a great example to his countrymen of selfless public work. That this meeting deeply sympathises with Mr. Gokhale's daughters and other relatives in their grief and requests the President to communicate this Resolution to them.¹

Mr. Gandhi proposing the resolution paid an eloquent tribute to the memory of the deceased statesman. The speaker said it would look a presumption on his part if he were to add to the glowing tribute which H.E. Lord Willingdon had paid to the memory of the deceased patriot. One thing he would like to mention and that was the deep-seated religious feelings of the man from which sprang a thoroughness which was one of his chief characteristics. He also possessed a conscience. Shortly before his death, Mr. Gokhale was called upon to decide whether he should attend a certain conference. After much deliberation, he decided to do so in the interests of his country, though at a grave risk to his life.²

The Bombay Chronicle, 4-3-1915 and The Amrita Bazar Patrika, 5-3-1915

319. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[BOMBAY,]

Phagan Vad 3, Thursday [March 4, 1915]³

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I am writing this letter from Bombay. Very likely I shall have to stop here, too, for a day. I got three letters from you at Poona, at the

¹ From the report in *The Bombay Chronicle*

² From the report in *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*

³ From the reference to the founding of an institution in Ahmedabad, the letter appears to have been written in 1915. Again, Gandhiji was in Bombay on this date, and, before that, he was in Poona between February 22 and March 3.

same time. We want to run our institution for the whole of India and so we will beg from the entire country. From Ahmedabad, however, we want the land and the required buildings. That will be the foundation.

We will do without machinery as far as possible. We need not concern ourselves whether this will lead to the stopping of the mills. It will be no bad thing even if the millowners stop erecting additional mills. And if indeed they do not, we will still keep to the path which we think will make for our happiness.

You have not understood the [true] significance of *brahmacharya*. Will you be unhappy if Keshu¹ were to attain *moksha*² today? If yes, how profound is your condition of *moha*³! To believe that procreation by good persons is conducive to the happiness of the world seems to argue great conceit and ignorance. Good men have no desire for worldly pursuits. They desire withdrawal from them, that is, *moksha*. Those who keep them company [on the path] are their children. Not to admit even this bespeaks a state of utter ignorance. All this does not mean that Keshu will never marry. His inclination will be determined by the influences under which he grows up. Your duty is to place the highest ideal before him. It will not matter if he falls short of it. The children of one who so falls will be able to do good to the world. But please ponder deeply over the difference between this position and the other, namely, that the man who violates *brahmacharya* for the purpose of procreation is likely to have good progeny. Ponder deeply over this fine distinction between the two conditions. In one of them, we deliberately commit sin. In the other, though knowing better, we fall through weakness. In this latter, there is scope for rising yet. In the former, one has set one's face against rising. Rising is looked upon rather as falling. If, in spite of our giving the right education to Keshu, he does marry, there will be no harm. If he does not, he will acquire a light that will shine over all the world, such is the strength he will gain. Parents should desire the best for their children. The latter will then acquire what they are capable of. There is no error in my thinking. Be sure of that. I want you to understand my thoughts very carefully. Do not take weakness to be strength. Do not regard *moha* as knowledge. Think over this

¹ Addressee's son

² Deliverance from phenomenal existence

³ Delusion resulting from attachment to worldly objects

very carefully. Preserve this letter and send it to Maganbhai¹ at Shantiniketan.

I have wired² to Raojibhai to come here. If you think it proper to show this letter to anyone there, you may.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

If it should become necessary for me to go there, I think it will be better that I go after I have finished my work at Bolpur, etc.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 110. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

320. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[BOLPUR]
March 10 [1915]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I write this only to tell you that I have not a minute to write a decent letter to you this week. I therefore send you my love. I am at Bolpur and am leaving tonight for Calcutta and thence for Rangoon.

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

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

321. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY CALCUTTA MODH COMMUNITY

March 12, 1915

By Mr. Gokhale's untimely death, I have lost a friend, philosopher and guide, in whose footsteps I followed in serving the motherland. From his deathbed, he exhorted his friends that we

¹ Patel

² This telegram is not available.

Indians should render sincere service to the motherland.

[From Gujarati]

Kheda Vartaman, 24-3-1915

322. *LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH*

CALCUTTA,
*March 13 [1915]*¹

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am here on my way to Rangoon. I am writing far in advance of the next mail as I may not be able to reach it otherwise, being on the waters.

Extraordinary changes have been made in the Santiniketan school. Andrews and Pearson² rose to the occasion and Pearson and I, whilst we were working away at sanitation reform, thought of you how you would have thrown yourself into the work.

I hope you have given up the idea of going to California. I have not yet written about you³. I am waiting for the opportunity.

Ramdas is with me going to Rangoon.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

[PS.]

This is a general p[ersonal] a[ppel]¹ to you remember me to all friends.

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

¹ From the content

² William Winstanley Pearson, a Christian missionary and an active supporter of Indians; for some time teacher at Santiniketan

³ To the Viceroy; *Vide* "Message of Gokhale's Life", before 4-2-1916.

⁴ The source has "p.a."

323. SPEECH AT CALCUTTA RECEPTION¹

March 13, 1915

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS,

I do not know in what terms to return my thanks to you for giving me such a hearty welcome. You, sir (President), have blessed me and have entrusted a charge to me also. I hope I shall have deserved your blessing and I shall have power enough and willingness enough to carry out the charge that you have entrusted. Calcutta revives hallowed memories. It was in 1902 that I recognised, as I had not recognised before, in Mr. Gokhale my political master. It was at his feet that I learnt all that I felt I should learn. It was at his place that I came to know Dr. P. C. Roy². I wondered if I should be able to see his face during my visit and I am thankful that I have been able to do so. You have said much which I know I do not deserve. If I can steal a corner of your heart, what do you propose to do to Harbat Singh, who went to jail in South Africa against the wishes of his friends and against my wish also?

Harbat Singh, Mr. Gandhi went on to say, died in prison. How could he describe the deed of Baliama³ than whom a sweeter woman was not born? She was a girl of 17. What would they give to Harbat and Baliama? If anybody deserved anything, it was they who deserved a corner of their heart but not heroes like himself who were imported from England. Whatever he was able to do or say, he learnt in England. Harbat was uneducated, he did not know a word of English but he was the worthiest of all. It was Baliama and not his wife who should be exalted.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said it was the life of Mr. Gokhale which inspired him and would do so throughout the work that lay before him. Mr. Gandhi was described as one who did not break the law.⁴ That, Mr. Gandhi said, had only a restricted meaning.

¹ On the grounds of the palace of the Maharaja of Cassimbazar, with Babu Motilal Ghosh in the chair

² Dr. (Sir) P. C. Ray (1861-1944), scientist and patriot

³ Valliamma, who died a martyr in South Africa; *vide* "Speech at Public Reception, Madras", 21-4-1915.

⁴ Surendranath Banerjea in his tribute at the meeting had said: "Mr. Gandhi's name would find its place in the enduring pages of history. Mr. Gandhi would not break laws, he would submit to laws but triumph over laws. There was a lesson to the Bengal anarchists which they well might lay to heart, which they might follow. Mr. Gandhi triumphed over the law by moral force."

They had been described in South Africa as law-breakers. Mr. Gandhi said he broke the law and invited the penalty under the law which his conscience could not accept.

Babu Hemendra Nath Sen proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

Before the close of the meeting, Moulvi Leakut Hossein called for shouts of “Bande Mataram” which were lustily responded to and the “Bande Mataram” song was sung in chorus.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, 15-3-1915

324. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

ON WAY TO RANGOON,
*Phagan Vad 14 [March 14, 1915]*¹

CHI. NARANDAS,

We are having a very bitter experience of the deck, which is but common. Those going are Ba, Ramdas² and myself. We hope to return to Shantiniketan by the end of this month.

I see that there has been a misunderstanding between Harilal and me. He has parted from me completely. He will receive no monetary help from me. [I] gave him Rs. 45/- and he parted at Calcutta. There was no bitterness. Let him take any books or clothes of mine he may want. Hand over the key to him. He may take out anything he likes and then return the key. You must have heard that the key supposed to have been lost was found. It was with Revashankerbhai. Get it from him, if you have not got it already.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in pencil in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5668. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

¹ Gandhiji was on his way to Rangoon on this date

² Third son of

325. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[After March 14, 1915]¹

BHAISHRI 5 M²,

You are right in what you think about non-violence. Its essentials are *daya*³, *akrodha*⁴, *aman*⁵, etc. Satyagraha is based on non-violence. We saw this clearly in Calcutta and came to the conclusion that we should include it among our vows. The thought led to the further conclusion that we must observe all the *yamas*⁶ and that, if we do so by way of vows, we perceive the inner significance of non-violence. In my talks with hundreds of men here I place the various *yamas* above everything else.

सियरामप्रेमपीयूषपूरन होत जनमु न भरतको ।

मुनिमनअगम यमनियमसमदम विषमव्रत आचरत को ।⁷

I remembered this verse in Calcutta on this occasion and pondered deeply over it. I am absolutely clear in my mind that India's deliverance and ours will be achieved through the observance of these vows.

In observing the vow of non-hoarding, the main thing to be borne in mind is not to store up anything which we do not require. For agriculture, we may keep bullocks, if we use them, and the

¹ From the references to Calcutta and Tagore, the letter appears to have been written after Gandhiji's first visit to Shantiniketan and Calcutta after his arrival in India. Gandhiji left Calcutta on March 14, 1915. In *Gandhijini Sadhana* it is stated that this was written after February, 1915; however, in *Mahatma Gandhijina Patro*, this letter is published as from Madras with the date *Vaishakh Sud 11*, which corresponds to April 25, 1915.

² This superscription in a letter addressed to Maganlal Gandhi is unusual. It is reproduced as in *Mahatma Gandhijina Patro*.

³ Compassion

⁴ Freedom from anger

⁵ Freedom from the desire to be respected

⁶ Any great moral or religious duty or observance. The *yamas* are usually said to be ten, but their names are given differently by different writers. Generally they include truthfulness, non-violence, compassion, celibacy, etc.

⁷ "If Bharata had not been born, imbued with the ambrosia of love for Sita and Rama, then who would have practised such self-control and strict observance, continence, restraint and rigorous vows as scarce enter the imagination of sages?" *Ayodhya Kanda* (Second book) of Tulsidas's *Ramayana* (Hill's translation) .

equipment required for them. Where there is a recurring danger of famine, we shall no doubt store food-grains. But we shall always ask ourselves whether bullocks and food-grains are in fact needed. We are to observe all the *yamas* in thought as well, so that we shall grow more secure in them from day to day and come to think of fresh things to renounce. Renunciation has no limit to it. The more we renounce, the more shall we grow in the knowledge of the *atman*¹. If the mind continues to move towards renunciation of the desire for hoarding and if in practice we give up hoarding as far as it is physically possible to do, we shall have kept the vow of non-hoarding.

The same is true about non-stealing. Non-hoarding refers to stocking of things not needed. Non-stealing refers to the use of such things. If I need only one shirt to cover myself with but use two, I am guilty of stealing one from another. For, a shirt which could have been of use to someone else does not belong to me. If five bananas are enough to keep me going, my eating a sixth one is a form of theft. Suppose we have a stock of 50 limes, thinking that among us all we would need them. I need only two, but take three because there are so many. This is theft.

Such unnecessary consumption is also a violation of the vow of non-violence. If, with the ideal of non-stealing in view, we reduce our consumption of things, we would grow more generous. If we do so, actuated by the ideal of non-violence, we would grow more compassionate. In assuring, as it were, every animal or living thing that it need have no fear on our account, we entertain compassion — love—for it. A man who entertains such love will not find any living being inimical to him, not even in thought. That is the most emphatic conclusion of the shastras and my experience as well.

The principle underlying all these vows is truth. By deceiving oneself, one may refuse to recognize an act of stealing or hoarding as such. Hence, by taking careful thought we can ensure at every step that truth prevails. Whenever we are in doubt whether a particular thing should be stored or not, the simple rule is not to store it. There is no violation of truth in renunciation. When in doubt about the wisdom of speaking, it is the duty of a man who has taken the vow of truth not to speak.

I want all of you to take only such vows as each one feels

¹ The Self

inclined to, of his own free will. I always feel that vows are necessary. But anyone may take them only when he himself feels the need and take only such as he wants to.

Ramchandra may have been a man of great prowess, performed innumerable feats and killed hundreds of thousands of monsters, but no one would think of him today if he had not had such devoted men as Lakshmana and Bharata to follow him. The point is, if Ramchandra had had no more than extraordinary strength as a fighter, his greatness would have been forgotten after a while. There have been many brave warriors who killed monsters as he did. There has been none among them whose fame and greatness are sung in every home. Ramchandra possessed power of some other kind which he could induce into Lakshmana and Bharata and in virtue of which the latter became great men of austerities. Singing in praise of their austerities, Tulsidasji asked who else, if Bharata had not been born and practised austerities unattainable even by great sages, would have turned an ignorant man like him to Rama? This is as much as to say that Lakshmana and Bharata were the guardians of Rama's fame, that is, of his teaching. Moreover, austerities are not everything. For, if Lakshmana went without food or sleep for 14 years, so did Indrajit¹. But the latter did not know the true significance of austerities which Lakshmana had learnt from Rama; on the contrary, he possessed a nature which inclined him to misuse the power earned through austerities and so came to be known merely as a monster and suffered defeat at the hands of Lakshmana, the man of self-mastery, a lover of God and seeker of deliverance. In the same way, however great the ideal of Gurudev², if there is no one to implement that ideal, it will remain hidden in the profound darkness of the ages. Conversely, if there are any to put it into practice, it will spread its light multiplied many times over. The steps which one has to climb in order to practise an ideal constitute tapas. One should realise, therefore, how very necessary it is to bring tapas—discipline—into the life of children.

[From Gujarati]

Gandhijini Sadhana; also Mahatma Gandhijina Patro

¹ Meghanad, son of Ravana, who had earned the name of Indrajit by his victory over Indra, chief of the gods

² Rabindranath Tagore

326. LETTER TO MAGANBHAI H. PATEL

ON WAY TO RANGOON,
*Phagan Vad 15 [March 15, 1915]*¹

BHAISHRI MAGANBHAI,

Harilal has parted from me. I have given him Rs. 45 on which he will struggle through as he pleases. There is nothing improper about it.

We shall return by steamer on Monday or latest by Thursday. It seems on our way back we shall have to stop at Calcutta for two days. We have abandoned the idea of being at the Gurukul in the beginning of April. We shall have to spend some time at Santiniketan.² We must do our utmost to see that the new experiment³ succeeds.

You will have received the dried fruit which Manilal was asked to send, and you will have managed with. . .⁴

Fakiri and Baba will have fully recovered by now.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 11003. Courtesy: Suryakant C. Patel

327. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

RANGOON,
March 16⁵ [1915]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

We reached Rangoon this morning. This time I had a real experience of deck passage. The latrines were the filthiest I have ever seen anywhere and so was the so-called bathing place. The latter we

¹ Gandhiji left Calcutta for Rangoon on March 14, 1915. *Phagan Vad 15* corresponds to March 15.

² The addressee along with some other Phoenix companions was staying at Santiniketan.

³ In self-cooking at Santiniketan; *vide An Autobiography* —Part V, Chapter IV.

⁴ One word is illegible here.

⁵ This appears to be a slip. Gandhiji had reached Rangoon on March 17; *vide* “Diary for 1915”, 9 January, 1915

simply did not use. The deck was crowded. There was hardly seating accommodation. There was no air space. It was a time of trial. You would almost have died in the latrine. We had three nights of it and 3 days. Yet I am returning as a deck passenger. I am sending a complaint to the company. I understand that the steamer is one of the oldest of the company.

Here in Rangoon it is already very hot. Dr. Mehta however has built a nice place out in the open. It is therefore not unbearable. I should not have come here but for Dr. Mehta. Burma for the present at any rate is not in my line. The country is being exploited by Indians with the assistance of the English.

We stay here about a week and return to India.

I am seeing much, observing much. I am not disappointed. I am finding things as I had expected and I feel that you would have felt the spiritual India, could you have come. The cities are still plague spots. But even in the cities you meet with real men as you do there.

Harilal came to me for a time. He has again left. He has no faith in me and my co-workers except you. He thinks that I have used my sons for my own benefit and sacrificed them to my ambition. He did not put it quite so badly but the purport was unmistakable. The other boys have grown in wisdom. Harilal is now not to receive any pecuniary help from me. I think that is the best thing I can do for him¹.

I shall still be travelling for a few months and seeing things.

I must describe Santiniketan to you in my next letter.

For you, I have still the same message. Have patience, find happiness in the situation that faces you. There are others much worse situated.

With love,

Yours,

OLD FRIEND

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

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", 14-3-1915 and "Guide to Lndon", [1893-94].

328. AMENDMENTS TO “OBJECTS” OF IMPERIAL
INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION¹

[On or after *March 16, 1915*]

The following clauses are suggested in place of 1 to 4 under the head ‘objects’².

To ascertain the condition of Indian settlers not excluding indentured labourers outside India and to agitate for the removal of their disabilities and grievances.

To secure for such settlers equal status with all the other settlers in the respective parts of the world.

To investigate the conditions of transport under which immigrants travel to their destination and secure an amelioration of such conditions where they may be found to be defective.

To secure with all the other British subjects equality of treatment alike as to terms of admission and as to residence for all British Indian emigrants to any part of the world including British self-governing Colonies.

To maintain a bureau of information for the benefit of emigrants.

To establish and maintain a library containing colonial and foreign laws and journals and all other special books of interest to emigrants.

From a photostat of a draft in Gandhiji’s hand: S.N. 6305

¹ Amendments suggested in reply to Jahangir Bomanjee Petit’s letter of March 16, 1915, forwarding a draft copy of the rules and regulations of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association for Gandhiji’s perusal and suggestions

² “Objects” 1 to 4 were as follows:

(1) To protect and safeguard the civic interest of Indians in general in any part of the world outside India, including the self-governing British Colonies;

(2) To work for, insist upon and obtain for Indians in all British foreign possessions in particular, absolutely equal treatment in all respects with all other British citizens;

(3) To establish and maintain by all possible constitutional means the right of Indians to emigrate into and settle in any part of the British Empire, including self-governing Colonies, on the same terms as other members of the Empire;

(4) To maintain by all legitimate and constitutional means the inherent right and privileges of Indians within the Empire as British citizens.

329. LETTER TO AGENTS OF B. I. S. N. COMPANY

[RANGOON,]

March 19, 1915

THE AGENTS

BRITISH INDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY

GENTLEMEN,

With Mrs. Gandhi and five others, I was a deck passenger from Calcutta to Rangoon per s.s. *Lunka* which arrived here yesterday¹. I have been in the habit of travelling as a deck passenger now for some time. I was surprised to find that the arrangements for deck passengers on s.s. *Lunka* were the worst I have yet seen. The deck was uncomfortably crowded. There was hardly enough sitting accommodation for the number of passengers taken. My party could not all fully stretch ourselves during night although several passengers were anxious to make us comfortable. I saw many lying anyhow and anywhere thoroughly cramped. The latrines were in a dangerously filthy state. The floor space between the seats and the doors was used as urinals. There seemed to be no outlet for the urine. There was therefore always a pool of urine in front of you. The walls of the latrines I found to be extremely dirty and sticky. The doors were without bolts. The only bathing room I saw was used by the passengers for urinary purposes. There was no check against passengers spitting anywhere. The deck used by them was never washed.

I am sure that a great company like yours do not wish to treat their deck passengers in the manner described above. May I ask you please to forward this letter to the proper quarters for attention? I am likely to return to Calcutta next week and may I hope that my party and I, in common with the other passengers, will be able to have the ordinary sanitary comforts which a human being should have?

I remain,

Yours faithfully

From a photostat of the original draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6167

¹ On the 17th, both according to the "Diary for 1915". and the Company's letter of the 20th, acknowledging this letter and promising an inquiry into the complaint about the state of latrines (S.N. 6168)

330. LETTER TO MAGANBHAI H. PATEL

Chaitra Sud 6 [March 21, 1915]¹

BHAISHRI MAGANBHAI,

I have your letter. I shall be here till Monday night. I shall reach Calcutta on Thursday and hope to be at Santiniketan on Saturday. It is very good that the work there is proceeding well. We should continue to help in it to the best of our ability. Look after Messrs. Andrews² and Pearson³ very carefully. You have not given any news about Pal Baba's health. Maganlal shall have reached there before my arrival.

I had told Manilal to send the dried fruit immediately. You must have received it soon after your letter.

It is extremely hot here. I am now tired of all the honour and respect being showered on me, I do not see any meaning in it.

All the three⁴ of us are well.

Regards from

MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Look after your health. Professor Balwantrai Thakore will have arrived there or will be arriving. Look after him. Give him my regards if he has already come, and give the necessary news.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10999. Courtesy: Survakant C.

331. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

RANGOON,

March 21 [1915]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

This is my second letter from Rangoon. Yours of the 12th February has followed me here.

You want to know my personal life. I shall therefore restrict this to its description. I rise never later than 5 a.m. and often at 4 a.m.

¹ From the contents it is evident that this letter was written from Rangoon and after the one to the addressee dated March 15, 1915.

² C. F. Andrews

³ William Winstanley Pearson

⁴ Ramdas and Chhaganlal Gandhi had accompanied Gandhiji to Rangoon.

Here in Rangoon I go out for a long walk with Dr. Mehta. At 10 a.m. we take the first meal. Mine and Mrs. Gandhi's consists of uncooked fruits and nuts. Ground-nuts are roasted. My menu today was 4 bananas, 2 tiny tomatoes, 1 tiny unripe mango chopped, 2 spoonfuls of grated fresh coconut, 4 walnuts, perhaps 2 ounces of date, ground-nut meal mixed, 1 naarangi, 2 slices of wretched melon, 2 lemons and a drink of coconut water. Much the same will be taken at 5 p.m. Dr. Mehta joins me in the fruitarian meal. He adds milk and almonds to the above. Both of us walk about the Town barefoot. Mrs. Gandhi cooks unripe bananas when she can get them. I have now no desire for cooked bananas. Hitherto, there has been no difficulty about procuring fruits and nuts. Several young men in different parts of the country are trying the fruitarian diet. I have asked them to let me have results. The tutor to Dr. Mehta's sons is trying the experiment with me. We retire here at about 10 p.m. Elsewhere I have not been able to do so. The pains in the ribs are still there somewhat. I notice nothing in the groins or the right calf. I have a good appetite now and my bowels move twice. I anticipate no difficulty about continuing the experiment. This country seems to be peculiarly fitted for fruitarian diet. The temptations which I feared there have not overtaken me at all. On the contrary, living our ideals here seems to be comparatively easier.

Dr. Mehta's house is nice and airy. It is very simply conducted. His life is transparent. There is no cant or hypocrisy about it. You would have liked the life here immensely. He has a farm also which is groaning under the weight of fruit trees that were there when he bought it. He has introduced handlooms there.

I leave here on the 29th instant and reach Santiniketan about the 5th April.¹

Now good-bye.

With love from us all,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

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

¹ However, Gandhiji left Rangoon on March 26 and reached Santiniketan on April 2; *vide* also "Diary for 1915", 9 January 1915.

332. INTERVIEW AT RANGOON

[Before March 22, 1915]

A correspondent from Rangoon writes under the date March 22:

When I asked Mr. Gandhi to grant me an interview on behalf of a local paper, he simply would not hear of it. He said he had returned from S. Africa only recently. He had not given to the, problems of India the amount of study they required. Therefore he could not be expected to speak on Indian affairs with any semblance of authority. He was at present engaged in studying our problems on the late lamented Mr. G. K. Gokhale's advice. When his studies were over, then he would be "out for interviews", but not till then. But I assured him that I had no intention of asking him his opinions about topical matters. I said I represented a Tamil paper, that I was myself a member of the Tamil community and that I merely intended to ask him what he thought of the Tamil community with whom he must have largely come into contact in South Africa. On hearing this he seemed greatly relieved and without the slightest pause, like a man who had already formed his final opinions on this subject, he delivered a glowing eulogy on the Tamil people.

He started by saying he could quote chapter and verse for the good work performed by them in South Africa. They were of the greatest help to him during the passive resistance struggle. All the Indian communities were of very great help to him, but especially the Tamil community. It was considered a shame among them for one man not to have gone to jail at least once for the common cause. That was not true of any other community, but that was entirely true of the Tamil. When he first met them, he learnt to admire them. Ever afterwards he had found them better and better. He said:

I consider I have more in common with the Tamil community than with any other.

I asked him whether he had any ulterior purpose in visiting Burma. . . . His answer was simple. He said:

My work lies in India.

The Hindu, 30-3-1915

333. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

*Chaitra Sud 12 [March 28, 1915]*¹

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I have your letter. About the diet, you will be able to speak of your experience only after some time. With patience, you will see the results. It happens that one needs glasses for the eyes, whether to buy them or not, we shall consider by and by.

I too am surprised how the pillars came down all of a sudden. If they were the ones which bore the invaluable inscriptions, the thing is very much to be regretted. What you did was quite right. You had them brought down after getting your doubts cleared, and that was but proper. Show me this place.²

We shall know more then. I don't think tamarind induces weakness. An excessive quantity of food must have been taken.

Fiction means an imagined story. It is beyond doubt that the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* have less of history and more of imagination. They are both sacred books; tens of millions of people look upon them as more than history, and rightly. Maybe there was no brother of Rama exactly like Bharata, but there have been such Bharatas at any rate in India and that is why Tulsidas could conceive one. It is to the Bharata depicted in the *Ramayana* that Bharatvarsha³ pays homage.

We need not make ourselves unhappy in the least if, because of our offering satyagraha, Phoenix should turn desolate and go to waste. In settled conditions, we should take to agriculture. When conditions are unsettled, we may beg or labour, or starve. We should have unshakeable faith that nothing that is done is ever done in vain. This is a law which has no exception. If circumstances arise again, we may resume agriculture. If not, we need not worry. Agriculture is not the end but only a means. The end is, from the lower point of view, service of the people and, from the higher point of view, *moksha*. One of the means for achieving both is agriculture. When it hinders us

¹ Gandhiji left Rangoon on March 26, 1915.

² It has not been possible to ascertain the exact significance of this paragraph

³ India

from attaining the end, we should abandon it.

The freedom that the Poet takes is wrong. We should, however, bear with a man like him, in the hope that one day he will give up indulgence of the senses. For him, our company is all to the good. We should make things as easy for him as we can. We need not apply to others the rule we apply to the Poet. That is, we need not have the same rule for all in such matters. Even the Poet may not cross the bounds, however.

It is because of the respected Gokhale that we keep using the name “ ‘Phoenix’ Institution”. He gave this name to our institution in order that everyone, himself included, may recognize the meaning immediately. Most of the aims of Phoenix are the aims of our institution here. He understood the aims of Phoenix and so gave that name. We need not keep it for ever. We will look for another name after we have settled down somewhere.

I shall preserve the dresses and hand them over to you. But they will be useless when I have worn them out. You will have, therefore, to make your selection right now. They were good experiences I had in Rangoon.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati original: C.W. 5684. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

334. LETTER TO MAGANBHAI H. PATEL

8 MOIRA STREET,

CALCUTTA,

*Monday [March 29, 1915]*¹

BHAISHRI MAGANBHAI,

I shall be busy here till the evening of Wednesday, hence I shall leave by the last train, and reach there around 11 or 11.30 at night. Everybody will have got to Hardwar.² I have received Mr.

¹ From the contents this letter appears to have been written after Gandhiji's arrival in Calcutta from Rangoon, i.e., March 28, 1915, and before he left for Santiniketan on March 31. Monday in the interim fell on March 29.

² Gandhiji's Phoenix party had been invited to assist the volunteer corps of the Servants of India Society at the Kumbha fair at Hardwar.

Kunzru's¹ telegram saying that everyone should be sent there. It seems that I shall have to go there too, but I shall have to return immediately. Chi. Maganlal will have arrived.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Dr. Mehta's elder brother Potatbhai is with me. Anna² and Doctor's sons are not here.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10998. Courtesy: Suryakant C. Patel

335. *SPEECH AT STUDENTS' HALL, CALCUTTA*³

March 31, 1915

On Wednesday evening under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Lyons⁴ and before a stupendously large gathering at the Students' Hall, College Square, Mr. Gandhi delivered an address, embodying advice as to the duties of young men in view of the anarchical crimes committed by some misguided youths in this country.

Though it was the command of his guru, the late Mr. Gokhale, that Mr. Gandhi, during his stay here keep his ears open but his mouth shut, he could not resist the temptation of addressing the meeting. It was the opinion of the speaker as well as his departed guru that politics should not be a sealed book to the student community; for he saw no reason why students should not study and take part in politics. He went the length of saying that politics should not be divorced from religion. They would agree with him as well as their teachers, professors and the worthy chairman that literary education was of no value, if it was not able to build up a sound character. Could it be said that the students or the public men in this country were entirely fearless? This question engaged the speaker's serious attention although he was in exile. He understood what political dacoity or political assassination was. He had given the subject his most prayerful and careful attention and he had come to the conclusion that some of the students of his country were fired no doubt with zeal in their minds and with love for their motherland, but they did not know how they should love her best. He believed that some of them resorted to

¹ H. N. Kunzru

² Harihar Shama, a teacher from Baroda, who joined Gandhiji in June, 1915.

³ This was published under the caption "Mr. Gandhi's Advice to Young Bengal", reprinted under the caption, "On Anarchical Crimes" in *Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, Natesan.

⁴ P. C. Lyons

nefarious means, because they did not work in the fear of God, but in the fear of man. He was there to tell them that if he was for sedition, he must speak out sedition and think loudly and take the consequences. If he did so, it would clear the atmosphere of any taint of hypocrisy. If the student, who were the hopes of India, nay perhaps of the Empire, did not work in the fear of God, but in the fear of man, in the fear of the authorities— the Government whether it was represented by the British or an indigenous body —the results would prove disastrous to the country. They should always keep their minds open regardless of what the consequence would be. The youths who resorted to dacoities and assassinations were misguided youths with whom they should have absolutely no connection. They should consider these persons as enemies to themselves and to their country. But he did not for a moment suggest that they should hate those people. The speaker was not a believer in Government; he would not have any Government. He believed that that Government is the best that governs the least. But whatever his personal views were, he must say that misguided zeal that resorted to dacoities and assassinations could not be productive of any good. These dacoities and assassinations were absolutely a foreign growth in India. They could not take root here and could not be a permanent institution here. History proved that assassination had done no good. The religion of this country, the Hindu religion, was abstention from *himsa*, that was to say, taking animal life. That was he believed, the guiding principle of all religions. The Hindu religion said that even the evil-doer should not be hated. It said that nobody had any right to kill even the evil-doer. These assassinations were a western institution and the speaker warned his hearers against these western methods and western evils. What had they done in the western world? If the youths imitated them and believed that they could do the slightest good to India, they were totally mistaken. He would not discuss what Government was best for India, whether the British Government or the Government that existed before, though he believed that there was a great deal of room for improvement in the British Government.

