Souvenir

of the

Passive |

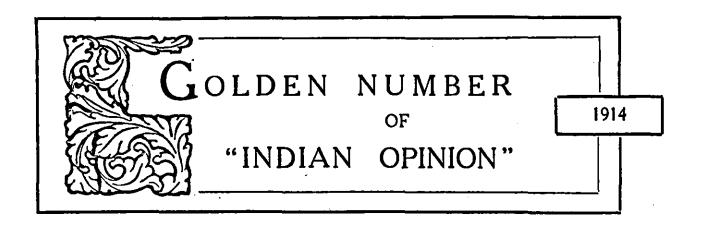
Resistance

Movement

in

South Africa

1906-14



SOUVENIR

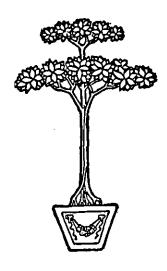
OF THE

PASSIVE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

IN

SOUTH AFRICA.

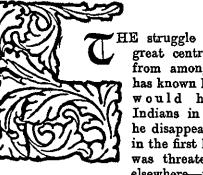
1906 — 1914.



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The Passive Resistance Movement in South Africa

The Great Central Figure



E struggle is ended, and the great central figure has gone from amongst us. (Who that has known him can doubt what would have happened to Indians in South Africa had he disappeared from the arena in the first half of 1906? What was threatened then is told elsewhere—ruin and gradual

expulsion from the country, with dishonour. And the small, quiet, emaciated man, known to the world as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, not only heard the mutterings of the storm, but sensed at once the direction of its coming and the full effect upon his countrymen's welfare of its awful devastating power.

It is often held that circumstances bring forth the man. But that is only half the truth. That man who fashions circumstances to his own vision of what is needed in the emergency has long since been fashioned by older circumstances and conditions, some of which are to-day too obscure to be analysed, whilst some jump to the eye as though to impress upon us the fact that they were the real artificers. Possibly, without a patriotic father and a saintly mother, an intense passion for truth, an enormous capacity for work of the most arduous kind, and a strong ascetic bent, Mohandas Gandhi might still have made his mark in the world as a great Indian. The obscure causes that went to his making may have been of greater and more far-reaching importance than the more obvious ones of which we have just spoken. But who will believe that the result would have been the Mohandas Gandhi that we know, the great exponent of Passive Resistance, the friendly communicant of Tolstoy, the beloved brother of all his fellow-workers, the deeply respected friend of even his opponents, the saintly hero of the millions of his countrymen in the Motherland?

To think, then, of the Struggle without the inspiring central figure of its great leader is to imagine the impossible. Sooner or later passive resistance would have, must have, been adopted by South African Indians. It had, in fact, already been adopted by some of them before the war. But it is difficult to believe that it would have been used on such a vast and heroic scale and so effectively at any time without such a man to direct it, and it is certain that, at the critical juncture of 1906, had he not firmly grasped the situation and advised his countrymen here to realise its dangers and make immediate preparations for a struggle that would either make or crush them, a very different story would be told to-day of their fate.

Nor must it be supposed that this was simple intuition with him, or that he was without guidance and preparation. The influences surrounding his childhood and early youth have already been hinted at. Whilst a student in London, he had felt himself called upon to exercise a physical self-control to which few young men of his class would have deemed it necessary to submit. Later, when he came to South Africa, that self-control had to be of a yet more severe character, if he wished to carry conviction to his countrymen and persuade that part of the European community with which he was forced into contact. This iron discipline voluntarily adopted by him, combined with his earnest search after and devotion to spiritual truth, necessarily re-acted upon his higher nature, until his influence became unbounded even with those who, for temperamental reasons, sought to escape it.

He was obsessed by two great ideas—that his own countrymen must be uplifted, held in honour and esteem by those with whom they dwelt, and taught to augment the prestige of the Motherland from which they came; and that the basic principles of the British Constitution—ideals of liberty and helpful progress—must be maintained at all costs. He early perceived that to accept legislation differentiating against his countrymen on grounds of race alone would be to strike at the very root of those two ideals, and hence

practically his first important act in South Africa was to advise his countrymen in Natal to protest against the Asiatics' Exclusion and Disfranchisement Bills that were passed in the earliest days of self-government there. It was then that he laid down and sought to enforce the dictum, which has since guided his whole political activity, that the law must, in terms, be equal for Indians and Europeans alike, but that, having regard to the extraordinary conditions of this country, latitude, varying according to time, place, and circumstance, must be allowed as to the method of its administration. By the adoption of such a widespread political principle, he clearly saw that popular prejudice could be slowly and gradually conciliated; policy could be gradually moulded to suit more favourable circumstances without the risk of arousing, if only temporarily, the forces of ignorance and reaction by a sudden and outwardly inexplicable alteration of the law; his countrymen would thus have, in theory, a status of civil equality with their European fellow-colonists, which, in practice, would be one of gradual approximation to the ideal, hastened or retarded by their own conduct and deserts; and, at the same time, the fundamental demands of the British Constitution could be satisfactorily met, and India could remain in loyal co-partnership with Britain in the Empire to which she gave her name. The whole burden of the work of Mohandas Gandhi in South Africa has been, during his twenty-one years of devoted labour, to maintain flying the flag of legal racial quality that he "broke" in those earliest days of his sojourn in the sub-continent.) And that he had a temporary success was borne witness to indirectly by Mr. Chamberlain at the Colonial Conference of 1897—ten years before the practical campaign of Passive Resistance commenced. But behind Natal was the Northern menace. The Transvaal was imbued with different ideals-ideals of race-superiority and inferiority—and, as the years passed, the clash of ideals was bound to come. The struggle has been bitter and prolonged, but it has at last resulted in a real and final victory for the principles laid down twenty-one years ago by Mohandas Gandhi.

Let us now briefly examine how he fitted his countrymen and himself for the struggle that no-one had actually foreseen, yet which was dimly felt to be looming in the background as a vague possibility. He first organised his fellow-Indians of all classes and sections into political societies. He threw himself heart and soul, having first gained the confidence of the leaders, into this work of internal political organisation, to which he added educational work of an important nature. He sought out likely and capable young men and trained them for public work. There is hardly a communal or sectional movement to-day that has not been directly or indirectly inspired by him. He trained his people in the ordinary methods of constitutional agitation by holding meetings and conferences, passing resolutions, and sending petitions, memorials and prayers, and, when these proved fruitless, he promoted deputations to the local powers that be and to the Imperial authorities. That his countrymen might prove that they were worthy of the privileges of citizenship, he sought to help them to assume its coincident responsibilities, and hence he offered an ambulance corps of Indians upon the outbreak of the War. The offer, which was accepted, immensely raised Indians in the esteem of the European population, and the success of the work of the corps led to the making and acceptance of a similar offer, on a smaller scale, six years later, during the Native Rebellion in Natal. Both in Natal and in the Transvaal he had undertaken plague-work, that proved to be of the highest value. In these and similar ways he came into touch with something of the best in European life in this country and showed also something of the highest in Indian life.)

But all this was not enough. Having left South Africa in 1901 with no immediate intention of returning, he did return post-haste at the call of his countrymen to take a humble part in the reconstruction of South Africa, after the War, set afoot by the arrival of Mr. Chamberlain. Later, realising the growing need of bringing them into closer relation with each other and into a more understanding contact with responsible Europeans, he founded a newspaper that has since been the voice of the Passive Resistance movement. Urged on by strong desires of social reform, he sought to emphasise and give effect to his hopes and aspirations of betterment by founding the well-known Phænix Settlement, which, with Indian Opinion, he has dedicated to public uses and from which he has never drawn a penny for his personal advantage.

(But all this is the outer man. The inner man is different from this—and yet but another aspect of it. He is a born ascetic. His it has always been to serve and to suffer, lest others should suffer too severely. But he has never scrupled to set a more than difficult standard for those near and dear to him. Feeling that all his talk of the simple life could never bring conviction so long as his own habits and those of his family appeared in any way to savour of luxury, he gave up his household in Johannesburg and sent his family to live a Spartan_life at Phœnix, what time he himself began to sleep on a blanket in the open air and to live upon the least amount of food that might keep body and soul together. How he gave up one stimulant and savoury after another, how he starved and fasted and sought to purify his physical nature, is to tell the story of a man to whom self-suffering is a daily joy and delight. And he did not subdue his body at the cost of his spirituality, as is the habit of so many self-tormentors, but his soul grew in exaltation as he felt himself free to devote more energy to the uplift of his higher nature and the service of his countrymen. He has been a true Bhakta, a devotee of the most earnest and humble type; Praise has always been painful and distasteful to him, though he has been lavish of it as regards his fellow-workers.

Every action of his life has been performed in the service of that Divine Essence that has so profoundly permeated his own being—from the grinding of wheat in his own home to the planting of fruit-trees, the teaching of little children, or the writing of "Hind Swaraj." The last task, as we now know, was undertaken to show the basic similarity of civilisation the world over, and the stupidity of the barriers of luxury erected by the modern industrial civilisation of the West, that constantly separate man from man and make him a senseless machine-drudge, and that threaten to invade that holy Motherland that stands in his eyes for the victory of spirit over matter.

It is the majestic personality of the man, Mohandas Gandhi, that overshadows his comparatively insignificant physique. One feels oneself in the presence of a moral giant, whose pellucid soul is a clear, still lake in which one sees Truth clearly mirrored. His is the meekness that has turned away wrath a thousand times, and that has disarmed opponents even when most hostile. Unarmed for war, he yet has conquered peace, for his weapons have been the age-old arms of moral fervour, calm determination, spiritual exaltation, sacrifice of the lower self, service of his fellowmen, lowliness, steadfastness, and an overwhelming love bestowed equally upon every living thing.) A movement with such a man at its heart could not but succeed, and so the Passive Resistance struggle has

come to an end and freed its greatest exponent for still greater service on a wider stage. Meanwhile, he has fixed the lines of growth of his countrymen in South Africa, indicated the path and means of patriotic development for his countrymen in the Motherland, rallied the best of European sentiment to the South African Indian cause, developed the possibilities of Passive Resistance, and added yet one more name to the Golden Scroll of those who have deserved well of their country and of mankind.

"Yet this is not the whole man. You cannot say this is he, that is he. All that you can say with certainty is that he is here, he is there. Everywhere his influence reigns, his authority rules, his elusive personality pervades; and this must be so, for it is true of all great men that they are incalculable, beyond definition. They partake of the nature of the Illimitable and the Eternal from which they have sprung and to which they are bound. With their feet firm-set on earth and their hands amongst the stars, they are pointers of the way to those who search, encouragers of the faint and weary, inspirers of those breathing in deep draughts of hope. But those who are honoured and chastened by the intimacy of such an one, know that, with his removal, though his spiritual presence remains and elevates, a beloved brother has departed—and they mourn.

-A. CHESSEL PIQUET.

How the Free Staters view the Question.

(From "THE!FRIEND," BLOEMFONTEIN.)



otwithstanding the views that may be held on the Indian question in South Africa, there will be few who will grudge tribute to the character and work of the Indian leader, Mr. M. K. Gandhi. An able man, he has never allowed any selfish motive of place or pay to dictate his course of action. He was pre-

eminently a people's leader. Actuated by patriotism, dominated by unfaltering belief in the justice of his cause, and stopping to consider no obstacle, except as something to be circumvented, he fought a long, often a lone, but always a clean, straight fight for the cause for which he endured hardship and imprisonment, but never disgrace. Such is the type of man who has just left South Africa for his homeland. It does a country good to have had as a citizen a man of Gandhi's rectitude of character and resoluteness of purpose. It is good to have such a man to disagree with, and we have differed and continue to differ fundamentally from him. He has based his case on the abstract. We have taken our stand on the practical. Hence the vital difference in point of view. In the abstract, we

concede that he is mainly right. He is probably thousands of years ahead of the world. The brotherhood of man-white, black, yellow, copper-colouredis not yet. When it does come, mankind, in all likelihood, will be not one of any of the colours mentioned, but a mixture of the whole. But this matter of the evolution of the human race need not. bother us to-day. We have to consider ourselves as we find ourselves. We have to approach this Indian question, not from the point of view of India, nor of the British Empire, nor even of the peoples of South Africa, but—frankly and bluntly—just merely from the point of view of the comparatively small number of Europeans who have settled in this country. This is precisely one of those questions in which what are called the interests of South Africa come first. (We have, however, been permitted to place those interests first simply because we form part of the British Empire. If South Africa were an independent state, it is as certain as anything human can be that the British Government, which is responsible for the government of over 300,000,000 Indians, would not have allowed South Africa to settle the question as it has now been settled. Even if the British Government did not intervene—and it is almost unthinkable that, in such circumstances, they would not—some other great Power would be only too eager to take advantage of such an excuse as our treatment of the Indians to force a war upon us for the purposes of annexation and colonisation.) It is just as well for us to be under no misconceptions in considering a problem like this.

The Position and "Via Media."

Fortunately, the South African Government has had the sympathy, the advice and the assistance of the British Government in dealing with the question, and, as we have said, the result is that it has been settled from the point of view primarily of South Africa's interests, i.e., the interests of the European population of South Africa, which interests are, of course, and must necessarily be, frankly selfish. With us, the question is not one of abstract justice, but of actual self-preservation. Moreover, the present generation of European South Africans is suffering as a result of the selfishness and greed of a previous generation. As Mr. Gandhi very truly points out, the majority of the Indians in the Union to-day are either indentured labourers or their children, to whom South Africa has become either the land of adoption or of birth. These indentured Indians "did not enter the Union as ordinary free immigrants, but they came upon the invitation of and, indeed, after much coaxing by, the agents of South African employers of this class of labour." Almost wholly, this Indian burden is one that the Union has had to take over from Natal, and we think the people of that Province should not, when considering other South African

problems, forget the terrible legacy they have left us. The solution of the matter was one of the most delicate and serious problems facing the Union Government. That, on the whole, it has been solved by General Smuts on a reasonable and, we hope, a lasting basis will, we think, be generally conceded. Mr. Gandhi, who helped so considerably towards a settlement, says that in future "South Africa will hear little of the Indian problem in its acute form," and, from this point of view, he urges, fairly enough, what are two great admissions made by his people. They have reconciled themselves to an almost total prohibition by administrative methods of a fresh influx of Indian immigrants and to the deprivation of all political power." This agreement that no more Indians are to come to South Africa and that those who are here do not seek political power will meet the two principal European objections. The problem is now narrowed down to dealing with the Indians who are in South Africa and who are not likely to leave. The most outstanding of their religious, marriage and other grievances have already been met by General Smuts, and matters that still remain will be solved, we hope—to use Mr. Gandhi's words—"in the natural course and without trouble or agitation in an acute form." These include such claims as full rights to trade, inter-Provincial migration and ownership of landed property. Not one of these is European South Africa prepared to grant in its entirety to-day, though within limits the principle of all three has been conceded more or less in one or other portion of the Union. Their ultimate solution, therefore, may be left to evolution, and each can be debated and thrashed out as it arises as a práctical question. So far as the Free State is concerned, we are strongly opposed to all three.

Eight Years Struggle and Afterwards. (By the Rev. CHAS. PHILLIPS.))



T last the long and weary struggle of Passive Resistance has come to an end. It has been an exhausting climb, but now from the height gained we can look back with satisfaction on the tortuous ascent. When the resolution was taken at the meeting in the Empire Theatre to begin Resistance until the obnoxious legis-

lation then just enacted should be abolished, no one dreamed that the fight would be so severe and so prolonged. Yet had it been fully realised at that time. I do not think those who voted for it would have shrunk from the contest. They just felt they were doing the right thing, and whatever the contest it would have made no difference in their decision. Like Martin Luther before the Emperor, they simply said:

"Here we stand; we can do no other; God help us." What the struggle has meant in bodily and mental suffering and in pecuniary loss it would be impossible to estimate. Such things cannot be translated into commercial terms. Their record is on high. He who wings an angel, guides a sparrow, observes the lily, and counts the hairs of our heads, never leaves unnoticed the sufferings of His children. In all their afflictions He is afflicted.