But he would advise his young friends to be fearless, sincere and be guided by the principles of religion. If they had a programme for the country, let them place it openly before the public. The speaker concluded the address with an appeal to the young men present to be religious and be guided by a spirit of religion and morality. If they were prepared to die, the speaker was prepared to die with them. He should¹ be ready to accept their guidance. But if they wanted to terrorise the country, he should rise against them.

The President, in the course of an eloquent speech, eulogised the address of the evening and suggested that the young men should band themselves for the purpose of uprooting the anarchical evil from this country. He offered a vote of thanks to Mr.

¹ *The Bengalee*, 1-4-1915, has “would”.

Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi made a suitable reply and invited correspondence from the student community to which he promised to give a prompt reply.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, 1-4-1915. Courtesy: National Library,
Calcutta

336. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

April 1 [1915]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letters. Sometimes I have no time and I am travelling. Naturally I must then only send love. Today is such a time. I have just returned from Calcutta and can only send you love.

Your diaries are still interesting for the omissions.

Yours,

OLD FRIEND

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

337. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

April 8 [1915]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am still wandering, still seeing people and places. Here I am almost beyond the reach of the post.¹ I saw yesterday a little of the Himalayan scenery and I wished you could have been with me as I was wandering. I have not seen anything grander anywhere else. This place lies at the foot of the mountains. It is one of the holiest places of India. But the holiness is all but gone. I have brought the boys here to help the pilgrims. The air is bracing. The Ganges you see flowing in all her grandeur.

¹ Gandhiji was in Gurukul Kangri, Hardwar on this day. His Phoenix party had been invited to assist the volunteer corps of the Servants of India Society at the Kumbha Fair at Hardwar; vide also the following item and "Speech at Gurkul, Hardwar", 8-4-1915.

I have not yet decided where I am to settle down. The question is becoming more and more complicated. But some day it will solve itself. 'One step enough for me.'

I have just walked 15 miles. This is my longest walk for months. I do not know how it will affect me. But you will excuse my not giving you a fuller letter. I am not too tired but I have to go to a meeting in a few minutes.

Yours with love,
OLD FRIEND

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

338. *SPEECH AT GURUKUL, HARDWAR*

April 8, 1915

An address of welcome was presented to Mr. Gandhi by the Brahmacharis of Gurukul Kangri on 8th April when Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi visited Hardwar in connection with the Kumbhi. Professor Mahish Charan Sinha with his band of Brahmacharis went to receive him. Brahmachari Budhaduri read the address....

Mr. Gandhi replied:

I feel indebted to Mahatmaji for his love. I came to Hardwar only to pay my respects to Mahatma Munshiram, as Mr. Andrews has pointed out his name as one of the three great men whom I ought to see in India.

He thanked the Brahmacharis for the help they sent to their Indian brothers in Africa and felt specially grateful to the Brahmacharis and the Mahatma for the love and affection they extended towards his Phoenix boys while visiting Gurukul and felt that his pilgrimage to Gurukul was satisfactory. He said:

I am proud that Mahatmaji has called me his brother in a letter, Please pray that I may deserve his fraternity. I have come after 28 years to my country. I can give no advice. I have come to seek guidance and am ready to bow down to anyone who is devoted to the service of the Motherland and I am ready to lay down my life in the service of my country and I shall no more go abroad. One of my brothers is gone.¹ I want guidance. I hope the Mahatmaji will take his place and be a brother to me now.

¹ Laxmidas Gandhi

To the Brahmacharis, he said:

Whatever your aim is, is the aim of all of us. May God fulfil our mission.

Mahatma Munshiram, while welcoming him, said that he was glad to hear that he would live in India and would not go abroad like others to serve India from outside. He hoped that Mr. Gandhi would be the beacon light of India.

The Hindu, 12-4-1915

339. SPEECH AT ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE¹

DELHI,
April 13, 1915

Mr. Gandhi said he took the liberty of speaking in Hindi having ascertained previously from the Principal that the European staff of the College understood the language of the people and he was glad to know that they did.

In the course of his address he said that it would be premature for him to offer any advice in regard to Indian problems, for he had been long away from the motherland. He needed to learn first before he spoke. He had come to learn and hoped to live and die in India now. Long years ago when he met his Master Mr. Gokhale, he felt he had found his *guru* in the sphere of politics and he had tried humbly and faithfully to follow him. In the religious sphere he had not met with a religious *guru* yet. But he must not leave people under a false impression in this respect. His Master, Gokhale, was a deeply religious man. Nobody worked with him in the closest contact but felt the depth of the reality of his essential religious temper. To Mr. Gokhale God was a great reality and truth was a great reality. This it was which explained his incessant and indefatigable labours which tried his physical powers at last. He was a Hindu but one of the right type. A Hindu sannyasi once came to him and made a proposal to push the Hindu political cause in a way which would suppress the Mahomedan and he pressed his proposal with many specious religious reasons. Mr. Gokhale replied to this person in the following words: "If to be a Hindu I must do as you wish me to do, please publish it abroad that I am not a Hindu." But Mr. Gokhale was a Hindu and his religion was fearlessness. He had a deep belief in God, in the eternal triumph of truth. This explained his arduous toil in mastering facts and in investigating truth. India's greatest need was this great fear of God—the fear of God alone and therefore no fear of man. That was the one thing we needed. Anarchism was

¹ This was in reply to a welcome address by Principal Rudra. Gandhiji spoke in Hindi.

not necessary. If it existed, it showed there was no fear of God. To face evil we must stand in the strength of God and truth; and there was that ancient text on the College walls that truth, not falsehood, eternally triumphed. Evil of any kind could not stand the searching light of truth and could only be rooted out in the strength of God through personal suffering and not through the infliction of suffering on others. That was the secret.

Fear God, therefore, and do not fear men, and remember that ahimsa is our religion, the great gift of our *rishis*. What we have got to do is to bring this religion of the Fear of God into all our lives and even into politics. Nothing but this and the passionate love of truth will help us. I would exhort you therefore to obey your teachers and to be true to your College motto, to be rooted in the truth of it, so that you may worthily enter the citizenship of your motherland.”

Then thanking the students for their splendid help in the South African crisis and their hospitality and kindness to the Phoenix boys when they were the guests of the Principal, Mr. Gandhi resumed his seat amidst loud and prolonged applause.

St. Stephen's College Magazine, No. 32, pp. 6-9

340. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

ON THE WAY TO MADRAS,
April 16 [1915]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am on my way to Madras. This eternal moving is now telling on me and I am pining for rest my post too cannot be received as no one knows where I am. I shall get letters only at Madras now. My experiences have been rich and varied. Some time or other I may let you have a portion of them. This cannot be until I have settled down somewhere. I have not yet stayed a fortnight at a stretch at any place, not even at Rangoon.

I had hoped to meet the Viceroy at Delhi but he was not there. I have not yet been able to hit upon any method of approaching him about you. I fear that for the time being you will have to wait there. I am sure that you ought not to think of going to California or any other place. I only wish you could find some occupation to steady you. For me there is no doubt that India has a great hold on me. Even amid the most trying circumstances, I am able to perceive the inner life. It may be all a delusion. But it is there.

At Hardwar, one of the holiest places in India, I felt the need to take a further step and this is what I have done. In India I am not to take for my sustenance more than five things during 24 hours and not to eat after sunset. Things include condiments. Thus if I have taken today, say, bananas, dates, ground-nuts, oranges and lemons, I may not take cloves or tamarind. I still take two meals and I have to make my choice of five things for the day. Both the vows are fairly stiff. But they had to be taken. The spirit was there. The flesh will have to yield. The vows were taken on the 10th instant.¹ I have left the boys at Hardwar to work as volunteer nurses to pilgrims. With me are Mrs. Gandhi and Dr. Mehta's eldest brother.² He accompanies me to curb his temper. He is 65 years old. He has become a pure fruitarian and avoids milk also. He is doing very well indeed.

Needless to say we have been travelling 3rd-class throughout. At times it is most trying, involving long night journeys in crowded compartments.

Will you please give the contents of this to Miss Winterbottom and Sorabjee.

With love,

OLD FRIEND

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

341. SPEECH ON ARRIVAL AT MADRAS

April 17, 1915

Mr. and Mrs. M. K. Gandhi arrived in Madras last Saturday evening from Hardwar by the Delhi Express. . . . A little disappointment was in store for the people, however. When the train arrived, they searched all the first and second class compartments, but in vain, and they were inclined to think that Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Gandhi had not come. But a guard told them that Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi had come by that train and they were in a compartment at the end of the train. A long search discovered Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi sitting in a third class compartment. Mr. Gandhi looked thin and emaciated, a loose shirt soiled by four days of continuous travel covered his body and a pair of trousers similar in appearance covered his legs. There

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Reception By Indian Christians, Madras", 26-4-1915 and "Diary for 1915", and *An Autobiography*, Part V, Ch. VII, p. 310.

² *ibid*

was a rush to that compartment and the crowd was such that about a dozen policemen who had been there found themselves powerless to manage the crowd and had to leave it to shift as best it could. . . . Shouts of “Long live Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi”, “Long live our hero” and “Bande Mataram” rang from the crowd. Mr. Gandhi bowed to them in acknowledgement and was conducted to the carriage. The students who had gathered in large numbers unyoked the horse and volunteered to drag the carriage. The carriage was taken, dragged by the students, to the premises of Messrs Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Mr. Gandhi being cheered all along the way, Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi standing in the carriage and with hands cooped [*sic*] acknowledging the greetings.

On arrival at Messrs Natesan & Co., where he will be stopping during his stay in Madras, Mr. Gandhi stood up in the carriage and in a loud and clear voice said that he was exceedingly thankful to them for the expression of their love to him. He was fagged on account of the four days continuous journey and wished to be allowed to say good night. He would, however, be free to see them during his stay here between three and five o’clock on all days and discuss questions affecting their common good.

Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi expect to stay in Madras for a fortnight. Mr. Gandhi desires to visit the places in the South wherefrom the bulk of South African Indian settlers have been drawn in order to meet such of the passive resisters as have settled in India.

The Hindu, 19-4-1915

342. LETTER TO LAZARUS

MADRAS,
[After *April 17, 1915*]¹

MY DEAR LAZARUS,

I have your letter. The Indian Relief Bill² ought to serve, as it was designed to serve, as a sound basis on which we can erect a sound structure. I gave ample warning on my leaving South Africa that it might be differently interpreted by the Government. In every such case we have our own remedy—legal and moral. We may or we may not take up the legal remedy. The moral is, and should be, always at our disposal, and that is passive resistance. If the spirit of the settlement is not carried out and hardships are inflicted by the

¹ Gandhiji arrived in Madras on April 17, 1915; this was his first visit to the place after returning from South Africa.

² *Vide* Appendix “The Indians Relief Act”, 1914.

administration, our final remedy must be passive resistance. I hope none of you considered that we would never have to resort to passive resistance. All that one could hope for was that the Government had altered their spirit and that they would not lightly invite a revival of the struggle. But this last and sovereign remedy is always at our disposal to be used whenever necessary. Of course virtue lies in knowing when it should be used. Generally speaking, if there is a departure from the fundamental principles which were laid down at the time of the settlement, there is sufficient cause for offering passive resistance. You must understand the main purpose of the Relief [Bill] Let me reiterate the chief points. First, the removal of the £3 tax: second, the reinstatement of the status of Indian wives: third, repeal of the Asiatic Act. These three things have been obtained, I think, practically for all time. Just administration of existing laws is a point covered by the correspondence⁴ which was published immediately after the passage of the Bill, and it is there that naturally there was an uncertainty. Our meaning of just administration may be totally different from that of the Government, and to keep the Government up to the level of our views, there must be continuous watching.

With regard to Christopher, I note what you would want me to do. I shall try to do what I can. I have not yet settled down. I have just arrived in Madras in the course of my wanderings, but as soon as I settle down I shall see what can be done. I take it that, if there is a scholarship forthcoming, he will study in India.

As to your suggestion about *Indian Opinion*, its sphere is narrow for want of workers. In spite of desperate efforts we have not been able, as you are aware, to get a sufficiently large number of selfless workers. I still feel that it cannot be worked upon any other lines. Immediately we introduce the system of payment according to ability, it will lose all its usefulness. Anyhow, that is not the Phoenix ideal. You have to raise at least a few colonial-born young men who would devote themselves to public cause without thought of reward, and you can make *Indian Opinion* a greater power than it is and you can then make it cater for colonial-born Indians in the special sense you suggest.

That a sound body carries a sound mind is after all a truism, but it is to be interpreted with many qualifications. Take the celebrated Sandow. His is, as you would consider, one of the soundest bodies. I am not sure that he necessarily carries a sound mind with it. To me a

sound body means one which bends itself to the spirit and is always a ready instrument at its service. Such bodies are not made, in my opinion, on the football field. They are made on cornfields and farms. I would urge you to think this over and you will find innumerable illustrations to prove my statement. Our colonial-born Indians are carried away with this football and cricket mania. These games may have their place under certain circumstances. But I feel sure that for us, who are just now so fallen, they have no room. Why do we not take the simple fact into consideration that the vast majority of mankind who are vigorous in body and mind are simple agriculturists, that they are strangers to these games, and they are the salt of the earth? Without them your and my existence would be an impossibility, whereas you and I are totally unnecessary for their well-being.

The health of both Mrs. Gandhi and myself is good. It would have been better had we not been touring so ceaselessly as we have done. But the holy atmosphere of India has done all that we had expected. It is because there is something peculiar about the Indian atmosphere that I suggest so strongly to the colonial-born friends that they should consider it as a matter of duty to visit India, and to visit as Indians wanting to live the purely Indian life, and not half-European and half-Indian.

I think I have now covered all the points you have raised. Be good to the people of Phoenix, have patience with them. They are doing their best, they are giving their all, they mean to render services to the motherland. Help them to do so, criticise them by all means, but let your criticism be tempered with love of the settlement. Please remember me to the old folks. I should not forget you or Brian from whom I have received so much love. Whenever you are prepared to give me your boys on my terms, I shall be ready to take them over. The sooner you come to a decision, the better. Else it may be too late for them.

Yours sincerely

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 6120

343. SPEECH AT GOKHALE CLUB, MADRAS

April 20, 1915

Yesterday evening, Mr. Gandhi spent about an hour and a quarter in a conversation in the home of the Servants of India Society with the members of the Gokhale Club, an association of young men started some six months ago for the study of public questions under the guidance of experienced elders.

Mr. Gandhi described his "Phoenix" settlement scheme¹ as one meant for the training of people for the service of the motherland. Special attention would be paid in the settlement to the formation of character and several vernaculars would be taught in it. In his opinion, the observance of *brahmacharya* was essential for all national service and would be a necessary condition for admission into the settlement. Everyone there would be taught and required to do some manual work, preferably in connection with agriculture. The settlement would be open to persons of both sexes, married and unmarried. Asked if he would recommend *brahmacharya* and poverty as ideals to be followed by the whole country, he said he would do so without the least hesitation; only he would recognise it as a religious impossibility for a whole nation to follow them. For conduct in life he would recommend two principles above all—love of truth and *ahimsa*, the latter including abstention from giving any pain to the body or to the mind and extending to all forms of life. As to the application of passive resistance to politics, he warned his hearers that it was a very difficult weapon to use and should not be resorted to except as a last resource and in defence of the dearest interest like national honour. He was against the use of all machinery and would use only hand-made articles.

When the meeting dispersed, everyone present felt chastened by his inspiring words.

The Hindu, 21-4-1915

¹ Vide "Interview to *The Madras Mail*", 22-4-1915.

344. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[GEORGETOWN, MADRAS]¹

*Vaishakh Sud 7 [April 21, 1915]*²

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I learnt from Maganbhai that you had reached Gurukula.

Agricultural work is part of satyagraha. We have deduced the necessity of agricultural work from satyagraha. Hence the question: what should one do if it becomes necessary to give up agricultural work for the sake of satyagraha? My purpose was to show Jamnadas that [in such a situation] agricultural work is not our chief object. His question was: What should one do if the ruler of the place where we are living seizes our land? Also, that if a situation arises in which one may have to attend immediately to some urgent work, the agricultural work may get neglected. I can say much to explain this matter. Our object always remains the same. But as circumstances change from time to time, we can deduce from the nature of our object what should be done in each case.

If Jamnadas does not take the vows, he can remain in the capacity of a student.

Harilal's³ letter made me realize that I should act more independently of others than I do at present and teach you all to do likewise. You have to show to a still greater degree that you always do what you think proper and not out of regard for me. As for Harilal's letter, it merely echoed his weakness. All of us shrink from admitting our weakness, and so abuse what our weakness does not permit us to do. Even Harilal seems to have realized this now. His two letters accompanying this, are worth reading and pondering over by you all. Therefore, read them and understand their meaning. Preserve the letters. It seems to me that Manilal⁴, Ramdas⁵, and you too, will recover

¹ From the printed letterhead

² From Gandhiji's itinerary mentioned in para 5; he arrived at Bombay on May 10, having left Madras on May 7; reached Ahmedabad on May 11 and Rajkot on May 15. *Vaishakh Sud 7* in the year 1915 corresponded to April 21.

³ This first son of Gandhiji.

⁴ This second son of Gandhiji.

⁵ This third son of Gandhiji.

your peace of mind to some extent.

Here I am tasting the utmost sweetness. I will leave Madras on the 7th and go to Bombay. From there to Ahmedabad, and from there to Rajkot. I have now received Sheth Mangaldas's letter. He says in it that the place is ready in Ahmedabad. I will go to Ahmedabad and see everything for myself. I will await a detailed letter from you today.

Assuming that Maganbhai and the others will also read this letter, I am not writing another one to them.

Ba is fine. You must have come to know of my two vows.¹ Raojibhai also has taken a vow. You must have come to know of it.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 33907

345. SPEECH AT PUBLIC RECEPTION, MADRAS²

April 21, 1915

Mr. Gandhi rose amidst deafening cheers and said:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS,

On behalf of my wife and myself, I am deeply grateful for the great honour that you here and 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. (“Hear, hear.”) 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. 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

¹ On April 10, 1915, at Hardwar, Gandhiji took two vows—not to eat more than five articles of food during 24 hours and not to eat after sunset.

² The address, presented by the Indian South African League, was read by G. A. Natesan. Sir Subrahmanya Aiyar presided. Among those present were Mrs. Besant, Justice Tyabji, Srinivasa Sastri and others.

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 knew 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 other Presidencies and to other towns. It was in 1896 that I found in Mr. Gokhale my *rajya guru* (Cheers.) and it was in the same year that I found in Madras, as I did not find in any other place, that deep abiding sense of religion. It appeared in 1896 before you as a stranger pleading a forlorn cause.¹ I then discovered that Madras, or this Presidency, had that instinctive power to distinguish between a right cause and a wrong cause, and it was here that you appreciated in its fullest measure the gravity of the situation that I was then endeavouring to place before my countrymenthroughout India. (“Hear, hear.”) And the impressions that I took with me to South Africa in 1896 have been more than amply verified throughout my experience in South Africa. The drafters of this beautiful address have, I venture to say, exaggerated the importance of the little work that I was able to do in South Africa out of all proportion. (Cries of “No, no”.) As I have said on so many platforms, India has been still suffering under the hypnotic influence produced upon it by that great saintly politician, Mr. Gokhale. (Cheers.) He issued in my favour a certificate which you have taken at its surface value, and it is that certificate which has placed me in a most embarrassing position, because I do not know that I shall be able to answer the expectations that have been raised about myself, and about my wife in the work that lies before us in the future on behalf of this country. 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 Nagappen² and Narayansamy³, 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

¹ *Vide* “Letter to F.S. Taleyarkhan”, 5-11-1896 to “Interview to “the Natal Advertiser”, 13-1-1897.

² Who died a martyr on July 6, 1909; *vide* “Two Posers”, on or before 12-6-1945.

³ Who died a martyr on October 16, 1910; *vide* “Letter to the Press”, 17-10-1910 & “Narayansamy”, 22-10-1910

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 Madrassees 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, it is found among the Madrassees that any Madrassee is considered 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?¹ 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 compelled 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 I and my wife have been obliged to work in the limelight, 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 service 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 importance of birth in India, 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 tomorrow and we shall not forsake the post of duty before any new danger that may

¹ 1906 to 1914

face us? But these three have gone for ever. An old man of 75 from the United Provinces, Harbat 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-force against the physical forces. (Loud applause.)

The meeting then terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

The Hindu, 21-4-1915

346. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[GEORGETOWN, MADRAS]¹

*Vaishakh Sud 8 [April 22, 1915]*²

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I got your letter today. I see from it that you are much worried and that you have become nervous. I have not become impatient. I am perfectly easy in mind. It is true that the condition of the country that I see today has induced in me a still greater spirit of renunciation. But you are in no way connected with that. I do not in the least mind if all of you continue to be as you are today. We have been observing in the past the vows³ that I have suggested. All that I am now asking is that they should be observed more firmly and intelligently. But even in that, I will expect and accept from you only what you can give. I do not insist on anything. I wish you to shed fear. I will be able to go there⁴ in about a month's time. I will leave this place on the 7th. They have been showing me boundless love here. About four persons are likely to join us. All the four are good men.

Leaving on the 7th, I will go directly to Bombay and thereafter

¹ From the printed letterhead

² *Vide* the preceding item, fn 3, page 10.

³ For the contemplated Ashram

⁴ To Ahmedabad

to Ahmedabad. From there, I intend to go to Rajkot and settle the matter about the house. I will also settle the questions concerning Kaku, Ranchhod and Shanti at the same time. All this is likely to take the whole month of May.

I wish the boys there to start digging and studying. I have suggested to Mahatmaji¹ to permit you to make separate arrangements for cooking your meals. He has agreed to do so.

I am eager to know how you manage the thing. It would be well if you become calm and collected. I am keeping well. I am getting plenty of experience.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Ask Manilal to write to me.

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 33906

347. INTERVIEW TO "THE MADRAS MAIL"

April 22, 1915

Yesterday, a representative of this journal had a long and interesting talk with Mr. M. K. Gandhi, about various topics of current interest, of which the following is a summary:

Will you kindly tell me, Mr. Gandhi, what is to be your programme of work, now that your labours in South Africa have ended in a satisfactory solution of the Indian situation in that country?

For this year, of which three months have already gone, I am under instructions from Mr. Gokhale to tour round the country, study the people and institutions, and form my own conclusions before I commence any active work. And during this period of probation, I am also to refrain from speaking on controversial topics on public platforms. At the end of the year, I shall know definitely what the questions are to which I shall be able to devote my attention. There is one thing, however, which it was agreed upon between Mr. Gokhale

¹ Mahatma Munshiram, an Arya Samaj leader who afterwards embraced *sannyasa* and adopted the name 'Shraddhanand'

² This appeared under the caption, "Mr. M. K. Gandhi—His Future Work in India".

and myself that I should continue to do, and that was the conduct of what he called the Phoenix institution. It was so called by Mr. Gokhale because he saw the experiment I am about to explain to you in working order partly on the Tolstoy Farm, belonging to Mr. Kallenbach, and partly at Phoenix, a wayside station on the north coast of Natal. The experiment consists in training young men, and also women and children, for long service to the Motherland. It is a feature of the institution that everyone should perform some form of manual labour, and as agricultural labour is the best form of manual labour, everyone is expected to work for a certain period of the day on the soil. It is proposed also to introduce hand weaving. All who are in the institution will also study the chief vernaculars of the country, in order that they may be able to come into contact with the masses in different parts of India without any difficulty. For mutual intercourse, vernaculars alone will be used, the use of English being confined as far as possible to communications with British people, or those who may not understand any of the chief Indian languages. The vow of *brahmacharya* and poverty will be strictly observed at the institution. I feel that if the experiment proves a success, and there is a large response from young men, it will automatically solve many of the important problems that now puzzle or worry us.

Can you tell me something of the proposed methods of work of the institution and the nature of the service to India?

It is not possible for me to say what form the service will take. It will largely depend upon the results of my observations during the period of probation. At the same time, it is easy to see that an important part of the service is really included in the training itself that I have mapped out. It ought to be easy for anyone to realize the various directions in which work may be done in this respect; but I do not propose to discuss with the public what branches of public activity are going to occupy my attention and that of my co-workers, if only because of my promise to Mr. Gokhale that I would refrain from committing myself to any definite programme until I had previously studied problems in the manner mentioned. The obligation not to do this rests all the more heavily on me in that, I have lost my helmsman, and I am thrown entirely upon my own resources. I, therefore, want to act with the greatest caution, and, as far as is humanly possible, to keep an open mind upon all the burning questions of the day.

Was this period of probation imposed on you by Mr. Gokhale because you had been away from India for so very many years?

Yes, that was his great argument, because I was away from India for nearly 28 years and all my ideas were formed outside India, and, therefore, a corrective in the shape of personal contact with present-day conditions was, in his opinion, absolutely necessary.

Have you noticed any perceptible change in the condition of affairs in India since you last visited this country?

So far as I have been able to observe and so far as I am competent to compare things to-day with things as I observed them in 1902, during my brief visit to India, I notice that there is greater eagerness amongst the younger generation to be of service to the Motherland, and that there is also great willingness to undertake work which may require a measure of self-sacrifice.

Our representative then referred to the Indian question in South Africa, political agitation in India and various other topics, and gathered that Mr. Gandhi does not lay so much store by agitation for obtaining concessions from the Government as by working for the moral, material and economic regeneration of his countrymen, for he is of the opinion that once people make themselves fit by their character and capacity, the grant of privileges will follow as a matter of course—in fact, there will be no need for people to ask for concessions, and what is granted will be no concessions, for people will have grown into them. Mr. Gandhi implicitly believes that no agitation for political concessions will do any service to the country without reform coming from within, at the same time. Mr. Gandhi prefers to be judged by his conduct rather than by the words he utters, words spoken under the limitations of an interview not being, in his opinion, capable of expressing all that the person interviewed might like to say on the subjects discussed.

The Madras Mail, 23-4-1915

348. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

April 23 [1915]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

In the hope of writing to you at length I deferred writing to you earlier and now I find I would have almost missed the mail. But I suddenly woke [up] with a fright that I had not yet written to you. Here am I, therefore, writing this in the small hours of the morning by

candle light. Your diary still remains interesting for what it omits. My dear friend, I know you want to assist me, you could do so even now if you were here. But you could do so from there by realizing our common ideals. You have no notion of how from that distance even you can affect the lives of men here. The powers of a soul purified are illimitable. May you be able to carry out your resolves. More later.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

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

*349. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY MAHAJAN SABHA
AND CONGRESS COMMITTEE, MADRAS*

April 23, 1915

The members of the Madras Mahajan Sabha and the Madras Provincial Congress Committee were "At Home" to Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi last evening at "Humayun Munzil", the residence of the Hon. Nawab Syed Mahammad President of the former Association.

NAWAB SAHEB AND FRIENDS,

On behalf of my wife and myself, I thank both these venerable associations most sincerely for having organized this function, and the address¹ couched in such beautiful language. I do not think that you expect any speech from me. I feel that one thing is true about us that distance lends enchantment to the view. We have now come to work before the public gaze. I have now to trade with whatever capital I have brought from South Africa. I am already exhausting that capital. When we have begun to work before you, you will see us in our nakedness; and I request you to exercise then that generous spirit for which our great Motherland is famed. I expect you to excuse any faults in us, and to take what we give in the best spirit in which we offer it. (Applause.)

New India, 24-4-1915

¹ Not reproduced here

350. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS, MADRAS

April 23, 1915

A representative of the Associated Press interviewed Mr. Gandhi in course of which the latter referred to the splendid loyalty of British Indians in South Africa who stood on the outbreak of war by the Union Government as representing the Imperial Government. General Botha in an appreciative letter promised to make use of their services, should the occasion arise.

Asked if any further improvement in the status of Indians was probable after the war, he said that it largely depended upon the attitude of the Imperial Government and many other considerations.

Referring to the continuation of his work in South Africa, he said that so far as legal assistance was concerned, Mr. Polak himself was practising as an attorney and was eminently fit to advise. There were many able Indian passive resisters, he continued, who were looking after the situation, so that the problems as they rose would be fully looked after by local friends of India assisted by Mr. Polak. The *Indian Opinion* voicing the passive resisters' views was managed and controlled by Mr. West¹ and Mr. C. Gandhi².

Questioned as to his future work in India, he said he was touring round the country as was advised by Mr. Gokhale for study, preliminary to forming a definite plan of work in the service of the country. He said:

Meanwhile I shall also be continuing the institution which was being conducted in South Africa and which has for its object the training of young men for life-long national service. As is well known, I have already charge of several young men and boys who have followed me from South Africa and have been either passive resisters or are sons of passive resisters.

The Bengalee, 24-4-1915

¹ A. H. West, Manager of the International Printing Press, Phoenix, which published *Indian Opinion*

² Chhaganlal Gandhi

*351. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY MUSLIM LEAGUE,
MADRAS*

April 24, 1915

On Saturday evening, the Muslim League was At Home to Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi at Lawley Hall, Mount Road. . . . The refreshments being over, Mr. Yakub Hasan¹ made a short speech He promised on behalf of the Mussalman community co-operation in any work he might undertake for the benefit of India.

Mr. Gandhi made a short reply in which he thanked them on behalf of his wife and himself for their kindness to them. A promise had been made to him and it was an unconditional promise to co-operate with him in anything he might undertake on behalf of this country. It was one thing to promise and another thing to fulfil. He gave them fair warning that he was most exacting to demand the discharge of obligations, especially when so voluntarily given and it might give them an uncomfortable hour when he called upon them to discharge their obligations. In this connection, he remembered two instances of the valuable services rendered by the Mussalmans in South Africa. One was that of Ahmed Mohamed Kachadia² who was a merchant. He had not known a more stubborn man than Kachadia. He went to jail several times for the sake of the country and his European creditors forced insolvency upon him for political reasons, but he was able to pay them 20s. in the £. The other instance that of Abdul Sahiba Muezzin. His services were as valuable as any rendered by anybody else and he also forsook everything and was reduced to poverty on behalf of the mother-country. He and his family were now in the Phoenix settlement in Natal. He again reminded them of the promise they made.

On Sunday afternoon at 2.30 p.m., the ladies of the Abeda Aikya Ananda Samajum gave an At Home at their premises in Ramaswamy Street, Manady, where an address was also presented.

The Hindu, 26-4-1915

¹ Secretary, Indian South Africa League

² Ahmed Muhammad Cachalia, Chairman, Transvaal British Indian Association; *vide* "Telegram to Johannesburg Letter", 7-4-1911.

352. SPEECH AT MADRAS LAW DINNER

April 24, 1915

Under the auspices of the Madras Bar Association, the Annual Madras Law Dinner, the third of its kind, came off on Saturday evening last in the open air under bright moonlight on the extensive grounds adjoining the Moore Pavilion, People's Park, Madras. The Hon'ble Mr. F. H. M. Corbet, Advocate-General, was in the chair.... Mr. Gandhi, who is now in Madras, and who, as a Barrister, had been invited to the Dinner, was honoured with a seat on the left of the Hon'ble the Advocate-General. . . . The Chairman asked Mr. Gandhi to propose the toast of "The British Empire". . . .In proposing the toast of "The British Empire", Mr. Gandhi said:

MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. LORD CHIEF JUSTICE, MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

When the learned Advocate-General came to me and asked me to propose this toast, I must confess that I was taken aback a little. I don't think he noticed it himself, but I make that confession to you. I felt that I was invited to be present here as at one time I belonged to the profession to which you or most of you belong and as I happen to be in Madras, but that I would be allowed to remain a silent spectator of what was going on here. But when he mentioned the thing I did not hesitate to say, "Yes, I shall be pleased to speak to this toast." During my three months' touring in India as also in South Africa, I have been often questioned how I, a determined opponent of modern civilization and an avowed patriot, could reconcile myself to loyalty to the British Empire of which India was such a large part, how it was possible for me to find it consistent that India and England could work together for mutual benefit. It gives me the greatest pleasure this evening at this very great and important gathering to re-declare my loyalty to this British Empire and my loyalty is based upon very selfish grounds. As a passive resister I discovered that I could not have that free scope which I had under the British Empire. I know that a passive resister has to make good his claim to passive resistance, no matter under what circumstances he finds himself, and I discovered that the British Empire had certain ideals with which I have fallen in love, ("Hear, hear.") and one of those ideals is that every subject of the British Empire has the freest scope possible for his energies and efforts and whatever he thinks is due to his conscience. I think that this is true of the British Empire as it is not true of any other Governments that we

see. ("Hear, hear.") I feel as you have perhaps known that I am no lover of any Government and I have more than once said that Government is best which governs least, and I have found that it is possible for me to be governed least under the British Empire. Hence my loyalty to the British Empire. (Loud applause.) And may I before I sit down and ask you to drink to the prosperity of the British Empire remind you of one singular incident that happened during this campaign in far-off South Africa. General Beyers, the trusted Commander of one of the Forces of the British Empire, rose against that Empire in open rebellion. It was only possible for him under that Empire and that Empire alone not to have himself shot on sight. General Smuts wrote to him in a memorable letter that he himself was at one time a rebel. He wrote to General Beyers that it was only under the British Empire that it was possible for him to save his life. Hence my loyalty to the British Empire. (Loud applause.)

The toast was very enthusiastically honoured.

The Hindu, 26-4-1915

353. SPEECH AT SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE, MADRAS

April 25, 1915

The members of the Social Service League met Mr. Gandhi in the Ranade Hall, on Sunday (25-4-1915) last at 3.30 p.m. Among those present were Mr. S. Sreenivasa Aiyangar, Rao Bahadur T. Vijayaraghavachariar, the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. V. T. Krishnamachariar, Mr. G. A. Natesan and others.

Mr. Gandhi, who was introduced to the meeting by Mr. T. Vijayaraghavachariar, said that he had already heard something of the work which the League had been doing. He began by saying that all social work must be undertaken in a spirit of utter humility and self-sacrifice and instanced Mr. Gokhale who had said that to all true public workers, work was its own reward. Absence of recognition or appreciation should not in the least deter a social worker from carrying on his work strenuously and with whole-hearted attention. Whatsoever a social worker attempted to do, he must not cease his labours till he had carried it out to a successful conclusion. He was against half-hearted social service and said that such work had better not be done at all. Asked what he would advise the members of the League to do who were only able to devote a limited time each week, Mr. Gandhi said that they should devote at least the few hours they could spare with concentrated attention. He said that if they had the right sort of men undertaking social work, success could

certainly be hoped for.

He was unable within the time at his disposal to enter into the question of moral and religious instruction for the depressed classes, while he fully believed that it was a most important point, a true understanding of which would enable them to get to the heart of the people among whom they worked.

Asked about the policy of mingling Panchama boys with caste boys in night schools, he said that there was nothing bad in it at least in the night schools, where the time of teaching was so short, and that neither the Panchama boys nor the caste boys would be prejudicially affected in any way. As to elementary education generally and the policy of extending that education indefinitely, he said that there was no doubt that it did a great deal of good and was an eminently desirable thing, though it was not indispensable for the sanitary betterment of the masses. Even people without a knowledge of the 3 R's were capable of understanding hygienic principles and capable of co-operating in any proper scheme of improvement that might be devised for them. He said that there was a great and crying need for active work in that direction....¹ work or put into their head the notion that manual labour was degrading and said that he saw nothing wrong in a cobbler who had taken the M.A degree following that profession throughout his life. Regarding intemperance, Mr. Gandhi said that it was an evil which it was extremely difficult to remedy and that it could be successfully overcome only by a great religious worker. He gave a practical instance of this from the experience of a social worker in Poona.

Mr. Gandhi in closing the conversation said that for social service what was required was not money but men, men of the right sort with right sentiments, with an abiding love and charity and full of faith in their work. If they did have such men, money would come, even unasked. Much social work could be done without any money. It was very difficult for an educated man to understand and appreciate exactly the feelings that prompted the masses unless he retraced his steps; and it was impossible for any man however wealthy to do any social work if he was inspired thereto not by the work itself, but by any feeling of personal ambition. It was easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for such a man to do any effective social service.

With a vote of thanks to Mr. Gandhi, the meeting terminated at 4 30 p.m.

The Hindu, 27-4-1915

¹ A few words are missing here in the source which has been damaged.

354. *SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY ARYA VAISHYA
MAHASABHA, MADRAS¹*

April 25, 1915

Mr. Gandhi in his reply thanked them for the honour shown to his wife and himself and said that the credit for their success in South Africa should be given to other people who have settled in South Africa. He said it was not the time for him to detail all they were doing in South Africa. The Indians in South Africa were petty agriculturists, hawkers and petty traders. The cause of the trouble was the stubborn competition which our people offered to the Europeans domiciled in South Africa. There were many other things also which accounted for the struggle but the chief reason was the competition. Although a settlement had been arrived at for the time being, he said, they might assume that some kind of irritation remained and would remain so long as that competition remained. He said our people there were not men with scholarship or university men, but he told them that they were men that would enable India to be raised in the scale of nations.

The Hindu, 26-4-1915

355. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

GEORGE TOWN,

MADRAS,

Vaishakh Sud 11 [April 25, 1915]²

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. I shall leave here for that side on the 7th.

Maganlal and the rest are at Kangri Gurukul, Hardwar. Everybody has settled down to studies, each in his right place.

You are right in your guess about Harilal's letter. One will not easily find a parallel to what Harilal has done. When a son writes in that manner, there is bound to be bitterness between father and son, though in our case there was not even a possibility of anything of the kind. Harilal has written to say that he has recovered his

¹ At Vasantha Mantapam Govindappa Naick Street at 6 p.m., Mr. Salla Guruswamy Chetty delivered a short welcome address.

² Gandhiji arrived in Madras on April 17 from Hardwar and Delhi. There were two *Vaishakhs* in this year.

calm and that he is sorry he wrote that letter. The letter was all error, and I know that, with experience, he will understand things better.

The Bolpur weather itself is very hot in summer and Ramdas got ill in consequence. The food there is less hot than elsewhere. The people here keep saying harsh things nowadays about the heat. Speaking for myself, I don't feel it at all.

I have not told you about the two vows I have taken,¹ never to eat after sunset in this country and not to have more than five articles of food on any day. The second vow is rather stiff and may sometimes cause difficulty. It was worth taking, though and the mind feels freer as a result of it. We both keep good health. Revashankerbhai's elder brother, who has joined me so that he might overcome his anger, also lives on fruit. There is no one with me from among our company. I shall spend about four days in Bombay and then leave for Ahmedabad.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5669. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

356. *SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY INDIAN CHRISTIANS*

MADRAS
April 26, 1915

The Rev. T. and Mrs. Subramaniam, of the Wesleyan Mission, Peter's Road, Royapettah, received at their house yesterday, a number of European missionaries and Indian Christians, representing the clergy and the laity, to meet Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi . . . Mr. M. D. Devadoss, Barrister-at-Law, and Mr. V. Chakkarai Chetty, on behalf of the Indian Christian community of Madras, spoke a few words of welcome. . . .

Mr. Gandhi, in reply, said that while in South Africa he had the hearty co-operation and sympathy of Canon Booth² and other missionaries as well as of all the Indian Christians there. He thanked the host and the hostess for the entertainment, and the guests dispersed.

The Madras Mail, 27-4-1915

¹ On April 9 at Hardwar; *vide* "Diary for 1915".

² Dr. Booth, Head of St. Aidan's Mission, Durban; he supervised the small charitable hospital founded by Indians. In 1899, during the Boer War, he helped to train the Indian Ambulance Corps.

357. *FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*¹

MADRAS,
[April 27, 1915]²

. . . have been repeated. If you send your reply to this letter through Narandas to Bombay it will reach me. It is enough if I get it there. Today is the 27th. This letter will reach you on the 1st. Even if you take two days to consider it you can write to me on the 3rd. The letter should reach me on the 7th. Depending on when you write address your reply here or to Bombay. I do not intend to stay for more than four days in Bombay. I shall go thence to Ahmedabad. I shall stay there for about three days and proceed to Rajkot to dispose of the house there. I think I shall not need to stay for more than four days at Rajkot.

I wish Jamnadas not to leave the place before we meet. He need not be in a hurry.

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 11168. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

358. *SPEECH AT Y. M. C. A., MADRAS*³

April 27, 1915

MR. CHAIRMAN AND DEAR FRIENDS,

Madras has wellnigh exhausted the English vocabulary in using adjectives of virtue with reference to my wife and myself and, if I may be called upon to give an opinion as to where I have been smothered with kindness, love and attention, I would have to say: it is Madras. (Applause.) But, as I have said so often, I believe it of Madras. So it is no wonder to me that you are lavishing all these kindnesses with unparalleled generosity, and now the worthy President of the Servants of India Society—under which Society I am going through a period of probation—has, if I may say so, capped it all. Am I worthy of these things? My answer from the innermost recesses of my heart is an emphatic “No”. But I have come to India to become worthy of every adjective that you may use, and all my life will certainly be dedicated to prove worthy of them, if I am to be a worthy servant.

¹ The first four pages of the letter are not available.

² The month and year have been inferred from Gandhiji's itinerary.

³ In reply to the Madras students' address, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri presiding

And so it is that you have sung that beautiful national song¹, on hearing which all of us sprang to our feet. The poet² has lavished all the adjectives that he possibly could to describe Mother India. He describes Mother India as sweet-smelling, sweet-speaking, fragrant, all-powerful, all-good, truthful, a land flowing with milk and honey, and having ripe fields, fruits and grains, and inhabited by a race of men of whom we have only a picture in the great Golden Age. He pictures to us a land which shall embrace in its possession the whole of the world, the whole of humanity by the might or right not of physical power but of soul-power. Can we sing that hymn? I ask myself, “Can I, by any right, spring to my feet when I listen to that song?” The poet no doubt gave us a picture for our realisation the words of which simply remain prophetic, and it is for you, the hope of India, to realise every word that the poet has said in describing this Motherland of ours. To-day I feel that these adjectives are very largely misplaced in his description of the Motherland, and it is for you and for me to make good the claim that the poet has advanced on behalf of his Motherland.

THE REAL EDUCATION

You—the students of Madras as well as students all over India—are you receiving an education which will make you worthy to realise that ideal and which will draw the best out of you, or is it an education which has become a factory for making Government employees or clerks in commercial offices? Is the goal of the education that you are receiving that of mere employment whether in the Government departments or other departments? If that be the goal of your education, if that is the goal that you have set before yourselves, I feel and I fear that the vision which the poet pictured for himself is far from being realised. As you have heard me say perhaps, or as you have read, I am and I have been a determined opponent of modern civilization. I want you to turn your eyes today upon what is going on in Europe and if you have come to the conclusion that Europe is today groaning under the heels of the modern civilization, then you and your elders will have to think twice before you can emulate that civilization in our Motherland. But I have been told: “How can we help it, seeing that our rulers bring that culture to our Motherland?”

¹ The proceedings had begun with the “Vande Mataram” song, all standing.

² Bankim Chandra Chatterji

Do not make any mistake about it at all. I do not for one moment believe that it is for any rulers to bring that culture to you unless you are prepared to accept it, and if it be that the rulers bring that culture before us, I think that we have forces within ourselves to enable us to reject that culture without having to reject the rulers themselves. (Applause.) I have said on many a platform that the British race is with us. I decline to go into the reasons why that race is with us, but I do believe that it is possible for India if she would but live up to the tradition of the sages of whom you have heard from our worthy President, to transmit a message through this great race, a message not of physical might, but a message of love. And then, it will be your privilege to conquer the conquerors not by shedding blood but by sheer force of spiritual predominance. When I consider what is going on today in India, I think it is necessary for us to say what our opinion is in connection with the political assassinations and political dacoities. I feel that these are purely a foreign importation which cannot take root in this land. But you the student world have to beware, lest mentally or morally you give one thought of approval to this kind of terrorism. I, as a passive resister, will give you another thing very substantial for it. Terrorise yourself; search within; by all means resist tyranny wherever you find it; by all means resist encroachment upon your liberty, but not by shedding the blood of the tyrant. That is not what is taught by our religion. Our religion is based upon *ahimsa*, which in its active form is nothing but love, love not only to your neighbours, not only to your friends but love even to those who may be your enemies.

One word more in connection with the same thing. I think that if we were to practise truth, to practise *ahimsa*, we must immediately see that we also practise fearlessness. If our rulers are doing what in our opinion is wrong, and if we feel it our duty to let them hear our advice even though it may be considered sedition, I urge you to speak sedition but at your peril. You must be prepared to suffer the consequences. And when you are ready to suffer the consequences and not hit below the belt, then I think you will have made good your right to have your advice heard even by the Government.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES

I ally myself with the British Government, because I believe that it is possible for me to claim equal partnership with every subject of the British Empire. I today claim that equal partnership. I do not

belong to a subject race. I do not call myself a member of a subject race. But there is this thing: it is not for the British governors to give you; it is for you to take the thing. I want and I can take the thing. That I want only by discharging my obligations, Max Muller¹ has told us—we need not go to Max Muller to interpret our own religion but he says, our religion consists of the four letters “D-u-t-y” and not the five-letters “R-i-g-h-t”. And if you believe that all that we want can grow from better discharge of our duty, then think always of your duty and fighting along those lines, you will have no fear of any man, you will fear only God. That is the message that my master—if I may say so, your master, too—Mr. Gokhale has given to us. What is that message then? It is in the constitution of the Servants of India Society and that is the message by which I wish to be guided in my life. The message is to spiritualize the political life and the political institutions of the country. We must immediately set about realising its practice. The students cannot be away from politics. Politics is as essential to them as religion. Politics cannot be divorced from religion. Politics divorced from religion becomes debasing. Modern culture and modern civilization are such politics.² My views may not be acceptable to you, I know. All the same I can only give you what is stirring me to my very depths. On the authority of my experiences in South Africa, I claim that your countrymen who had not that modern culture but who had that strength of the *Rishis*³ of old, who have inherited the *tapascharya*⁴ performed by the *Rishis*, without having known a single word of English literature and without knowing anything whatsoever of the present modern culture, they are able to rise to their full height. And what has been possible for the uneducated and illiterate countrymen of ours in South Africa is ten times possible for you and for me today in this sacred land of ours. May that be your privilege and may that be my privilege! (Applause.)

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi

¹ (1823-1900), German orientalist

² These two sentences are from *The Hindu*, 28-4-1915.

³ Sages

⁴ Penance

359. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

April 29 [1915]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I can only send you goodwill by the mail that leaves tomorrow. I am just going to a meeting and from there to a place further away so that if I do not send you this line now I cannot write at all this week.

With apologies and love,

Yours,

OLD FRIEND

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

360. SPEECH AT LAKSHMI MEMORIAL ARYA PATHSHALA, MADRAS¹

April 29, 1915

Mr. Gandhi, in reply, said that he and Mrs. Gandhi were exceedingly obliged to Mr. N. Swaminatha Aiyer², for having shown them the institution at work, and congratulated the school on having such a generous patron as Mr. C. Ramanujam Chettiar.

New India, 30-4-1915

361. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY GUJARATIS OF MADRAS

April 29, 1915

“Govinda Vilas”, Patter’s Road, Royapettah, the residence of Mr. Lodd Govindas, was the scene of a very large and representative gathering yesterday evening of the leading Indian citizens of Madras who responded to the invitation of the Gujarati community to attend an At Home in honour of Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi. . . A group photograph with Mr. Gandhi in the centre was taken. Mr. Lodd Govindas in a short speech said that the Gujarati community was indeed proud of possessing a great man like Mr. Gandhi among them. . . . Dewan Bahadur Govindas Chathurbujadoss read

¹ At Thambu Chetty Street

² Sub-Inspector of Schools, Georgetown Range

an address of welcome in Gujarati.

Mr. Gandhi, in replying in Gujarati, drew the attention of the Gujarati community in Madras to that important fact that their well-being was the same as that of other communities in Madras and consequently impressed on them the necessity for working in unison with others. He was grateful to the Madras public for having taken such a large number of Gujarati people into the town and this Presidency.

Mr. Lodd Govindas, on behalf of the members of the Gujarati community, as well as the Gujarati-speaking people of Madras, presented, with great pleasure, a money purse to Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi, in thankfully accepting it, said that he never received any kind of present from anybody, and the money would therefore be dedicated to public use.

New India, 30-4-1915

362. SPEECH AT RECEPTION AT TRANQUEBAR

April 30, 1915

Yesterday the public of Tranquebar¹ and suburbs accorded a grand and enthusiastic reception to Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi. Over 2,000 people representing numerous classes, particularly passive resisters, had assembled. . . .Mr. K. C. Subramaniam, Barrister, read the welcome address. . . .

The distinguished guest replied in appropriate terms exhorting his fellow-workers to take to passive resistance whenever and wherever needed for adopting constitutional agitation [*sic*].

His speech was heard with rapt attention and it was translated on the spot.

The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri was next called upon to speak. He exhorted the audience to work for their country's cause.

The Hindu, 1-5-1915

¹ In Madras state

363. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY DEPRESSED CLASSES SOCIETY, TRANQUEBAR

April 30, 1915

The South Indian Depressed Classes Society presented a separate welcome address.

Mr. Gandhi in reply observed that that section of his countrymen needed larger attention and patriotic, earnest and practical work until the existing shameful differences disappeared and the so-called depressed got elevated and got equal privileges.

The Hindu, 1-5-1915

364. SPEECH AT RECEPTION AT MAYAVARAM¹

May 1, 1915

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS,

I am exceedingly thankful to the people of Mayavaram for presenting this beautiful address to me on the occasion of our simply passing through your town or village whatever it may be called, on our way to places where I had hoped to see two widows of men who were shot during the struggle that went on for eight years in South Africa. I was able to see only one and I was not able to see the other whom I hope to see before I leave this great Presidency. It is therefore a matter of greater pleasure to me that you would not allow us to pass unnoticed even though it were simply a passing tour through Mayavaram. But if we have appreciated or if we have received this great and warm welcome from you, may I, for the first time after my return to the sacred land, commence to make a return for the great love that has been shown to us and with your permission I shall try to do so this evening.

It was quite by accident that I had the great pleasure of receiving an address from my Panchama brethren, and there they said that they were without convenience for drinking water, they were without convenience for living supplies and they could not buy or hold land.

¹ In reply to a welcome address by Municipal Chairman at the meeting in the Victoria Town Hall, with Rao Bahadur V. K. Ramanujachariar in the chair

It was difficult for them even to approach courts. Probably, the last is due to their fear, but a fear certainly not due to themselves and who is then responsible for this state of things? Do we propose to perpetuate this state of things? Is it a part of Hinduism? I do not know; I have now to learn what Hinduism really is. In so far as I have been able to study Hinduism outside India, I have felt that it is no part of real Hinduism to have in its hold a mass of people whom I would call “untouchables”. If it was proved to me that this is an essential part of Hinduism, I for one would declare myself an open rebel against Hinduism itself. (“Hear, hear.”) But I am still not convinced and I hope that up to the end of my life, I shall remain unconvinced that it is an essential part of Hinduism. But who is responsible for this class of untouchables? I have been told that wherever there are Brahmins, it is they who are enjoying supremacy as a matter of right, but today are they enjoying that supremacy? If they are, then the sin will fall upon their shoulders and that is the return I am here to declare and that is the return I shall have to make for the kindness you are showing to me; often my love to my friends, relations and even to my dear wife takes devious ways. So my return here for your kindness is to suggest a few words which you were probably not prepared to listen to and it does seem to me that it is high time for Brahmins to regain their natural prerogative. I recall to my mind the beautiful verse in the *Bhagavad Gita*¹. I shall not excite the audience by reciting the verse, but give you simply a paraphrase. “The true Brahmin is he who is equi-minded towards a Pundit and a Pariah.”

Are the Brahmins in Mayavaram equi-minded towards the Pariah and will they tell me if they are so equi-minded and, if so, will they tell me if others will not follow? Even if they say that they are prepared to do so but others will not follow, I shall have to disbelieve them until I have revised my notions of Hinduism. If the Brahmins themselves consider they are holding a high position by penance and austerity, then they have themselves much to learn, then they will be the people who have cursed and ruined the land.

My friend the Chairman has asked me the question whether it is true that I am at war with my leaders. I say that I am not at war with my leaders. I seemed to be at war with my leaders because many things I have heard seem to be inconsistent with my notions of self-respect and with self-respect to my motherland. I feel that they

¹ Ch. V, v. 18

are probably not discharging the sacred trust they have taken upon their shoulders; but I am not sure I am studying or endeavouring to take wisdom from them, but I failed to take that wisdom. It may be that I am incompetent and unfit to follow them. So, I shall revise my ideas. Still I am in a position to say that I seem to be at war with my leaders. Whatever they do or whatever they say does not somehow or other appeal to me. The major part of what they say does not seem to be appealing to me. I find here words of welcome in the English language. I find in the Congress programme a Resolution on *Swadeshi*. If you hold that you are *Swadeshi* and yet print these in English, then I am not *Swadeshi*. To me it seems that it is inconsistent. I have nothing to say against the English language. But I do say that, if you kill the vernaculars and raise the English language on the tomb of the vernaculars (“Hear, hear.”), then you are not favouring *Swadeshi* in the right sense of the term. If you feel that I do not know Tamil, you should pardon me, you should excuse me and teach me and ask me to learn Tamil and by having your welcome in that beautiful language, if you translate it to me, then I should think you are performing some part of the programme. Then only I should think I am being taught *Swadeshi*. I asked when we were passing through Mayavaram whether there had been any handlooms here and whether there were handloom weavers here. I was told that there were 50 handlooms in Mayavaram. What were they engaged in? They were simply engaged chiefly in preparing *sarees* for our women. Then, is *Swadeshi* to be confined only to the women? Is it to be only in their keeping? I do not find that our friends, the male population, also have their stuff prepared for them in these by these weavers and through their handlooms. (A voice: There are a thousand handlooms here.) There are, I understand, one thousand handlooms; so much the worse for the leaders! (Loud applause.) If these one thousand handlooms are kept chiefly in attending to the wants of our women, double this supply of our handlooms and you will have all your wants supplied by your own weavers and there will be no poverty in the land. I ask you and ask our friend the President how far he is indebted to foreign goods for his outfit and if he can tell me that he has tried his utmost and still has failed to outfit himself, or rather to fit himself out with *Swadeshi* clothing and therefore he has got this stuff, I shall sit at his feet and learn a lesson. What I have been able to learn today is that it is entirely possible for me, not with any extra cost to fit myself with *Swadeshi* clothing. How am I to learn, through those who move or

who are supposed to be movers in the Congress, the secret of the Resolution? I sit at the feet of my leaders, I sit-at the feet of Mayavaram people and let them reveal the mystery, give me the secret of the meaning, teach me how I should behave myself and tell me whether it is a part of *Swadeshi*, whether it is a part of the national movement that I should drive off those who are without dwellings, who cry for water and that I should reject the advances of those who cry for food. These are the questions which I ask my friends here. Since I am saying something against you, I doubt whether I shall still enjoy or retain the affection of the student population and whether I shall still retain the blessings of my leaders. I ask you to have a large heart and give me a little corner in it. I shall try to steal into that corner. If you would be kind enough to teach me the wisdom, I shall learn the wisdom in all humility and in all earnestness. I am praying for it and I am asking for it. If you cannot teach me, I again declare myself at war with my leaders. (Loud cheers.)

The Hindu, 3-5-1915

365. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

May 4, 1915

MY DEAR WEST,

I will take your letter as it comes. It is no use your qualifying as a lawyer. It is possible you may get some guilty ones discharged on technicalities and you may get the innocent also saved from imprisonment. But when you consider what a small percentage of the population passes through the courts, you at once see that it is no part of humanitarian work to take up law. All that you can do, without getting the title of a lawyer you are doing. More you do not need. If you have leisure, read up your laws by all means as Mr. Gokhale did, though he never was a lawyer.

I am nearing the end of my first tour. I hope then to write more regularly and to write for *Indian Opinion* also. I am going through very varied experiences. India continues to satisfy my aspirations. I see much to dishearten me and I see much to encourage me.

We are both keeping fairly good health. If we can settle down somewhere, we should do better. More than this, I have not the time to say just now.

So with love from us both,

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

I have seen Selvan's widow and I succeeded in getting from her the youngest boy. She will get a monthly allowance of Rs. 5. I invited her also to join me but she wouldn't.

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4418. Courtesy: A. H. West

366. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

NELLORE,

May 4, 1915

MY DEAR SISTER,

I did not reply to your last letter as I had hoped to be able at the time of replying to tell you when I was likely to visit Hyderabad. But the receipt of your booklet with the beautiful inscription in it compels me to write to you now, even though I cannot fix the date of my coming to Hyderabad.

I thank you for the inscription. Yes, Mr. Gokhale longed to have you as a full servant of India. Your acknowledgment of discipleship fills one with new hope. But of this more when we meet. For me the death of the Master has drawn me closer to him. I see him and appreciate his worth as I never did before; for the lover, the loved one never dies.

Are you keeping well in health?

I leave Madras on the 7th instant for Bombay.

My permanent address is Servants of India Society, Poona.

Mrs. Gandhi, who is with me, sends her love to you.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From the original: Padmaja Naidu Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

367. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

Vaishakh Vad 5 [May 4, 1915]¹

CHI. NARANDAS,

I shall arrive there on the 10th or perhaps the 9th. So far as I know, Chi. Jamnadas had joined the institution, but there may have been a misunderstanding on my part. Jamnadas thinks that he had taken no vow. One who does not take any vow cannot be a member, though such a one can stay as a student. Even a student must observe the vows while he lives in the institution. A member must observe them all his life. Jamnadas wants to remain outside the institution and observe its rules. It seems Harilal's letter has had some effect on his mind. He is hurt by the former's allegations.

Groundnuts and dates have done most of us no harm. By not eating more than five articles on any day, we advance in the observance of the vow of non-violence, as, on that particular day at least, we spare all vegetable life excepting the articles in question. The vow concerning [the control of] the palate will also be better observed because one would not have more than five things to enjoy for their taste. The vow of non-stealing will be conformed to because, in drawing nourishment from five articles, one would not be over-eating and there would be greater economy besides. I shall have to think much now before eating the groundnut sweet. As it would contain three articles, I could have only two in addition. Cardamom and similar things would also count as separate articles. This is a difficult vow to have taken but I am getting used to it. The mind, the dog that it still is, runs about like one seeking to extract the utmost relish from the five articles. More you may ask me when we meet. I shall be in Bombay for as short a time as possible. The mind has only one thought, settling the affairs at Ahmedabad.

Inform Madhavji² about the date of my arrival there.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand C.W. 5670. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

¹ This appears to have been written in 1915 after Gandhiji took at Hardwar a vow to take only five articles of food in a day on April 9; *vide* "Diary for 1915".

² Kasturba's brother

368. SPEECH AT NELLORE¹

May 5, 1915

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS,

I do not propose to inflict a speech upon you. I am extremely zealous of individual liberty about which we heard this morning from the eloquent lips of Mrs. Besant² and from Mr. Sastriar, with his matchless, merciless, severe and cold logic. I was so zealous of your liberty that I had concocted a plot, but, unfortunately it failed. I was not able to draw in our worthy Chairman of the Reception Committee and the present president of this Conference. I wanted to suggest to them that for the Congresses and for the future Conferences, they might lead the way by not reading their addresses but by simply distributing their addresses for us to read.

It is an accident that this resolution³ follows on two resolutions one with reference to my noble master Mr. Gokhale, and the other to the noble Viceroy to whom fitting tribute has been made, and I am here to acknowledge the indebtedness that your countrymen in South Africa owe to the Viceroy.

Sir, if my wife and I are worthy of anything that has been said on this platform and on many a platform, I have repeated, and I am here to repeat, that the inspiration that we derived was from an Indian source and that was from the late Mr. Gokhale. His life, his message, his words, his methods, have been to me a guiding star, and they will still remain an important guide; and we can best reverence his memory by translating some part of his life into our own. My life is dedicated to that, and I appeal to you, my countrymen, not to spoil

¹ At the 21st Madras Provincial Conference

² Annie Besant (1847-1933), President of the Theosophical Society in 1907; also founder of Central Hindu College at Benares; President, Indian National Congress, 1917. She had said: "In the successful issue of the struggle in South Africa is a presage of the successful termination of the struggle for liberty on the Indian soil. We thank him not only for what he did, but also in that what he did will strengthen the Indian nation in the future. Mr. Gandhi's great help to us is that of inspiration—an inspiration to self-sacrifice, an inspiration to following of a great ideal, the recognition of the fact that there is no dishonour in anything that is endured for the sake of right and justice, and that a prison is no dishonour when the soul within it is free, and when prison is accepted as the price of that liberty."