"In every pang that rends the heart, The Man of Sorrows has a part; He sympathises with their grief, And to the sufferer sends relief."

The rights of Roman Citizenship in the Ancient World were won by brave actions, noble deeds,

Photo by B. Gabriel. Mr. M. K. Gandhi, as he appeared at the commencement of the struggle in 1906.



GOLDEN

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Opinion

NUMBER

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, as he appeared at the end of the struggle in 1914.

99



Senator Marshall Campbell, who so strenuously advocated the repeal of the £3 tax.



Rev. John Howard, a member of the Johannesburg European Committee and an eloquent preacher of fair-play.



Mr. Montfort Chamney, Registrar of Asiatics and Principal Immigration Officer, Transvaal. The chief administrative officer of Government during the struggle.

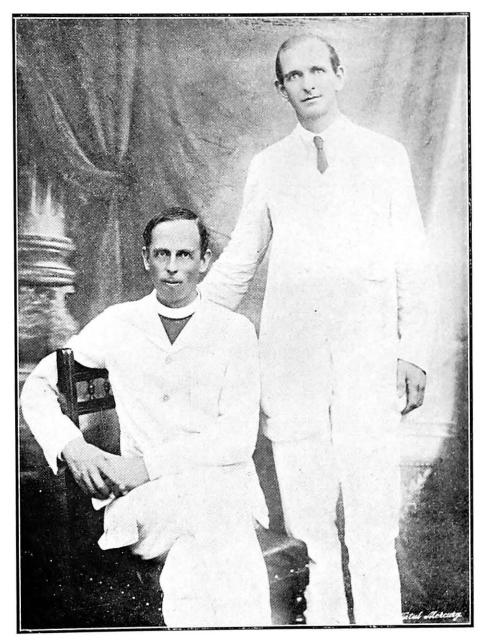


Photo by]

Rev. C. F. Andrews and Mr. W. W. Pearson

Who came to South Africa from India during the late crisis to offer their services as mediators. To Mr. Andrews' sweetness of disposition and his appeal to Imperial patriotism is largely attributed the recent remarkable change of sentiment towards the Indian question. Mr. Pearson's investigation of the Indenture system was thorough and condemnatory.



Photo by]
Mr. H. S. L. Polak,

[O. Byrne

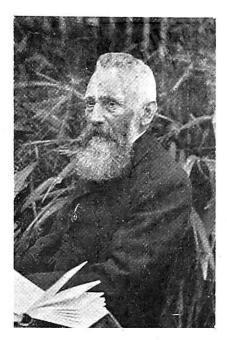
Editor of Indian Opinion, the organ of Passive Resistance. Went as delegate to India in 1909 and 1911, and England on public work in 1911 and 1913. Served a term of imprisonment last year as a Passive Resister.



Mr. H. Kallenbach,

[O. Byrne

the owner of Tolstoy Farm, helper of Indians in distress, joint organiser of the Strikers' Camp at Charlestown, who suffered imprisonment last November as a Passive Resister for conscience' sake.



Mr. C. E. Nelson, a Member of the European Committee and General Secretary of the Theosophical Society, South Africa.



Rev. Chas. Phillips,
Acting Chairman of the European
Committee. An energetic and
persistent sympathiser.



Hon. Hugh A. Wyndham, M.L.A., a strenuous Parliamentary advocate of justice. Presided over the Gandhi Farewell Banquet, Johannesburg.



Mr. Albert Cartwright, late Editor, Transvaal Leader. An ardent advocate of justice to British Indians. Was the Transvaal Government's intermediary at the time of the 1908 "compromise."



"The Snake Charmer and the Cobra that would not be charmed."—Rand Daily Mail.

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Miss Thomas, of Newcastle, who rendered valuable assistance during the strike.



Mrs. Phillips
Wife of the Rev. C. Phillips, of
Johannesburg, who, after years of
sympathetic help, unveiled last July
the memorials to Valiamma and
Nagappen.



Miss Howard

An ardent sympathiser and sister of Rev. J. Howard.

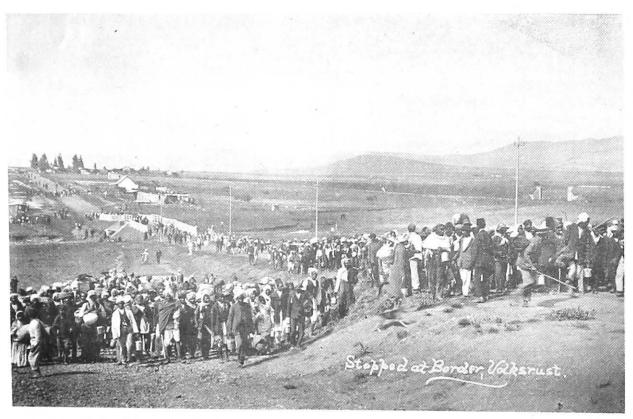


Miss Sonja Schlesin

Who acted as private secretary to Mr. Gandhi for some years, cooperating with Mrs. Vogl in the work of the Transvaal Indian Women's Association, and was the heart and soul of the Indian women's work at the time of the Strike. An ardent Suffragist.

THE GREAT MARCH TO THE TRANSVAAL.





Photos by]

[T. W. Dawes.

patriotic sacrifices, or bought at a great price. It is thus the Victoria Cross has been obtained in recent years. And in that way all liberty has been acquired. It is only through much tribulation we can enter the land of Freedom, become its subjects and enjoy its blessings. The price of freedom, it has been said, is eternal vigilance, in its conquest and in its retention.

All this has been verified in the experience of His Majesty's Indian subjects in South Africa. Others will recount in detail what they have endured; how bravely they have fought and how nobly they have won. Now the battle is over. In deep quietness and sincerest gratitude in various parts of South Africa, in banquet and public meeting, they have been celebrating their triumph. But even that has not been unmixed. For it has involved the departure from this country of one of the noblest men that ever entered it. His simplicity of life, sincerity of purpose, absolute selflessness, devotion to his people, and consecration to their welfare, have erected a monument in the hearts of his people, more enduring than marble or brass. He has taught us all:

"Tis only noble to be good;
Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood."

In the homeland his influence can but be of the highest. Everywhere he will stand for right and freedom and God. His constant endeavour will be to make the world better and his fellow-men happier. And whatever may happen to him, he will always and under all circumstances be the Man of God, thoroughly furnished to all good works.

Now what have Mr. Gandhi and the Indians as the result of the struggle?

First of all, they have preserved their manhood. Peace has been at any time possible during these weary years. But not peace with honour; peace with self respect. The price asked, for the terms offered, has always been a portion of what has made life worth living. To have accepted an ignoble settlement would have necessitated parting with something that could in no other way be regained. No one has ever a right to part with what will leave him less than a man. Compromise is only possible when it leaves untouched the image and likeliness of God in us.

Second, all the various inequalities and injustice created by legislation since Responsible Government was granted have gone. Two of the subtlest intellects in South Africa have been engaged in a continual conflict. The stake has been Differential Legislation against Indian subjects. The conflict is over, and has been decided in favour of those content to suffer and wait and passively resist till the victory should come.

Third, the prevention of further harassing Legislation. There is no doubt this was intended. All that was done was only meant to be a beginning. Had it been endured, other repressive legislation would have followed, with the object of making life unbearable, and so driving the Indians back to India. All this has been stopped; and it is fairly certain will never be attempted again. The negative advantages of Passive Resistance are often overlooked, but are none the less real.

Finally, the struggle has created ideals which it is hoped will not be permitted to die. It has bound all classes together. They have suffered, fought and conquered together. They have seen the loftiest ideals of life and character presented to them in the person of their great leader. They have garlanded him, presented addresses, and had banquets in his honour. But the greatest honour that can be paid him is that every Indian should be patriotic, true, pure in heart and life, fearing God and loving men, and endeavouring to become all that Mr. Gandhi would desire him to be.

Work and Criticism.

(By Dr. A. H. GOOL.)

"The tumult and the shouting dies; The captains and the kings depart."



ME departure of our revered leader, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, from these shores, falls as a personal loss to all who have the advancement of our people at heart. The titanic struggle in which he has been engaged for the elementary rights of the Indian, supported in the last instance by the poorest of

the community, against this wealthy and powerful Government of South Africa, reads like a myth of old. Here we have the power of the spirit ranged against that of matter, the former triumphing after a severe struggle.) In the teaching of Mr. Gandhi, as in that of truly great men who have ever advanced man onwards towards his Creator, the spiritual well-being must come before that of the material. To a sympathetic understanding this aspect of the question is never forgotten, and thus the real grandeur of the man can only be perceived. It is due to him, and to him only, that the people of South Africa are beginning to regard Indian aspirations from a less prejudicial standpoint, thus paving the way to last season's legislation. This very "settlement" has been with some the signal for the breaking of a storm of criticism against Gandhi-ism. Everyone of us must face this once and for all time, and realise the flimsy basis on which this

provincialism and petty spite is built. There is no doubt that our gain in this settlement is little in material welfare, but who can ever gauge the large gain in sentiment to the community? The relieving of few from paying a Poll Tax, the principle of the open door (if not the practice of it), and, lastly, the promise for just administration of the laws, are in themselves small matters. Yet they stand as landmarks to the community of the self-respect, the freedom from the taint of slavery, and the awakening to nationhood which we have gained in this struggle.

What we must recognise is that the tide of anti-Indian legislation has at last turned, and that we have in self-sacrifice a weapon wherewith to free ourselves from existing bonds. Such services as this are priceless, and no honour we can bestow on Mr. Gandhi can ever compensate the suffering and pain which have made these results possible. The attempt therefore to belittle his work in South Africa shows a poor understanding of sentiment, the governing and essential force in life.

(Afterwards. (By Rev. JOHN HOWARD.)



HE Settlement won by the British Indians, though vastly important, is probably the least result of their splendid struggle. What those long years of brave and patient endurance will mean in the development of their own inner life no man can say. They have been tested as by fire; the dross has been destroyed, but the gold

remains. Their character has been purified, and their life ennobled. In the far future their children's children will look back on this heroic conflict as the beginning of a new era. Without votes, without weapons, and apparently without influence, they have overcome prejudice which seemed invincible, and wrung from their oppressors those elementary rights which, without question, every civilized man should enjoy.

But the results of this long drawn out struggle to our Christian people will not be less important. To our shame it must be said that people who know little of our Christian Faith have taught us our Christian duty, and revealed in their lives those Christian virtues so sadly lacking in our dealings with them. Their story reads like a chapter from the Acts of the Apostles. With cheerfulness they have borne the "spoiling of their goods," and all the sordid indignities of prison life. Without complaining they have laid down their lives for their cause. These multiplied sufferings will not have been in vain if they call the churches of this country back again to that spirit of self sacrifice which the crucified Nazarene showed us two thousand years ago. By choosing the way of passive resistance, the Indians have given us a living commentary on the principles laid down in the New Testament. Throughout the whole of this struggle there has been practically no violence save that by their opponents.)

By a happy dispensation of God, the Indians have been led through this period of turmoil by true gentlemen. The contemptuous arrogance which marks the relations of most Europeans with other races in this country has been effectively rebuked by their unfailing courtesy. Surely we may hope that many, both in high places and low, will not fail to learn manners from those whom till now they despised.

The wise restraints imposed by the Indians on themselves have not only helped to win the victory, but to win the respect and admiration of their opponents. That they realised from the first the curious complexity of the racial and industrial problems in this country is not their least claim to the consideration of their European fellow-citizens. Their moderation has been beyond all praise.) It is to be hoped that this will be remembered in the future, and "counted to them for righteousness." That other concessions must ultimately be made, in this changing world, who can doubt? When the time is ripe let them be granted in a spirit as generous and considerate as that which the Indians have manifested now.

Perhaps the greatest contribution which the Indians have now made towards the future of this country may be found in the spirit of brotherly love which has marked their struggle. That they have had difficulties in their own ranks is probable. But when these have been forgotten forever, it will be remembered how those of diverse creeds and views worked together for the common good. In this unity lay their strength. And when the Europeans have passed out of their narrowness and bitterness and prejudice into a larger and fuller life they will remember the gentleness, the generosity, the forgiveness—in a word—the brotherly love, manifested towards them by the people they sought to oppress.

To the handful of Europeans who have shared, in some small measure, the hopes and fears of their Indian brethren through these trying years, the fellowship has been most precious. It will fill their lives with fragrance as of ointment poured forth.

The Theory and Practice of Passive Resistance.

(BY M. K. GANDHI.)



SHALL be at least far away from Phœnix, if not actually in the Motherland, when this Commemoration Issue is published. 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, rendered into English, means 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 vigilant 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 selfsuffering. It was because I felt the forces 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 Phænix 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.

(Mr. Gandhi's Speech at the Johannesburg Banquet.)



R. 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 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 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 Phœnix. 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 Johannes-

burg 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, it had given them those life-long companions. It was in Johannesburg again that the European Committee had been formed, when Indians were going through the darkest stage in their history, presided over 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 faithshe had not the knowledge that he had, she did not know what Passive Resistance was, she did not know what it was the community would gain, but she was simply taken up with unbounded enthusiasm for her people—went to gaol, came out of it a wreck, and within a few days died. It was Johannesburg again that produced a Nagappan and Naryansamy, 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 limelight; those others had worked behind the scenes, not knowing where they were going, except this, that what they were doing was right and proper, and if any praise was due anywhere at all, it was due to those three who died. They had had the name of Harbatsingh given to them. He (the speaker) had had the privilege of serving imprisonment with him. Harbatsingh was 75 years old. He was an ex-indentured Indian, and when he (the speaker) asked him why he had come there, that he had gone there to seek his grave, the brave man replied, "What does it matter? I know what you are fighting for. You have not to pay the £3 tax, but my fellow ex-indentured Indians have to pay that tax, and what more glorious death could I meet?" He had met that death in the gaol at Durban.) No wonder if Passive

Resistance had fired and quickened the conscience of South Africa! 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 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 those 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 recognised as their wives, but by this settlement those wives were recognised 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 recognised in a place like South Afrea? 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 Ampthill had said, in a preface to Mr. Doke's book, that the theory of the British Constitution must be preserved at any cost if the British Empire was to be saved from the mistakes that all the previous Empires had made. Practice might bend to the temporary aberration through which local circumstances might compel them to pass, it might bend before unreasoning or unreasonable prejudice, but theory once recognised could never be departed from, and this principle must be maintained at any cost. And it was that spirit which had been acknowledged now by the Union Government, and acknowledged how nobly and 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 Ampthill, 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 Ampthill had congratulated him, and that great nobleman had never deserted the cause even when it was at its lowest ebb, and they saw the result that day. They had not by any means to congratulate themselves on a victory gained. There was no question of a victory gained, but the question of the establishment of the principle that, so far as the Union of South Africa at least was concerned, its legislation would never contain the racial taint, would never contain the colour disability. The practice would certainly be different. There was the Immigration Law-it recognised no racial distinctions, but in practice they had arranged, they had given a promise, that there should be no undue influx from India as to immigration. That was a concession to present prejudice. Whether it was right or wrong was not for him to discuss then. But it was the establishment of that principle which had made the struggle so im-

portant in the British Empire, and the establishment of that principle which had made those sufferings perfectly justifiable and perfectly honourable, and he thought that, when they considered the struggle from that standpoint, it was a perfectly dignified thing for any gathering to congratulate itself upon such a vindication of the principles of the British Constitution. One word of caution he wished to utter regarding the settlement. (The settlement was honourable to both parties. He did not think there was any room left for misunderstanding, but whilst it was final in the sense that it closed the great struggle, it was not final in the sense that it gave to Indians all that they were entitled to. There was still the Gold Law which had many a sting in it. There was still the Licensing Laws throughout the Union, which also contained many a sting. There was still a matter which the Colonial-born Indians especially could not understand or appreciate, namely, the water-tight compartments in which they had to live; whilst there was absolutely free inter-communication and inter-migration between the Provinces for Europeans, Indians had to be cooped up in their respective Provinces. Then there was undue restraint on their trading activity. There was the prohibition as to holding landed property in the Transvaal, which was degrading, and all these things took Indians into all kinds of undesirable channels. These restrictions would. have to be removed. But for that, he thought, sufficient patience would have to be exercised. Time was now at their disposal, and how wonderfully the tone had been changed!) And here he had been told in Capetown, and he believed it implicity, the spirit of Mr. Andrews had pervaded all those statesmen and leading men whom he saw. He came and went away after a brief period, but he certainly fired those whom he saw with a sense of their duty to the Empire of which they were members. But, in any case, to whatever circumstances that healthy tone was due, it had not escaped him. He had seen it amongst European friends whom he met at Capetown; he had seen it more fully in Durban, and this time it had been his privilege to meet many Europeans who were perfect strangers even on board the train, who had come smilingly forward to congratulate him on what they had called a great victory. Everywhere he had noticed that healthy tone. He asked European friends to continue that activity, either through the European Committee or through other channels, and

to give his fellow-countrymen their help and extend that fellow-feeling to them also, so that they might be able to work out their own salvation.

(To his countrymen he would say that they should wait and nurse the settlement, which he considered was all that they could possibly and reasonably have expected, and that they would now live to see, with the co-operation of their European friends, that what was promised was fulfilled, that the administration of the existing laws was just, and that vested rights were respected in the administration; that after they had nursed these things, if they cultivated European public opinion, making it possible for 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.

THE POET TAGORE'S MESSAGE.

In a letter to Mr. Gandhi, Babu Rabindranath Tagore refers to the struggle in South Africa as the "steep ascent of manhood, not through the bloody path of violence but that of dignified patience and heroic self-renunciation." "The power our fellow-countrymen have shown in standing firm for their

cause under severest trials, fighting unarmed against fearful odds, has given us," he says, "a firmer faith in the strength of the God that can defy sufferings and defeats at the hands of physical supremacy, that can make its gains of its losses.")

(The Struggle and What it has Meant.

(BY THE EDITOR.)

How oft, by God's will, hath a small bost 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



O 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 funda-

mental 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. Re-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 promise 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 cclour 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 meeting was held at the moment that the Legislative Council was debating the clauses of the draft ordinance. Whilst the Council's debate was a perfunctory and pre-arranged 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 Resolution 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. 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 Bhownaggree as its Executive Chairman, Mr. L. W. Ritch as its Secretary, and, subsequently, Lord Ampthill as its

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, 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 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 petition, 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 signalised by a murderous attack upon Mr. Gandhi 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 Mr. Sorabji Shapurji, an educated Resistance. 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 there, and were arrested as prohibited immigrants and ordered to leave the Colony. But at a mass meeting 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 recognised 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 Ampthill'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 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 it 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 Nagappen 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 Naryansamy, 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 despatch 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 lull, 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 sub-continent 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 oponed 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 recognise 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 African-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 Harbatsingh and Valiamma, 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 recommendation 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, Naryansamy, Harbatsingh, and Valiamma, 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 recognised 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 recognised 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.

(Tolstoy on Passive Resistance.)



N the 26th November, 1910, we published the following translation of a letter of Count Tolstoy's to Mr. Gandhi:—

Kotchety, Russia, Sept. 7, 1910.

I received your journal, and was pleased to learn all contained therein concerning the passive resisters. And

I felt like telling you all the thoughts which that

reading called up in me.

The longer I live, and especially now, when I vividly feel the nearness of death, I want to tell others what I feel so particularly clearly and what to my mind is of great importance—namely, that which is called passive resistance, but which is in reality nothing else than the teaching of love uncorrupted by false interpretations. That love-i.e., the striving for the union of human souls and the activity derived from this striving—is the highest and only law of human life, and in the depth of his soul every human being (as we most clearly see in children) feels and knows this; he knows this until he is entangled by the false teachings of the world. This law was proclaimed by all-by the Indian as by the Chinese, Hebrew, Greek and Roman sages of the world. I think this law was most clearly expressed by Christ, who plainly said that "in this only is all the law and the prophets." But besides this, foreseeing the corruption to which this law is and may be subject, he straightway pointed out the danger of its corruption, which is natural to people who live in worldly interests, the danger, namely, which justifies the defence of these interests by the use of force, or, as he said, "with blows to answer blows, by force to take back things usurped," etc. He knew, as every sensible man must know, that the use of force is incompatible with love as the fundamental law of life, that as soon as violence is permitted, in whichever case it may be, the insufficiency of the law of love is acknowledged, and by this the very law is denied. The whole Christian civilisation, so brilliant outwardly, grew up on this self-evident and strange misunderstanding and contradiction, sometimes conscious, but mostly unconscious.

In reality, as soon as force was admitted into love there was no more, and there could be no love as the law of life, and as there was no law of love, there was no law at all, except violence—i.e., the power of the strongest. So lived Christian humanity for nineteen centuries. It is true that in all times people were guided by violence in arranging their lives. The difference between the Christian nations and all other nations is only that in the Christian world the law of

love was expressed clearly and definitely, whereas it was not so expressed in any other religious teaching, and that the people of the Christian world have solemnly accepted this law, whilst at the same time they have permitted violence, and built their lives on violence, and that is why the whole life of the Christian peoples is a continuous contradiction between that which they profess and the principles on which they order their lives—a contradiction between love accepted as the law of life and violence which is recognised and praised, acknowledged even as a necessity in different phases of life, such as the power of rulers, courts and armies. This contradiction always grew with the development of the people of the Christian world, and lately it reached the highest stage. The question now evidently stands thus: either to admit that we do not recognise any religiomoral teaching, and we guide ourselves in arranging our lives only by power of the stronger, or that all our compulsory taxes, court and police establishments, but mainly our armies, must be abolished.

This year, in Spring, at a Scripture examination in girls' high school at Moscow, the teacher and the bishop present asked the girls questions on the Commandments, and especially on the sixth. After a correct answer, the bishop generally put another question, whether murder was always in all cases forbidden by God's law, and the unhappy young ladies were forced by previous instruction to answer, "Not always''—that murder was permitted in war and in execution of criminals. Still, when one of these unfortunate young ladies (what I am telling is not an invention, but a fact told me by an eye-witness), after her first answer, was asked the usual question, if killing were always sinful, she, agitated and blushing, decisively answered, "Always," and to all the usual sophisms of the bishop she answered with decided conviction, that killing always was forbidden in the Old Testament and forbidden by Christ, not only killing, but even every wrong against a brother. Notwithstanding all his grandeur and art of speech, the bishop became silent and the girl remained victorious.

Yes, we can talk in our newspapers of the progress of aviation, of complicated diplomatic relations, of different clubs and conventions, of unions of different kinds, of so-called productions of art, and keep silent about what that young lady said. But it cannot be passed over in silence, because it is felt, more or less dimly, but always felt by every man in the Christian world. (Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, Salvation Army, increasing crime, unemployment, the growing insane luxury of the rich and misery of the poor, the alarmingly increasing number of suicides—all these are the signs of that internal contradiction which

must be solved and cannot remain unsolved. And of course solved in the sense of acknowledging the law of love and denying violence. And so your activity in the Transvaal, as it seems to us, at the end of the world, is the most essential work, the most important of all the work now being done in the world, and in which not only the nations of the Christian, but of all the world, will unavoidably take part.)

I think that you will be pleased to know that here in Russia this activity is also fast developing in the way of refusals to serve in the Army, the number of which increases from year to year. However insignificant is the number of our people who are passive resisters in Russia who refuse to serve in the Army, these and the others can boldly say that God is with them. And God is more powerful than man.

In acknowledging Christianity even in that corrupt form in which it is professed amongst the Christian nations, and at the same time in acknowledging the necessity of armies and armament for killing on the greatest scale in wars, there is such a clear clamouring contradiction, that it must sooner or later, possibly very soon, inevitably reveal itself and annihilate either the professing of the Christian religion, which is indispensable in keeping up these forces, or the existence of armies and all the violence kept up by them, which is not less necessary for power. This contradiction is felt by all governments, by your British as well as by our Russian Government, and out of a general feeling of self-preservation the persecution by them (as seen in Russia and in the journal sent by you) against such anti-government activity, as those above-mentioned, is carried on with more energy than against any other form of opposition. The governments know where their chief danger lies, and they vigilantly guard in this question, not only their interests, but the question: "To be or not to be?"—Yours very faithfully,

LEO TOLSTOY.

[Translated from the original Russian by Pauline Padlashuk.—Johannesburg, November 15, 1910.]

(Lord Gladstone and the Indian Settlement)



N the course of his speech at the Farewell Banquet given to him at Johannesburg, Lord Gladstone made the following pregnant remarks on the recent Indian settlement:—

But, gentlemen, all of us who realise the true value of the Imperial connection can learn another lesson.

We see now that a free responsible South African Government is not inconsistent with the discharge of Imperial obligations. There is no better proof of this than in the settlement of the British Indian question.) But first let us note again how a difficult South African question has been settled by Union. Before 1910 the Imperial and Indian Governments had made great efforts to induce a settlement. Natal was originally responsible for the large immigration of Indians into South Africa, but it was in the Transvaal that serious trouble first arose. The treatment of the Indian question differed in each Province. In the Free State, the policy was one of absolute exclusion. In the Transvaal, admission was conceded, but subject to the differential laws which produced acute difficulty. Under the Cape Government, Indians were more freely admitted, and received privileges refused to them elsewhere. In Natal, the first consideration was the supply of abundant and cheap coolie labour. In the attitude of each Government to the Indians there was no common principle, and disagreements prevented a settlement. We all know

that a settlement has been difficult enough under Union. But imagine how critical the situation would have been last November, when the Indian riots occurred, if the settlement had depended upon the agreement of four separate Governments? As it was, the oppointment of a Commission by the Union Government and the admirable report of Sir William Solomon and his colleagues informed and unified South African opinion and enabled the Government to find a satisfactory solution. So South Africa itself has been relieved of what threatened to be dangerous as well as chronic trouble. But, gentlemen, Parliament overcame its difficulties and the conflicting views of members because it realised that in this case the highest consideration was the magnitude of the Imperial difficulty in the control of three hundred millions of people in India. (In South Africa I believe the Bill was an act of justice. But in the Imperial interest it was an urgent necessity. The appeal on this ground to the larger authority of the Union Parliament has brought about the solution which could not be found under the Provincial Governments. No one can say that the Government subordinated any true South African interest to Imperial considerations. But the Imperial responsibility was recognised, and the Bill has passed into law. This is a great fact. As His Majesty's representative, I signified my official assent yesterday to the Bill with a very deep sense of gratitude to the Union Government and the Union Parliament.

(The End of the Struggle.)

(BY VERE STENT.)



HE absurdity of the policy of South Africa in the past towards the Indian British subjects lies in the fact that we have penalised them and deprived them of the rights of citizens on no better excuse than that of their colour. It was this egregious lack of logic that first, I think, led me to take a part in the Indian agitation

which commenced long before the War and which was supported by large numbers of Imperialists, who, (I am afraid, were opportunists rather than altruists.) It was a source of deep disappointment to me to find that when the British Government was established in the Transvaal the claims of the Indians, which the British had upheld with such enthusiasm so long as they seemed to be likely to form a good casus belli, were conveniently dropped.) In this matter, both Sir Richard Solomon and Mr. Patrick Duncan were too much influenced by European public opinion and the pressure of European merchants. Upon the coming to power of General Botha and General Smuts, the Indian agitation began to take a serious form, and like all great national and racial movements it threw up a great leader of men. There are few men in this country with the psychic force of Mr. Gandhi, and the capacity for organising and leading a movement very rightly termed Passive Resistance. The essence of a Passive Resistance movement is that it should in no way be in the least aggressive. An unjust law is passed, and those subjected to its provisions merely sit down and decline to obey it. They welcome the rest and go calmly, even happily, to gaol. (In this movement Mr. Gandhi was opposed to one of the keenest, most able, and most cultured men in South Africa, no less a personality than that of the "Grey Cardinal" himself, holder of many portfolios, a soldier, a statesman, and a financier. Gandhi was no soldier. He knew nothing of finance, inasmuch as his religious creed kept him a pauper, and he had had no opportunity of acquiring statesmanship; yet so great was the power of his example and his fortiging tude with his followers, that in the end he beat the "Grey Cardinal," and the philosophy of the East over-mastered the diplomacy of the West.

I have the keenest recollection of standing one day upon the platform of the Town Hall, in Pretoria, for no less than forty minutes, howled at, stormed at, abused and vilified, simply because I desired to inform an anti-Asiatic meeting that they were wasting their breath, inasmuch as General Smuts had already decided to surrender to the demands of the Passive Resisters. I was successful in preventing the meeting being held, but had to submit to a police escort from

the Hall to my Club. Two days later, it became public that General Smuts, finding, as he very naively put it, "one cannot put twenty thousand men in prison," had accepted Gandhi's terms. But the victory was only partial, and when the Immigration Bill was passed, a fresh grievance arose, and Mr. Gandhi cried: "Once more into the breach, my friends!"

His organisation of the strike on the coal mines, which afterwards extended to the sugar plantations, was swift and efficient. I had little sympathy with the strike myself. The weapon of the strike is outof-date, and it is really severing all diplomatic relationships, and a declaration of war which should only be undertaken as a very last resort. Furthermore, it led to bloodshed, and it is still my opinion that, with the Imperial Government taking an active interest, as it did, in the Indian cause, matters might have been brought to a successful issue without an appeal to the last argument of war. Mistaken though that method was, from a tactical point of view, no one who came into contact with Mr. Gandhi during that trying time of stress can fail to accord him a measure of personal admiration. His appearance and mode of life is ascetic, and he abandoned, in order that he might be able to devote himself to the cause of his people, every sort of worldly enjoyment, he wore coarse raiment, he fed upon nuts, he disfigured himself by close-cropped hair, and he mortified the

Great racial and national movements, as I have said, nearly always throw up great men to lead them. The reaction of the French Revolution threw up Napoleon; the tyranny of Rome brought Garibaldi to the front. One could mention a hundred names, but in every case the great men thrown up gained something for themselves—power, position, money. In Mr. Gandhi's case, he gained nothing. He was subjected to the abuse even of a portion of his own people. That he was no mere agitator seeking personal advertisement and aggrandisement is clear from the fact that, so soon as he had obtained for his people the concessions to which he thought they were entitled, he left South Africa, poverty-stricken, without prefermen, place, or position, and returned to his own country to pursue those philosophic meditations which, he believes, like the old Fakir in "Kim," will enable him to "acquire merit." South Africa is poorer for his loss.) His pleasant manner, his neverfailing courtesy, his equable temper, and his mild method of address made him an example which our local politicians might well be proud to emulate and to follow. His memory will remain green, not only amongst his compatriots, but amongst the Europeans

of South Africa, for long years, and the benefits which he conferred upon his compatriots will be felt even after he himself has been forgotten, for he has taught the Europeans not to despise nor to malign the great Asiatic race from which he springs.)

The Editor has been kind enough to ask me for a photograph for this memorial number, but I personally have done very little, just an article now and then, or a work of congratulation and encouragement, just a speech here and there, and a warning to colour-phobes. No more than one's duty in that editorial state of life to which it has pleased Providence to call me. If, because of these very mild services, I have brought Europeans and Asiatics in South Africa closer together, if I have helped to disperse misunderstandings and to promote mutual respect, I am content.

I have neither desired, I am sorry to say, nor will, to tread in the ascetic footsteps of the great Asiatic

leader. But I can admire that which I cannot emulate. Looking into the future, I perceive that some day the colour-bar will be removed from the Franchise Act, and the vote will be given, not because of a man's colour, but because of his ability to make good use of it. And when once it is decided to establish a franchise upon this line, the Asiatics must be the first to come in. If I may venture to advise without impertinence, I would advise a period of rest, during which there should be no political agitation. The younger generations are growing up, they are acquiring European education, and they are citizens of South Africa. The present generation may never be given a voice in the government of the country, but the next will have an irresistible claim to take part in the administration of their native land, a claim based, in many cases, upon wealth as well as upon education, and in all cases upon intellect, and a claim which must be admitted and met.