³ The resolution moved by G. A. Natesan which expressed "grateful appreciation of the enormous sacrifices...." of Gandhiji and Kasturba

us, not to isolate us in the service, not to overrate what we have done in South Africa. Let me make this humble appeal. Let what is done in South Africa be buried there. Our countrymen in South Africa know well of what has been done there. It is impossible to stand here upon any reputation we may have built in South Africa. You will spoil us for two reasons. We may lose our heads and so be lost to the country. The other is that you may raise enormous expectations about us and disappointment may at last be the result.

Indian Opinion, 7-7-1915

369. SPEECH AT STUDENTS' MEETING, NELLORE

May 6, 1915

The address having been read and presented to Mr. Gandhi, he then thanked the students for taking such a lively part in the Conference¹ and serving as volunteers.' He said that unless what had been said on the platform was translated into action and interest kept up, these Conferences were of no use. A great deal was said about the encouragement of industries on the platform, but when he went into that part of the public hall, where clothes made of fly shuttle weaving and brought from Narayanavanam, Chittoor District, were exhibited and enquired of the owner how much worth of clothes he had brought, and how much of it he had sold, he found that out of Rs. 1,000 worth of clothes, he had sold only Rs. 50 or Rs. 60 worth. The clothes were good enough, and in spite of it even the educated could not be induced to put their hands into their pockets and purchase some if only to mark their appreciation of the Swadeshi enterprise. When such was the state of encouragement offered to local indigenous industries, there was no hope of advancement. He exhorted the students to set a practical example, and not rest contented with merely making speeches.

New India, 7-5-1915

¹ Madras Provincial Conference; *vide* the preceding item.

370. FRAGMENT OF LETTER¹

[NELLORE,
May 6, 1915]

I think it is all to one's good to observe these vows. I believe in making a supreme effort for rising above this earthly existence. It seems to me that service of the nation will include such an effort. Our aims are right. I think our faith in them is unshakable. It becomes stronger through experience. I should like you to follow the same reasoning. I don't want any of you to submit to my wishes and take things on trust. Nor will I force my views [on you]. You may all take the vows when they appeal to you.

There will be some gentlemen from Madras with me. I see that the number will go up. I am bringing along Selvan's son.² You know him. He is the little one who used to be naughty in Phoenix.

I am writing this from Nellore. I am attending a conference³ here. I shall leave tomorrow morning.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 6671. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

371. STATEMENT AT INDIAN SOUTH AFRICAN LEAGUE MEETING, MADRAS⁴

May 7, 1915

Mr. Gandhi, in the course of a brief statement, said that the passive resistance Africa as the Searle judgment⁵; (3) repeal of the annual £3 tax which was payablestruggle 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

¹ The first four pages of the letter are missing. The available portion is also torn at places.

² *Vide* "Letter to A. H. West", 4-5-1915.

³ Madras Provincial Conference

⁴ At the premises of Messrs G. A. Natesan and Co.

⁵ The judgment delivered by Justice Searle of the Cape Supreme Court on March 14, 1913 which declared as invalid all marriages not solemnized with Christian rites and not duly registered

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 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 free men; (4) just administration of existing laws specially affecting British Indians with 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 Indians' Relief Act¹ and otherwise in the correspondence 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. The first was sent to Mr. Gokhale accompanied with a public letter². The second statement was rendered to Mr. Ratan Tata³ also accompanied with a public letter. The third was ready and was to have been published after consultation with Mr. Gokhale and the general committee at Bombay. Such was Mr. Gokhale's desire. He (the speaker) was now waiting to see Mr. Nut, Mr. Petit, the secretary of the committee, and then publish the statement.⁴ Mr. Gandhi added there were nearly 30 passive resisters including their families in India who were to be supported. These included the widows and children of 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.⁵ 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, their heartfelt thanks to Mr. Natesan for the devotion which he displayed in looking after their interest

¹ *Vide* "The Indians Relief Act, 1914"..

² *Vide* "Letter to G.K. Gokhale", 25-4-1910.

³ Sir Ratan Tata (1871-1918), Parsi philanthropist who sent large sums of money for the satyagrahis in South Africa; *vide* "Public Letter to Ratan J. Tata", 1-4-1912

⁴ *Vide* "Letter to J. B. Petit", 16-6-1915.

⁵ The League passed a resolution, dissolving itself and placing the balance at his disposal.

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.

The Leader, 24-6-1915

372. SPEECH AT BANGALORE¹

May 8, 1915

MY DEAR COUNTRYMEN,

Before I perform this ceremony to which you have called me, I wish to say this to you that you have given me a great opportunity or rather a privilege on this great occasion. I saw in the recitation², the beautiful recitation that was given to me, that God is with them whose garment was dusty and tattered. My thoughts immediately went to the end of my garment; I examined and found that it is not dusty and it is not tattered; it is fairly spotless and clean. God is not in me. There are other conditions attached; but in these conditions too I may fail; and you, my dear countrymen, may also fail; and if we do tend this well, we should not dishonour the memory of one whose portrait you have asked me to unveil this morning. I have declared myself his disciple in the political field and I have³ him as my *Rajya Guru*; and this I claim on behalf of the Indian people. It was in 1896 that I made this declaration, and I do not regret having made the choice.

Mr. Gokhale taught me that the dream of every Indian, who claims to love his country, should be to act in the political field, should be not to glorify in language, but to spiritualise the political life of the country, and the political institutions of the country. He inspired my life and is still inspiring [it]; and in that I wish to purify myself and spiritualise myself. I have dedicated myself to that ideal. I may fail, and to what extent I may fail, I call myself to that extent an unworthy disciple of my master.

What is the meaning of spiritualising the political life of

¹ While unveiling the portrait of G. K. Gokhale in Government High school at the instance of the Social Service League

² From Tagore's *Gitanjali*, of the poem "Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads" which has: "He is with them in sun and in shower and his garment is covered with dust. . . . What harm is there if thy clothes become tattered and stained?"

³ "love" in *Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, Natesan

the country? What is the meaning of spiritualising myself? That question has come before me often and often and to you it may seem one thing, to me it may seem another thing; it may mean different things to the different members of the Servants of India Society itself. It shows much difficulty and it shows the difficulties of all those who want to love their country, who want to serve their country and who want to honour their country. I think political life must be an echo of private life and that there cannot be any divorce between the two.

I was by the side of that saintly politician to the end of his life and I found no ego in him. I ask you, members of the Social Service League, if there is no ego in you. If he wanted to shine, —he wanted to shine in the political field of his country,—he did so not in order that he might gain public applause, but in order that his country might gain. He developed every particular faculty in him, not in order to win the praise of the world for himself, but in order that his country might gain. He did not seek public applause, but they [*sic*] were showered upon him, they were thrust upon him; he wanted that his country might gain and that was his great inspiration.

There are many things for which India is blamed, very rightly, and if you should add one more to our failure, the blame will descend not only on you but also on me for having participated in today's functions. But I have great faith in my countrymen.

You ask me to unveil this portrait today, and I will do so in all sincerity and sincerity should be the end of your life. (Loud and continued applause.)

The Indian Review, May 1915

373. TALK WITH BANGALORE CITIZENS

May 8, 1915

Mr. Gandhi was met today at his temporary residence Seshadri Road, Bangalore, by a few citizens who engaged him in conversation.

Questioned as to India's poverty, Mr. Gandhi said India was becoming poorer and poorer, on account of disappearance of the handloom industries owing to violent competition and export of raw materials.

He said:

We have lost much of our self-respect on account of being too much

Europeanised. We think and speak in English. Thereby, we impoverish our vernaculars, and estrange the feelings of the masses. A knowledge of English is not very essential to the service of our Motherland. Turning to caste, he said:

Caste is the great power and secret of Hinduism.

GANDHI'S HOME

Asked where he would stay, Mr. Gandhi replied:

Great pressure is brought down on me to settle in Bengal; but I have a great capital in the store of my knowledge in Gujarat and I get letters from there.

WANTED A LIBRARY

Vernacular literature is important. I want to have a library of all books. I invite friends for financial aid to form libraries and to locate them.

MODERN CIVILIZATION A CURSE

Modern civilization is a curse in Europe as also in India. War is the direct result of modern civilization. Every one of the powers was making preparations for war.

GREAT MORAL FORCE

Passive resistance is a great moral force meant for the weak, also for the strong. Soul-force depends on itself. Ideals must work in practice, otherwise they are not potential. Modern civilization is brute force.

It is one thing to know the ideal and another thing to practise it. That will ensure greater discipline, which means greater service and greater service means greater gain to Government. Passive resistance is a high aggressive thing. The attribute of soul is restlessness; there is room for every phase of thought.

THREE EVILS

Money, land and woman are the sources of evil and evil has to be counteracted. I need not possess land, nor a woman, nor money, to satisfy my luxuries. I do not want to be unhinged because others are unhinged. If ideals are practised, there will be less room for mischievous activities. Public life has to be moulded.

SADHUS IN INDIA

Every current has to change its course. There are one and a half

million *sadhus*¹ and if every *sadhu* did his duty, India could achieve much. Jagatguru Sankaracharya does not deserve that appellation because he has no more force in him.

INDIAN IDEALS

Malicious material activity is no good. It finds out means to multiply one's luxuries. Intense, gross modern activity should not be imposed in Indian institutions, which have to be remodelled on ideals taken from Hinduism. . Virtue as understood in India is not understood in foreign lands. Dasharatha² is considered a fool in foreign lands for his having kept his promise to his wife³. India says a promise is a promise. That is a good deal. Material activity is mischievous. Truth shall conquer in the end.

EMIGRANTS

Emigration does no good to the country from which people emigrate. Emigrants do not return better moral men. The whole thing is against Hinduism. Temples do not flourish. There are no opportunities for ceremonial functions. Priests do not come, and at times, they are merely men of straw. Immigrants play much mischief and corrupt society. It is not enterprise. They may earn more money easily in those parts, which means they do not want to toil and remain straight in the methods of earning. Immigrants are not happier and have more material wants.

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Questioned about the Theosophical Society, Mr. Gandhi said:

There is a good deal of good in the Theosophical Society, irrespective of individuals. It has stimulated ideals and thought.

New India, 10-5-1915

¹ Wandering recluses

² Father of Rama

³ Kaikeyi, who wanted Rama to be sent into exile and her own son Bharat to become the crown prince

374. SPEECH AT CIVIC RECEPTION, BANGALORE¹

May 8, 1915

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MY FRIENDS,

I think it is simply impertinent to tell you that I thank you most sincerely on behalf of my wife and on my own behalf for the signal honour you have shown me. Words fail me, and one thought oppresses me all the more. Am I, are we, worthy of the honour? Are we worthy of the oriental generosity of this love? The Chairman² has furnished this ground for the love, and quoted Mr. Gokhale. Let me not bask in that reputation. See me please in the nakedness of my working, and in my limitations, you will then know me. I have to tread on most delicate ground, and my path is destined to be through jungles and temples. The glamour produced by the saintly politician has vanished, and let us be judged eye to eye. So many have assembled here to do honour. This morning³, you did greater honour. Greater honour was shown by the Reception Committee in arranging for the conversation⁴, in order to open my heart to you and to understand the innermost thoughts in you by quiet conversation between my countrymen and myself.⁵

I did not want to be dragged in the carriage. There is a meaning in that. Let us not spoil our public men by dragging them. Let them work silently. We should not encourage the thought that one has to work because one will be honoured similarly. Let public men feel that they will be stoned, they will be neglected and let them still love the country, for service is its own reward. A charge has been brought against us that we as a nation are too demonstrative and lack business-like methods. We plead guilty to the charge. Are we to copy modern activities or are we to copy the ancient civilization which has survived so many shocks? You and I have to act on the political

¹ At Albert Victory Conservatory at Lal Bagh

² Dewan Bahadur Puttana Chetty, Hon. President of the City Municipal Council, who read the address of welcome

³ Gandhiji had received a great ovation on his arrival at the City Station and at the unveiling of Gokhale's portrait.

⁴ *Vide* the preceding item.

⁵ This paragraph is from *Mahatma Gandhi: His Life, Writings and Speeches*, Ganesh & Co.

platform from a spiritual side and if this is done, we should then conquer the conquerors. The day will dawn then when we can consider an Englishman as a fellow citizen. (Cheers.) That day will shortly come; but it may be difficult to conceive when. I have had signal opportunities of associating myself with Englishmen of character, devotion, nobility and influence. I can assure you that the present wave of activity is passing away and a new civilization is coming shortly which will be a nobler one. India is a great dependency and Mysore is a great Native State. It must be possible for you to transmit this message to British governors, and to British statesmen; the message is: "Establish a *Ram Rajya* in Mysore and have as your minister a Vashishta who will command obedience." (Prolonged cheers.) My fellow-countrymen, then you can dictate terms to the conqueror. (Prolonged cheers.)

Indian Review, May, 1915; *Mahatma Gandhi: His Life, Writings and Speeches*, Ganesh & Co.

375. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN

BOMBAY,
May 10, 1915

DEAR MR. NATESAN,

How shall I thank you for the extraordinary affection shown to me by you?¹ As you did it all for the country I accepted it. I shall endeavour to prove myself worthy of it. Yes, Madras still remains my favourite.

We reached without much discomfort. As all the principal men are out of Bombay I am leaving for Ahmedabad tonight. Sundaram² seems to be shaping well. Naiker³ still remains a gem. The old friend⁴ is all right. And Mrs. Gandhi can only think of you.

You must let me have Tamil books please. I want books for beginners and books for men like Sundaram. I want all Dr.

¹ During Gandhiji's visit to Madras

² Inmates of the Satyagraha Ashram

³ Inmates of the Satyagraha Ashram; *vide* the following item

⁴ Revashanker Zaveri's elder brother; *vide* "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", 25-4-1915.

Pope's¹ books. Will you please attend to this as early as you can?

And you will send us those covering sheets?

Please remember us to your mother and Mrs. Natesan and to all the friends who may be still thinking of us.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 2228

376. THE ASHRAM: AN ESTIMATE OF EXPENDITURE²

Vaishakh Vad 13, Tuesday [May 11, 1915]

Dada ³	Maganbhai	Shanti
Ba	His wife	Ranchhod
Myself	His son	Kaku
Sundaram	Maganlal	Keshu
Naiker	Shivpujan	Krishna
Santok	Shanti	Prabhudas
Rukhi	Navin	Rajangam
Radha	Cuppu	Rati
Manilal	Fakiri	Magan
Ramdas	Bala	Three other Tamils
Devdas	Chavda's daughter	
Kaka	Chhotalal	
Naranji	Narandas	
His wife	Parthasarathi	

To begin with, there will be about 40 inmates in the institution. The number is likely to be 50 in a short time.

There are likely to be, on an average, ten guests in a month.

Three to five of them will be with families.

¹ Dr. G. U. Pope (1820-1908), author of *First Lessons in Tamil, A Handbook of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language, A Textbook of Indian History, etc.*; vide "The Late Dr. Pope", 14-3-1908.

² Prepared for Sheth Mangaldas Girdharlal of Ahmedabad; vide "Diary for 1915".

³ Used for elder brother or grandfather. Here presumably for Revashanker Jhaveri's elder brother

Hence the accommodation to be provided should be such that those with families can stay separately and the rest together.

Having regard to this, three kitchens and rooms measuring 50,000 sq. ft. [together] will provide sufficient accommodation to all.

In addition to this, a room and cupboards for holding a thousand books will also be required.

At least five acres of land will be required for cultivation. Agricultural implements sufficient for at least thirty persons to work with will be needed. These should include hoes, shovels and pickaxes.

Carpenter's tools will be required as under:

- 5 Big hammers
- 3 Adzes
- 5 Small hammers
- 2 Anvils
- 3 Drills
- 10 Chisels, small and large
- 4 Carpenter's planes
- 1 Pricker
- 4 Files
- 4 Gimlets, small and large
- 4 Saws, small and large
- 5 Pinches, small and large
- 20 lbs nails and pins
- 1 Wooden hammer

Cobbler's tools

I estimate the total cost at Rs. 500.

The kitchen utensils required will cost Rs. 150.

If we are far away from the railway station, one bullock cart or horse-carriage will be needed for transport of luggage and also perhaps for conveyance of guests, etc.

The annual expenses on boarding, etc., I estimate at the rate of Rs. 10 p.m. per head. I don't see any possibility of our being able to provide this from our produce during the first year. Thus, with an average of 50 inmates, the annual expenditure will come to Rs. 6,000.

I have understood it to be the desire of the [local] leaders that we should merely experiment for a year in Ahmedabad. If that is so,

Ahmedabad should bear the whole of this burden. My demand was that Ahmedabad should provide me with land and building complete, while I would obtain the remaining expenses from elsewhere or by other means. As we have now changed the basis, I think Ahmedabad should bear the entire burden' for a year or any shorter period. If Ahmedabad is not prepared to do this for a year, I am in a position to provide for 'the boarding charges.

As I have worked out this estimate in a hurry, it is likely that I have missed some few items. Moreover, I have no information about local conditions, except for boarding charges. Hence my estimates may well be incorrect.

If Ahmedabad bears all the expenses, the figures under the different heads will be as follows:

Rent—bungalow and farm land

Cost of cupboards for books

Carpenter's tools

Cobbler's tools

Kitchen utensils

Bullock-cart or horse-carriage

Boarding charges for one year: 6000

I think we shall need blacksmith's and mason's tools and many others besides. But I have not taken into account these and also equipment for educational purposes. Five or more indigenous looms will be the main requirements among the latter, as far as I can see.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

- 4 Large cooking pots for 40 persons
- 2 Small cooking pots for ten persons
- 3 Water jars of brass or copper for fetching water
- 4 Earthen [water pots]
- 4 Wooden stands
- 1 Frying pan large enough for ten pounds
- 3 Small ladles
- 2 Trenchers for kneading flour
- 1 Large brass vessel for heating water

3	Kettles
5	Buckets or metal vessels to hold bathing water
5	Flat cover-dishes for cooking pots
5	Utensils to store corn
3	Shallow pans
10	Metal trays
10	Metal cups, large size
10	Metal tumblers
10	Cups
4	Tubs for washing clothes
2	Sieves
1	'Brass strainer
3	Querns
10	Spoons
1	Scoop
1	Pair of mortar and pestle
3	Sweeping brooms
6	Chairs
3	Tables
6	Cupboards to hold books
30	Inkstands
6	Black-boards
6	Racks
3	Maps of India
3	Maps of the world
2	Maps of Bombay Presidency
1	Map of Gujarat
5	Handlooms
	Carpenter's tools
	Cobbler's tools
	Agricultural implements
4	Bedsteads
1	Carriage
5	Lanterns

3	Commodes
10	Beddings
3	Chamber-pots
4	Street lamps

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6196

377. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

AHMEDABAD,
May 13 [1915]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Last week no letter went to you. I miscalculated the mail day and found myself at a place from where I could not send a letter to fit in with the mail day at Bombay.

So you have changed the restaurant life for the life at Walden. I do not mind, if it gives you some peace. The chief thing is to occupy yourself in something useful. It is quite clear you will not study there. What you will do when you rejoin me remains to be seen. I see no present chance of my¹ securing permit for you. With the bitterness between the parties increasing, no permits will be granted. I observe too that you are no longer meeting the Roberts. I do hope that this forced separation will nerve you and fit you for the struggle to come. For whilst the atmosphere here is grand, it requires all the greater effort for the perception it gives one.

I am now at a place where, for the time being at least, I shall have fixed up the Phoenix party. We have almost arranged. I am being given a temporary residential place, tools, etc. The leaders here will watch me and my work and meanwhile look about for a place which will be an agricultural site. I shall then have to think out a plan for buildings, etc. In this you could have advised most efficiently. However, just now I must simply do the best I can.

My health continues to be good. The pain in the side somehow or other does not leave me entirely. It is difficult to understand the thing. The fruit diet continues and the restriction to five articles does not cause any trouble. The sunset arrangement answers admirably.¹

¹ The source here has "you".

² The reference apparently is to the vows Gandhiji took on April 9 at Hardwar; *vide* "Speech at Reception by Indians Christians, Madras", 26-4-1915.

I had a rare time in Madras. I met the two widows and I have taken with me one of the little ones of one² of the widows.

More in my next.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

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

378. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[AHMEDABAD,]

Vaishakh Vad 0)), Thursday [May 13, 1915]²

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I am writing this letter on Thursday. You will get it on Monday or Sunday. It has been decided to rent a bungalow³ here and later look about for land, etc. The rent for the bungalow and the cost of tools, etc., are to be borne by Ahmedabad. And of utensils as well. Boarding charges are to be borne by us. I am leaving for Rajkot today. I shall return to Ahmedabad at the latest on Tuesday. If you start from there⁴ on Monday, you will reach Delhi on Tuesday morning, and Ahmedabad on Wednesday. Fix the date and let me know by wire when you will start. Tell me in the telegram when you will reach here. I enclose [currency] notes for Rs. 200/-. If I am not mistaken, you will need 16 and a half tickets.

Send away Pandit to Calcutta now, though, of course, if you feel that he may join you, let him. He should pay the fare himself, however.

I shall be in Rajkot on the day you get this letter, and in Ahmedabad when you arrive there.

¹ Mrs. Selvan whose son Naiker was taken by Gandhiji to the Ashram; *vide* "Letter to A.H. West", 4-5-1915 and Fragment of Letter", 6-5-1915.

² From the reference to the renting of a bungalow in Ahmedabad, the letter appears to have been written in 1915. In Gujarati the fifteenth day of the dark half of the month is written as 0)).

³ For the Ashram

⁴ Gurukul, Hardwar

You will get the most convenient train via Delhi: Laksar, Saharanpur, Delhi Ajmer, Palanpur and Ahmedabad. If you purchase at Hardwar a through ticket to Ahmedabad, you will save Rs. 5/-. The fare is two and a half pies per mile for the first 100 miles and 2 pies beyond that. The Mail has only Intermediate Class. There is a mixed' third-class Express from Delhi, reaching Ahmedabad in 27 to 30 hours. It seems you will have to change at least at Laksar, Saharanpur and Delhi. If a large stock of dates, etc., remains over, it will be better to buy it. They should not feel at the Gurukul later that we had been a burden there.

There is nothing more to write.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5673. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

379. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

AHMEDABAD,

May 14, 1915

DEAR MR. SHASTRIAR¹,

I want to have a quiet chat with you regarding your health. I feel very strongly about it. I am sure that you can by regulating your diet and taking water treatment completely cure yourself while there is yet time. You owe it to the Society and the country to get cured when it is so easily possible to do so. In the treatment I suggest, there need be not a day's interruption in your public work.' The one thing needful is to follow the cure religiously. Prolonged treatment is not necessary to notice its results. And here it is:

2 hip baths per day of at least 20 minutes' duration, the baths to be taken not before the completion of three hours after a meal. Two hours' gentle walk in the open air morning and evening.

Only two meals per day, the last not after sunset.

Every morsel of diet must be chewed with deliberation so that it goes down the throat not as a solid mass but as a smooth thick liquid.

¹ (1869-1946), scholar, statesman; President, Servants of India Society, 1915-27

Whether you have done this or not can always be noticed in your stools.

The diet to consist of bananas, mangoes, oranges, oats, figs (fresh or dried), sultanas, grapes, lemons, tamarind, papaw, pineapple, prunes, cocoanut, groundnuts, almonds, pistachios, walnuts, olive oil, if necessary.

Only two varieties of nuts may be taken during the day. In quantity no more than 4 ounces of both during the day. At the commencement, i.e., for 4 days nuts may be omitted altogether and then gradually introduced.

Either lemons or tamarind may be taken. Figs, dates and other dried fruit should be well washed and soaked for six hours before eating. The water in which they are soaked should be drunk.

If olive oil be taken, no more than an ounce per day may be taken. Nine, fair-sized bananas should be enough per day along with the other fruits.

However, quantity may be regulated by each one for himself.

A month's trial without a break is sure to show you that complete recovery lies in this direction and no other. Of course, all drinks—coffee, tea, soda water, etc., and betel leaves, etc., must be eschewed during the treatment. Later on you will go back to your old diet with variations that you may have picked up during the treatment.

Do please think of this thing seriously.

Pray remember us both to your mother and Mrs. Shastriar.

Yours sincerely

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 6287

380. *SPEECH AT LIMBDI*

May 19, 1915

The epithets used of me in the address and the praise showered on me by the speakers are full of exaggeration. In all that I did, I did no more than my duty towards my motherland.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 30-5-1915

¹ In reply to an address from the citizens, His Highness the Thakore Saheb of Limbdi presiding

381. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

LIMBDI,
*Vaishakh, Sud 5, Wednesday [May 19, 1915]*¹

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have come here for a day, as the Thakore Saheb was keen that I should. Santok and the girls have also come along. Jamnadas will stay in Rajkot for the time being.

Send the luggage lying with Revashankerbhai, as also that with you and Kalyandas², to Ahmedabad in a goods train. The beddings, I think, will have to be covered with hessian and stitched in. Alternatively, a friend coming this way could bring them along. Boxes which may have no locks should be packed well. Those containing glassware should be handled carefully.

There is a telegram from Chi. Maganlal saying that they will all leave Hardwar on Thursday. So they should be in Ahmedabad on Saturday or Sunday.

Shamaldas has come with me. Whether he will stay on, or what he will do, I can't say.

Respected Khushalbai and I have had long talks. I feel all the time that there is something owing from him to me. In the same degree that he has satisfied me, Nandkorbhabhi, Gangabhabhi and Gokibehn³ have disappointed me.

More when we meet.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5674. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

¹ Gandhiji was in Limbdi on this date with Shamaldas, son of his elder brother Lakshmidas, and Santok, wife of Maganlal Gandhi.

² Kalyandas Jagmohandas Mehta, who had worked with Gandhiji in South Africa; *vide* "Kalyandas Jagmohandas [Mehta]", 11-5-1907.

³ Raliatbehn, Gandhiji's elder sister

382. DRAFT CONSTITUTION FOR THE ASHRAM¹

[Before May 20, 1915]²

This is only a draft printed for circulation among friends for their comments.³ It is not intended as a statement for the Press.⁴

SATYAGRAHASHRAM?⁵

DESHSEVASHRAM?

SEVAMANDIR?

OBJECT

The object of the Ashram is to learn how to serve the motherland one's whole life and to serve it.

CLASSES

The Ashram consists of three classes Controllers, Novitiates and Students.

(1) CONTROLLERS

The Controllers believe that, in order to learn how to serve the country, the following observances should be enforced in their own lives and they have been trying to do so for some time.

1. VOW OF TRUTH

It is not enough for a person under this vow that he does not ordinarily resort to untruth; such a person ought to know that no deception may be practised even for the good of the country. One should consider the example of Prahlad in order to understand how one should behave towards elders such as parents in the interests of Truth.

¹ This was revised and published as third edition on November 7, 1915.

² The Ashram, as stated in the third edition, was established on May 20.

³ *Vide* "Letter to Ranchhodlal Patwari", 5-6-1915 and "Letter to Purushottamdas Thakurdas", 8-6-1915.

⁴ These sentences were replaced in the third edition by: "Some revisions have been made in this edition in the light of suggestions from friends or experience." The revisions were as indicated in the footnotes.

⁵ The third edition appeared under this title, with the following note below it: (Established) in Ahmedabad on *Vaishakh Vad* 6, Thursday, May 20, 1915).

2. VOW OF NON-VIOLENCE

It is not enough to refrain from taking the life of any living being. He who has pledged himself to this vow may not kill eventhose whom he believes to be unjust; he may not be angry with them, he must love them; thus, he would oppose the tyranny whether of parents, governments or others, but will never kill or hurt the tyrant. The follower of truth and non-violence will offer satyagraha against tyranny and win over the tyrant by love; he will not carry out the tyrant's will but he will suffer punishment even unto death for disobeying his will until the tyrant himself is won over.

3. VOW OF CELIBACY

It is well-nigh impossible to observe these two vows unless celibacy too is observed; and for this vow it is not enough that one does not look upon another woman with a lustful eye, one has so to control the animal passions that they will not be moved even in thought; if one is married, one will not have sexual intercourse even with one's wife, but, regarding her as a friend, will establish with her a relationship of perfect purity.

4. CONTROL OF THE PALATE

Until one has overcome the palate, it is difficult to observe the foregoing vows, more especially that of celibacy. Control of the palate should therefore be treated as a separate observance by one desirous of serving the country and, believing that eating is only for sustaining the body, one should regulate and purify one's diet day by day. Such a person will immediately, or gradually, as he can, leave off such articles of food as may tend to stimulate animal passions.

5. VOW OF NON-STEALING

It is not enough not to steal what is commonly considered as other men's property. One who has pledged himself to this vow should realize that Nature provides from day to day just enough and no more for one's daily needs by way of food and so hold it theft to use articles of food, dress, etc., which one does not really need and live accordingly.

6. VOW OF NON-POSSESSION

It is not enough not to possess and keep much, but it is

necessary not to keep anything which may not be absolutely necessary for the nourishment and protection of our body: thus, if one can do without chairs, one should do so. He who has taken this vow will always bear this in mind and endeavour to simplify his life more and more.

SUBSIDIARY OBSERVANCES

Two other vows follow from the foregoing.¹

1. VOW OF SWADESHI

The person who has taken the vow of Swadeshi will never use articles which conceivably involve violation of truth in their manufacture or on the part of their manufacturers. It follows, for instance, that a votary of truth will not use articles manufactured in the mills of Manchester, Germany or India, for he cannot be sure that they involve no such violation of truth. Moreover, labourers suffer much in the mills. The generation of tremendous heat causes enormous destruction of life. Besides, the loss of workers' lives in the manufacture of machines and of other creatures through excessive heat is something impossible to describe. Foreign cloth and cloth made by means of machinery are, therefore, tabooed to a votary of non-violence as they involve triple violence. Further reflection will show that the use of foreign cloth can be held to involve a breach of the vows of non-stealing and non-possession. We follow custom and, for better appearance, wear foreign cloth in preference to the cloth made on our own handlooms with so little effort. Artificial beautifying of the body is a hindrance to a *brahmachari* and so, even from the point of view of that vow, machine-made cloth is taboo. Therefore, the vow of Swadeshi requires the use of simple clothing made on simple handlooms and stitched in simple style, foreign buttons, cuts, etc., being avoided. The same line of reasoning may be applied to all other articles.