That Wonderful March.

(BY A.C.P.)



HE question of the repeal of the £3 tax had become urgent already in 1908 and 1909, when an organisation had been formed for the purpose of securing it, and petitions widely signed had been sent to the then Natal Parliament, without other result than the passing of the ineffective Act of 1910, giving magis-

trates discretion—which some used, while others did not—to exempt certain classes of women in certain circumstances.

During his campaign in India, in 1909-10 and 1911-12, and his visit to England in 1911, Mr. Polak had pressed the question upon the attention of the people and Government of India and the British public, who had hitherto been ignorant as to the harsh incidence of the tax and grim misery that it entailed.

Accordingly, when the Hon. Mr. Gokhale came to South Africa in 1912, and set himself to the task of examining Indian grievances on the spot, he immediately seized upon the tax as one that required and was capable of immediate remedy, and he, therefore, as he has told us, made special representations on the subject at the meeting of Ministers at Pretoria, when, he is positive, a definite undertaking was given him to repeal the tax. His efforts to that end had already been foreshadowed whilst he had travelled through the Union, and he had given assurances to vast crowds of those liable to the tax that he would not rest until he had secured its repeal, a resolve that had been much encouraged by the sympathetic

speeches and conversations of prominent Natalians, both at the Durban banquet and at the subsequent Chamber of Commerce meeting. And these promises, fortified by the knowledge of what had transpired at Pretoria, Mr. Gandhi, upon his return from Zanzibar, whither he had accompanied Mr. Gokhale, repeated again and again in a responsible manner, to large numbers of those affected by the tax.

(When, therefore, in 1913, a measure was introduced into the Union Parliament, at the end of the session, exempting women only from its operation, but requiring them to take out an annual licence, a message was sent to Mr. Gokhale in India inquiring whether the promise of repeal had been limited to women. The reply was that it applied to all who were affected by the tax, and the Bill was promptly killed by Mr. Meyler and the late Sir David Hunter, who protested against its further progress, as they felt convinced that to pass it would be to delay total repeal indefinitely. Up to this time there had been no denial by the Government of the promise alleged.

At the rising of Parliament, Mr. Gandhi entered into fresh negotiations with the Union Government, reminding them of the promise, and asking for a definite undertaking of repeal of the tax in 1914. Meanwhile, in England, Mr. Polak, who had gone there at Mr. Gokhale's instance, had made it clear to the Imperial authorities and the British public that, whilst the repeal of the £3 tax had not previously formed part of the Passive Resisters' demands, the question had now become so acute, and Indian public feeling in South Africa had become so intense owing to what was regarded as the Union

Government's breach of faith, that, in the unfortunate event of the revival of the struggle, repeal of the tax would be made part and parcel of it. Lord Ampthill, too, after consulting with Mr. Gokhale, referred in explicit terms to the promise of repeal, in a portentous speech in the House of Lords. In the result, the Union Government declined to give an undertaking on the subject, though they still did not deny the promise, and the question, therefore, formed one of the five points of Passive Resistance in Mr. A. M. Cachalia's letter of the 12th September, announcing the revival of the struggle. At the same time, Mr. Gokhale, in the face of the objections of his medical advisers, hurried back to India to rouse the Government and his fellow-countrymen to action.

On September 28, and before any important activity had developed, Mr. Gandhi addressed to the Secretary for the Interior a letter containing the

following warning and appeal:-

"I know also what responsibility lies on my shoulders in advising such a momentous step, but I feel that it is not possible for me to refrain from advising a step which I consider to be necessary, to be of educational value, and, in the end, to be valuable both to the Indian community and to the State. This step consists in actively, persistently, and continuously asking those who are liable to pay the £3 tax to decline to do so and to suffer the penalties for nonpayment, and what is more important, in asking those who are now serving indenture and who will, therefore, be liable to pay the £3 Tax upon the completion of their indenture, to strike work until the tax is withdrawn. I feel that, in view of Lord Ampthill's declaration in the House of Lords, evidently with the approval of Mr. Gokhale, as to the definite promise made by the Government and repeated to Lord Gladstone, this advice to indentured Indians would be fully justified. . . . Can I not even now, whilst in the midst of the struggle, appeal to General Smuts and ask him to reconsider his decision. . . . on the question of the £3 tax?" The letter was shown to General Smuts who vouchsafed no reply, but who also did not even then repudiate the promise, nor did he warn the employers of the intentions of the Passive Resistance leaders. A fortnight later, in a statement circulated by Reuter's Agency throughout the South African press, it was clearly stated that "the movement will also consist in advising indentured Indians to suspend work until the £3 Tax is removed. The indentured Indians will not be invited to join the general struggle." The public thus received ample warning of what was toward.

The Indian women who had joined the struggle as a protest against the refusal of the Government to legalise Indian marriages and who, as Passive Resisters, had unsuccessfully sought imprisonment at Vereeniging, Germiston and Volksrust, were allowed to pass into Natal unmolested, and the first steps taken to "call out" the Indians on the coal-mines in the northern part of the Province were due to the

courage and devotion of these women, whose appearance there was almost in the nature of an accident. Under the guidance of Mr. C. K. T. Naidoo, they made Newcastle their headquarters, and, travelling from mine to mine, they made eloquent appeal to the Indian labourers and their families to cease work until an assurance of repeal of the tax was given by the Government. The response was immediate and general. Mine after mine was closed down, as the Indian labourers refused to work, and a state of panic ensued amongst the employers, who at first continued to give rations as an inducement to their employees to remain on the mines. A hurried conference of mine-owners was held at Durban, at which Mr. Gandhi was invited to be present, and he then explained the situation and referred to the promise made to Mr. Gokhale. He pointed out that the labourers were being asked to strike only so long as the £3 Tax was unrepealed, and because it had been alleged-an allegation that was subsequently discovered to be well-founded—that the employers were opposed to repeal. The conference telegraphed to General Smuts inquiring about the promise, which was denied by him and by General Botha, for the first time; but it is significant that the late Mr. Fischer, who was also present at the meeting with the Ministers, did not repudiate it, though his physical condition did not preclude his doing so. Mr. Gokhale at once cabled, stating that a promise of repeal had undoubtedly been made to him, and, as a result of the hostile attitude now taken up by the Government and by the employers, the labourers were invited to leave the mines, where improper influences were being used to induce them to return to work.

Mr. Gandhi placed himself at the head of a vast. commissariat organisation, and, together with a small body of assistants, chief of whom was Mr. Albert Christopher, and with the co-operation of Mr. Kallenbach, the Indians-men, women and childrenwere fed and maintained at Newcastle, where they flocked by the hundred, coming by road and rail as fast as they could leave the mines, with the result that the latter, from Dundee and Ladysmith to Newcastle, were denuded of their labour supply. It was a pathetic and yet a cheering sight to watch these patient hundreds plodding slowly along muddy roads, in inclement weather, to the Newcastle centre, where they lived on a handful of rice, bread, and sugar a day, in the open, without shelter, without cooking accommodation beyond what they improvised on the bare veld, without comfort of any kind. But they were buoyed up with a great hope, and they had an inspiring leader. Mr. Kallenbach, too, fought their battles for them with the Newcastle municipality and magistracy, and later they saw how Mr. Gandhi shared their daily life and hardships, nursed the sick, and fed the hungry. They knew that the Indian women, who had urged them to strike, were cheerfully suffering imprisonment with hard labour, for their sake, and they felt in honour bound to struggle on





Mrs. J. J. Doke Widow of the late Rev. J. J. Doke, and an ardent sympathiser. Nursed Mr. Gandhi after the assault upon him in 1908.



Mrs. H. S. L. Polak
The founder of the Transvaal Indian
Women's Association. Accompanied
her husband to India, in 1911, and
upon his imprisonment last year as a
Passive Resister, left for India alone
to carry messages and to attend the
Indian National Congress, but was
recalled by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale,

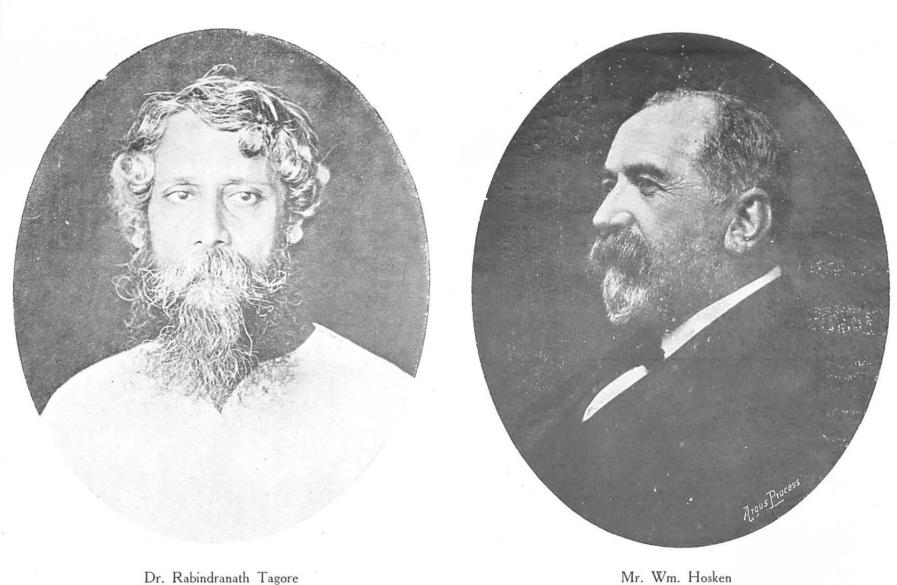


Mrs. Boustred Who, as Mayoress of Johannesburg, opened the second day's proceedings at the Indian Women's Bazaar, 1913.



Mrs. W. M. Vogl

Whose efforts on behalf of the Transvaal Indian Women's Association and the two Indian Women's Bazaars have enshrined her in the hearts of all Indians in South Africa.



Dr. Rabindranath Tagore

The "Poet Laureate of Asia" and Nobel Prize winner, 1913, whose heart beat in patriotic response to the deeds of the Passive Resisters.

Mr. Wm. Hosken

Chairman of the Johannesburg European Committee, who sacrificed his political career because of his negrophilist tendencies.

GOLDEN

Indian

Opinion

NUMBER

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Sir BENJAMIN ROBERTSON and STAFF.

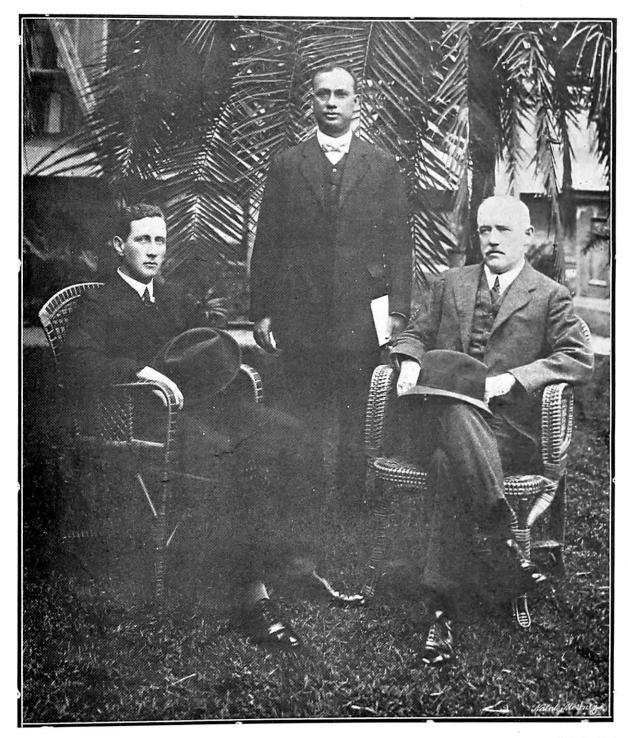
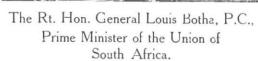


Photo by] Mr. SLATER, Private Secretary. RAI SAHEB SIRCAR. Sir BENJAMIN ROBERTSON.

[B. Gabriel.

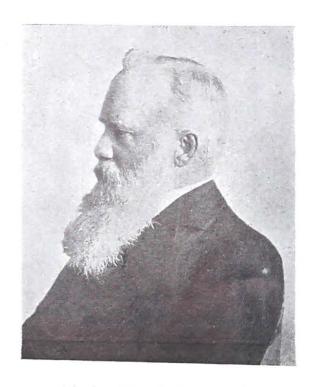








The Hon. General J. C. Smuts, Minister of Finance and Defence, and Acting Minister of the Interior, who was almost throughout the struggle the foremost antagonist of the Passive Resisters.



The late Mr. Abraham Fischer, Minister of the Interior, responsible for the Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913.





H.E. the Right Hon. Viscount Gladstone, I late Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, who did much during 1914 to bring about an honourable settlement.



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The late Rev. J. J. Doke, the foremost! exponent of Passive Resistance amongst the European community, and Mr. Gandhi's biographer.



H.E. the Rt. Hon. Lord Hardinge, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, who won all hearts in India by his daring and patriotic speech at Madras last November, demanding a Commission of Inquiry in South Africa.



Mrs. Annie Besant,
President of the Theosophical Society, and one of the
most ardent and eloquent
advocates of fair and just
treatment to Indians in South
Africa.

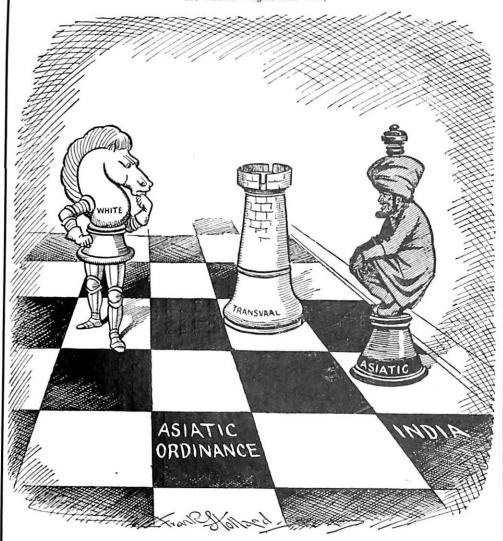


Late Sir Subramania Aizar, who presided over a protest meeting in Madras.

From The Star (Johannesburg), 4th May, 1907.

WHITE TO MOVE AND CHECK.

(A cable from London states that Lord Elgin has advised His Majesty to allow the Asiatic Registration Bill.)



The White Knight will now be able to move into the "Asiatic Ordinance" square and thus save his Castle from the Black King and compel the latter to fall back on "India."

[Reproduced by kind permission.

REPLY.

NOT YET. The White! Knight, in his eagerness to move into the A.O. square, has omitted to notice the little pawn on the Gaol Resolution square.

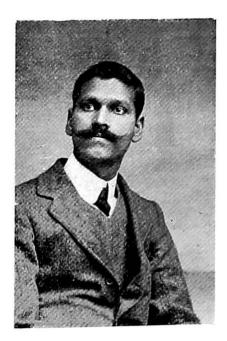


That the White Knight may also, in his blind hurry, have imagined that to be the King which is not, is another story.

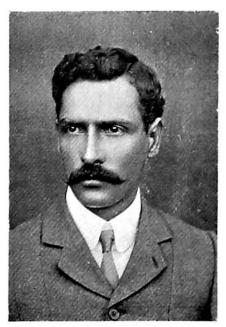




Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, Chairman of the Executive Sub-Committee of the South Africa British Indian Committee, London.



Mr. V. R. Vartak, The Mahratta Passive Resister of Capetown.



Mr. P. K. Naidoo, One of the most earnest of the Passive Resisters and an officer of the Transvaal Tamil Benefit Society.

SOME BRAVE WOMEN PASSIVE RESISTERS.



Mrs. M. Tommy. Mrs. K. Murugasa Pillay. Miss Baikum Murugasa Pillay. Mrs. P. K. I Naidoo. Mrs. Perumal Naidoo. Mrs. Chinsamy Pillay. Mrs. Thambi Naidoo. Mrs. N. Pillay. Mrs. N. S. Pillay. Mrs. Bhawani-Dayal.



Mrs. Sheik Mehtab, a Mahomeden Indian Woman Passive Resister, who suffered imprisonment.



The late Miss Valiamina Moodaly, who died after serving a term of imprisonment as a Passive Resister.

until they had secured the repeal of the tax that weighed so heavily upon so many of them. And the women amongst them were no less heroic than the men. One mother, whose little child died of exposure on the road to Newcastle, was heard to say: "We must not pine for the dead; it is the living for which we must work." Such a spirit ensured ultimate success.

As their numbers swelled, it was felt that the only possible method of compelling the Union Government to realise their responsibilities and assume charge was to march the whole of the strikers into the Transvaal, there to court arrest and imprisonment, and it was accordingly decided to concentrate at Charlestown, the border village, where Messrs. Vallibhai and Mukdoom rendered great service. At the head of a large "army," therefore, Mr. Gandhi marched there on October 30th, but just before the march commenced, a number of strikers were arrested and removed to the gaols after sentence of imprisonment. Day by day hundreds more marched to or entrained for Charlestown, where a vast camp was organised, under the sanitary control of the District Health Officer, Dr. Briscoe, and rations, that were pouring in from Durban and Johannesburg Indian merchants, to which were added supplies purchased with money that was being cabled in large sums from India, were daily distributed to a gathering of men, women and children that numbered finally over 3,000.

Meanwhile, Mr. Gandhi had telegraphed the intentions of the "invaders" to the Government, who apparently took no notice of the warning. Simultaneously, efforts were made, without success, by the Deputy Protector to induce the strikers to return to work, and large batches of them were arrested, and eventually imprisoned.

At last, a week after the notification, Mr. Gandhi commenced the now famous "invasion" of the Transvaal, with a following of over 2,000. The women and children were left behind at Charlestown, in charge of Miss Schlesin and Mr. Kallenbach, who worked day and night to make their lot somewhat easier. At the border, the "army" came to a stand, whilst Mr. Gandhi, who was near the rear, having remained behind to make final arrangements, came forward to interview the police officer who, with a small patrol, was on duty at the gate of entry. Whilst these preliminaries were in train, the main body became impatient, and a mass of cheering, shouting Indians, clad in ragged clothes, and bearing their pitifully small belongings upon their heads, swarmed through the streets of Volksrust, determined to do or die, brushing the handful of police aside like so many helpless and insignificant atoms. They encamped on the farther side of the town, and the great march had commenced. The programme was to march, at the rate of some 25 miles a day, until the men were arrested or Tolstoy Farm, at Lawley, near Johannesburg, was reached, and the Government were informed of each stopping-place. Eight days were set aside to reach their destination, unless they were earlier arrested, and, from the swing and energy of their marching, it was plain that a phenomenal feat was being performed by men, many of them heavily burdened, unused to conditions of "war," but accustomed to a hard and simple life, and on a meagre and unusual diet. That night they reached Palmford, where special accommodation was offered to Mr. Gandhi, who, however, refused to accept hospitality which his humbler countrymen could not share.

Meanwhile, the Government were not altogether idle, but with that stupidity which almost invariably characterises governments in similar emergencies, they did the wrong thing, and issued a warrant for the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, hoping thus to demoralise the forces that he was leading. Mr. Gandhi surrendered to the warrant at Palmford, having, at the request of the authorities, pointed out some of his own followers to give evidence for him, as the Crown would not otherwise have been able to prove its case against him! He was motored swiftly to Volksrust, but the "army" silently and grimly pursued its march undeterred by the loss of its revered leader. At Volksrust, Mr. Gandhi was charged with breach of the Immigration Act and applied for bail, as he was in charge of large numbers of men entirely dependent upon him, and his application was granted. Realising, however, the probable risks that would ensue if the people were left leaderless, he addressed the following telegram to the Minister of the Interior:

"Whilst I appreciate the fact of Government having at last arrested prime mover in passive resistance struggle, cannot help remarking that from point view humanity moment chosen most unfortunate. Government probably know that marchers include 122 women, 50 tender children, all voluntarily marching on starvation rations without provision for shelter during stages. Tearing me away under such circumstances from them is violation all considerations justice. When arrested last night, left men without informing them. They might become infuriated. I, therefore, ask either that I may be allowed continue march with men, or Government send them by rail Tolstoy Farm and provide full rations for them. Leaving them without one in whom they have confidence, and without Government making provision for them, is, in my opinion, an act from which I hope on reconsideration Government will recoil. If untoward incidents happen during further progress march, or if deaths occur. especially amongst women with babies in arms, responsibility will be Government's." No reply was returned to this humane appeal, but it was understood that the Government had no intention of assuming charge of this large body of men, women and children. Writing at the time of Mr. Gandhi's arrest, the special correspondent of the Natal Mercury sent his paper the following vivid description of the conditions prevailing both then and earlier at Charlestown :-

"We arrived at Palmford about 8.30 p.m. last night, and found them all sleeping in the veld, just below the station. Many of them were feeling the cold severely . . . I visited Charlestown twice on the 5th (the day before the march commenced). The whole appearance of the town resembled nothing but an Indian bazaar. The town was crowded with Indians . . . No sanitary arrangements were made at first, and the position from a health point of view was awful; but later Mr. Gandhi assisted the municipal officials, and the position was greatly improved. I found Mr. Gandhi at the back of an Indian store, in the yard, serving out curry and rice to his followers, who marched up, and each man received his quota. One baker sold 5,000 loaves to the Indians in one day."

Mr. Gandhi, upon his release on bail, swiftly motored back to his followers, rejoining them on the march, which proceeded quietly as far as Paardeberg, where the remaining women and children were left behind in charge of a few of the men, who had become footsore. The main body reached Standerton on the morning of the 8th, where a number of strikers were arrested by their compound managers, assisted by a few police, and entrained for Natal. And here, too, Mr. Gandhi was re-arrested on the same charge as before. He again requested bail, and, owing to the attitude of the strikers, who persistently refused to move from the Court precincts until their leader was restored to them, his request was granted, and the march was resumed immediately.

Sunday, the 9th, was a historic day. With a view to a final consultation with him before leaving for India, Mr. Polak had telegraphed to Mr. Gandhi, saying that he was joining him, and had received a wire suggesting Greylingstad as the meeting place, but with the warning that he (Mr. Polak) might be arrested if he came. He joined the column at a small place named Teakworth, a few miles on the Standerton side of Greylingstad. The "army," spread along the road for a distance of some three miles, was led by a small, limping, bent, but dogged man, coarsely dressed, and using a staff, with a serene and peaceful countenance, however, and a look of sureness and content. That was Gandhi, the principal Passive Resister. The two friends greeted each other, and eagerly exchanged news. Whilst thus engaged, and when about an hour distant from Greylingstad, not far ahead was seen a Cape cart, and walking rapidly towards them were a couple of police officers, behind whom came Mr. M. Chamney, the Principal Immigration Officer of the Transvaal. Realising the pacific nature of the demonstration and of the Indian leader's intentions, Mr. Chamney had complimented Mr. Gandhi by undertaking his arrest upon a warrant issued under the Natal Indenture Law with no stronger support than this. The Cape cart, with its precious freight, drove swiftly away, and the column resumed its march quietly, under the leadership of Mr. Polak, who had at once assumed the responsibility, preceded by the two mounted policemen. A few minutes later, Messrs, Cachalia and Bhyat, who, together with Mr. Badat of Volksrust, were in charge of the commissariat arrangements, of which Mr. Polak was in entire ignorance, joined the column, having accidentally missed it on another road, and they at once proceeded to Balfour, where it was due next morning and where food supplies were awaiting its arrival. The evening was fine and clear, and the cooking-fires that were lit from end to end of the veld offered a bright and sparkling spectacle. Gradually, the buzz and throb of conversation sank, as sleep fell upon the camp. The night, however, was dismal and wretched, a cold wind howled mournfully down from the neighbouring hills, and a drizzle of rain added to the discomfort of the shelterless throng.

But the night was portentous, for it was decreed that the march should end on the morrow, though of this the marchers were as yet unaware. At four in the morning it was resumed, and the moving mass of heroic men swung forward into their stride, covering the ground at a splendid pace, and, laden as they were, without waggons and without food, they travelled the distance between Greylingstad and Balfour, 13 miles, in 3½ hours. Upon reaching the latter place, without any police escort, just before 9 a.m., it became evident that the last stage had been reached, for three special trains were drawn up at the station to take back the strikers to Natal. Mr. Polak was approached by the Police Officer in charge of the arrangements, and by Mr. Chamney, to co-operate with them in effecting the arrest of the "army," and upon receiving their assurance that the men were really to be sent to Natal, where criminal proceedings were awaiting them, he replied that he would gladly do so, as the whole object of the march had thus been fulfilled, and his own responsibility ceased. At the same time, he offered himself for arrest also, but he was informed that the Government did not desire this. He, however, warned the officials that, in Mr. Gandhi's enforced absence, it might be difficult for him to induce compliance with their desire, as but few of the men had ever seen him before. Mr. Gandhi, however, was passing through from Heidelberg, en route for Dundee, where he was subsequently imprisoned, and sent a message urging the people quietly to surrender.

They were fed as rapidly as food could be supplied to them—a handful of rice and bread each—and then Mr. Chamney, having questioned them as to their proofs of rights of residence, proclaimed them prohibited immigrants. For the moment, chaos prevailed, as a number of stalwarts, who had set their hearts upon reaching Johannesburg, called upon the multitude to march forward, but, instantly realising the danger of this movement, which, whilst it would have resulted in bloodshed, would have swept aside the small band of twenty-five policemen in the twinkling of an eye, and let loose an uncontrolled body of men to roam over the Transvaal, who would

not afterwards probably have been located, Mr. Polak, followed by Messrs. Cachalia and Bhyat, rushed to the head of the column and implored the people to remember that their objective, as passive resisters, was not Johannesburg but gaol, and eventually peace was restored. Gradually, and in small groups, the men entrained, Mr. Polak accompanying the first train as far as Charlestown, where he was shortly afterwards arrested. Here, the strikers having been locked up without food or water for eight hours, the trains were not allowed to remain more than a couple of minutes, the platform being occupied by armed police, who kept back the women that had remained there and now urged their men-folk, with tears in their eyes and choking voices, not to mind them but to remain true to their duty. And slowly the trains steamed south, bearing nearly two thousand humble heroes to a bitter fate and a shameful experience, but firm in the knowledge that they had done what they had set out to do, and that the repeal of the hated tax was now certain. The great and impressive march was over.

The Times has since declared that it must live in memory as one of the most remarkable manifestations in history of the spirit of Passive Resistance. It had achieved all that its organisers, in their fondest dreams, had hoped for it. It had proclaimed, as

nothing else could have done, the stubborn endurance, the dogged persistency, the grim tenscity, the stern determination, the magnificent self-sacrifice of the Passive Resisters. And it assured success. It was not a defeat, as the shallow critics had at the time proclaimed it. Had the strikers not exercised, under the guidance of trusted leaders, immense self-control -there was no pillage, no disorder, no violence-all the forces that the Government had brought against them could not have prevented their swarming over the Transvaal. But it was the glorious ending of a peaceful demonstration of workers determined upon achieving freedom for themselves, their wives, their children. A splendid victory for Truth had been The honour of the Indian Motherland had been vindicated. Mr. Gokhale's word had been made good.

And the sign of this is to be found in the work of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson, the report of the Commission, its acceptance by the Government, the debates in Parliament, and the passing of Act 22 of 1914, repealing the £3 Tax for ever, and granting freedom of residence in Natal to those who choose to remain unindentured. The real victory is that of the soul-force of the marchers, starving, weary, but buoyed up with unconquerable hope, over the brute-force of those who had declared their intention at all costs to maintain them in a condition of perpetual helotage.

Women and the Struggle.

(By MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK.)



USKIN has said: "A woman's duty is twofold, her duty to her home and her duty to the State." Scarcely an Indian woman in South Africa has read Ruskin's words, probably never heard of them, but the spirit of truth manifests itself in many ways and places, and the Indian women of South Africa intuitively knew this as

one of the true laws of life, and their work showed that they performed their greater duty accordingly. These women, without any training for public life, accustomed to the retirement of women of India, not versed or read in the science of sociology, just patient, dutiful wives, mothers, and daughters of a struggling class of workers, in an hour of need, moved by the spirit of a larger life, took up their duty to their country, and served it with that heroism of which such women alone are capable.

It is said so often that woman does not reason, and perhaps it is a charge largely true, but where the elementary laws of being are concerned, woman follows a surer path than any dictated by reason, and sooner or later gets to her goal. Every reform movement has shown that, from the moment women stand

side by side with men in the maintenance of a principle, however dimly understood by them, the spirit of the movement grows, is crystallised, and success to the movement is assured.

The Westerner is so accustomed to think of the Indian woman as one living in retirement, without any broad thought and without any interest in public affairs, that it must have come with a shock of surprise to learn that many Indian women, some with babies in their arms, some expecting babies to be born to them, and some quite young girls, were leaving their homes and taking part in all the hardships of the Passive Resistance campaign.

The last phase of the fight, and the one through which to-day we rejoice in peace, was practically led in the early stages by a small band of women from Natal, who challenged prison to vindicate their right to the legal recognition of their wifehood, and a similar small band of women from Johannesburg.

The women from Natal, all of them wives of well-known members of the Indian community, travelled up to Volksrust, were arrested and sentenced to three months' hard labour, and were the first of hundreds to go to gaol. The women from the Transvaal travelled down the line, taking in the mines on their

way, holding meetings and calling upon the men to refuse to work and to die rather than live as slaves, and at the call of these women, thousands laid down their tools and went on strike. I think it may safely be said that, but for the early work of these brave women, during the middle of last year, the wonderful response to the call of honour and country might never have taken place. About six weeks after the Transvaal women left, they also were arrested, and a similar sentence to that passed upon the women of Natal was passed upon them, and they were forcibly vaccinated. So these brave women were shut away from life, but the fight now so splendidly begun went on.

A few days after the release of these last women, two gave birth to children, and another, a young girl of about twenty, passed away, and a third hovered between life and death for months, but the goal was won. To-day, all these women are back in their homes and are busy in the usual routine of an Indian woman's life. There is absolutely none of the pride of heroism about them. They are the same patient, dutiful women that India has produced for centuries; yet they endured the publicity, and no one who does not know India can understand how terrible to the Indian woman such publicity is. They endured the physical hardship, the mental sorrow, the heartache: for nearly all who did not take young children with them left young ones at home, endured hunger strikes, because they were deprived of fat to eat and sandals to put on-endured it all without hardness or bitterness. India has many things to be proud of, but of none more than the part the Indian women of South Africa took in the uplifting and recognition of a people here despised.

(Indians and their Employers.

Mr. Gandhi's Speech at Verulam.



NE of the most important gatherings held just before Mr. Gandhi left South Africa was the great meeting of indentured Indians and employers at Verulam. In his address, Mr. Gandhi took pains to make the position under the Relief Act absolutely clear to the Indian labourers, and addressed a few earnest words at the close to the

European employers of the neighbourhood.