2. VOW OF FEARLESSNESS

He who is acted upon by fear can hardly observe the vows of truth, etc. The Controllers will, therefore, constantly endeavour to be free from the fear of kings or society, one's caste or family, thieves, robbers, ferocious animals such as tigers, and even of death. One who

¹ Omitted in the third edition

observes the vow of fearlessness will defend himself or others by truth-force or soul-force.

3. VOW AGAINST UNTOUCHABILITY¹

According to Hindu religion as traditionally practised, communities such as *Dhed*, *Bhangi*, etc., known by the names of *Antyaj*, *Pancham*, *Achhut* and so on, are looked upon as untouchable. Hindus belonging to other communities believe that they will be defiled if they touch a member of any of the said communities and, if anyone does so accidentally, he thinks that he has committed a sin. The founders of the Ashram believe that this practice is a blot on Hindu religion. Themselves staunch Hindus, they believe that the Hindu race will continue to add to its load of sin so long as it regards a single community as untouchable. Some of the consequences of this practice have been terrible. In order to be free from this sin, the Ashram inmates are under a vow to regard the untouchable communities as touchable; actually one *Dhed* family was staying in the Ashram, and it is still there, when the third edition of these rules was being drawn up. It lives exactly in the same condition as others in the Ashram do. This vow does not extend to association for purpose of eating. All that is desired is the eradication of the evil of untouchability.

VARNASHRAM²

The Ashram does not follow the *varnashram* dharma. Where those in control of the Ashram will take the place of the pupils' parents and where life-long vows of celibacy, non-hoarding, etc., are to be observed, *varnashram* dharma has no scope. The Ashram inmates will be in the stage of *sanyasis*³ and so it is not necessary for them to follow the rules of this dharma. Apart from this, the Ashram has a firm belief in the *varnashram* dharma. The discipline of caste seems to have done no harm to the country; on the contrary, rather. There is no reason to believe that eating in company promotes brotherhood ever so slightly. In order that the *varnashram* dharma and caste discipline might in no way be undermined, the Ashram inmates are under obligation, whenever they stir out, to subsist on

¹ This and the paragraph on Varnashram were added in the third edition.

² The organisation of society into four castes, each with a distinctive function, and the division of life into four stages

³ Those who, in the last stage of life have renounced the world

fruits if they cannot cook their own food.

MOTHER TONGUE

It is the belief of the Controllers that no nation or any group thereof can make real progress by abandoning its own language, they will, therefore, use their own language. As they desire to be on terms of intimacy with their brethren from all parts of India, they will also learn the chief Indian languages; as Sanskrit is a key to Indian languages, they will learn that too.

MANUAL WORK

The Controllers believe that body labour is a duty imposed by nature upon mankind. Such labour is the only means by which man may sustain himself; his mental and spiritual powers should be used for the common good only. As the vast majority in the world live on agriculture, the Controllers will always devote some part of their time to working on the land; when that is not possible, they will perform some other bodily labour.

WEAVING

The Controllers believe that one of the chief causes of poverty in the land is the virtual disappearance of spinning-wheels and handlooms. They will, therefore, make every effort to revive this industry by themselves weaving cloth on handlooms.

POLITICS

Politics, economic progress, etc., are not unconnected matters; knowing that they are all rooted in religion, the Controllers will make an effort to learn and teach politics, economics, social reform, etc., in a religious spirit and work in these fields with all the zeal that they can command.

(2) NOVITIATES

Those who are desirous of following the foregoing programme but are not able immediately to take the necessary vows may be admitted as Novitiates. It is obligatory upon them to conform to all the observances which are followed by Controllers the while that they are in the Ashram. They will acquire the status of Controllers when they are able to take the necessary vows for life.

(3) STUDENTS

- 1 Any children, whether boys or girls, from four years and upwards may be admitted with the consent of their parents.¹
- 2 Parents will have to surrender all control over their children.
- 3 Children will not be permitted to visit their parents for any reason until the whole course of study is finished.
- 4 Students will be taught to observe all the vows intended for the Controllors.
- 5 They will receive instruction in religion, agriculture, handloom-weaving and letters.
- 6 Instruction in letters will be through the students' own languages and will include History, Geography, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Economics, etc., the learning of Sanskrit, Hindi and at least one Dravidian language being obligatory.
- 7 English will be taught as a second language.
- 8 Urdu, Bengali Tamil, Telugu, Devnagari and Gujarati scripts will be taught to all.
- 9 The Controllors believe that the whole course will be completed in ten years.² Upon reaching the age of majority, students will be given the option of taking the vows or retiring from the Ashram. This will make it possible for those to whom the programme has not commended itself to leave the Ashram.
- 10 They will exercise this option at an age when they will require no assistance from their parents or guardians.
- 11 Every endeavour will be made from the very beginning to see that, when they leave, they will be strong enough to have no fear what they would do for their maintenance.
- 12 Grown-up persons also may be admitted as students.
- 13 As a rule, everyone will wear the simplest and a uniform style of dress.
- 14 Food will be simple. Chillies will be excluded altogether and generally no condiments will be used excepting salt, pepper and turmeric. Milk, ghee and other milk products being a hindrance to a

¹ This was replaced in the third edition by: "Boys and girls under twelve years of age will not be admitted if their parents do not join at the same time."

² This sentence was omitted in the third edition.

celibate life and milk being often a cause of tuberculosis and having the same stimulating qualities as meat, they will be most sparingly used, if at all. Meals will be served thrice a day and will include dried and fresh fruits in liberal quantities. All inmates of the Ashram will be taught the general principles of hygiene.

15 No holidays will be observed in this Ashram but, for one and a half days every week, the ordinary routine will be altered and everyone will have some time to attend to his private work.

16 During three months in the year, those whose health permits it will be taken on a tour, on foot for the most part, of India.

17 Nothing will be charged either from Students or Novitiates towards their monthly expenditure, but parents or the members themselves will be expected to contribute whatever they can towards the expenses of the Ashram.

MISCELLANEOUS

Administration of the Ashram will rest with a body of Controllers. The Chief Controller will have the right to decide whom to admit and to which category.

The expenses of the Ashram are being met from moneys already received by the Chief Controller or to be received from friends who may have some faith in the Ashram.

The Ashram is accommodated in two houses on the banks of the Sabarmati, Ahmedabad, on the road to Sarakhej across the Ellis Bridge.

It is expected that in a few months, about 250 acres of land will be acquired in the vicinity of Ahmedabad and the Ashram located thereon.

A REQUEST

Visitors are requested to observe all the Ashram rules during their stay there. Every endeavour will be made to make them comfortable; but the management will be thankful to them if they bring with them their bedding and utensils for meals, as the Ashram rules permit the stocking of only a minimum of articles.

Those parents who intend sending their children to the Ashram are advised to pay a visit to the Ashram. No boy or girl will be admitted before he or she has been duly tested.

DAILY ROUTINE¹

- (1) An effort is being made to see that everyone in the Ashram gets up at 4 o'clock. The first bell rings at 4.
- (2) It is obligatory on all, except those who are ill, to get up at 4.30. Everyone finishes bathing by 5.
- (3) 5 to 5.30: Prayers and readings from holy books.
- (4) 5.30 to 7: Breakfast of fruits, such as bananas.
- (5) 7 to 8.30: Manual work. This includes drawing water, grinding, sweeping, weaving cooking, etc.
- (6) 8.30 to 10: School work.
- (7) 10 to 12: Meal and cleaning of utensils. The meal consists of *dal*, rice, vegetables and *rotlis* for five days. On two days, there are *rotlis* and fruits.
- (8) 12 to 3: School work.
- (9) 3 to 5: Work, as in the morning.
- (10) 5 to 6: Meal and cleaning of utensils. The meal mostly follows the same pattern as in the morning.
- (11) 6.30 to 7: Prayers, as in the morning.
- (12) 7 to 9: Study, receiving visitors, etc.

Before nine, all children go to bed. At ten the lights are put out.

For school work, the subjects of study at present are Sanskrit, Gujarati, Tamil, Hindi and Arithmetic. Study of History and Geography is included in that of languages.

No paid teachers or servants are employed in the Ashram.

In all, the Ashram has at present 35 inmates. Four of them live with their families. There are five teachers to look after teaching. Permanent members of the Ashram include two from North India, nine from Madras Presidency and the rest are from Gujarat and Kathiawar.

[From Gujarati]

From photostat of printed leaflets: S.N. 6187 and S.N. 6189

¹ Added in the third edition

383. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

AHMEDABAD,
May 20 [1915]¹

DEAR MR. SHASTRIAR,

I have just returned from a brief domestic visit to Rajkot to find your two letters. If I may suggest, I think that you should respond to Sir William's call. Sir Pherozechaw is likely to take the same view that Mrs. Besant does. To me it is enough that Sir William wants you, and that you know the subject you are expected to handle. Your credentials as President of the Society are and ought to be sufficient to give you the status and authority you will need in your mission.

And if you go, I suppose you will not need to do so for two months. Will you not then during the time get rid of your disease so as to enable you the more effectively to do your work?

Naiker and Sundaram seem to be doing very well.

I am settling down here for the time being at any rate.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The pamphlet I have sent you is not the last word.

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 6289

384. LETTER TO G. B. VEERASWAMY

AHMEDABAD,
May 20, 1915

DEAR VEERASWAMY,

I have your letter. I shall know in due course what you propose doing.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

G. B. VEERASWAMI
1/6 NALLATHAMBHI MUDALI STREET
TRIPLICANE
MADRAS

From a photostat: C.W, 11014. Courtesy: Balachandran

¹ The reference to Sir Pherozechaw Mehta (who died in November 1915) fixes the year as 1915.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE GREAT MARCH

[VOLKSRUST,
November 8, 1913]

He [Gandhiji] left almost at once by motor to rejoin the marchers. Thus, if there was an effort on Government's part to put an end to the demonstration by depriving the men of their leader in the hope that they would become discouraged and abandon the attempt to reach the Rand, this effort has been completely stultified. I shared the motor in which Messrs Kallenbach and Gandhi overtook the main body of marchers about 33 miles from Volksrust. They were well on their way to Kromdraai Station, near Standerton, which is their halt for the day. The narrow ribbon of road which leads to the Rand passes through beautiful grassy country, and, as the weather was pleasant, the strikers were walking easily and showed little fatigue. They were a little beyond General Botha's farm when the car overtook them, and there was extraordinary enthusiasm as Mr. Gandhi alighted among them. The car had halted at Paardekraal, where Mr. Gandhi spoke some encouraging words to the women. Old and infirm men halted there, and Mr. Gandhi left some medicines which a doctor in Newcastle had supplied. All along the road the car passed stragglers, who lined up and saluted Mr. Gandhi, calling him "Bapoo", or father.

THE RATIONS

Although the rations served out consist only of a pound-and-a-half loaf of bread and an ounce of sugar per man, the marchers are cheerful and patient to an extraordinary degree. They have the utmost confidence in Mr. Gandhi, and obey him implicitly, although as a class indentured coal-miners and the like—they are totally unused to discipline unaccompanied by force. As lieutenants, Mr. Gandhi has several young Johannesburg Indians who were prominent during the former passive resistance movement, and the mounted constables accompanying the marchers told me they had orders to arrest some of these at Kromdraai and take them in to Standerton.

Mr. Gandhi informs me that the passive resistance movement is diminishing his resources by £250 a day, and that more than the present contribution of £3,000 per month will have to be sent from India if the success of the movement is to be assured. He has, however, no doubt at all about the response from India. Apart from the women at Charlestown, there are communities of strikers in every affected area to be supported, and the cost of the march to the Rand is estimated at one shilling per day per man. Volksrust bakers have received a contract for the supply of bread, which is sent on each day by rail to an appointed station. The sugar is served out for its

sustaining properties, and amounts to about five packets a day in the aggregate. The Indians make a hole in their loaves, into which they put their handfuls of sugar. Each man carries a pannikin, which he fills with water as often as is possible. The marchers had an unexpected treat at Paardekop, where last night tea was served to the full 2,000 odd of them at the expense of a local Indian storekeeper. Mr. Gandhi impressed upon them the fact that tea was not on the regular menu. Leaving Mr. Gandhi with the passive resisters, whose leadership to the promised land he resumed, Mr. Kallenbach and I returned to Volksrust, and passed about 13 miles from the town a further band of 100 coolies, who crossed the border this morning with as little trouble as their predecessors. Some of those who march to Johannesburg, I learn, are men who were charged at Newcastle with breaking their indentures, and were released on their own recognisances through lack of prison accommodation. They offered to await trial if food and shelter were provided, but this the local Magistrate refused, and so they departed to join in the march on Johannesburg.

Indian Opinion, 19-11-1913

APPENDIX II

EXTRACT FROM GENERAL BOTHA'S SPEECH¹

[NYLSTROOM,
November 1, 1913]

General Botha said he was sure there was only one road to be followed in dealing with the Asiatic question and that was the right road. He hoped people not living in South Africa would realise that their attitude in regard to the Asiatics was not prompted by a desire to get rid of Asiatics, but was prompted by principle. In this country they had Coloured races to deal with and they did not want to have the position complicated any further. Their sole aim was to keep the position pure and clean. Today he understood the Asiatics would undertake a great march from Newcastle to Volksrust. He hoped these people would accept better advice than they were doing today. General Smuts had recently made a statement as to what had taken place when Mr. Gokhale was here. Mr. Gokhale had replied and made a different explanation of what occurred. He (General Botha) wished to state that he was present at the interview with Mr. Gokhale. It took place in his (General Botha's) office, and the others present were General Smuts, Mr. Fischer, and Mr. Gokhale. He only wished to say that he agreed with and endorsed every word spoken by General Smuts in regard to that interview, and in regard to what took place. "At any rate," General Botha concluded, "we shall do nothing by which your rights will suffer."

¹ This has been extracted from Governor-General's despatch dated November 6, 1913, to the Colonial Office.

It will be observed that General Botha confirms the denial given by General Smuts to the statement that the repeal of the £3 tax was definitely promised to Mr. Gokhale.

Colonial Office Records: 551/45

APPENDIX III

POLAK'S LETTER TO LORD AMPHILL¹

VOLKSRUST GAOL,
November 12, 1913

DEAR LORD AMPHILL,

My present address will not surprise you after the cables that will have doubtless been sent home. The circumstances of my arrest you will see from *Indian Opinion*. The whole affair, whilst partially accidental, is really taking advantage of me on the part of the Government. I had joined Mr. Gandhi near Greylingstad, in order to discuss a number of matters with him prior to my prospective departure for India on Friday next. He was then marching at the head of 1500 of the £3 tax passive resisters who had entered the Transvaal to court arrest, as the Government had refused otherwise to deal with them and had left the heavy burden of feeding and otherwise maintaining them upon us. I had received a warning from him that if I came to the Transvaal from Natal, I might be arrested. In view of the fact that I, as an outsider, had so often counselled Indian passive resisters to challenge arrest, I felt that it would be highly dishonourable for me—an Englishman—to draw back before such a risk, and I did not hesitate to join him. We had hardly been conversing half an hour before we were met by a police sub-inspector and the Chief Immigration Officer, who arrested Mr. Gandhi on a warrant from Dundee, charging him with removing indentured Indians from Natal. He was driven away at once, and as these hundreds of people were leaderless, did not know where their camping ground was for the night, or where they were to get their rations next day, the authorities having refused the responsibility of taking charge of them and providing for them, I had no option but to accept the

¹ A copy of this was forwarded by Lord Amphill to the Colonial Office on December 5, along with a covering letter in which he observed, "I venture to think that the Union Government of South Africa would have done better to invite the leaders of the Indian community to confer with them instead of putting them in gaol as there can be little doubt that under Mr. Gandhi's leadership the struggle would have been managed without disorder and with none of the injury which has since been caused. I trust, however, that His Majesty's Government have already suggested to the authorities in South Africa that negotiation with Mr. Gandhi affords the most likely means of arriving at a speedy solution of the difficulty."

responsibility of leading the people to Greylingstad, where we camped on the open veld for the night, and the next day to Balfour, about 13 miles beyond. Here the police officer and the Chief Immigration Officer asked me to discuss the situation with them. They informed me that they were instructed to order the arrest of all the people as prohibited immigrants in the Transvaal and to deport them to Charlestown, in Natal, where they would be arrested on local charges by the Natal authorities. They asked me to co-operate with them in entraining the men so as to avoid disturbance and the intervention of the squad of police that had arrived. I told them that, in the circumstances, I would co-operate with them cordially, as they now assumed the responsibility of feeding and sheltering the people, but that, had they not given me that assurance, I was prepared to continue to march with the men until either they were arrested or I, and I offered to place myself at their disposal for arrest then if they desired to hold me. They replied that they had no desire whatever to do so and thanked me for my offer of service. Later, when the people were arrested, some of the more defiant spirits, who did not know me refused to entrain until they received the instruction from Mr. Gandhi, and carrying the mass with them, they proceeded to resume the march. I at once stood in front of them and urged them to remember their status as passive resisters. Eventually I prevailed upon them to follow me to the station where they all entrained peacefully. I am sure it would have been impossible to entrain them had I not been present, and the men would probably have been goaded into violent reprisals by police tactlessness and military brutality. I was specially thanked by the police officials in charge and also, subsequently, by the magistrate here. As I did not know exactly what might happen at Charlestown, and in order to assist the authorities to keep order in case of need, I travelled down with the first train. Shortly afterwards I was arrested and brought to Volksrust. Yesterday both Mr. Kallenbach (whose name is no doubt well-known to Your Lordship—he is the owner of Tolstoy Farm, where the passive resisters were maintained in the last struggle, a German by nationality, a Jew, like myself, by religion, and an architect by profession) and I were charged before the magistrate with aiding and abetting in the introduction of prohibited immigrants into the Transvaal. A remand until tomorrow was asked for by the prosecution. We were refused bail as we declined to give an assurance that meanwhile we would take no further part in the movement. We are now in prison awaiting trial, and expect to be convicted tomorrow. We shall probably get about 3 months, but whether with or without hard labour I cannot say. We shall, of course, refuse to pay the alternative fines.

I at once wired the circumstances to the Minister of the Interior, explaining that I had intended to leave for India on Friday at Mr. Gokhale's request, thus leaving it to him to decide whether or not to proceed with the prosecution. He has replied that the case should go on. I shall not, therefore, be going to India. May I suggest that a representation on the subject may be made to the Imperial Government, pointing out

that, with the facts before them, the Union Government have prevented my joining Mr. Gokhale a his request in order to assist him in placing the South African Indian question fully before the Government of India.

I am sure that Your Lordship will agree that, in the circumstances in which I suddenly found myself, I could not have adopted honourably any other course of action than I did. In any other case, such influence as I have with the Indian community would have at once disappeared.

I may add that the spread of the strike along the Coast, on the plantations, is wholly spontaneous, and indeed, strongly against our advice as we did not wish it to get beyond manageable proportions. But the Government must now bear the responsibility.

Both Mr. Kallenbach and I are looking forward to an enviable period of repose and irresponsibility. The strain of the last few weeks upon Mr. Gandhi especially and ourselves has been tremendous and this withdrawal from public activity for the time being will be a matter of real relief to us. Mr. Gandhi was sentenced at Dundee yesterday to nine months hard labour, on three separate charges under the indenture law. I am afraid that, meanwhile, until my release, Your Lordship must derive your news of the movement from *Indian Opinion*.

With kind regards,

Yours very truly,

HY. S. L. POLAK

Colonial Office Records: 551/52

APPENDIX IV

(1) GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CABLE TO COLONIAL OFFICE

December 1, 1913

SECRET

CACHALIA, WHO PRESIDED AT A MEETING OF INDIANS AT JOHANNESBURG YESTERDAY SAID THAT £3 TAX WAS ONLY ONE OF SURFACE SORES INDICATING PRESENCE OF DEEP SPREAD ROOTED EVIL; NOTHING LESS THAN THE SWEEPING AWAY OF THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF INDENTURED LABOUR WOULD SATISFY BRITISH INDIANS. THE INDIANS HAVE THEREFORE AS YOU WILL SEE AGAIN CHANGED THEIR GROUND. I HAVE SEEN J. C. SMUTS THIS MORNING ON HIS RETURN FROM DURBAN. LOCAL AUTHORITIES BELIEVE THAT STRIKE WILL VIRTUALLY TERMINATE THIS WEEK. INDIANS WORKING COAL MINES AND ON SOUTH COAST, ABOUT 2500 STILL OUT ON THE NORTH COAST. J. C. SMUTS SAYS

THAT STRIKE HAS HARDENED NATAL FEELING. REPEAL OF THE £3 TAX OPPOSED AND MUCH TALK OF REPATRIATION BUT THERE IS OF COURSE NO EXISTING POWER TO REPATRIATE. HE IS QUITE SATISFIED THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO VIOLENCE IN PRISON COMPOUNDS BUT THE POLICE HAD AT TIMES TO USE STICKS FREELY AGAINST RIOTERS AND NO DOUBT MANY SHOW MARKS. INDIAN ASSOCIATION DECLINE TO GIVE ASSISTANCE TO MARDALL THE GOVERNMENT INSPECTOR OF THE PRISONS, WHO WAS SENT TO REPORT ON ARRANGEMENTS IN THE NEWCASTLE DUNDEE DISTRICTS. J. C. SMUTS SAID THAT OF COURSE A JUDICIAL ENQUIRY MUST BE HELD AND PROPOSED DOVE WILSON NATAL JUDGE, PRESIDENT. I SAID THAT I THOUGHT THAT WOULD BE WORSE THAN USELESS. IF COMMISSION WERE APPOINTED IT SHOULD BE A STRONG ONE OF NOT LESS THAN THREE. I PRESSED FOR SOLOMON AS PRESIDENT WITH DOVE WILSON AND A GOOD TRANSVAAL REPRESENTATIVE, POINTING OUT THAT ENQUIRY WOULD BE OF FAR GREATER IMPORTANCE THAN THE RAND RIOTS ENQUIRY. J. C. SMUTS APPEARED QUITE FAVOURABLE. I WARNED HIM THAT IF MINISTERS APPEARED TO FAVOUR REPATRIATION WITHOUT EXPRESS AGREEMENT WITH GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, INDIANS HERE WOULD PROBABLY SAY THAT MINISTERS HAVING REFUSED TO REMOVE GENUINE GRIEVANCES WERE SEEKING TO DEPORT BRITISH SUBJECTS FROM HOMES AND OCCUPATIONS. J. C. SMUTS AGREED THAT PROPOSAL IN ANY CASE COULD NOT BE ENTERTAINED EXCEPT BY ARRANGEMENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

GLADSTONE

Colonial Office Records: 551/46

(2) GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CABLE TO COLONIAL OFFICE

December 19, 1913

CONFIDENTIAL

MY TELEGRAM OF YESTERDAY CONFIDENTIAL 2. I AM TOLD BY J. C. SMUTS THAT SOLOMON DID NOT SUCCEED IN REMOVING HIS DIFFICULTIES BUT THAT LITTLE REMAINS TO BE DONE AFTER FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT. BEST COURSE WOULD HE THINKS BE FOR INDIANS HERE TO RETAIN CAPABLE SOUTH AFRICAN ADVOCATE, SUCH AS SCHREINER. THIS WOULD SERVE THE PURPOSE OF INDIA GOVERNMENT. IF HOWEVER INDIAN GOVERNMENT DECIDE TO NOMINATE COUNSEL IT WOULD BE FAR BETTER FROM POINT OF VIEW OF MINISTERS FOR THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT

TO RETAIN SCHREINER OR SOME OTHER CAPABLE SOUTH AFRICAN ADVOCATE. SOLOMON HIMSELF URGES THIS COURSE STRONGLY AS LONG DELAY IN SENDING COUNSEL FROM INDIA WOULD BE VERY INCONVENIENT FOR THE COMMISSION WHICH ADJOURNED YESTERDAY AND PROPOSES TO RESUME PROCEEDINGS AT DURBAN ON JANUARY 12TH. GANDHI INTIMATES THAT THE INDIANS HERE HAVE NOT DECIDED WHETHER THEY WILL ACCEPT COMMISSION. SHOULD THEY REFUSE TO GIVE EVIDENCE THE COMMISSION WILL IN ALL PROBABILITY BE DISSOLVED. IF PASSIVE RESISTANCE AND STRIKES ARE SUBSEQUENTLY AGAIN RESORTED TO THE FEELING HERE WILL BE EXASPERATED AND A VERY DANGEROUS POSITION WILL PROBABLY BE CREATED. MY MINISTERS AND THE COMMISSION HAVE DONE THEIR UTMOST TO MEET VIEWS OF THE INDIAN AND IMPERIAL GOVERNMENTS. I TRUST THAT YOU WILL IMPRESS THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT THROUGH THE INDIA OFFICE WITH THE EXTREME IMPORTANCE OF SECURING THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE COMMISSION AND ABSTINENCE FROM ALL PROVOCATIVE ACTION BY THE BRITISH INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

GLADSTONE

Colonial Office Records: 551/46

APPENDIX V

(1) LETTER FROM MINISTER OF INTERIOR

PRETORIA,
December 24, 1913

GENTLEMEN,

Your letter, which was dated 21st instant and immediately communicated by you to the Press, has only today reached the Department of the Interior and been seen by the Minister.

I am instructed to reply at once that the Minister is unable to accept the conditions on which you propose to give evidence before the Commission appointed by the Government and to suspend passive resistance pending the Commission's finding, particularly the condition which involves the appointment of additional members to the Commission in the interests of the Indian community. The Commission was intended to be impartial and judicial in character, and in constituting it the Government consulted neither the Indian community nor the Coal-owners and Sugar Planters' Association of Natal, nor could the Government for a moment, by following the course you propose, give colour to the unwarranted

reflections you make on two of the Commissioners appointed.

The course you propose to pursue is noted and deeply regretted, not least so in the interests of the Indian community, which cannot but be profoundly affected by the lawless character of your procedure, the gratuitous infliction of grave sufferings on the innocent, both white and Indian, and the consequent exasperation of public opinion throughout the Union.

I have etc.,

H. B. SHAWE

ACTING SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR

MESSRS M. K. GANDHI

KALLENBACH, AND

H. S. L. POLAK

110, FIELD STREET

DURBAN

Colonial Office Records: 551/46

(2) GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CABLE TO COLONIAL OFFICE

PRETORIA,

December 22, 1913

CONFIDENTIAL

MY TELEGRAM OF 19TH DECEMBER CONFIDENTIAL. AT MASS MEETING OF INDIANS AT DURBAN YESTERDAY GANDHI IS REPORTED AS SAYING THAT INDIANS COULD NOT ACCEPT CONSTITUTION OF COMMISSION THERE BEING GRAVE OBJECTIONS TO IT FROM INDIAN STANDPOINT. HIS ADVICE WAS THAT THEY SHOULD NOT ACCEPT COMMISSION IN ITS PRESENT FORMATION AS INDIANS HAVE HAD NO VOICE IN IT. THEY WERE FIGHTING FOR REDRESS OF SEVERAL GRIEVANCES THE UNDERLYING SPIRIT OF THE STRUGGLE BEING TO OBTAIN A FIRM RECOGNITION ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RIGHT OF CONSULTATION IN ANYTHING APPERTAINING TO INDIAN INTERESTS. UNLESS GOVERNMENT WERE PREPARED TO CONDESCEND TO THAT EXTENT AND TO ASCERTAIN AND RESPECT INDIAN SENTIMENTS IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR INDIANS AS LOYAL BUT MANLY CITIZENS OF EMPIRE TO RENDER OBEDIENCE TO COMMANDS OF LAWS PASSED OVER THIER HEADS. OTHER OBJECTION TO COMMISSION WAS THAT IT WAS PARTISAN AND THEREFORE INDIANS WANTED THEIR OWN PARTISANS. THIS THEY MIGHT NOT GET BUT THEY WANTED AN IMPARTIAL COMMISSION. UNLESS MEN HOLDING NON-ANTI-ASIATIC VIEWS WERE NOMINATED INDIANS COULD NOT ASSIST GOVERNMENT TO BRING CRISIS

TO AN END WITHOUT FURTHER SUFFERING. IF GOVERNMENT DECLINED THIS REQUEST HE PROPOSED THAT THEY SHOULD ALL ON NEW YEAR'S DAY BE READY AGAIN TO SUPPER BATTLE AND AGAIN SUPPER IMPRISONMENT AND MARCH OUT. THAT WAS HIS ADVICE TO FREE AND INDENTURED INDIANS. IF THEY ACCEPTED A QUIET LIFE THEY WOULD INCUR THE DISGRACE OF ALL THEIR COUNTRYMEN IN THEIR MOTHERLAND AND THE WHOLE OF BRITISH EMPIRE. THEY SHOULD OBEY THE ORDERS OF CONSCIENCE AND GO FORWARD WITHOUT THINKING. WHEN THEY HAD MADE UP THEIR MINDS THEY SHOULD STICK TO IT EVEN UNTO DEATH. KALLENBACH POLAK AND RITCH ALSO SPOKE RESOLUTIONS WERE PASSED (1) THE COMMUNITY MAY NOT IN HONOUR GIVE EVIDENCE BEFORE COMMISSION BECAUSE IT HAD NOT BEEN CONSULTED AS TO CHOICE OF MEMBERS AND BECAUSE NONE WERE INCLUDED SPECIALLY REPRESENTING COMMUNITY'S INTERESTS. (2) URGING ADDITION TO COMMISSION OF SCHREINER AND ROSE INNES OR OTHER EMINENT SOUTH AFRICANS OF EUROPEAN RACE WHOSE NOMINATION WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO INDIAN COMMUNITY. (3) REQUESTING THAT IN THE EVENT OF GOVERNMENT GRANTING ADDITION TO PERSONNEL TO SECURE ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION OF ALL INTERESTS INVOLVED ALL PASSIVE RESISTANCE PRISONERS SHOULD IMMEDIATELY BE DISCHARGED. INDIAN COMMUNITY WOULD THEN UNDERTAKE TO SUSPEND PASSIVE RESISTANCE UNTIL PUBLICATION OF COMMISSION'S REPORT BUT IF GOVERNMENT REFUSED COMPLIANCE WITH THESE REQUESTS COMMUNITY WOULD BE OBLIGED AT ONCE TO PROSECUTE STRUGGLE WITH RENEWED VIGOUR AND DETERMINATION. I SEE NO PROSPECT OF GOVERNMENT BEING ABLE TO COMPLY WITH THESE DEMANDS.

GLADSTONE

Colonial Office Records: 551/46

(3) GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CABLE TO COLONIAL OFFICE

PRETORIA,
December 23, 1913

PRIVATE AND PERSONAL

MY CONFIDENTIAL TELEGRAM 22ND DECEMBER. IF INDIANS FOLLOW GANDHI'S ADVICE THE POSITION IS SERIOUS, GOVERNMENT WILL PRESS THE COMMISSION TO MAKE ENQUIRY AS FAR AS POSSIBLE. BUT CONCURRENTLY THERE MAY BE RECRUDESCENCE OF MARCHES INTO TRANSVAAL STRIKES AND VIOLENCE. IF SO QUESTION OF TAKING LEGISLATIVE POWERS TO REPATRIATE INDENTURED

INDIANS WHO REFUSE TO WORK AND LAW BREAKERS WILL AT ONCE ARISE. VICEROY OF INDIA AMPHILL AND GOKHALE HAVE I BELIEVE ALREADY MENTIONED GENERAL REPATRIATION BUT APPARENTLY AS A MENACE. IF INDIAN GOVERNMENT PROPOSED THIS J. C. SMUTS TELLS ME THAT IT WOULD BE WELCOMED BY MINISTERS. FURTHER HE SAYS THAT NATAL PLANTERS AND COLLIERY OWNERS ARE BEGINNING TO REALISE THAT THIS MAY BE THE ONLY SOLUTION. BUT THIS IS THE LAST THING WISHED BY THE INDIANS HERE. IF THEY REALISED THAT THE LAW BREAKERS WOULD BE REPATRIATED IT WOULD PROBABLY PUT AN END TO LAW BREAKING. AT PRESENT GANDHI AND HIS ASSOCIATES HERE AND IN INDIA BELIEVE THAT COOLIES ARE ESSENTIAL TO NATAL AND PRESS IMPOSSIBLE DEMANDS ON THAT SUPPOSITION. THESE DEMANDS ARE IMPOSSIBLE. REPRESSION OF DISORDER IS COMPARATIVELY EASY BUT IT IS NO REMEDY AND WILL EMBITTER FEELING IN INDIA. MINISTERS THINK THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO GO TO THE ROOT OF THE TROUBLE. DO YOU THINK REPATRIATION OF THE LAW BREAKERS AND INDENTURED INDIANS IN WHOLE OR IN PART COULD RECEIVE CO-OPERATION OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT? FAILING THAT WHAT ARE YOUR VIEWS ON LEGISLATIVE ACTION HERE TO THAT END? COMPENSATION WOULD BE PAID IN RESPECT OF PROPERTY.

GLADSTONE

Colonial Office Records: 551/46

APPENDIX VI

*LORD HARDINGE'S SPEECH*¹

A message from Madras states that the Viceroy (Lord Hardinge), in a speech in reply to Indian addresses said the position of Indians in South Africa for some years past had received the most anxious consideration of the Raj, which was doing all in its power to ensure fair treatment.

He added: "The Union Act of which you complain has in practice the effect of putting an end to Asiatic emigration to South Africa, though it does not discriminate in so many words against Asiatics. We, however, have succeeded in securing the privilege of entry for a limited number of educated Indians annually, and have also specially endeavoured to secure as favourable terms as possible for the Indians already

¹ This was delivered on November 24, 1913.

resident in the Union. Our efforts have resulted in the inclusion of provisions for the right of appeal to the Court on points of law and definition of domicile in accordance with which the position of un-indentured Indians is satisfactorily laid down.

“We are at present in communication with Lord Crewe regarding other restrictions in the Act to which you take exception and we trust our representations will not be resultless. You urged retaliatory measures by the Raj, but it is not stated what particular measures are adoptable. We forbade the emigration of indentured Indians to Natal in 1911, and the Natal planters sent a delegate to India to beg for a reconsideration of that decision. That shows how hardly the planters were hit by the stoppage of that emigration, but I am afraid that it had little effect on South Africa as a whole, and unfortunately it is not easy to find means whereby India can make its indignation felt by those holding the reins of Government in South Africa.

“Recently your compatriots in South Africa have taken matters into their own hands, organising passive resistance to laws which they consider invidious and unjust, an opinion which we, who are watching their struggles from afar, cannot but share. They violated those laws with a full knowledge of the penalties involved, and are ready with all courage and patience to endure the penalties. In all this they have the deep and burning sympathy of India and also of those who, like myself, without being Indians, sympathise with the people of this country, but the most recent developments have taken a most serious turn. We have seen the widest publicity given to allegations that passive resistance is dealt with by measures which would not be tolerated for a moment in any country claiming to be civilised. These allegations were met by a categorical denial by the responsible Government of South Africa, though even the denial contains admissions which do not seem to me to indicate that the Government exercised a very wise discretion in some of the steps it adopted. That is the position for the moment. I feel that if the South African Government desires to justify itself in the eyes of India and the world, the only course open is to appoint a strong impartial committee, whereon Indian interests will be represented, to conduct the most searching inquiry, and you may rest assured that the Raj will not cease to urge these considerations on the Imperial Government.”

Indian Opinion, 3-12-1913

APPENDIX VII

VICEROY'S TELEGRAM TO G. K. GOKHALE

December 28, 1913

THE HON'BLE MR. GOKHALE

SERVINDIA

POONA

IN VIEW OF PROMISE GIVEN BY GANDHI AND MY GREAT DESIRE TO SECURE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT SIR BENJAMIN ROBERTSON WILL LEAVE BOMBAY ON JANUARY 1ST AND SHOULD ARRIVE IN DURBAN ON 11TH OR 12TH STOP I HAVE ASKED THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO ENDEAVOUR TO ARRANGE WITH THE UNION GOVERNMENT A SHORT POSTPONEMENT OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMISSION STOP I AM NOT VERY HOPEFUL OF THE RESULT OF ROBERTSON'S MISSION BUT AM ANXIOUS TO LOSE NO OPPORTUNITY OF SECURING PEACE STOP I THINK IT IS DESIRABLE THAT YOU SHOULD INFORM GANDHI THAT IF HE AND THE INDIANS COMMENCE PASSIVE RESISTANCE OR HAVE RESORT TO VIOLENCE ROBERTSON WILL IMMEDIATELY DISSOCIATE HIMSELF FROM THEM STOP I TRUST THAT GANDHI WILL COMMUNICATE FREELY WITH ROBERTSON ON HIS ARRIVAL.

VICEROY

National Archives of India, File NO. 45 Courtesy: Servants of India Society,
Poona

APPENDIX VIII

(1) TELEGRAM FROM MINISTER OF INTERIOR

PRETORIA,

January 5, 1914

To

GANDHI

1 10, FIELD STREET DURBAN

32366 DELAY IN REPLYING TO YOUR TELEGRAM 29 DECEMBER REGRETTED BUT WAS DUE TO CONTRADICTORY INFORMATION WHICH ARRIVED FROM DURBAN AS TO REVIVAL OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF A NEW MARCH TO THE TRANSVAAL. LATER INFORMATION HOWEVER HAS SHOWN THAT

THE MOVEMENT OF CERTAIN BODIES OF INDIANS IN NATAL ON THE FIRST JANUARY WAS MISUNDERSTOOD.¹ WITH REGARD TO THE PROPOSALS CONTAINED IN YOUR TELEGRAM THE MINISTER REGRETS THAT THE REQUEST FOR ADDITIONS TO OR A REDUCTION IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMISSION CANNOT BE ACCEDED TO FOR THE REASONS ALREADY MENTIONED IN MY LETTER OF THE 24TH DECEMBER. IN VIEW OF THE ATTITUDE YOU HAVE TAKEN UP IN REGARD TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMISSION THE MINISTER HAS NOT DEEMED IT NECESSARY FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO CONSIDER WHAT ADVICE SHOULD BE TENDERED TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AS TO THE REMISSION OF SENTENCES OF PASSIVE RESISTERS AND THE GOVERNMENT HAVE CONFINED THEIR ACTION TO THE RECOMMENDATION MADE BY THE COMMISSION IN RESPECT OF THE LEADERS. THE COURSE ADOPTED BY THE LEADERS IMMEDIATELY ON THEIR RELEASE HAS NOT BEEN SUCH AS TO IMPRESS THE GOVERNMENT AS TO THE BENEFICIAL RESULTS LIKELY TO FOLLOW FROM THE RELEASE OF THE BALANCE OF THE PASSIVE RESISTERS. IF YOU ARE STILL DESIROUS OF SEEING THE MINISTER HE WILL BE PREPARED TO GRANT YOU AN INTERVIEW DURING THIS WEEK.

Colonial Office Records: 551/53

(2) EXTRACT FROM GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S DESPATCH²

PRETORIA,
December 31, 1913

You will observe that Mr. Gandhi's present attitude is less unreasonable than that which he adopted in his public utterances immediately after his liberation. General Smuts is still considering his reply to Mr. Gandhi's latest proposals, and I think it not improbable that he will agree to grant a personal interview as requested. I doubt, however, whether Mr. Gandhi's suggestions with regard to the constitution of the Commission will be found acceptable. The addition of two members, nominated

¹ This referred to an erroneous report about the movement of a group of Indians collected at Pinetown, near Durban, on January 1, the date originally announced by Gandhiji for the resumption of the march into the Transvaal. It later transpired that the group acted in ignorance of Gandhiji's declaration that Passive Resistance would not be resumed on New Year Day.

² This formed part of a despatch forwarding to the Colonial Office copies of correspondence between Gandhiji and the Minister of the Interior, and clippings from various newspapers.

respectively by the Indian community and by the employers of Indian labour, would destroy the judicial character of the Commission, and this would probably entail the resignation of Sir William Solomon. The alternative proposal that the Commission should be converted into a single-member Commission, consisting only of Sir William Solomon, is not open to the same objection, and neither Mr. Esselen nor Colonel Wylie would probably show any disinclination to resign their membership. It would not, however, be easy for the Government so to reconstitute its own Commission at Mr. Gandhi's bidding without seeming to admit that the two members whose elimination is asked for were in fact not wholly impartial. Possibly if General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi meet, their combined ingenuity may succeed in discovering some way out of the difficulty.

On Monday last General Smuts told my Secretary in confidence that he had received a private letter from Sir William Solomon expressing regret at the bad use which Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Polak and Mr. Kallenbach had made of their liberty, and intimating that if the Commission were to be boycotted by the Indians, in whose interests it had been appointed, it was unlikely that the enquiry could prove anything but one-sided. Sir William went on to say that he had accepted appointment, much against his own personal inclinations, only from a sense of duty because it had been represented to him that by acting as Chairman he would have an opportunity of rendering a public service. As it now seemed likely that the Commission would be unable to do any useful work, he was inclined to doubt whether there was any reason why he should continue to serve. General Smuts said that he proposed in his reply to point out the distinction between abstention by the Indians from giving evidence and a renewal of passive resistance, strikes and lawlessness. If recourse were again had to disorder, the question whether the enquiry should be proceeded with might arise. If, however, the Indians confined themselves simply to a policy of abstention from giving evidence, the Commission would still be able to hear official and other European witnesses upon the incidents of the strike and the allegations of ill-treatment, and to consider the general question of grievances from the documentary material which could be laid before it by the Government. It was desirable, moreover, that the official witness who was being sent by the Government of India should be afforded an opportunity of being heard. General Smuts seemed to hope that these arguments would induce Sir William Solomon to continue to serve. He was evidently apprehensive lest Mr. Gandhi should be enabled to enhance his prestige by the personal triumph of breaking up a Government Commission of whose constitution he happened to disapprove.

Colonial Office Records: 551/46

APPENDIX IX

STATEMENT ISSUED BY G. K. GOKHALE

[December 31, 1913]

In view of the anxiety prevailing in the country as to the position of matters in South Africa and the inquiries that are being addressed to me on the subject, I think it necessary to publish the following statement:

On 18th December, I received at Calcutta a cablegram from the Natal Indian Association stating that there was a strong feeling among Indians in South Africa not to accept the Commission of inquiry appointed on account of two members out of three being known to be hostile to the community and asking for my advice as to what should be done. Mr. Gandhi and other passive resistance leaders were then in jail and there was at that time no indication of the lines on which the Commission proposed to work. It was impossible for me in the circumstances to offer any definite advice and after hurriedly consulting two distinguished friends in Calcutta, who were within easy reach, I cabled back to say that the course to be adopted should depend on the strength of feeling of the community and the advice of friendly Europeans in South Africa; and I asked the Association to weigh carefully which course would do greater harm to the cause, viz., abstention from offering evidence or participation in the proceedings under protest, adding that I would cable again from Bombay after consulting Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta. I left Calcutta that same day and arrived in Bombay on the 20th, when I read in the papers a summary of Sir William Solomon's opening statement, as also news about the release of Mr. Gandhi and other passive resistance leaders. As Reuter had stated that the released leaders had proceeded to Pretoria to see the Ministers, I naturally concluded that the Union Government was desirous of arriving at some understanding with the community and that Mr. Gandhi's reported visit to Pretoria was in connection with some negotiations that had already been started. I immediately put myself into telegraphic communication with Mr. Gandhi and during the last ten days numerous cables have passed between us. It is not possible to publish all these cables, but I think I may state that in the course of these communications every effort was made to press on Mr. Gandhi the view which clearly is now gaining ground in this country, viz., that after Sir William Solomon's speech, the release of the leaders and the recognition given to the Commission by the Government of India by the deputation of Sir Benjamin Robertson, it would be a tactical mistake to boycott the Commission as forgoing an important opportunity secured after great difficulty to state the Indian case before the whole world and likely to alienate from the cause influential support both in this country and in England. Mr. Gandhi, however, finds himself unable to act on this view unless the Union

Government modify in some manner the constitution of the Commission and release all passive resisters at present in jail, as he and the Indian community stand bound by a solemn oath not to accept the Commission except on these terms. This is the situation at present. Meanwhile Sir Benjamin Robertson starts for South Africa on 1st January. As it is necessary that the country should clearly understand Mr. Gandhi's position, I asked him to cable to me for publication a full statement of that position. This statement into which are incorporated some of his previous cables is as follows: Mr. Gandhi says: We were discharged unconditionally on 18th instant on the recommendation of the Commission. We were not told at the time of our release why we were being released. It is not true that after release we went to Pretoria to see the Ministers. Knowing what we do of the feelings of Mr. Esselen and Col. Wylie towards Indians, it is impossible for us not to feel strongly that the Commission has not been appointed to give us fair play, but it is a packed body intended to hoodwink the Government and the public both in England and in India. The Chairman's integrity and impartiality is undoubted, but Mr. Esselen and Col. Wylie are well-known and admitted generally to be amongst the strongest and most violent opponents of Indians in South Africa. Mr. Esselen has emphatically declared from public platforms on many occasions extreme anti-Asiatic views, and he is so intimately related politically to Union Ministers that he is regarded here practically as a non-official member of the Ministry. Only recently he expressed himself privately most offensively about the Indians to a member of the Union Parliament, named Mr. Meyler, who has publicly protested against his appointment. Col. Wylie has been our bitterest opponent in Natal for more than twenty years. So far back as 1896 he led a mob to demonstrate against the landing of Indians who had arrived at Durban in two vessels, advocated at a public meeting the sinking of the ships with all Indians on board and commending a remark made by another speaker that he would willingly put down one month's pay for one shot at the Indians, asked how many were prepared to put down similarly a month's pay on those terms. And he has consistently been our enemy all these years. Moreover he is colonel of the defence force whose acts are the subject of inquiry and he is also legal adviser of many estate owners and during present agitation he has openly said that the £3 tax ought not to be repealed. Commission is not merely judicial but also political, investigating not only facts as to ill-treatment, but also recommending policy for the future, and it is impossible that the Chairman will control the views of his colleagues in matters of policy. To appoint Messrs Esselen and Wylie to investigate our grievances and to stigmatize our protests against their appointment as an unwarranted reflection on their impartiality is to add insult to injury. Almost entire South African Press admits reasonableness of our suggestions as to additional members, and several influential ministers of religion and other European friends are working to remove present deadlock and secure us fair play. We would be prepared to lead evidence before Sir

William Solomon alone if it was a question merely of inquiring into charges of flogging, acts of military and other ill-treatment, but this inquiry includes an examination of grievances also. Before our release public meetings had been held at all Indian centres throughout South Africa protesting strongly against the personnel of the Commission and urging the appointment of Mr. Schreiner and Judge Rose-Innes to counterbalance Messrs Esselen and Wylie. Immediately on our release as soon as we took the situation in, we addressed a letter to the Ministry asking for these additions to the Commission. Objection has been taken to the form in which this request was put forward by us, but we are confronted with a terrible crisis and it is not easy always to weigh carefully niceties of form at such a juncture. Indian position always has been to insist on the community being consulted at least informally regarding matters vitally affecting it since it is voteless. In constituting present Commission Indian sentiment not only was not consulted but was contemptuously trampled on. During recent deadlock in connection with European railwaymen's grievances the men were permitted to choose their nominee by a referendum. We merely ask for informal consultation. When we were released, we found that the indignation of our countrymen was at white heat owing to floggings which they had seen with their own eyes, shootings which they believed to be unjustified, and other acts of ill-treatment; and this indignation was further intensified by the harrowing accounts of prison treatment which passive resisters, including ladies, who were released at this time on the expiry 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, withholding 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 in which the community met in public meeting on Sunday 21st December to consider the position and resolve on future action. I here 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 term 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 struggle we are fighting with spiritual weapons, and it is not open to us to go back on our solemn declarations. 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 advise the 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, recognizing 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 renewal of passive resistance can be avoided. We know it will entail enormous suffering, assure you we do not desire it, but neither shall we shrink from it, if it must become.

The Times of India, 1-1-1914.

APPENDIX X

EXTRACT FROM GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S DESPATCH

PRETORIA,
January 22, 1914

Subsequently in the course of confidential conversation General Smuts intimated to me that practically no difficulty would be presented by Mr. Gandhi's two administrative points, and very little by the point on the marriage question, if the sense of Mr. Gandhi's proposal thereon had been correctly apprehended. The abolition of the £3 tax would be a much more formidable task, but he was disposed to think that it would in the end be found inevitable. In substance therefore Mr. Gandhi could probably be met; on the question of form, however, he did not see his way clear to compliance with Mr. Gandhi's wishes. If in regard to policy he were to ignore the Commission appointed by the Government and to make a compact with Mr. Gandhi after all that had occurred recently, he and his colleagues would be placed in a most undignified and, he feared, even impossible position. At the same time, if a settlement which would be accepted by all parties as final was attainable, he would like to effect it without unnecessary delay by carrying the requisite legislation during the forthcoming Session. He doubted whether he would be able to carry such legislation unless he were fortified by a recommendation of the Commission, and equally whether a recommendation would be obtainable in time if evidence were to be led on every Indian grievance which could conceivably be brought forward. From this point of view matters would not be advanced by the acceptance of Mr. Gandhi's second alternative, viz., the addition of Sir James Rose-Innes or Mr. Schreiner to the Commission, even if there were no serious objections to such a course on other

grounds. He was in favour of limiting the enquiry of the Commission on questions of policy to the four points specified by Mr. Gandhi, if this could be done without making an overt bargain with him.

After further consideration and consultation of the Cabinet, General Smuts signified his decision to Sir Benjamin Robertson for communication to Mr. Gandhi. Its purport was that the Government could not see their way to alter either the composition or the terms of reference of the Commission, nor could they authorize him to make a compact with Mr. Gandhi by giving in advance of the Commission's report the assurances for which he had asked. The Commission must go on as previously arranged, but it would be asked to submit its recommendations in regard to policy at a sufficiently early date to enable legislation to be introduced during the forthcoming Session. If Mr. Gandhi felt himself precluded by his vow from giving evidence under these conditions, he was quite at liberty to abstain from participation in its proceedings; he need, however, feel no serious apprehensions as to the probable nature of the Commission's recommendations on his four points and as to the Government's intentions, but he should promise not to revive passive resistance until the Commission had reported and the Government had been given an opportunity of taking action on the report. The Minister repeated that while he had no knowledge whatever of Colonel Wylie's views he had some little time ago sounded both the Chairman and Mr. Esselen and felt sure that their recommendations would be satisfactory to Mr. Gandhi.

In the result of the ensuing interviews and negotiations an understanding which is embodied in the enclosed correspondence of yesterday's date, was finally reached by the Minister and Mr. Gandhi. You will observe that, while Mr. Gandhi receives no assurances, the Government expressed their desire for an early settlement. Mr. Gandhi and his friends will not appear before the Commission, but in recognition of the opportunities of consultation which General Smuts had afforded by consenting to receive Mr. Gandhi, they offer to assist Sir Benjamin Robertson in the preparation of his evidence. Passive resistance is to be suspended pending the report of the Commission and the introduction of legislation. The release of *bona fide* passive resisters now serving sentence is asked for, and the Minister explains that this had already been done by the Government. At his own suggestion, Mr. Gandhi and his friends will take no further action with regard to the allegations of ill-treatment during the Indian strike. The Government while repudiating the allegations as emphatically as ever will also refrain from leading evidence upon them, but reserve their right to ask the Commission to investigate the shooting affrays at Esperanza and Mount Edgecombe. It will be noted that Mr. Gandhi has added to his previous four points a fifth, asking for an assurance of just administration of the law and of due regard to vested rights. This appears to be innocuously vague and should not cause

any difficulty. He has also slightly modified his stipulation respecting the licence under Natal Act 17 of 1895. He formerly asked that a standing licence should be substituted for the annual licence, but he now apparently contemplates that after an ex-indentured Indian has acquired domiciliary rights, in terms of the judgment in the Subrayen case, by three years continuous residence after the expiration of his indentures, the licence should be dropped altogether. This is a point of detail on which the Commission's recommendation will doubtless carry weight with the Government. I may mention that yesterday afternoon, when Mr. Gandhi received Mr. Gorges' letter, he was much perturbed by the omission of any explicit recognition of the motive which restrained him from pursuing the allegations of ill-treatment. In order to meet his difficulty, General Smuts caused the words which now form the third sentence of the letter to be inserted. They were suggested by Mr. Gandhi himself, and he is understood to be satisfied¹ and to be leaving for Natal today.

Colonial Office Record: 551/54

APPENDIX XI

LETTER FROM MINISTER OF INTERIOR

PRETORIA,
January 21, 1914

SIR,

With reference to your letter of even date I am instructed by the Minister of the Interior to reply that you are correct in your statement that it is not proposed to make any alteration either in the personnel of, or the reference to, the Commission appointed to enquire into the recent Indian Strike in Natal. The Minister regrets but of course understands that you are so far committed by your previous public declarations in regard to the Commission that you are precluded from appearing before it. He also recognizes the motive which makes you unwilling to revive old sores by courting libel proceedings before another tribunal.

The Government repudiates as strongly and emphatically as heretofore the charges of harsh or improper action against the Indian passive resisters and strikers. But as you and your friends have decided not to appear before the Commission and lead evidence in support of those allegations, it seems likely that there will be no charges for the Commission to investigate. The Government would regret the consequent absence of an opportunity to lead rebutting evidence in vindication of the

¹ This has reference to the resolution of the deadlock in the final negotiations described by Andrews; *vide* footnote 2 to "Interview with General Smuts", 16-1-1914.

conduct of its officers, but it feels that, unless it has a definite case to answer, any attempt to deal with the allegations before the Commission could only result in an unprofitable waste of time. The Government is anxious that any recommendations which the Commission may make on the larger issue of Indian grievances should be received at a sufficiently early date to enable proposals to be submitted to Parliament during the forthcoming Session. It is hoped that those proposals, if accepted by Parliament, would ensure a satisfactory and permanent settlement. The Government considers that such a settlement of long standing disputes is too important to justify any risk of endangering its achievement by delaying the proceedings of the Commission—already delayed through unforeseen circumstances—by an enquiry, which would now be necessarily one-sided, into points of minor and secondary moment relatively to the wider issues at stake. If, therefore, the Indians decline to submit to the Commission any specific charges in connection with the treatment of passive resisters and strikers during the recent troubles, the Government will not think it necessary to take any further action in refutation of the allegations against it and its officers, but it reserves its right to ask the Commission to investigate the occurrences which resulted in loss of life at Esperanza and Mount Edgecombe.

With reference to your prayer for the release of *bona fide* passive resistance strikers from ordinary or compound gaols, the Department of Justice had already previous to the arrival of your letter taken steps for the release of the small balance of these prisoners kept in the gaols.

In regard to the grievances which you have summarised at the end of your letter, the Government will, as already stated, await the recommendations of the Commission before taking any action.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

E. M. GORGES

SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR

M. K. GANDHI ESQ.
PRETORIA

From a photostat of the typewritten original: S. N. 5926

APPENDIX XII

ANDREWS' INTERVIEW WITH GOVERNOR-GENERAL¹

[PRETORIA,
January 13, 1914]

I saw Mr. Andrews quite privately on Tuesday and had a long talk with him. He impressed me favourably and appeared to have an exceptionally intimate acquaintance with the working of Mr. Gandhi's mind. He said that Mr. Gandhi makes two crucial demands (1) the recognition of one wife as having a legal status, (2) the repeal of the £3 tax. Importance was also attached but to a lesser degree to some agreement being arrived at which restored the right of unrestricted admission into the Cape Province enjoyed by South Africa-born Indians under the Cape Immigration Act. Mr. Andrews assured me that Mr. Gandhi would make no claim whatever to equal franchise rights, and fully accepted the policy of exclusion of Asiatics from South Africa. According to Mr. Andrews, Mr. Gandhi is prepared to accept the Commission in so far as enquiry into disturbances is concerned. If his political conditions are accepted, it would be a solution of the position and there would be no necessity for any further work by the Commission. If they were not accepted, a very difficult question would arise for Mr. Gandhi had, with several compatriots, taken a vow not to recognize the Commission unless he was met on his basic points. I said that personally I saw little difficulty in conceding what Mr. Andrews stated Mr. Gandhi required. But Ministers might not feel able to give unconditional promises because the political situation might prevent giving absolute guarantees that the remedial Act could be passed. Mr. Andrews said that he feared Mr. Gandhi's vow would prove an insuperable obstacle. I suggested that Mr. Gandhi could give evidence as regards the disturbances as he expresses readiness to do this. He could then by leave address the Court, state his conditions, giving arguments and say that while fully accepting the capacity and authority of the Commission to decide on questions of fact, he reserved to himself and his colleagues absolute discretion to take their own courses on matters of political principle, and concerning his own conscience. He hoped that the Commission would arrive at a right judgment but that neither he nor his colleagues could give further evidence. Mr. Andrews said that this gave a ray of light. Nothing could shake Mr. Gandhi on matters of conscience. The vow might still create great difficulty. Mr. Gandhi's life, on a former occasion, had been attempted in Johannesburg by two Pathans because, after taking a vow, he had come to an agreement. But he would do his best to induce Mr. Gandhi to take this course if the Government assurances were not satisfactory.

¹ This is an extract from Governor-General's despatch dated January 14? 1914 to the Colonial Office.

He said further that, while Sir Benjamin Robertson was an excellent official, he would not understand the subtle and sensitive working of Mr. Gandhi's mind. I have given this information to General Smuts. How far Mr. Andrews correctly interprets Mr. Gandhi's views I cannot say, but if he speaks with accurate knowledge, the situation looks more hopeful. The Government, moreover, are in a better position to take a generous view than at any previous time. Their firm and courageous action in dealing with the strike firmly establishes their authority and reputation which various events had shaken. Mr. Gandhi's action in holding his hand while the Government were in difficulties has been much appreciated. If concessions are now made to the British Indians, no one can allege that they are made under coercion. I sincerely trust therefore that the outcome may be satisfactory.

Colonial Office Records: 551/53

APPENDIX XIII

EXTRACTS FROM SOLOMON COMMISSION REPORT

As the Bill based upon the recommendations of the Commission may be published very soon, we do not propose to give many extracts from the Report. Moreover, the full report is available at 9d. per copy in Cape Town. We give, however, some of the salient points from it. We have not found it possible to condense the exhaustive sketch of the marriage and the £3 questions. We have, therefore, been obliged to content ourselves with merely giving the text of the recommendations on these two points. The curious must search the Report itself. The document occupies 38 foolscap pages from which we take the following:

ON THE COMMUNITY'S ABSTENTION

Unfortunately the main object which the Commission had in view in commending the release of Messrs Gandhi, Polak and Kallenbach was, to a great extent, frustrated by the attitude taken up by these persons.

So far from assisting the Commission by placing before it the case for the Indian community for the redress of alleged grievances and by collecting evidence in support of the serious allegations of acts of violence committed upon persons sentenced to imprisonment in connection with the strike, the leaders decided, on various grounds which it is unnecessary to mention, entirely to ignore the Commission. The result was that not only was the Indian community not represented by counsel, but that, acting upon the advice given by Mr. Gandhi, no witnesses appeared to substantiate the charges of violence.

Fortunately, during the latter end of our sitting, a few Indians, chiefly from the Mahomedan section of that community, who represented the Natal Indian Congress,

did appear before us and gave evidence of considerable value and importance. At a later stage of the enquiry, when the Commission sat in Cape Town from the 23rd to the 27th February, several other Indians presented themselves who claimed to represent various societies, three of them having travelled from the Transvaal for that purpose. These persons were, we think, well advised to refuse to follow the advice given by Mr. Gandhi to his fellow-countrymen to ignore the Commission. By appearing and giving evidence they were able to give us important information on certain subjects and, by doing so, they, in our opinion, rendered considerable service to the Indian community.

ON THE CAUSES OF THE STRIKE

The documentary evidence as contained in the various Blue Books which have been placed at our disposal makes it clear that the strike was immediately due to dissatisfaction on the part of the leaders of the Indian community with the provisions of the Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913.

Being unable to obtain from the Minister what he considered to be satisfactory assurances on these points, Mr. Gandhi deliberately decided to take the grave steps which immediately led to the strike and to the subsequent disturbances which are the subject of this enquiry. In his letter of the 28th September, which closed the correspondence between the Minister and himself, he informs the former that the step which he proposes to take “consists in actively, persistently and continually 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 under indentures and who will, therefore, be liable to pay the £3 tax on completion of the indentures, to strike work until the tax is withdrawn.”

This is the first occasion on which, in the course of the correspondence already referred to mention was made of the £3 tax. It was a matter, however, on which there can be no doubt that many of the Indians felt very strongly, and it had been one of the chief subjects of discussion between the Union Government and Mr. Gokhale when he visited South Africa in 1912. The feeling of the Indians on this subject had been much aggravated by the statements made to them that the Union Government had promised Mr. Gokhale that a Bill would be introduced in the next session of Parliament to repeal the tax.