He asked his countrymen to understand that it was wrong for them to consider that the relief that had been obtained had been obtained because he had gone to gaol, or his wife, or those who were immediately near and dear to him. It was because they had had the good sense and courage to give up their own lives and to sacrifice themselves, and in these circumstances he had also to tell them that many causes led to that relief, and one of these was certainly also the most valuable and unstinted assistance rendered by Mr. Marshall Campbell of Mount Edgecombe. He thought that their thanks and his thanks were due to him for the magnificent work that he did in the Senate whilst the Bill was passing through it. They would now not have to pay the £3 Tax, and the arrears would also be remitted. That did not mean that they were free from their present indentures. They were bound to go through their present indentures faithfully and honestly, but, when those indentures terminated, they were just as free as any other free Indian, and they were entitled, if they would go to the Protector's office, to the same discharge certificate as was granted to those who came before 1895, under Law 25 of 1891. They were not bound to re-indenture nor to return to India. The discharge certificates would be issued to them free of charge. If they wanted, after having gone to India, to return, they could only do so after they had lived for full three years in the Province as free men after serving their indentures. If any of them wished to have assistance for going to India, they could obtain it from the Government if they did not wish to return from India. If, therefore, they wanted to return from India, they would fight shy of that assistance which was given to them by the Government, but would find their own money or borrow it from friends. If they re-indentured, they could come under the same law, namely, Law 25 of 1891. His own advice to them was not to re-indenture, but by all means to serve their present masters under the common law of the country. If ever occasion arose, which he hoped would never happen, they now knew what it was possible for them to do. But he wanted to remind them of this one thing, that Victoria County, as also the other Districts of Natal, had not been so free from violence on their own part as the Newcastle District had been. He did not care that provocation had been offered to them or how much they had retaliated with their sticks or with stones, or had burned the sugar cane—that was not Passive Resistance, and, if he had been in their midst, he would have repudiated them entirely and allowed his own head to be broken rather than permit them to use a single stick against their opponents. And he wanted them to believe him when he told them that Passive Resistance pure and simple was an infinitely finer weapon than all the sticks and gunpowder put together. They might strike work, but they might compel nobody else to strike work, and, if, as a result of their strike, they were sentenced to be imprisoned, whipped, or to both, they must suffer

even unto death-that was Passive Resistance, nothing else. Nothing else, and nothing less than that, would satisfy the requirements of Passive Resistance. If, therefore, he was indentured to Mr. Marshall Campbell, or Mr. Sanders, or any friends about there, and if he found that he was being persecuted or not receiving justice, in their case he would not even go to the Protector, he would sit tight and say, "My master, I want justice or I won't work. Give me food if you want to, water if you want to; otherwise, I sit here hungry and thirsty," and he assured them that the hardest, stoniest heart would be melted. Therefore, let that sink deeply into themselves, that whenever they were afraid of any injury being done to them all, that was the sovereign remedy and that alone was the most effective remedy. If they wanted advice and guidance, and many of them had complained that he was going away, and that his advice would not be at their disposal, all he could suggest to them was that, although he was going away, Phœnix was not leaving, and, therefore, if they had any difficulty for which they did not wish to pay Mr. Langston or other lawyers, they should go to Phœnix and ask Mr. West or Mr. Chhaganlal Gandhi what was to be done in a particular case. If Mr. West or Mr. Chhaganlal could help them, they would do so free of charge, and if they could not they would send them to Mr. Langston or his other brothers in the law, and he had no doubt that, if they went to Mr. Langston with a certificate from Mr. West that they were too poor, he would render them assistance free of charge. But, if they were called upon to sign any document whatsoever, his advice to them was not to sign it unless they went to Phænix and got advice. If Phœnix ever failed them and wanted a farthing from them, then they should shun Phœnix.

The scene before him that morning would not easily fade from his memory, even though the distance between him and them might be great. He prayed that God might help them in all the troubles that might be in store for them, and that their conduct might be such that God might find it possible to help them. And to the European friends living in this country he wished to tender his thanks, and he wished also to ask them to forgive him if they had ever considered that during that awful time he was instrumental in bringing about any retaliation at all on the part of his countrymen. He wished to give them this assurance that he had no part or parcel in it, and that, so

far as he knew, not a single leading Indian had asked the men to retaliate. There were times in a man's life when he lost his senses, his self-control, and under a sense of irritation, fancied or real, began to retaliate when the brute nature in him rose, and he only went by the law of "might is right," or the law of retaliation—a tooth for a tooth. If his countrymen had done so, whether under a real sense of wrong or fancied, let them forgive him and let them keep a kind corner in their hearts; and, if there were any employers of indentured labour there present who would take that humble request to them, he did ask them not to think always selfishly, though he knew it was most difficult to eradicate self, and let them consider these indentured Indians not merely as cattle which they had to deal with, but as human beings with the same fine feelings, the same fine sentiments as themselves. 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 employes 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 employes 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 that 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 it is possible for every human being, no matter who he is, no matter what tinge of colour his skin possesses,



Messages of Congratulation.

(THE VICEROY:

In connection with the settlement of the Indian difficulty in South Africa, the following message was sent to the Viceroy of India by Mr. Gokhale:—

"Indian community in South Africa desire me to act as their spokesman and convey to your Excellency their humble and heartfelt thanks for your great help and courageous advocacy, which have greatly facilitated settlement."

Lord Hardinge sent the following reply:-

"I thank you sincerely for your message from Indian community in South Africa. I did no more than my duty in giving expression to deep feelings of India last November. The generous settlement secured through wise and patriotic action of Union Government is greatly appreciated in India, and will; I am confident, conduce to the happiness and prosperity of our Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa.")

LORD AMPTHILL:

The following cablegram was received from Lord Ampthill by the British Indian Association:—

"Warmest congratulations to all concerned. Settlement is honourable to all, after a long struggle, manfully pursued, and is bound to ensure mutual respect and friendship in future."

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Mr. HOSKEN:

Mr. William Hosken, Chairman of the European Committee of Sympathisers in Johannesburg, cabled from London as follows:—

"Hearty congratulations on the outcome of a struggle marked by so much courage, endurance, and high principle."

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MESSRS. ANDREWS AND PEARSON:

From India the Rev. C. F. Andrews and Mr. W. W. Pearson sent jointly the following message:—

"We join with you in heartfelt thanksgiving for the successful issue of the struggle, we rejoice with you for the successful issue of the struggle, and pray that peace may now be firmly established on a righteous foundation. Love to all our dear friends who have don so nobly and won so noble a victory."

Then and Now!

"Peace hath her victories, No less renown'd than war,"—Millon.

As an indication of the degree in which the public conscience has been influenced by the Passive Resistance Movement, we publish the following remarkable contrast of views held by prominent South African Statesmen at the beginning and at the end of the historic struggle:—

If his (General Botha's) party were returned to power they would undertake to drive the coolies out of the country within four years. He suggested the means to that end to be expropriation of their interests in the country by means of arbitration.—General Botha, in an election address at Standerton, January, 1907.

'The Asiatic cancer, which has already eaten so deeply into the vitals of South Africa ought to be resolutely eradicated."—General Smuts in a letter to Mr. R. Tatham, October, 1906.

The class which had vested rights here could not be interfered with anyway. . . . He well remembered how from the very first they had experienced difficulties in the Transvaal concerning the Indian question. It had been quite impossible for any Parliament to say in an off-hand manner, "Put all these people out of the country, we do not want them here." Only by paying millions of pounds in compensation could they have done anything like that, and even then the matter would not have been settled.—General Botha, in the House of Assembly, June, 1914.

The Minister of Finance (General Smuts) moved the second reading of the Indians Relief Bill. He requested Members to approach such a thorny and difficult question in a non-controversial spirit. The House were now in a position to finally settle the Indian problem on a satisfactory basis, the recommendations of the Solomon Commission, which enquired into the grievances of Indians, having been accepted by the Indian Government, and also . . . by the Indian community.—In the House of Assembly, June, 1914.

(The Colonial-born Indian: The Settlement and His Future.)

By A. CHRISTOPHER.



HE writer purposes to view "the settlement" born of the Passive Resistance Movement initiated by that great Indian leader, Mr. Gandhi, and brought to a head by the unparalleled event in the life of the Indian Community in South Africa, huge strike demonstration by which assumed the form of a

thousands of Indian labourers and others-(these have now become matters of history)—and, incidentally, to consider an aspect or two of the future of the Colonialborn Indian. (It is but fair to preface the introspection with the qualification that whilst Mr. Gandhi has declared "the settlement" to constitute the Magna Charta of the Indians in South Africa, he has been careful to add that it would give the Indians a breathing space of time, thereby leaving it to be inferred that, as the Magna Charta signed by King John at Runnymead was but the beginning of what to-day are the liberties, privileges, and responsibilities of the Briton, so from the endeavours of the Indian Community following upon "the settlement," yelept the Magna Charta of South African Indians by Mr. Gandhi, must come the eventual complete recognition of the Indian in the life of the State here. But to speak of the redress in a fuller or lesser measure of Indian grievances as a settlement of the Indian Question is a misnomer, and can but be true in a restricted sense. The abolition of that iniquitous tax of £3 on ex-indentured Indian immigrants is a settlement, and its effect especially upon the future Indian population will be tremendous and for the good. The legislation upon the marriage question is as much as can be reasonably expected in a country like South Africa, particularly when it is remembered that some provision has been made for the safeguarding of plural wives where such already exist. The removal of the racial bar is a matter of paramount importance to the future of Indians. The just administration of the laws of the country has been promised. Regulations have been framed under the Indians' Relief Act, but so short a time has elapsed since these things have happened that it would be speculative to express dogmatic views upon the details of "the settlement." But the restoration of the right of South Africanborn Indians to enter the Cape Colony is in a sense a settlement, though it carries with it the reservation, that in the event of that Province being "flooded" with Indians born in the other Provinces, that that right may be administratively withdrawn. Whether such a reservation was expressed or not, it is in the power of the Legislature to do whatsoever it wills, and where, as in human affairs, there is ever change,

there can be no finality, though the settlement of a question at the time it is effected and so long as no developments take place therein, may be viewed as final. This observation on the changes to which man is ever subject is especially applicable to the Colonialborn Indian, who, it has been admitted from the statesman, the Public Commission economist, to the veriest scribbler in the dailies of the country, is a problem in himself, and the solution of this problem will be the end of what is known locally as the Indian Question. The Hon. Mr. Gokhale, when here, advised Colonial-born Indians to seek their own salvation, as to them this land was their home, however much they might look to India as their motherland. Patriotic they might be, and there can be no doubt that they are, but immediately they were concerned with the affairs of South Africa, and their efforts should be directed to their acceptance in its polity; but this phase of the question is so vast that it permits not a cursory discussion here. Mr. Gandhi, on the eve of his departure from South Africa, was emphatic in his advice that, as the salvation of the Indian Community was in the hands of the Colonial-born Indians, if they who had come to this country were to cut themselves away from them, they would surely be driving a nail into their coffin. These expressions are worthy of remark. They suggest that with the stoppage of Indian immigration—free, restricted or conditional -and with the elimination of the India-born Indian by the hand of death or by return to India, gradually. in the course of a number of years, the entire character of the future Indian population here would be South African. To the South African-born Indian, then, must they, who would solve the Indian Question, turn, and in him they will find material worthy of a part in the structure of South Africa. He is in a state of transition from the East to the West, and, if it were possible that the virtues of the Occident and the Orient could be blended in him, then the prediction of Kipling, that the East and the West will never meet, will have been falsified. And there is hope for the Colonial-born Indian, given the opportunities of trade. calling, occupation and freedom of locomotion, with facilities for academic, technical, agricultural, and industrial education, that he will hold his own; but his condition will be cribbed, cabined and confined, to long as the proverbial barriers remain in the country with a Union which cannot for ever keep the Indians born in South Africa from realising their oneness of interests and aspirations in life; and this must happen sooner than most people would expect, as the Colonialborn Indian must, by the force of his circumstances and environment, become more and more anglicised. If, though the Jew, than whom none is more tenacious of the language, religion, customs, traditions and

history of his nation, be anglicised and yet it is probable that remain a Jew. Indian may become anglicised and yet be not denationalised. Evidences of this are not wanting, for, with the absorption of much that is English, such as, for instance, certain sports, there goes along with these their national games, and this process is noticeable in almost everything connected with them. But at the same time, the attractions of the West appear to be gaining in strength, and the risk of the Colonialborn Indian eventually in the course of generations losing his power to withstand them even partially is very great indeed. The position, however, is not hopeless, if the communication that existed between India and South Africa by the immigration and emigration of Indians is restored, in any case for the present, by the organisation of a means by which Colonial-born Indian boys and girls may spend some years of their life in India, learning as much as is possible during those years of something of India, its wealth of intellectual and spiritual knowledge, its greatness and its resources, past and present, and, if he or she dare, peep into its future.

And this leads one to consider the means by which the Colonial-born Indian, irrespective of sex-for the education of the girls, the mothers of the nation, is as important as that for the boys—may live and study in India, and the means that suggest themselves are scholarships tenable in India, enabling the student to return from thence the better qualified to earn, and learned in the lore of India to serve his community in a distant land and be patriotic to the country of his fathers. Education doled out to the Colonial-born Indian leaves much to be desired. Mr. Gandhi has already indicated his willingness to assist in the education of Colonial-born Indians in India, and may not the Colonial-born Indian ask the nation-builders of India: Have we not a place in the structure of the national edifice you contemplate, and will you not assist us, so that we may assist you in your patriotic work?

FORCE NOT AN ATTRIBUTE OF GOD.

"What was and is the offence of the Cross?" asked Dean Inge in St. Paul's Cathedral. "Evil is to be overcome by goodness, not by resistance."

"It is said that when Clovis, the war-like Frankish king, first heard the story of the Crucifixion, he exclaimed in generous heat, 'If I and my Franks had been there, we would have rescued him.' But Christ would not rescue Himself.

"There is a very striking sentence in the Epistle to Diognetus, an early Christian document of the second century. It runs simply, 'Force is not an attribute of God."

"And how completely and persistently it has been ignored in later history! The Church began to govern by force, by violence, even before force and violence had ceased to be exercised against itself. The mischief, of course, was not in establishing a Church order, with disciplinary powers, but in consecrating violence as an instrument for doing God's work. Our Lord called this 'worshipping the Devil,' and it has, in fact, produced the most gigantic crimes in history."

THE COMING BROTHERHOOD.

There shall come from out this noise of strife and groaning

A broader and a juster brotherhood; A deep equality of aim, postponing

All selfish seeking to the general good. There shall come a time when each shall to another Be as Christ would have him, brother unto brother.

There shall come a time when brotherhood grows stronger

Than the narrow bounds which now distract the world;

When the cannon roar and trumpets blare no longer, And the ironclads rust and the battle-flags are furled;

When the bars of creed and speech and race, which sever,

Shall be fused in one humanity for ever.

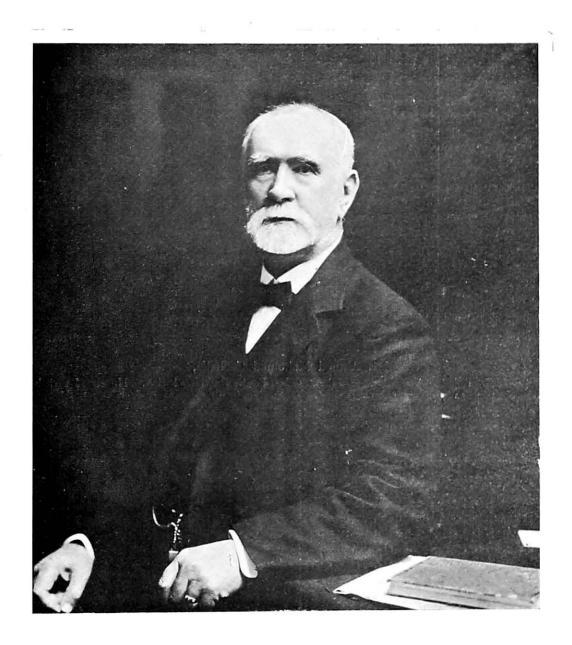
—Sir Lewis Morris.



EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Editor desires to thank all those who have helped in the issue of the "Golden Number," either by writing articles, lending or presenting photographs, or in other ways.



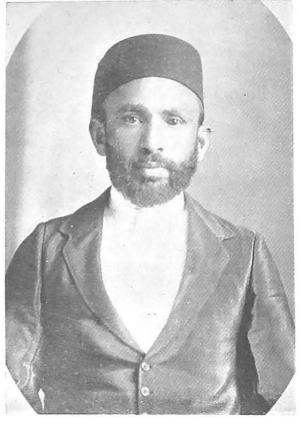
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THE LATE SIR DAVID HUNTER, K.C.M.G.