When, therefore, no such Bill was introduced and when, in addition, the Government repudiated having made any promise to that effect, the result was that there was grave disappointment, on the part of the Indian community, especially in Natal. It is impossible for us in this enquiry to enter into the controversy which has arisen on the subject of the promise alleged to have been made to Mr. Gokhale; it is sufficient for our purpose to state that the Indians had been led to believe that such a

promise had been made, and that, on failure to introduce the expected legislation, there was considerable feeling on their part against the Government.

There were other matters affecting Indians which we were invited by certain witnesses to investigate, but which, in our opinion, did not fall within the scope of our reference. Our enquiry into alleged grievances is limited to those which in any way contributed to the strike. We have no authority to investigate and to make recommendations upon the general position of Indians in the Union, and the disabilities under which they suffer.

There was one other subject, however, upon which, though we at first felt some doubt as to whether it was within the terms of our reference, we ultimately decided to hear evidence. Complaints were made that the laws of the Union, more especially the Immigration and Licensing Acts, were being administered against Indians in a harsh and unsympathetic manner. That was one of the subjects specially referred to in a letter from Mr. Cachalia, the Chairman of the British Indian Association, to the Secretary of the Interior, dated 12th August, 1913, and published in Blue Book C.D. 7111, page 26, in which he formally notifies the Government that the Indian Community proposes again to have recourse to passive resistance, and in which he states that the struggle will be continued so long as, amongst other things, "a spirit of generosity and justice does not pervade the administration of the existing laws referred to herein."

The same subject is referred to in other communications that took place between the Indian leaders and the Government, and in his letter of the 21st January, 1914, in which Gandhi intimates to the Minister his intention not to take part in the proceedings before the Commission, he sums up the points on which relief is sought, as follows:

- (1) The Orange Free State question
- (2) The Cape Colony question
- (3) The Marriage question
- (4) Repeal of the £3 tax
- (5) An assurance that existing laws, especially affecting Indians, will be administered justly and with due regard to vested rights.

In view of these circumstances, we came to the conclusion that we were justified in extending the scope of our enquiry so as to include an investigation into the subject of the administration of the Immigration and Licensing Laws.

We feel bound, however, in view of the terms of reference, to limit our investigation to the five subjects specified above, and to eliminate from our enquiry such questions as the following, which we were invited by various witnesses to consider:

- (a) That the Transvaal Laws prohibiting Asiatics from becoming the

owners of fixed property and from acquiring rights under the Gold Law should be repealed.

- (b) That it should be illegal for the Government to insert in grants and leases of land in townships in the Transvaal a clause prohibiting the transfer or sub-letting of the land to Asiatics;
- (c) Such general questions as the alleged want of proper educational facilities for the children of Asiatics; their inability to carry firearms, to ride in trams in the Transvaal, etc.

None of these matters in our opinion had any effect in bringing about the strike, and most of them could only be dealt with by legislation and not by administrative action, so that we do not consider that they fall within the scope of our enquiry.

That being so, we now proceed to discuss the five subjects set forth by Mr. Gandhi in his final letter of the 21st January, 1914.

THE ORANGE FREE STATE QUESTION

This has already been referred to, and, in view of the assurance given by the Minister on the subject, it is somewhat difficult to understand why it has been resuscitated. The only point that can be made regarding it is, that, inasmuch as under Section 7 of the Act of 1913 educated Indians entering the Free State become subject to Section 8 of Chapter 33 of the Free State Law Book, which amongst other things requires that a declaration shall be made before a Resident Magistrate, and inasmuch as it has been agreed by the Minister that no such declaration shall in future be required, it might be advisable to amend Section 7 of the Act so as to make this perfectly clear.

THE CAPE ENTRY QUESTION

It is clear that, if the provisional settlement of 1911 did in fact safeguard the existing rights of Indians, then in strict law there has been a breach of that agreement. Unfortunately the terms of this settlement are not set forth specifically in any formal document, but are to be gathered from two letters which passed between the Private Secretary to the Minister and Mr. Gandhi on the 23rd April, 1911.

It has been pointed out that in the letter of the Private Secretary of the 22nd April, there was no direct assurance that existing rights would be maintained, but there is no doubt that Mr. Gandhi and the Indian community generally understood that this was one of the terms of the settlement. This appears from many letters subsequently written by Mr. Gandhi to the Minister and specially from certain correspondence which took place between them in January and February, 1912, and subsequently in July and August, 1913. For example, in Mr. Gandhi's letter of the 24th

August, 1913, he states specially that “the correspondence setting forth the provisional settlement of 1911 protected all existing rights of the British Indians”. Statements to the same effect are made in other letters, and never on any occasion was this claim repudiated by the Minister. In fact, a perusal of the correspondence leaves the impression that this was common cause between the parties, and was never the subject of controversy.

Then, if that be so, it follows that by restricting the entry of Indians born in south Africa into the Cape Colony to those who can satisfy the educational requirement of Act 30 of 1906, there has been a departure from the provisional settlement of 1911. At the same time, it is clear from Mr. Gandhi’s own letters to the Minister that there is very little substance in this alleged grievance.

Looking at the whole subject from a practical point of view, we have come to the conclusion that no good purpose could be gained by recommending that this shadowy grievance should be remedied by amending the Act of 1913, so as to restore the right of South Africa-born Indians to enter the Cape without undergoing the educational test therein provided.

Before leaving the subject we might refer to a point to which our attention was directed by Sir Benjamin Robertson. Section 4, (2) (a) of the Act of 1913 which deals with the educational requirements of the Cape and Natal Provinces, makes provision for those who were, *at the commencement of the Act*, lawfully entitled to reside in any Province. It was pointed out that the right conferred by that section would not strictly avail any person who became lawfully entitled to reside in any Province *after* the Act came into force, as for example, a child born, after the commencement of the Act, of Indians domiciled in South Africa.

It is indeed difficult to see what good purpose is served by the inclusion in the Section of the words “at the commencement of the Act,” and they might very well be deleted.

ADMINISTRATION OF EXISTING LAWS

We have now reached the fifth and last of the alleged grievances which have been formulated by Mr. Gandhi in his letter to the Minister of the 21st January, 1914, in-which he requires “an assurance that the existing laws especially affecting Indians will be administered justly and with due regard to vested rights.” The representations which have been made to us on this subject deal mainly with the Immigration and Licensing Acts, and, as already stated, we propose to confine ourselves to these subjects.

THE IMMIGRATION ACT

The complaints against the administrative methods of the Immigration

Department were fairly numerous, chiefly in the Cape Colony. In respect of some of them we were not satisfied that they have been established and we do not propose to make any reference to such. There are others, however, in regard to which we are of opinion that grievances do exist and we propose to deal with these as shortly as possible.

THE LICENSING ACTS

Representations were made to the Commission regarding the administration of the Acts with reference to the grant of licences to carry on trade or business in the Cape Colony and in Natal.

We do not, however, see our way to making any recommendations on this subject which are likely to be of any use.

No evidence was laid before us as to the administration of the licensing laws in other towns of the Cape Colony or in the country districts, and we have, therefore, no observations to make on that subject.

As regards Natal, the system is somewhat different from that which obtains in the Cape Colony.

The evidence before us is to the effect that the Act is not so strictly administered against Indians in the Natal boroughs as it is in Cape Town, but that it is becoming more and more difficult for Indians to obtain new licences except in those quarters of the town which are inhabited almost exclusively by them, and which may be regarded as Asiatic reserves. In some other parts of the towns it is almost impossible now for Indians to obtain new licences.

As regards the rest of Natal outside of the boroughs and townships, there is one licensing officer who is a Government official, and from whose decision an appeal lies to the licensing board. His policy towards Indians is far more liberal than that of the licensing officers in the boroughs. In fact, he informs us that he makes no distinctions between Europeans and Indians.

A fact of some interest which was elicited from this witness is that, where applications for new licences are made by Indians, more than 50 per cent of the objections come from other Indians.

We had no complaint regarding the grant of new licences from this licensing officer, the complaints being directed entirely against the administration of the Act in the boroughs and townships. We do not see our way, however, to make any recommendations on this subject. Nothing can be done which would be of any effect except by legislation, and, for the reasons already given when dealing with the grant of licences in Cape Town, we are unable to suggest any amendment of the laws.

We have now dealt with all the grievances formulated by Mr. Gandhi in his

letter to the Minister of the Interior, but before closing, we think that it is desirable to summarise the various recommendations that appear in different parts of the report.

Some of these recommendations will require legislation to give effect to them whilst others can be sufficiently dealt with by administrative action.

They are as follows:

(1) Section 5 (g) of the Immigration Regulation Act of 1913 should be amended so as to bring the law into conformity with the practice of the Immigration Department, which is: "To admit one wife and minor children by her of an Indian now entitled to reside in any Province, or who may in the future be permitted to enter the Union, irrespective of the fact that his marriage to such wife may have been solemnised according to tenets that recognise polygamy, or that she is one of several wives married abroad so long as she is his only wife in South Africa."

(2) Instructions should be given to the Immigration Officer to open registers in each Province for the registration by Indians of, say, three or more years' residence in South Africa, who have at present, or have had in the past, more than one wife living with them in South Africa, of the names of such wives, who are to be free to travel to and from India with the minor children so long as the husband continues to reside in this country.

(3) There should be legislations on the lines of Act 16 of 1860 of the Cape Colony making provision for the appointment of marriage officers from among the Indian priests of different denominations for the purpose of solemnising marriages in accordance with the respective religions of the parties.

(4) There should be legislation for the validation by registration of existing de facto monogamous marriages, by which is understood the marriage of one man with one woman, under a system which recognizes the right of the husband to marry one or more other wives.

(5) Section 6 of Act 17 of 1895 of Natal which requires certain Indians to take out year by year a pass or licence to remain in the Colony and which provides for the payment of £3 a year for such licence should be repealed.

(6) Conditions under which identification certificates under the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913 are issued should be amended so as to provide that such certificates shall remain in force for a period of three years instead of one year.

(7) An Interpreter should be attached to the office of the Immigration Department in Cape Town who should be a whole-time officer.

(8) Application forms for permits, certificates, etc., from the Immigration Department should be filled in by the clerk in the office upon information supplied to him by the applicant, if the latter so desires.

(9) The practice at present existing in the Cape Town office of this Department

of taking in certain cases prints of all the fingers of both hands, instead of the thumbs only, should be discontinued.

(10) The Resident Magistrate of a district in which there is no immigration officer should have authority to issue temporary permits to Indians residing in his district who desire to travel from the Province in which they are living to another Province of the Union.

(11) The present fee of £1 for an identification certificate or temporary permit should be materially reduced, and no charge should be made for any extension.

(12) The present practice of the immigration officer of one Province of communicating by telegraph with the immigration officer of another Province, when an application is made by an Indian for a permit to travel from one Province to the other, should be discontinued.

(13) Domicile certificates which have been issued to Indians in Natal by the immigration officer of that Province, and which bear the thumb impression of the holder of the permit should be recognized as conclusive evidence of the right of the holder to enter the Union as soon as his identity has been established.

(14) An arrangement should, if possible, be made with the Government of India for the holding of official inquiries by the magistrate or other Government official in the case of women and children proceeding from India to join their husbands and fathers in South Africa. If, on inquiry, the official is satisfied that the woman and children are the wife and children of the man in South Africa whom they claim as husband or father, a certificate should be given by him to that effect, and such certificate should be treated by the immigration officer as conclusive evidence of the facts stated in it.

Indian Opinion, 25-3-1914

APPENDIX XIV

*Letter to Hermann Kallenbach*¹

Sunday 9.30, May 17, 1914

DEAR MR. KALLENBACH

It is very late now. I must go to bed early so that I can have no difficulty in getting up in time tomorrow morning. Father is a little better today but he will have still to be confined to bed for about 5 to 6 days. He is very weak. He speaks very slowly and not quite distinctly. He takes fruit juices and lemon drink now and then.

¹ *Vide* "The New Bill and the Old", 12-4-1913

The period of the fortnight was of a great commotion and hardly anybody in Phoenix could give rest to one's thought or mind. Jeki Behn is now away and father seems to have some feeling that a great burden is removed from his mind.

With love from us all,

Yours sincerely,

CHHAGANLAL

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

APPENDIX XV

EXTRACT FROM GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S DESPATCH

CAPE TOWN,

June 5, 1914

In my despatch Secret of the 30th ultimo I had the honour to report that Mr. Gandhi was about to have an interview with General Smuts for the purpose of discussing the points which he had raised upon the draft Indians' Relief Bill, and upon certain administrative questions. The interview took place on Saturday last. I understand that General Smuts suggested to Mr. Gandhi that, in view of the more immediate urgency of the Bill, the points connected with it should be taken first, and the administrative questions allowed to stand over for a short time until the Minister should have a little more leisure for their consideration. To this suggestion Mr. Gandhi appears to have agreed. The result of the interview was that General Smuts accepted Mr. Gandhi's representations upon the three legislative points specified in the third paragraph of my above-mentioned despatch, and gave instructions for the necessary amendments to be made in the text of the Bill prior to its introduction in the House of Assembly.

2. You will have learnt from my telegram of the 3rd instant that the Bill was introduced and read a first time on Tuesday last, and was set down for second reading on Monday the 8th instant. The variations from the original text have also been communicated to you by cablegram. Copies of the Bill as introduced accompany my despatch No. 362 of the 5th instant.

3. Mr. Gandhi's wishes have been met by the elimination from 2(1)(a) of the words "at the commencement of this Act", and the substitution of the word "exists" for the word "existed". The word "then" has been retained before the word "recognized" but I am not aware whether this retention is deliberate or due to an oversight. I am enquiring into the point, but in any case it does not seem to be one to which importance need be attached. The paragraph in its present form restores the

privileges in regard to the registration of Indian marriages which were provided in the last type-written draft, as enclosed with my despatch Secret No. 4 of the 16th ultimo. By a further amendment of Clause 2(1), the words "Magistrate or" have been inserted on page 2, line 25 of the new print. Thereby all Magistrates will be enabled to register Indian marriages under Clause 2, irrespective of the circumstance whether or not they also hold appointment as marriage officers. This meets Mr. Gandhi's second point. His third (relating to the admission of the children of a deceased woman who, had she lived, would have been eligible under Clause 3 for exemption from restriction) is met by the introduction of the words following the word "defined" on page 4, line 33 of the new print.

4. I have reason to believe that General Smuts is anxious to complete the second reading stage as soon as possible. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Bill will not be crowded out by financial business on Monday. Considerable opposition from Natal members on both sides of the House is anticipated. Sir Thomas Smartt and other prominent Unionist members may be expected to give the Bill a helping hand. There are no indications at present as to the attitude which the Hertzogites and the Labour party are likely to adopt.

Colonial office Records: 55/58

APPENDIX XVI

THE INDIANS' RELIEF ACT, 1914

ACT No. 22 OF 1914

TO MAKE PROVISION FOR THE REDRESS OF CERTAIN GRIEVANCES AND THE REMOVAL OF CERTAIN DISABILITIES OF HIS MAJESTY'S INDIAN SUBJECTS IN THE UNION AND OTHER MATTERS INCIDENTAL THERETO

Be it Enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, the Senate and the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, as follows:

APPOINTMENT OF MARRIAGE OFFICER TO SOLEMNIZE MARRIAGES ACCORDING TO THE RITES OF AN INDIAN RELIGION

1. (1) The Minister of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as Minister) may from time to time appoint priests of any Indian religion to be marriage officers with authority to solemnize the marriages of Indians in accordance with the rites and formularies of such religion.

(2) A marriage between two Indians solemnized in accordance with such rites and formularies by a marriage officer so appointed shall be a valid and binding marriage, and all the incidents shall follow therefrom which follow from any other union recognized in law as a valid and binding marriage.

(3) A marriage officer appointed under this section shall be under the same obligations of keeping registers and entering therein particulars of marriages solemnized by him as are imposed upon marriage officers appointed under any other law in force in the Province in which those marriages are solemnized and the provisions of any such law as to the custody and inspection of registers, the obtaining of copies thereof, the evidence of certified copies thereof, the loss, the destruction or falsification of or injury to such registers or such certified copies shall be deemed to be incorporated in this section.

VALIDATION BY REGISTRATION OF MARRIAGES WHICH IN FACT ARE MONOGAMOUS

2. (1) If any Indian male and Indian female upon a joint application to any magistrate or marriage officer (whether appointed under this Act or under any other law) satisfy such officer:
 - (a) That there exists between them a union recognised as a marriage under the tenets of an Indian religion which they profess; and
 - (b) That there does not exist between either of them and any other person a union so recognised as a marriage or any union recognized in law as a marriage; and
 - (c) That each of them is desirous that the union should be regarded as a valid and binding marriage in law,

such officer shall, upon being furnished with particulars as to the full name, residence, place of birth, and age of each party and such further particulars as are prescribed by regulations made under this section, register such union in manner so prescribed, as a marriage between those parties. Notwithstanding that by the tenets of the religion which the parties profess polygamous unions are approved or recognised, the said union shall, by the fact of registration, become, as from the date when it was contracted, a valid and binding marriage between the parties, and all the incidents shall follow therefrom which follow from any other union recognised in law as a valid and binding marriage, and the marriage shall be deemed to have taken place at the place where the union was, prior to the registration, contracted.

(2) The Minister may make regulations as to the manner in which applications shall be made under this section, the keeping of registers for the purposes thereof, and the particulars to be entered in those registers. The provisions of the marriage laws in force in the Province in which such unions are registered as marriages, so far as those laws relate to the custody and inspection of registers, the obtaining of copies thereof or extracts therefrom, the evidence of certified copies thereof, the loss, destruction or falsification of or injury to those registers certified copies or extracts shall *mutatis mutandis* apply to registers kept under this section.

AMENDMENT AND INTERPRETATION OF SECTION FIVE (G.) OF ACT NO. 22 OF 1913

3. (1) From paragraph (g) of Section *five* of the Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913, (Act No. 22 of 1913), the following words shall be deleted, that is to say, the words—

“Including the wife or child of a lawful and monogamous marriage duly celebrated according to the rites of any religious faith outside the Union—”

(2) In the interpretation of that paragraph, as hereby amended—

“The wife” shall include any one woman between whom and the exempted person mentioned therein there exists a union recognized as a marriage under the tenets of an Indian religion, notwithstanding that by those tenets the union of that exempted person with other women at the same time would also be recognized as a marriage: Provided that no woman shall be deemed to be the wife of such exempted person—

- (a) If such a union exists between him and any other woman who resides in any Province; or
- (b) If such exempted person has in any Province offspring by any other woman who is still living;

“The child under the age of sixteen” shall mean a child who is the offspring of the exempted person and the wife as herein defined, or the child of the exempted person and a deceased woman who, if she had been alive, could have been recognized as the wife (as herein defined) or whose union with the exempted person could have been registered as a marriage under Section *two* of this Act.

SAVING OF EXISTING PROVISIONS OF INDIAN IMMIGRATION LAWS OF NATAL AS TO MARRIAGES

4. Nothing in the preceding sections in this Act shall be construed as repealing or in any manner modifying the provisions of Sections *sixty-five* to *eighty-nine* inclusive of the Indian Immigration Law, 1891, of Natal (Law No. 25 of 1891) or Act No. 2 of 1907 of Natal.

AMENDMENT OF SECTION THREE OF ACT 17 OF 1895 (NATAL)

5. Section *three* of the Indian Immigration Amendment Act, 1895 (Natal) is hereby amended by addition to the end of that section of the words “if he applies therefor within twelve months after such expiry”.

POWERS TO GRANT FREE PASSAGE TO INDIA AT REQUEST OF INDIANS

6. The Minister may in his discretion cause to be provided out of moneys appropriated by Parliament for the purpose a free passage from any port in the Union

to any port in India (with or without free conveyance by rail to such first mentioned port) for any Indian (other than an Indian who is or may become entitled under Law No. 25 of 1891—Natal—or any amendment thereof to such free passage) who makes a written request for such free passage and—

- (a) Signs as a condition of the grant of such request a statement that he abandons on behalf of himself and his wife and all minor children (if any) all rights possessed by him or them to enter or reside in any part of the Union together with all rights incidental to his or their domicile therein; and
- (b) Furnishes to an officer designated by the Minister such means of identification of such Indian and his wife and minor children (if any) as the Minister may prescribe.

A condition so signed shall be conclusive evidence that such Indian and his wife and minor children (if any) have abandoned his or their rights to enter and reside in the Union and any rights incidental to his or their domicile therein.

EVIDENCE OF FORMER RESIDENCE OR DOMICILE IN NATAL OF INDIANS

7. If in the administration of any law any question arises as to whether an Indian who produces a certificate of former residence or domicile in Natal is identical with the Indian who was lawfully entitled to obtain that certificate, then if the thumb impressions placed on that certificate when it was issued by the immigration officer are identical with the thumb impression of the Indian who produces it, the certificates shall be conclusive evidence of such Indian's former residence or domicile in Natal.

REPEAL OF PROVISIONS OF LAWS RELATING TO YEARLY PASSES OR LICENCES OF EX-INDENTURED INDIANS

8. The laws specified in the Schedule to this Act are hereby repealed to the extent set out in the fourth column of that Schedule, and those provisions of those laws which are hereby repealed shall, in so far as they have been extended to Zululand, cease to be in force therein.

No proceedings shall be taken to recover any moneys which may have become due from any Indian prior to the commencement of this Act under the provisions so repealed.

SHORT TITLE

9. This Act may be cited for all purposes as the Indians' Relief Act, 1914.

Colonial office Records: Cd. 7644/14

APPENDIX XVII

LETTER FROM E. M. GORGES

CAPE TOWN,
June 30, 1914

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Adverting to the discussions you have lately had with General Smuts on the subject of the position of the Indian community in the Union, at the first of which you expressed yourself as satisfied with the provisions of the Indians' Relief Bill and accepted it as a definite settlement of the points, which required legislative action, at issue between that community and the Government; and at the second of which you submitted for the consideration of the Government a list of other matters requiring administrative action, over and above those specifically dealt with in that Bill; I am desired by General Smuts to state with reference to those matters that:

- (1) He sees no difficulty in arranging that the Protector of Indian Immigrants in Natal will in future issue to every Indian, who is subject to the provisions of Natal Act 17 of 1895, on completion of his period of indenture, or re-indenture, a certificate of discharge, free of charge, similar in form to that issued under the provisions of Section 106 of Natal Law No. 25 of 1891.
- (2) On the question of allowing existing plural wives and the children of such wives to join their husbands (or fathers) in South Africa, no difficulty will be raised by the Government if, on enquiry, it is found, as you stated, that the number is a very limited one.
- (3) In administering the provisions of Section (4) (1) (a) of the Union Immigrants' Regulation Act, No. 22 of 1913, the practice hitherto existing at the Cape will be continued in respect of South Africa-born Indians who seek to enter the Cape Province, so long as the movement of such persons to that Province assumes no greater dimensions than has been the case in the past; the Government, however, reserve the right, as soon as the number of such entrants sensibly increase, to apply the provisions of the Immigration Act.
- (4) In the case of the "specially exempted educated entrants into the Union" (i.e., the limited number who will be allowed by the Government to enter the Union each year for some purpose connected with the general welfare of the Indian community), the declarations to be made by such persons will not be required at Provincial borders, as

the general declarations which are made in terms of Section 19 of the Immigrants' Regulation Act at the port of entry are sufficient.

- (5) Those Indians who have been admitted within the last three years, either to the Cape province or Natal, after passing the education tests imposed by the Immigration Laws which were in force therein prior to the coming into effect of Act 22 of 1913, but who, by reason of the wording of Section 20 thereof, are not yet regarded as being "domiciled" in the sense in which that term is defined in the Section in question, shall, in the event of their absencing themselves temporarily from the Province in which they are lawfully resident, be treated, on their return, as if the term "domicile" as so defined did apply to them.
- (6) He will submit to the Minister of Justice the cases of those persons who have in the past been convicted of "*bona fide* passive resistance offences" (a term which is mutually understood) and that he anticipates no objection on Mr. De Wet's part to the suggestion that convictions for such offences will not be used by the Government against such persons in the future.
- (7) A document will be issued to every "specially exempted educated entrant" who is passed by the Immigration Officers under the instructions of the Minister issued under Section 25 of Act No. 22 of 1913,
- (8) All the recommendations of the Indian Grievances Commission enumerated at the conclusion of their Report, which remain over and above the points dealt with in the Indians' Relief Bill, will be adopted by the Government;

and subject to the stipulation contained in the last paragraph of this letter the necessary further action in regard to those matters will be issued without delay.

With regard to the administration of existing laws, the Minister desires me to say that it always has been and will continue to be the desire of the Government to see that they are administered in a just manner and with due regard to vested rights.

In conclusion, General Smuts desires me to say that it is, of course, understood, and he wishes no doubts on the subject to remain, that the placing of the Indians' Relief Bill on the Statute Book of the Union, coupled with the fulfilment of the assurances he is giving in this letter in regard to the other matters referred to herein, touched upon at the recent interviews, will constitute a complete and final settlement of the controversy which has unfortunately existed for so long, and will be

unreservedly accepted as such by the Indian community.

I am, etc.,
E. M. GORGES

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.
CAPE TOWN

Colonial Office Records: 551/58

APPENDIX XVIII

(1) GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S DESPATCH TO COLONIAL OFFICE

CAPE TOWN,
July 4, 1914

SIR,

The agreement reached between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi upon outstanding administrative points, as reported to you by telegraph on the 1st instant, is a welcome sequel to the enactment of the Indians' Relief Bill, and presages, I trust, a respite from those Indians' troubles which have formed the subject of constant correspondence during practically the whole of my residence in this country.

2. I enclose herewith copies of the two letters¹ which were summarised in my telegram. The concessions promised by the Minister display a spirit of generosity and statesmanship. All Mr. Gandhi's stipulations which were recorded in my Secret Despatch of the 30th May have been met, although in regard to the preservation of vested rights in the administration of existing laws and particularly of the Transvaal Gold Law, the general assurance given towards the end of Mr. Gorges' letter is less precise and categorical than Mr. Gandhi desired. This point, I believe, was found the most difficult of adjustment. On Sunday last General Smuts said that on the previous day he had received Mr. Gandhi in an interview lasting a couple of hours, and that, apart from the question of the administration of the Gold Law, an agreement was in sight. Upon the Gold Law, however, Mr. Gandhi's demands involved an extension rather than a confirmation of vested rights as understood by the Minister, and he did not think it would be possible to give the specific assurance for which he was asked. Being anxious for a settlement, he was still considering what could be done, but he doubted that he would be able to go as far as Mr. Gandhi wished. The further negotiations were conducted by Mr. Gorges, and in the end Mr. Gandhi, either in a mood of sweet reasonableness or from reluctanceto jeopardize what he had obtained

¹ The reference is to E. M. Gorges' letter to Gandhiji of June 30, 1914, the preceding appendix, and Gandhiji's reply thereto of the same date ("Letter to E. M. Gorges", 30-6-1914).

for the sake of the unobtainable, signified his willingness to accept the formula which was offered and to close the bargain. Letters were exchanged and on the following morning, the 1st instant, Mr. Gandhi left Cape Town for Durban. My Secretary, who happened to meet him before his departure, did not observe any marked change in his appearance as the result of his recent fast. In the course of a brief conversation he spoke with great modesty of his own share in the settlement and with generosity of the help which had been given by others.

3. Mr. Gandhi presumably will publish the attached correspondence shortly after the end of the session. It is not likely to enhance the popularity of the Government in Nationalist circles, and even in some other quarters, especially in Natal, it may be expected to have a dubious reception. In these circumstances publicity before Parliament has risen might prove very inconvenient. I need not lay stress on the courage with which General Smuts has disregarded the prejudices of a large section of his party.

4. The assurance given on the first point specified in Mr. Gorges' letter should go far to allay the apprehensions which have been aroused in Natal as to the effect of the removal of the £3 licence. These misconceptions are responsible for the foolish telegrams from Durban, which have been communicated to you under cover of my Despatches No. 467 and No. 468 of the 2nd instant, asking that the Bill should be "vetoed". The sender of one of them, Mr. K. K. Pillay, who describes himself as "Chairman of the £3 tax Committee", is said to be a person of no importance. I am also told that it is very doubtful whether Mr. M. C. Coovadia, from whom the other emanates, has any considerable following even among the members of the Natal Indian Congress. Information has reached me that at a recent so-called "mass meeting" which he summoned the attendance only numbered some thirty Indians. For the accuracy of this statement I cannot, however, vouch. There is some force in his criticism of Section 7 of the Act as redrafted. The point had not been overlooked. I saw the new clause for the first time when it appeared among the amendments on the Order paper. I at once caused enquiry to be made why the Commission's recommendation had been varied so that proof might be required not only of the identity of the Indian producing a certificate of domicile, but also of the grantee's lawful title to its issue. I was advised that in some cases such certificates had been obtained by fraud and that the Government did not think it right that these should be protected. I should have preferred the original clause, but as the contention of the Government was not in itself unreasonable, and as Mr. Gandhi took no exception to the amendment, I did not feel called upon to cause embarrassment by insisting on so relatively trivial a detail. In other respects Mr. Coovadia's telegram is futile. It is conceivable, though there is no evidence, that this agitation may have been encouraged by a few Europeans in Natal who were perhaps not averse from allowing

Indian suspicion and credulity to be stimulated into a belief that, in the absence of a £3 licence, reindenture was the only safeguard against compulsory repatriation. Mr. Gandhi's influence may, upon his return to Natal, be expected to supply the necessary corrective.

5. On the second point in Mr. Gorges' letter, the concession is more generous even than the Commission's recommendation in so far as the requirement that the plural wives affected shall previously at some time have lived in South Africa has been omitted. That the privilege was only to be granted if the number of potential beneficiaries was found to be small has been common ground throughout.

6. On the third point Mr. Gandhi receives the desired administrative assurance in regard to the question of the "Cape entry". On the fourth point his difficulty about the Orange Free State declaration is met. The matter dealt with in the fifth point had not hitherto, so far as I am aware, been raised. It is disposed of in an eminently fair and reasonable manner. On the sixth point a conciliatory and favourable answer is given to Mr. Gandhi's plea that past convictions for "*bona fide* passive resistance offences" should not in future be brought up against the persons so convicted. The seventh point regulates satisfactorily a detail of procedure in connection with the admission of "specially exempted entrants". In the eighth point the pledge given by General Smuts in the House of Assembly as to the adoption of all the administrative recommendations summarised at the end of the Commission's report is explicitly reiterated. No surprise can be felt at the addition of a stipulation that the fulfilment of all these assurances in conjunction with the legislative action which has been taken is subject to the understanding that the settlement will be accepted as complete and final by the Indian community.

7. Mr. Gandhi in his reply says unequivocally that the passage of the Bill and this correspondence bring the passive resistance struggle to a final close and at the end of his letter he expresses his conviction that, if the generous spirit recently displayed by the Government continues to be applied, as promised, in the administration of existing laws, the Indian community in the Union will be able to enjoy some measure of peace and will never be a source of trouble to the Government. Further than this Mr. Gandhi could hardly be expected to go, and General Smuts would probably have been glad if the letter had been confined to these two statements. The indication that other points stand over for adjustment at some future date is, however, tactfully worded, and Mr. Gandhi may have felt its inclusion to be necessary both in justice to himself and as a means of preventing any immediate clamour for further concessions. General Smuts, when the letter was submitted to him, is understood to have described it as a remarkable feat of diplomacy and ingenuity; he does not appear to have regarded it as a serious departure from the terms of settlement, but I have not yet had an opportunity of sounding him personally on the point.

8. I enclose two newspaper extracts. The first reports the proceedings at a congratulatory function held in Mr. Gandhi's honour on Saturday last. The speeches delivered by Senator Marshall Campbell, Mr. Meyler, and Mr. Gandhi will be read with interest. The second records a grumble by a Muhammdan Society at Johannesburg. Their grievance presumably is that the Act fails to give recognition to polygamy, and that grievance, I fear, will, for the present at any rate, have to remain unredressed. The legislation of Mauritius, to which a Muhammadan deputation invited the attention of General Smuts, is considered by the Department of the Interior, with whose view I agree, to be rather less liberal, in this respect than the marriage provisions of the Indians Relief Act as passed by the Union Parliament.

I have, etc.,
GOVERNOR-GENERAL

Colonial Office Records: 551/58

(2) GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S DESPATACH TO COLONIAL OFFICE

CAPE TOWN,
July 10, 1914

SIR,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of correspondence, as published in the Press, between the Department of the Interior and Mr. Gandhi upon certain administrative questions which had stood over for adjustment pending the enactment of the Indians' Relief Bill. The Act which has now been placed on the Statute Book gives effect to those recommendations of the Indian Enquiry Commission which necessitated legislation. The remaining recommendations were such as could be dealt with departmentally. In regard to them the necessary action is promised in the enclosed correspondence and this promise is supplemented by assurances acceptable to Mr. Gandhi upon the other points which he had specified as essential to the attainment of a satisfactory settlement.

2. Mr. Gandhi's statement that this correspondence, coupled with the passage of the Bill, finally closes the passive resistance struggle which began nearly eight years ago will be noted with much gratification. I am glad indeed in relinquishing my office here to know that the Indian troubles of South Africa which have occasioned so much anxiety not only to the Government and people of this country but also to His Majesty's Government and the Government of India may now be expected to subside. In my judgment the Ministers and Parliament of the Union as well as Sir William Solomon and his fellow Commissioners have performed a great Imperial service by their several contributions to the present settlement.

3. It will be observed that while Mr. Gandhi accepts the agreement so far as he personally is concerned, he mentions in his letter a few other points which, in his

opinion, remain to be dealt with at some future date. He does not, however, foreshadow a revival of agitation, and I cannot believe that any considerable portion of the Indian community will be so ill-advised as to make the concessions which have been afforded to them a new starting point for further demands. Some apprehensions in this respect seem to have been felt by the writer of a leading article in the *Cape Argus*, of which I attach a copy, but it is to be hoped that the Indians, after obtaining so much, will not commit the folly of displaying impatience because they have not obtained even more.

4. The further Press extracts which are enclosed will be read with interest.

The first reproduces the text of two telegrams despatched from Johannesburg to Mr. Gokhale in England and to some addressee at Bombay, respectively. The former is signed by Mr. Cachalia, whose ultimatum to the Government, it will be remembered, formed the prelude of the Natal Strike and its concomitant movements towards the end of last year; the latter is signed by Messrs Cachalia, Gandhi, Kallenbach, and Polak. In both the words "final settlement" are used, and both are conceived in a spirit and couched in language to which the most querulous critic could take no exception.

The second extract reports Mr. Gandhi's arrival at Durban and the adoption of a Resolution by the Natal Indian Association approving of his action.

The third summarises a farewell speech delivered by Mr. Gandhi at a reception given in the Town Hall of Durban under the presidency of the Mayor, on the 8th instant. You will observe that he expresses gratitude to the Union Government, acknowledges the help received from other quarters, and in speaking of the settlement appears to attach no qualifications to them.

The circumstance that he proposes to leave South Africa next week may perhaps be taken as implying that he regards his labours in this country as having been brought to an honourable conclusion.

I have, etc.,
GOVERNOR-GENERAL

Colonial office Records: 551/58

APPENDIX XIX

THE STRUGGLE AND WHAT IT HAS MEANT

(BY THE EDITOR)

How oft by God's will, hath a small host vanquished a large
host, and God is with the patiently persevering.—*Quran*
Think ye to enter Paradise, when no such things have come

upon you, as on those who flourished before you?—Ills
and troubles tried them.—*Quran*

To survey, within a limited space, the origins and incidents of a movement that has occupied eight years of the history of South African Indians is a task impossible of satisfactory fulfilment. The present sketch will, therefore, be but a hasty outline, with here and there an indicator emphasising a noteworthy occurrence or a fundamental outline.

The origins of the Passive Resistance Struggle are to be sought, not in the agitation of 1906, but in that which commenced, in one of its phases, in the Transvaal, in 1885, and, in another, in Natal, in 1894. The old Republican Law 3 of 1885, whilst imposing various burdens upon Asiatics residing in the country, required that such of them as entered for purposes of trade should be registered at a fixed fee, and that, “for sanitary purposes”, they should reside in Locations specially set apart for them. To a large extent, both requirements proved a dead letter, but a great deal of friction with the British Government was engendered, resulting in Imperial intervention at the time of the War, when resident Indians, as British subjects, were promised complete redress of their grievances.

In Natal, a British Colony, the position had been complicated by the grave prejudice aroused by the presence of large numbers of Indian labourers brought at the instance of the European Colonists under indenture, and an agitation had arisen for the exclusion of free Asiatic immigration and the disfranchisement of all Asiatics. It became a question whether this was to be accomplished by specifically racial legislation or by general enactment differentially administered. The conflict of views represented by these two methods raged for some time, but at last, thanks to the statesmanship of Mr. Chamberlain, in 1897, the second method was adopted, and the famous “Natal Act” passed, imposing an educational and not a racial test. From then onwards, in Natal, racial legislation was a thing of the past, and hence the first signs of renewed trouble arose in the Transvaal, where the principle of statutory equality had not been accepted, owing to a different political conception of the status of Coloured people.

In the re-settlement that took place after the War, it was hoped that the burdens would be removed from the shoulders of the British Indian community, but Indians were dismayed to find the Imperial authorities endeavouring vigorously to enforce the obnoxious legislation against which they had strongly protested in pre-War days, a policy that was later weakly defended by Lord Selborne. Immigration of Indians was severely restricted by the Peace Preservation Ordinance. Registration of practically all adult male Indians, under Law 3 of 1885, was urged by Lord Milner, and was subsequently agreed to by the Indian leaders as a purely voluntary act, on Lord

Milner's definite promise¹ that this registration would be regarded as complete and final, and that the certificates issued would constitute a permanent right of residence to the holders and a right to come and go at will.

Meanwhile, Law 3 of 1885 was being enforced so as to compel all Indians to reside and trade in Locations, and the pre-War controversy was revived, resulting in an appeal to the Supreme Court, which reversed the old Republican High Court's decision, and held that Indians were free to trade anywhere they pleased, and that non-residence in a Location was not punishable at law. This decision was a severe rebuff to the anti-Indian element in the European population that had its representatives even in the Government, which endeavoured to legislate to overcome the effect of the Supreme Court decision—without result, however, owing to the intervention of the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, the late Mr. Lyttelton. But the general public, by ingeniously manipulated statistics, were led to believe in a huge influx of unauthorised Asiatics into the Transvaal, to which some colour was lent by the dispersal of the Indian residents of the Johannesburg Indian Location throughout the Colony, after it was burnt down at the time of the plague outbreak in 1904, and meetings all over the Transvaal were held with the object of closing the door against all Asiatic immigration, and compelling Indians to trade and reside exclusively in Locations. In an atmosphere of prejudice and terror thus created, it was impossible effectively to protest one's innocence, and the request of the Indian community for an open and impartial inquiry, whether by Royal Commission or otherwise, fell on deaf ears; so that when a draft ordinance was published in 1906 to "amend" Law 3 of 1885, requiring compulsory re-registration of the entire Indian community, men, women, and children, it was vociferously welcomed by the whole European population, whilst it fell amongst the Indian victims-to-be like a bombshell. The basic assumption, on the part of the authorities, for its necessity lay in the unquenchable belief in wholesale Indian immigration of an unlawful character, to which, in their opinion, resident Indians could not but be a party. So far as the general public was concerned, the measure was hailed as the first instalment of a scheme designed to drive Indians out of the Colony altogether, and Europeans in the neighbouring Colonies and territories eagerly looked on, as they had looked on, in 1903, at Lord Milner's abortive effort to compel Indian trade and residence in Locations, so that they might take advantage of the results of the new policy to relieve themselves of their own Asiatic "incubus".

Appalled by the magnitude of the disaster that threatened the community, the Indian leaders hastened to take steps to avoid it, if possible. They sought an interview with the responsible member of the Government, but succeeded only in getting women excluded from the operation of the measure, and, as a last resort, an Indian mass meeting² was held at the moment that the legislative Council was

¹ *Vide* "The British Indian Association and Lord Milner", 11-6-1903.

² *Vide* "The Mass Meeting", 11-11-1906 & "Johannesburg Letter", 22-9-1906.

debating the clauses of the draft ordinance. Whilst the Council's debate was perfunctory and prearranged performance, the whole business being concluded in less than a couple of hours, the crowded Empire Theatre rang with impassioned denunciations of the Government's policy, which belied the solemn undertaking of Lord Milner in every important respect, assumed the guilt of the Indian community unheard and without proof, and adumbrated their virtual expulsion from the Colony, and, eventually, from South Africa. So fierce was the indignation aroused that, when the famous Fourth Resolution¹ was put, committing all present, and those they represented, to go to gaol, if the measure should become law, until such time as it should be repealed or disallowed, the whole vast audience of three thousand persons rose as one man, and shouted a solemn "Amen," when the oath of Passive Resistance was administered. Simultaneously, however, and as a last effort to avoid a terrible conflict, a deputation to England was arranged for.² The delegates proceeded there to interview the Imperial authorities and arouse public opinion, and their efforts resulted in the suspension of the Royal Assent to the measure owing to the imminence of the inauguration of self-government in the Transvaal, and in the formation of the famous South Africa British Indian Committee, with Sir Mancherji Bhownaggee as its Executive Chairman, Mr. L. W. Ritch as its Secretary, and, subsequently, Lord Amthill as its President.

The disallowance of the measure was, however, merely a temporary respite, for, taking umbrage at what was thought to be an impertinent intrusion on the part of the Imperial Government in the affairs of a practically self-governing British Colony, the European section of the population angrily demanded the immediate re-enactment of the ordinance, and almost the first action of the new Parliament was to rush it through all its stages in a single session of a unanimous House,³ entirely ignoring Indian opinion and Indian protests, for, as Indians were not directly represented in Parliament, nobody appeared to consider it necessary to take their feelings into consideration.

Still anxious to avoid a struggle that had appeared to be inevitable, the Indian leaders had urged the Government and Parliament not to proceed with the Bill, but to accept a voluntary effort of re-registration in a manner that might be mutually agreed upon, in which they proffered all possible assistance. But they were distrusted and ignored, and all the tragic possibilities of a prolonged conflict were forced upon the Indian community. In July 1907, the new Act came into force, and registration under it officially commenced, in compartments, the registration officers travelling from town to town throughout the Colony. Their efforts to induce registration were wholly unsuccessful, and an extension of the advertised time for registration was given by

¹ *Vide* "The Mass Meeting", 11-11-1906

² This was in October-December, 1906.

³ *Vide* "Cable to Secretary of State for the Colonies", 6-4-1907

the Government, as a last opportunity to comply with the law. But 95 per cent of the Indian community remained true to its oath. Meanwhile, a further effort had been made to avoid an extension of the trouble, and a petition¹, signed by some 3,000 Indians, had been addressed to the Government, imploring them to realise the depth of suffering into which it was threatened to plunge the Indian community, who once more offered voluntary re-registration if the Act was suspended. The petition was rejected contemptuously, and, at the end of the year, several of the leaders were arrested, ordered to leave the Colony, and, upon their refusal to do so, imprisoned for various periods. This process was repeated, until some hundreds of all classes were lodged in gaol, and the Government, realising that their efforts to crush the community had failed, opened up negotiations through the agency of Mr. Albert Cartwright, then Editor of *The Transvaal Leader*, with the result that, almost at the moment that H. H. the Aga Khan was presiding over a huge public meeting of protest in Bombay, a compromise was signed, whereby it was agreed to suspend passive resistance, to proceed with voluntary re-registration for a period of three months, during which the operation of the law was to be suspended, and, as the Indian signatories clearly understood, to repeal the hated Act if the re-registration was satisfactorily completed. In the meantime, the situation had been complicated by the passing of an Immigration Act that, operating jointly with the Asiatic Law Amendment Act, absolutely prohibited all Asiatic immigration, no matter how cultured the immigrant might be. Thus, at a stroke, the policy of non-racial legislation, that had been so strongly advocated by Mr. Chamberlain, was destroyed. The community, however, realised that, with the repeal of the Asiatic Act, the racial taint would disappear, and all efforts were, accordingly, concentrated upon that. The commencement of voluntary re-registration was signalled by a murderous attack upon Mr. Gandhi² by a misguided countryman, and, for the moment, everything was in confusion. But a special appeal to the community was made and, with confidence restored and the promise of repeal, re-registration was duly completed by the middle of May, and Lord Selborne himself bore testimony to its satisfactoriness. Then the Government were called upon to perform their part of the compromise, but the promise of repeal was repudiated, and immediately the Indian community was thrown into a turmoil. The Government offered to repeal the Act provided that certain classes of Indians were treated as prohibited immigrants, and the racial bar remained in the Immigration Law. Naturally, these terms were indignantly rejected, and the community prepared for a revival of Passive Resistance. Mr. Sorabji Shapurji, an educated Parsee from Natal, was Imprisoned as a protest against the racial bar. The Natal Indian leaders entered the Transvaal, in order to cooperate with their brethren

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Colonial Secretary", 1-11-1907

² *Vide* "My Reward", 22-2-1908

there, and were arrested as prohibited immigrants and ordered to leave the Colony. But at a mass meeting¹ held in Johannesburg, at which they were present, hundreds of certificates of voluntary registration were publicly burnt, and a challenge of wholesale imprisonment was thrown out to the Government, who took alarm at the situation, and a conference of leading members of the Government and Opposition, and of representatives of the Indian and Chinese communities, together with Mr. Albert Cartwright, as mediator, was held at Pretoria. The conference proved abortive, however, for though they were prepared to waive the other points upon which they had previously insisted, the Government proved adamant on the two main issues. They definitely refused either to repeal the Asiatic Act or to remove the racial bar of the Immigration Law. An amending Bill was passed through both Houses of Parliament, validating voluntary registration, and improving the Indian position in certain respects, but it being, in the main, unsatisfactory for the reasons given above, it was not recognized by the Passive Resisters, who resumed the struggle with energy. The new measure, however, strengthened the hands of the Government by giving them powers of deportation, which, however, were at first neutralised by their deporting Passive Resisters across the Natal border, whence they returned as fast as they were deported.

Into the many details and ramifications of the struggle at this stage it is unnecessary now to enter; suffice it to recall the Delagoa Bay incidents, when the Portuguese Government acted as the catspaw of the Transvaal, in preventing the entry into the Transvaal of returning Indians lawfully resident there, the various test-cases brought in the Supreme Court against the Government, some of which were lost and some won, the voluntary insolvency of Mr. A. M. Cachalia, the Chairman of the British Indian Association, who preferred to keep his oath and preserve his honour to the sordid joy of money-making, the imprisonment of Indians of all classes by hundreds, the appeals to India, where protest meetings were held in different parts of the country, the financial help of Natal, the arousing of enthusiasm amongst Indians all over the country, the activity of Lord Amphill's Committee in London, and of the British Press, the bitter controversies that raged in the Transvaal papers, the latent sympathy of not a few Transvaal Europeans, culminating in the formation of Mr. Hosken's Committee that rendered such splendid and patriotic service in a number of ways, the public letter to *The Times*, the refusal of the Royal Assent to anti Indian measures passed by the Legislatures of Natal and Southern Rhodesia, the Indian mass meetings in Johannesburg and all over South Africa, the weakening of some sections of the Indian community and the strengthening of others, the amazing revelation of Tamil strength and fortitude, the energetic labours of the Indian women, the ruin and desolation of businesses and homes, the cruel gaol hardships whose purpose was to

¹ Vide "Speech at Mass Meeting", 16-8-1908 & 23-8-1908

crush the spirit of the Passive Resisters, the magnificent courage of those who sought imprisonment again and again, the glorious religious spirit that was developed as the struggle moved on from phase to phase, the hopes and fears, the firm faith of the leaders in ultimate success—all these constitute a pageant of incidents and emotions that gave greatness to the Passive Resistance movement, and that bestowed upon its most distinguishing characteristics.

New life was given to the movement in the middle of 1909, when two deputations were authorised to proceed to England and India respectively, to cultivate public opinion there and to seek assistance. As the delegates were on the point of leaving, the majority of them were arrested and imprisoned as passive resisters, doubtless with the intention of preventing the departure of the remainder. But the community insisted that the deputations should go. In England, interest in the question was strongly revived, and, as Transvaal Ministers were there at the time in connection with the Draft Act of Union, the Imperial authorities strove to effect a settlement; but General Smuts proved obdurate, and flatly declined to remove the statutory racial bar and substitute for it general legislation, though it was clear that the Asiatic Act was doomed. The deputation, which had been led by Mr. Gandhi, therefore returned to South Africa, having accomplished only a part of what it had hoped to achieve, but having arranged for a body of volunteers who undertook to collect funds and keep the subject before the public.

The deputation to India, heralded by the tragic death of Nagappan shortly after his release from prison, was of a different character. Mr. Polak, who was the sole remaining delegate, placed himself unreservedly in the hands of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, whose Servants of India Society arranged for meetings to be held in every part of the country, from Bombay to Rangoon, from Madras to Lahore. Tremendous enthusiasm was aroused, Indian patriotic pride in the sufferers in South Africa was awakened, and funds were energetically collected following the example of Mr. Ratan J. Tata, some £10,000 being contributed for the maintenance of the struggle, ruling princes sending generous subscriptions. All sections of the people united in demanding the intervention of the Imperial Government, and at the historic session of the Imperial Council at Calcutta, the Government of India announced its acceptance of Mr. Gokhale's resolution, unanimously supported, to take powers to prohibit the further recruitment of indentured labour in India for Natal. After a thirteen months' campaign, India had been educated on the South African Indian question to a degree that aroused the attention and anxiety of the Home authorities, and when angry protests came from every part of the country against the Transvaal Government's action in deporting to India large numbers of Passive Resisters (many of them born in South Africa), with the object of breaking up the movement, the Imperial Government, upon the urgent representations of the Government of India,

successfully implored the Transvaal—and, subsequently, the Union—Administration to cease to deport. The deportees subsequently returned to South Africa, but with the loss of Narayansamy, who died at Delagoa Bay after having been unlawfully denied a landing anywhere in British territory.

Meanwhile, the four South African Colonies had become Provinces of the Union of South Africa, and the Imperial Government, convinced at last of the justice of the Indian cause, and taking advantage of the possibilities of the new situation, addressed to the Union Government the memorable despatch of October 7, 1910, in which they powerfully recommended the repeal of Act 2 of 1907, the removal of the racial bar, and the substitution for the latter of the Indian suggestion of non-racial legislation modified by administrative differentiation, effectively limiting future Indian immigration to a minimum number annually of highly educated men, whose services would be required for the higher needs of the Indian community. To this dispatch was appended the condition that nothing that was done to settle the Transvaal controversy at the expense of the Indians residing in the Coast Provinces would be satisfactory to the Imperial Government. The Union Ministers responded in a friendly manner, the struggle became less acute, and ultimately, in 1911, a Union Immigration Bill was published, purporting to settle the controversy that had been raging for so long. The new measure, however, obviously did not serve its purpose, for, whilst repealing the Asiatic Act of 1907, saving the rights of minors that had been declared by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in the Chotabhai case, the Bill did not remove the racial bar, but rather extended it throughout the Union, by reason of the Orange Free State entry question, and it took away other rights not only from Transvaal Indians, but from those resident in the Coast Provinces. A unanimous outcry arose from them, negotiations were re-opened, and the suggestion was thrown out by the Passive Resistance leaders that the Bill should be replaced by one limited to the Transvaal alone, which, however, was not adopted. Eventually it was found impossible to pass the Bill, and a provisional settlement was arranged, whereby the Indians undertook to suspend Passive Resistance, whilst the Government promised to introduce satisfactory legislation in the 1912 session of Parliament, meanwhile administering the law as though it had already been altered, and specially exempting, in terms of an earlier understanding, a limited number of educated entrants into the Transvaal.

Taking advantage of the full, and of the better feeling aroused at the time of the King's Coronation in India, a further mission was sent there, in order to maintain public interest and to place before the Government the points upon which the Indian community insisted. The measure of 1912, however, met with no better fate than its predecessor, and the provisional agreement was extended for another year. It was then that preparations were made throughout South Africa to welcome the Hon. Mr.

Gokhale, whose tour in the subcontinent is still fresh in the minds of all. He succeeded, as no one else had yet done, in raising the discussion of the Indian problem to the Imperial plane, and won the admiration even of his opponents for his moderation and statesmanship. It was during this visit that Indians later alleged, on his authority, that a promise of repeal of the iniquitous £3 tax was made by the Government, in view of the fact that, for over a year, further indentured immigration from India had been prohibited by the Indian Government.

When the 1913 Bill, however, was introduced into Parliament, and the Indian leaders observed the spirit in which the Indian question was dealt with by the Union Ministers, grave fears were aroused that a situation, which had already become still further complicated by the position created by the Searle judgment, invalidating practically every Indian marriage, would once more develop into a catastrophe. The Government were warned that the marriage question must be settled if peace were desired, and that the racial bar must be finally removed from the measure. Amendments were introduced and accepted by the Government, purporting to settle the marriage controversy on the basis of the recognition of *de facto* monogamous marriages, but, even as passed, the Bill failed to satisfy the demands of the Passive Resisters, whilst the £3 tax remained unrepealed. A final attempt was made by the Indian leaders to avoid a revival of the struggle, and negotiations were once more opened with the Government, so as to obtain a promise of remedial legislation in the next session of Parliament. They were, however, interrupted by the European strike, during the heat of which Mr. Gandhi, as spokesman of the Passive Resisters, undertook to refrain from pressing the Indian case for the moment. Meanwhile, a mission had proceeded to England to co-operate with the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, at his urgent invitation, in order to bring home to the imperial Government and the British public the extreme gravity of the situation, and the certainty of the extension of the demands of Passive Resisters unless a settlement of the points in dispute were promptly arrived at. All these representations, however, failed to conciliate the Union Government, which proved obdurate, and a final warning was sent to them stating that unless assurances of the introduction of legislative and administrative measures, in the following session, were given to recognize in law the validity of *de facto* monogamous marriages to remove the racial bar, as regards the Free State, to restore the right of entry into the Cape Colony to South Africa-born Indians, to repeal the £3 tax, and to administer justly and with due regard to vested interests existing legislation operating harshly against Indians, Passive Resistance would be immediately revived. The warning was ignored, and the struggle was resumed in all its bitterness and on a much wider scale than before. Its incidents are too fresh in the public mind to need more than a brief mention—the campaign of the Indian women whose marriages had been dishonoured by a fresh decision of the Supreme Court, at the instigation of the Government, the awakening of the free and indentured labourers

all over Natal, the tremendous strikes, the wonderful and historic strikers' march of protest into the Transvaal, the horrible scenes enacted later in the effort to crush the strikers and compel them to resume work, the arrest and imprisonment of the principal leaders and of hundreds—almost thousands—of the rank and file, the enormous Indian mass meetings held in Durban, Johannesburg, and other parts of the Union, the fierce and passionate indignation aroused in India, the large sums of money poured into South Africa from all parts of the Motherland, Lord Hardinge's famous speech at Madras, in which he placed himself at the head of Indian public opinion, and his demand for a Commission of Inquiry, the energetic efforts of Lord Ampthill's Committee, the hurried intervention of the Imperial authorities, the appointment over the heads of the Indian community of a Commission whose personnel could not satisfy the Indians, the discharge of the leaders whose advice to ignore the Commission was almost entirely accepted, the arrival of Messrs Andrews and Pearson and their wonderful work of reconciliation, the deaths of Hurbatsingh and Valliamma, the strained position relieved only by the interruption of the second European strike, when Mr. Gandhi once more undertook not to hamper the Government whilst they had their hands full with the fresh difficulty, and, when it had been dealt with, the entirely new spirit of friendliness, trust, and co-operation that was found to have been created by the moderation of the great Indian leader and the loving influence spread around him by Mr. Andrews as he proceeded with his great Imperial mission.

All these things are of recent history, as are the favourable recommendations of the Commission on practically every point referred to it and out of which Passive Resistance had arisen, the adoption of the Commission's Report in its entirety by the Government, the introduction and passing into law of the Indians' Relief Act, after lengthy and remarkable debates in both Houses of the Legislature, the correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts, in which the latter undertook, on behalf of the Government, to carry through the administrative reforms that were not covered by the new Act, and the Indian protagonist of Passive Resistance formally announced the conclusion of the struggle and set forth the points upon which Indians would sooner or later have to be satisfied before they could acquire complete equality of civil status—and the final scenes of departure, enacted throughout the country, wherein the deaths and sufferings of the Indian martyrs, Nagappen, Narayansamy, Hurbatsingh, and Valliamma, were justified and sanctified to the world.

It is significant that, as Passive Resistance became stronger and purer, it succeeded more and more in bringing together the best representatives of the European and Indian sections of the population. With each new phase came new triumphs and new friends. Whilst every material gain has been but the restoration of

that which was taken away, each gain of principle has been the concession of that which had been denied. The struggle commenced with a protest against the universal distrust and contempt for the Indian community. That distrust and contempt have been exchanged for trust and respect. It commenced with the complete ignoring of Indian sentiment. Gradually that policy, too, was altered, save that it revived acutely when the Commission was appointed over the heads of those mainly interested in its findings. To-day, however, the leaders are consulted in matters vitally affecting the welfare of the Indian community, and Passive Resistance has given for these disfranchised ones far more than the vote could have won, and in a shorter time. The movement commenced with a demand for the repeal of the Transvaal Act 2 of 1907. The Act was repealed and its threatened extension to other parts of South Africa was completely prevented. At the beginning, racial legislation against Indians was threatened, so as to drive them from the Colony. The Settlement has removed the possibility of racial legislation against Indians throughout the Empire. The system of indentured immigration from India, that had been regarded almost as a permanent feature of South African economics, has been ended. The hated £3 tax has been repealed and its attendant misery and insult destroyed. Vested rights, that were tending everywhere to disappear, are to be maintained and protected. The bulk of Indian marriages, that had never previously received the sanction of South African law, are henceforth to be fully recognized in law. But above and beyond all this is the new spirit of conciliation that has resulted from the hardships, the sufferings, the sacrifices of the Passive Resisters. The flag of legal racial equality has been kept flying, and it is now recognized that Indians have rights and aspirations and ideals that cannot be ignored. The struggle has more than proved the immense superiority of right over might, of soul-force over brute-force, of love and reason over hate and passion. India has been raised in the scale of nations, her children in South Africa have been ennobled, and the way is now open to them to develop their capacities in peace and concord, and thus contribute their quota to the building up of this great new nation that is arising in the South African sub-continent.

Golden Number, Indian Opinion, 1914

APPENDIX XX

LETTER FROM C. ROBERTS

[After *August 14*, 1914]

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Lord Crewe desires me to thank you for your letter of the 14th, and to express his warm recognition of your loyal offer of services.

His Lordship desires to accept the offer in the spirit in which it has been made,

and he has given his earnest consideration to the manner in which the services of the Indian community can be utilised to the best interest of the Empire.

He is disposed to think that it would not be advisable for Indian student to volunteer for military duties. If they enlist in the force which Lord Kitchener is now raising, they may not be able to leave it for three years' time. His Lordship is very averse to encouraging them without the sanction of their parents to take a step which would so seriously interrupt the purpose for which they came to this country, and which might prejudice their whole future. Neither is it possible to advise them to join the Territorial Force, as the establishment is now complete, and a long waiting list is already in existence, so that at the present it is impossible to secure enrolment in that force.

There is, however, another sphere of public duty not less important for which in this country we are in the habit of depending very largely upon voluntary assistance, and this consists in rendering aid to the sick and wounded. The number of these in the present war may, unhappily, be large, and if that should prove to be the case, the military hospitals and military staff may have difficulty in coping with the demands made upon them. It will, therefore, be necessary to create temporary and voluntary organisations to meet this emergency. This duty is already being undertaken by a very large number of Englishmen and women in the voluntary aid detachments of the British Red Cross Society, and it is to work of this kind that Lord Crewe would direct your attention.

His Lordship suggests that a committee should be formed among the Indian residents and visitors in London, and that they should undertake to get up an Indian voluntary aid contingent. It is understood that Mr. James Cantlie, who has taken an active part in the organisation of the voluntary aid detachments of the Red Cross Society, has offered to train and drill an Indian voluntary aid contingent if a sufficient number of persons are prepared to undergo a course of instruction. Lord Crewe notices that several of the signatories to your letter are qualified medical men, and if they will co-operate with Mr. Cantlie, there is reason to hope that the Indian voluntary aid contingent would become one of the most efficient detachments in the kingdom.

It is, of course, quite impossible at the present moment to guarantee that the services of the Indian voluntary aid contingent will be utilised in any given direction. If the number of sick and wounded should, fortunately, not be large, the ordinary military and charitable hospitals will be able to deal with them. But the prevalent feeling in this country, which, as your letter shows, is shared by Indians, is that we ought all to prepare ourselves to render efficient service to the empire should the necessity arise.

Yours truly,
CHARLES ROBERTS

Indian Opinion, 16-9-1914