Mr. Ahmed Mahomed Cachalia,

chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association, one of the staunchest Passive Resistance leaders. He served periods of imprisonment and allowed himself to be made insolvent rather than violate his oath, subsequently paying his creditors Twenty shillings in the Pound.

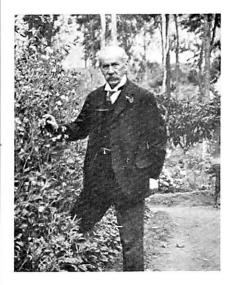


The last photograph of Mr. & Mrs. Gandhi in Durban along with several friends



H. H. the Aga Khan, who presided over the Bombay mass meeting on the South African question.





The late Mr. T. R. Haddon, a member of the European Committee of sympathisers in Johannesburg.





Mr. H. M. Meyler, M.L.A. whose whole-hearted advocacy of the repeal of the £3 tax has endeared him to the Indian Community.





Mr. Omar Hajee Amod Jhaveri, joint secretary, Natal Indian Association, who in many public capacities during the struggle rendered great service to the Community.



Mr. Vere Stent, Editor of "Pretoria News" who has consistently advocated the Indian cause. Presided at the Pretoria farewell meeting to Mr. Gandhi.

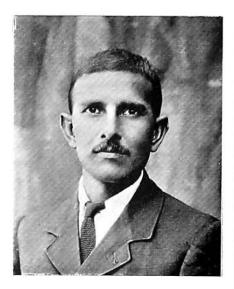


Mr. A. H. West,

joint manager of the Phoenix Settlement and "Indian Opinion." He was arrested (but subsequently released) during the strike whilst succouring indentured lab ourers who had fled to Phoenix for protection from neighbouring estates



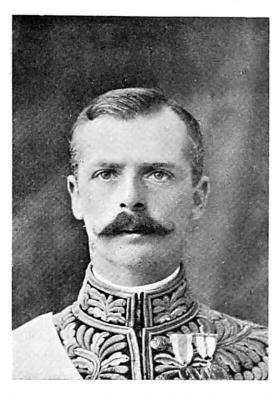
Miss Ada West,
(Devi Behn) who acted both at Tolstoy
Farm and at Phoenix as "|Sister" to
the children sent there for training.



Mr. Maganlal K. Gandhi, one of the pioneer Settlers at Phoenix who sacrificed his strong desire to suffer imprisonment in order to attend to the duties of Home and the Press.



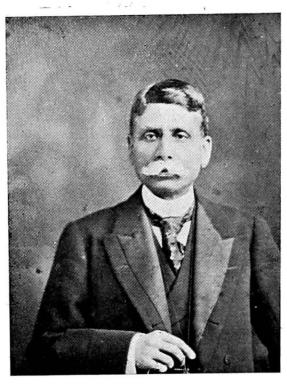
Photo by An interesting group of Phoenix Settlers with their wives and ramilies together with some of the students.



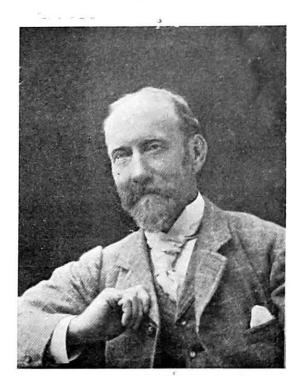
The Right Hon. Lord Ampthill, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. Ex-Viceroy of India and Governor of Madras, President of the South Africa British Indian Committee, London.



Mr. Ratan J. Tata, the philanthropic and patriotic Indian donor of three munificent contributions to the Passive Resistance Fund.



Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, P.C., Judge of the Privy Council, Chairman of the London Committee of the All-India Moslem League, and a member of the London Committee.



Sir Wm. Wedderburn, Bart., a staunch advocate of the South African Indian cause, and a true friend of India.







Mr. Parsee Rustomjee ("Kakaji") the "Grand Old Passive Resister" of South Africa



The Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, India's "G.O.M." whose heart has throughout been with the Passive Resisters



Sir Wm. Bull, M.P., Solicitor to the London Committee







Sir Chas. Bruce, G.C.M.G., a prominent member of the South Africa British Indian Committee



Mr. Hajee Dawad Mahomed, President, Natal Indian Association, spent twelve months in prison as a Passive Resister





Mr. Gokaldas P. Gandhi, who led a party of Passive Resisters from Tongaat district



Senator W. P. Schreiner, who fought strenuously for justice to the Indian Community.





Mr. John X. Merriman, M.L.A. a consistent champion of fairplay to Indians.



Mr. Theo. L. Schreiner, M.L.A. an eloquent spokesman in the Assembly on behalf of Indians.





Olive Schreiner, the celebrated author, whose sympathies were with the Passive Resisters.





Lady Chandavarkar, a prominent member of the Bombay Indian Women's Organisation who assisted so greatly during the struggle.



GOLDEN

Indian Opinion

NUMBER

Unveiling of the Valiamina Memorial by Mrs. Chas. Phillips, at Johannesburg, July 15, 1914.

THE BABE OF PEACE.



[From Hindi Punch

SMUTS—What do you think of the baby?
GANDHI—Very pleasant. Born with a twig of peace in the mouth.

THE TAIL AND THE TIGER.



From Punch

VICEROY OF INDIA (TO GENERAL BOTHA): "I'm sure you only meant to have a little harmless fun with his tail, but what's fun to you may be very annoying to the rest of the tiger."



Mr. Jeewa Mahomed, of Pretoria, who rendered valuable service to the Passive Resistance movement.



Mrs. D. M. Lazarus, of Newcastle, who bravely worked for the comfort of the Indian women and the strikers.



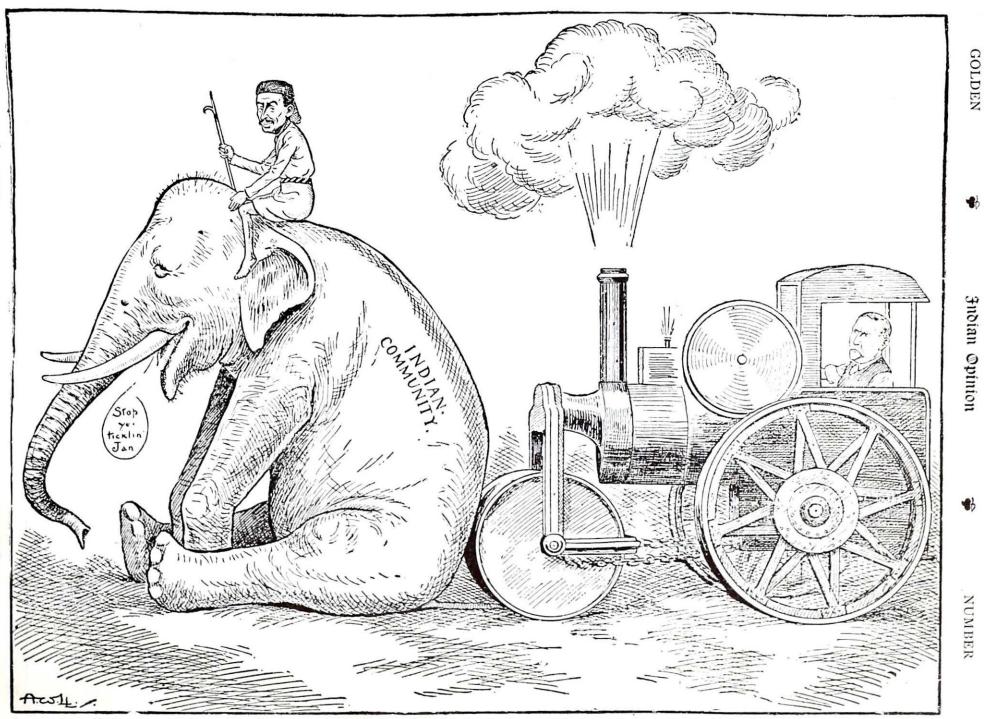




Mr. Vali Peerbhai, who assisted at Volksrust and Charlestown during the strike.



Mr. A. M. Badat, or Volksrust, who rendered great service during the strike.



"The Steam Roller v. The Elephant. (The Elephant 'sat tight'; the Steam Roller exploded.")—Sunday Times.

[Reproduced by kind permission

THE PIONEER PARTY OF THE LAST PHASE OF THE STRUGGLE

Cupoosamy Moonlight, V. Govindrajloo, Sivpujan Budree, Revashanker Sodha.



Photo by

B. Gabriel



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The Late Mr. Gabriel Isaac, a European who went to gaol at Pinetown as a Passive Resister whilst in charge of the temporary camp at New Germany.



The late Mr. J. Dowell Ellis, Mayor of Johannesburg, who welcomed the Hon. Mr. Gokhale upon his arrival in the Golden City.

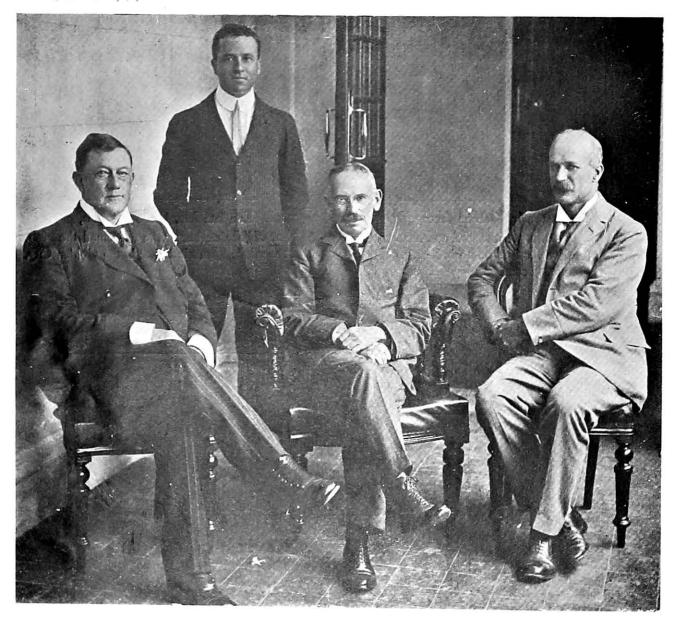


Mr. W. M. Vogl, a strenuous European sympathiser.



Mr. F. Drummond P. Chaplin, M.L.A., the chief Opposition spokesman in favour of the Indians Relief Bill.

INDIAN COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.



[A. C. Coyne
In the centre is Sir William Solomon (chairman), with Mr. Ewald Esselen on his right, Mr. J. S. Wylie
on his left, and Mr. Adler (secretary) standing.



The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E. the South African Indians' indefatigable champion in India. He made a tour of the Union in 1912.





Mr. Theo. Jooste, the genial Magistrate at Volkrust, who convicted and sentenced Messrs. Gandhi, Kallenbach and Polak last year.



Mr. M. K. Gandhi, the ascetic in repose.





Mr. Morris Alexander, the Jewish, M.L.A. of the Castle division of Capetown, who has eloquently and at all times urged just treatment for Indians,



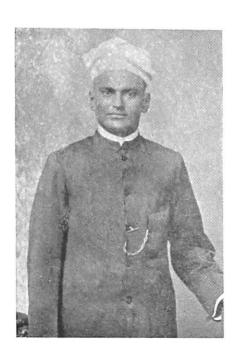
Mr. Patrick Duncan, C.M.G., M.L.A. who, as Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal Crown Colony Administration introduced the Asiatic Law amendment ordinance in 1906 against unanimous Indian protests, and who has since appreciated the Imperial issues involved and has advocated measures of redress for Indians in South Africa.





Mrs. J. B. Petit, a prominent Indian lady sympathiser





Mr. G. A. Natesan The indefatigable Hon. Secretary of the Indian South Africa League, Madras. Responsible for the success of the Campaign in Madras.





Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of the *Indian Social* Reform, also Joint Secretary of the Bombay South African Committee.





Mr. J. B. Petit, one of the Joint Secretaries of the Bombay South African Committee which has sent large sums to the Passive Resistance Fund.





Mrs. Jamnabai N. Sakkai, president of the Gujarati Hindu Stri Mandal, a prominent Indian lady sympathiser

થયું તે તેઓ સમન્યા છે. આ જતને અમે સબતા છે.

આવગે!. ત્રણ ત્રણ વખત જેલતા દરવાના કેદની મુદત પુરી થયા પહેલાં ખુલ્વા એ અદભુત વાત છે, એવા દાખલા દુનિયાની તવારીખમાં બહુ નહીં મળે. ન્યારે લંડત શરૂ શર્મ ભારે ઘણા તળળા મતના હીંદી કહેતા કે 'સરકારી કાયદા કંદી તુરે નહીં.' એ તા બીંતની સાથે માથું પછાડ વાતું છે.' 'સરકાર સામે થવું એ તા ગાંડપણ છે.' આવું એલનારા તે પૈસાની કે ખીજ લાલચમાં રહી પુદા-ઇશ્વરતું એલનારા તે પૈસાની કે ખીજ લાલચમાં રહી પુદા-ઇશ્વરતું એશ છાત રાખતા હતા. હવે યા. ૩ તા ખુતી કર રદ શ્યા છે અતે હીંદી પ્રનાતી માગણી હતી તે સ્વીકારાઇ છે. અપણ માત્ર સક્તિ થઇ ગયાં છે. ગાણઓ માંમાં આંગળી ધાલી રહ્યા છે અતે લિશારે છે કે આ તે કે મ થયું ! કેમ ધાલી રહ્યા છે અતે લિશારે છે કે આ તે કે મ થયું ! કેમ

> *** *** ***

ફ્રીયુ આધીકાતા હીંદીતી સંપુર્ણ જત શધ છ એમ અમે માતીએ છીએ. તેઓ આદ વર્ષ ઝુઝપા બધી કામ એક્સ બતી સેકડા ગીરમીડીયા જોડાયા, દર્શીયું આધ્રાધાકા અને હીંદુસ્થાતમાં બધા હીંદી અને ગારા મિસોતી લાગણી ઉશકરાઇ. હવે જેલ જવાતું પુર્ સાગુણી ઉશકરાઇ. હવે જેલ જવાતું પુર્શ

લાત લાવાની છે. તેમ કરતાં આપણ મામ નથી કરતા. લીલે કે ગુડેલીલે તેલીમી ક્ષેત્ર મુરેલું કોર્ડમાં કેલું ઓતેલું આપતા. તેથી અમે ઉપર છંદ દાંકો છે કે મુખ દુખ, મરીણામ સારૂં ન હોય તો આપણી ઇચ્છા છતાં ઇશ્વર નથી હ્યામ ન આવે તેમાં સત્યતા દાવ નથી, તે આ*પણા હા*ય**છ**. કર્ડા અમેર તેડાલામ લાવવા આતેલું મહાંજો' પુ પુ તેડા ઝુના દાતાલા ઉપ્પર્કા મતા આવેલું આધાર્રલે અપ માર્ડલે તને આતનેવ દુતાવા શેક વ મની કુંગા અવર હાતું પ આવું પાર્ક આંત્રેલું ક્ષાર્ટ ખાદ્વી અમ માપાએ **રા**ચ્ચે. દુખાવ માત્ર છે. *ખરીરી*વે તે તેવી હારતા. *ધારશું પરી*ાણામ નુંગા કાધ્યવય તાળવાડા આદમી ક્ષાર ખાવા અન્નાય છે, તે કદી હારેજ નહિ, એવા પુદાય–ઇથરી, કાપદા છે. કેટલીક કાધની! જી મિન્નડેની! જી જીદાને છે માર્ભકા કુવન ૧૬ પુ साजक छे ज्यावी वाह्य ६३६ धर्ममी मुणी आविष्ठे, ज्य लीम जाली, छः संध ज्रंथ मिन्दं छे जार्रावी मेहा ज માત્ર સત્ય રીતે લડત લીધેલી, તેથી આવું અદભુત પરી રૂ આ લગામ સંબંધ સારૂ હતી. અને આગેવાનમાંના મળાએ કેલી શકાય. છતાં અમે એમ ચાકસ કેલી શાપ્રોએ બીએ ટ્રાફ<u>ે</u>એ તેમાં *માે*તાતા સ્વારથ તથી જોયા એમ *પ*ણુ ત**િ** ઝુમ નેદ્રી રેલુવા મોગવા કે બધા *હિં*દી સંસ્તુંબ લગ્તા **છે**.

> જૈતન વે. ૧૮ કે તાર્જ, તેથી પાપ થશે નહીં. સેમ દુખ સમ થઇ, લાભા લાબે જયા જયે,

स्थमेव चयते

—રવિકાષ કવિદ્રયાન કાંગ્રાફ દર્સિલે આધીરાના દ્વારામાં એન્ડરેસ સાનુ મારલેના સ**રગા.** છે, જે આનંદર્શ્ય છે, જે અલ છે, શાન્તિમય સુપ્રમય છે, તે જે એક્ષ્ય છે અને તૈના જેવા ખીજો તથી તેતું **હું ધ્યાન ધરું છું** આ બધાં ઈશ્વરનાં વિશેષણા છે: તે તૈના સરલ એવા થાય છે. કે ઈશ્વર કે જે સત્ય અને જ્ઞાનસ**ય છે, જે આંત વિનાત્રા**

> > જ્ઞાતા જ્ઞાતા આત્રિપાતાના સામુદ્ય

સત્યાગ્રહની મહાન લૂડતની ચાદગીરી અર્થે

અવસરે એ લડત કેમ લડાય તે કોણ લડે એ જોઇ શકશું. સત્યાપ્રહતા અર્થ જોતાં આપણે દુખીએ છીએ કે પહેલી તું ખળ — હોલું જોઇએ, એટલે તે સાણસે વરામાં કચરાઇ પગ દુધમાં એમ ત શધ શકે. એને માણસ વરામાં કચરાઇ જવાતો. સત્યાપ્રદ એ કંધ ગાજરતી પપુડી તથી. તે લાગે જવાતો. સત્યાપ્રદ એ કંધ ગાજરતી પપુડી તથી. તે લાગે જવાતો. સત્યાપ્રદ એ કંધ ગાજરતી પપુડી તથી. તે લાગે વાતો. શરીર્યળતી ખામીલાળા અથવા શરીરખળ તથી વાતો. શરીર્યળતી ખામીલાળા અથવા શરીરખળ તથી સાલતું એટલે પરાણે સત્યાપ્રદી શરું પડે એવું માત્તારાજ

ત્યારે આવી જે સરસ — હાર વિનાની — એકળ પરિણામ વાળી લડાઇ તે કોણ લડી શકે એ વિચાર કરતા અત્યંત જરૂરતા છે. તેમાંથી આપણે ડાંસવાલની લડનનાં કેડલાંક પરિષ્ણામાં સમજ શકશું અને ખીજ જગ્યાએ અથવા ખીજે અવસરે એ લડત કેમ લડાય તે કોણ લડે એ એઇ શકશું: અવસરે મેં લડત કેમ લડાય તે કોણ લડે એ એઇ શકશું:

નાવ કાતા પત્ની યુ ત્રીઅની કાર**તી** કાર્યા નથી. कतथी भीन्य सह छत्या ग्राष्ट्राय, पथ्न प्रधा हा है । माधुसि हामी याषाय सते हारे छ०. सत्यायहमा महती નેકે છે. વળી સાધારણ લડાઇમાં જે મક્ષ હાર ખાય તેના ખધા અક્સણ કરી શકતીજ તથી. માત્ર તેઓની કચાશજ તેઓને થાય છે. પણ સત્યાગ્રહીરી લડનારતે ખહારનાં કારણા પીચકુલ ધર્ણાક પહારનાં કારણિ શરીર ખળધી લાત્રનારાની હાર્ટ્સન भणी है।य, अध्या तेओनी पासे छणा वधारे है।य. आवां माझ हैज्ञार सरस होत' अर्बता प्रजाप करना सरस द्वान या बार बान छें केमह तेमाना इत्ता सामावाणानी કાવે: લાક્યા અવી ખહાદુર હાય છતાં મીજાં સાધતા કાર્યા નજ્ઞા પ્તા*કુ માત્ર લાવુતા*ની કર્ત્રાકાઠ્ઠીઅ *શેઇ કો*વે. અાવા પિયમ લાગુ પડતા નથી. તેમાં જે લુક્કરે1 મળે વાવ નાઉ ખાનપુવેક સમજવા જેવી છે. શરીર મળતી લડાઇમાં સભાત્રદીની કચાશ છે. કેઇ સત્યાયહની કચાશ નથી. આ અને કે વસ્ત ન મળે પાં ઓને છું અંગ શાસોએ અએ કે તેમાં માલેમ તરતે, જેકી રૂ આ લગ્વમાં જીકેતાવે, યા છેએ. વર્ષો. हवारी अतुराभ काती अनुराद सीधा भने तेमांथी सह है। हो मिल हिंसी हि मिलाला मिर्ने अन्तर लागमां ता से हो अन लंगात पुत्र पुत्र अर्गाती वर्ताई हसाया, वर्धाई क्रेस शह्या अने ते आरे परस सुधी संभाशि, पण् ते केम कम बंधारे सांजुक द्वात व्यवीये. हे जी सरप जारही करा व्यक्टिं गंध વિચારતાં તે જવાપ યથાર્થ હતા ઐમ માલુમ પડ છે. ત્યારે . मिर्गितियन'मां के अपाये। दता ते आक ६रीते विशारीओ. हर्मध्यो सर्वास्था कर्ताल मीज वंडंझ हर्मड ,ह्यर्शक्रिय

આ સંખંધી એ વિચારવા જવું છે કે શારીરખળ અજ માવતો પણ આમાંતું ધણું તજવું પહેછે. ભુખ, તરસ, થંડ, અતે તાપ વેઠવાં પહેછે. ધારાં સારીશામાં છાડવી પહેછે. માવતાં આ ખધુંએ કર્યું. તેઓતા શારીશિમાગહમાં અતે માવતાં આ ખધુંએ કર્યું. તેઓતા શારીશિમાગહમાં અતે માવતાં આ ખધુંએ કર્યું. તેઓતા શારીશિમાગહમાં અતે માસા ખાજ હતી. વળી શારીરખળથી તેઓ માગફર શ્રુપા પાસા ખાજ હતી. વળી શારીરખળથી તેઓ માગફર શ્રુપા માસા ખાજ હતી. વળી શારીરખળથી તેઓ માગફર શ્રુપા

સ્થિતિમાં સત્યાયહીએ ગરીબાઇમાં તવંગરી માનવી ધટે છે. જીલમમાં **ભાગ કર્યા અ**તા સત્યામહીથી શાય નહીં એટલે આવી જીલમમાં ભાગ ધનાર માણસદીજ પૈતા એકડ્રા કરી શકાય છે. હોય તે કરાવે છે. એરકે નુલમી રાખના રાજ્યમાં ઘણું ભાગે શાન *ત*હાંચારવાની મીકશી કાઅ ક્શવ માંસેશી જે કરાવવું. भन्तती खुरी क्षेतानी वातथी अथवा ता तेना शरीरते नुक તેની દાલત અથવા તા તેની ખીક ઉપર ચાહે છે. કાંતા ના નાય છે. ડાંઆવે ખાળ માણેલ *ઉપર નથી* ચાલવે. *મ*ણ મુકે છે કે દેશમાં સત્યાયહીની પાસે દાલત હાવી એ યુરકહી ઝ*ે* ને ને કવાત વેળી જે દુશના કાર્યની સાશુ સત્યાગ**ર્** શેવ *ખેવાત પ*ર્લા આવે. મન જે<u></u> છે ન કરે**તે**. *હાત* વેર્નાહી *સે*લા એમ સમેજ વેતે જતો કરતાં એક પળવાર પૃષ્ટુ જ્યાંચકા જી અમ ામા કે તા છે. જ નહીં તા તે ફાયતા મેલ છ હ્રાપ્ત શકે, પણ **પૈ**સા તેતા પરમેશ્વર ન થઇ શકે. સત્પતે નજી કે સત્યાત્રહી પાસે દાલત હાયજ નહીં. તેની પાસે દાલત વાલમાં લહ્યા લોફોના દાખલાશી અર્તે. આના અર્જ એમ પું વર્તાગુ છે યું કાંબનુ અપતી કારવા પૈતી જ આતેલું ડ્રાંલ પે સદા અર્ણખનાવ રહેશા છે. તે આખર સુધી રહેશે. જે દાલવ . કેવામાં કેસાના ખેદરકારી હાવી અમએ. દાલવ અને સત્ય

સ્ત્યાંગઢ લડે છે આ તદન તમાલી વાર્તા છે. આવું માનતારતે લડતની ખબર નથી એમ કહી શકાય. સત્યાગઢ તે શરીર બળ લડતની ખબર નથી એમ કહી શકાય. સત્યાગઢ તે શરીર બળ કરતાં વધારે તેજસ્વી છે તે તેની આગળ શરીર બળ એક તેણે માણસ પોતાના શરીરતી દરકાર ત કરતાં રણમાં કુએ છે, એરહે કે તે બીકણ નથી. સત્યાગઢી તે! પોતાના શરીરતે કંઇજ તથી ગણતા. તેનામાં બીક તો પેસીજ ત શરીરતે કંઇજ તથી ગણતા. તેનામાં બીક તો પેસીજ ત શરીરતે કંઇજ તે બહારનાં હધીઆર ધારણ કરતાં તથી, અતે ગોતતો ડર રાખ્યા વિના અત લગી મુકે છે. એરહે સત્યા ગેતતો ડર રાખ્યા વિના અત લગી મુકે છે. એરલે સત્યા ગેતતોમાં શરીરવળ કરતાં વધારે હિમતાં હધી અતે સ્ત્યા સ્ત્યા કર્યા લગા મુકે છે. એરલે સત્યા સ્ત્યામાં શરીરવળ કરતાં વધારે હિમતાં હધી એમ સ્ત્યા કરતાં વધાર છે. એરલે સત્યા સ્ત્યામાં શરીરવળ કરતાં વધારે હિમતાં સ્ત્યા કરતાં વધાર છે.

अधात्रही हाते तह शह द

स्वात सत्यात्रधीयां के गुणु होवा नेप्रमे ने के मापणे

તે તેતા જવાય જાણવાથી મુળી શકે એમ છે. पु अवासपा कवान कुस हार्न किन शह पु अवास मेरूवानी सीधे नशी अथा — नशी करा बाहमा. अपा थे हारखं हरीह કેટલાક હોંદી જેલ જવા રાજ હતા છતાં કે કે કારણોને ગામ છે. એટલે જેલ કાળુ જાય વાક આ સવાલ ઉપયાગી છે. निम ६. गांहिंडामां सलामधीनी उसीरी जेस जनामां आनी

जुहा जुहा सागमां जुरी जुरी रीते थमेसी छे. गुरामां रहेवुं भरधुं छे. याम सत्यामधीती डसारी हुतीयाना તરતે. છે' કાંજનાડ વેની નીસ શેર વેસાવે માર્સ છે, તે સિંહની હેમેળવા પુલના નુલામાં વડવે તરસે છે નળવા વનમાં આલવે. ની બાશ બીરવી મેરી છે, મવેત ઉપરથી ગળડવું મડશું છે, મંદ્રીય સેવાઝ જરવે. તરતે. છે. ધગધગવા લાખદ્રતા શાંભલા ગુષા મળુ સભાગઢ કેઇ જેલ જઇને અટકતા નથી. સભા

મુશ્રકના નામવે કરતો. मानशी हैंड रहेवें. सरे. जारक व्यसननी हिर होते: अने पु નીએ **કું**ગા એલવે. નામ લેલા ગંમલ છે. એરકું અંસન્ केसमां यादी हदी छे, यह सत्म तन्त्रे छ माता વ્યસનથી જેલ જનાર કંટાળી ગયા છે. આમ હાવાથી માતે अन्तिन अने। थये। छ हे भीरी, धार, मापारी हे आह सुद्दिता *મેખ્યત્વે કરી*ને જેલી ભાઇને ધટે છે. તે *હવે* તપાસી જઈએ. આદિલા છ*ોલે* (એને જેલની *પડ સંપન્તિ કર્લા*શું.)

> **अ**ट्रांप्त ٠\$

નાઉ. માય નાઇસામાં કાતવિ: 'n

મીલામાં ઓલે સાદાધ.

કૌવા *નુકા*વાયુ આળ *ત્રંતા*ળ પશ્જુ

ું ફિલ્લાસ્થ કરા અલે

જાઇનપદ્મી દૈક *કં*લુવે.

હુંલા એઇયે. પણ વધારામાં નીચે પ્રમાણે શકિતઐાની જરૂર છે. वियारी ग्या ते पर्धा थाता संया प्रमायुमी केस कतारमी

१ हार १४० ह्या है।

द्रीते पेके अध्वातिहा बान हाइ भेजाने दोन कारावाने हिंदी એ ઓવેલ કે જે તડતાં દીપાં હતંડ ખેડી ઓક્સા વાળા આમ સપ્તામણ ફાર્ન નામ નાક વેપા બિનાઇ કરવા છવે.

[સંવા ગ્રાયીજ રહે છે. **છ્યું આ લ**નરી મેરા દેવ એ તા કેર્રે, ખેતા ભરેલે *નાલ*લેના *પુર*તાં જ્વાં વેવાં કપડાંના ન*િક,* પ્ર*ણ* રેશમં પ્રીનખાબના. પીર્ણ તેલી તોંડ કરીફ કરેલાવાં કાર્ણ કાર્યવ તાંગ શાકેલા જ વલમાં નામાએ છીએ તે શર બાજરીનાં કે મુકી ધાનના લિગુડ્ર બનાવક અવે કે પ્રાધૃતિ માતાતા ખારાક જે આપી ઓજી છે વે ચાવળે ઓર્તર્શ સંરંતે વેલિં વાલે વર્શ ळेखे ध्रप રીં, કાંધ્ર જ્ર્ય ધારફ કાંરા કાર્લા ન અશિજો. નથી. અમુક દુઃખ વેઠતાં, ધત ગુમાવતાં, જેલ જતાં કુરું ખતું महें भारत की सागी तेते पांधी भीक धन्या रहेती ક્રેમેક્ટ કેર્રે મીઝાને સલાયહની લગની લાગવાના વખત આવે છ ધાર છે. અને અને અમાં પણ કુરું ખેતા લાભ જળવાય છે. असर् बाप के मेले असाअह पुना नाम प्रमाने पसवारेनी મત્યામહીતે કુરું ખતી માયા છાડવી પડેછે. આ ખહ

अभाभव हान हिन्स अभी व्यवनित्र व्यवित नक शांत લા*કે* તેની જતતું *પરી*ણામ તેતે તેમજ ખીજાતે સારૂંજ આ**છે**. માપણી હપર અલીમ થઈ ખેઠા છે. સસામની લડીતે અતે અલીમની સામે અલીમી હથિયારથી લાગા તેથી તેઓ હવે

ક્રમલ મેલાઝા વેશા મધ્ય કારાંબ દ્રાપ અલર્ક છે. શર્રાઇ બળાતા મળે કામર**્ષ્ય માત્ર** નર્ક ક્લર્કત કામબને અમુઝુ. પુ કામબને કાઉલે પુર્માભ અલા જ માં કે માને કરામાં વેલાક હતાનાગા છે. માત્ર પ્રવે. અન્યાયથી થતાં દુ:ખાતે દુર કરવા તે કામે લાગશે. તે धन्धीय शियो, ये देशीयार दाश यापशे ता भाषी भाग वियारी ६रेड होंदी सत्मामही भारे भाग भाग

હ્યુઝ વુન વ વુરલે અ દેક દુખાત છે. भूभ ते तो आंश्वांती कम छ. कम तेती व्यागुण कभूमें કાંગાત એ કીતા છે. બારા કીતા કાર્લ અર્તતે છેકે બીબી. કરતે. છે તેણે સદુ મેળવ્યું છે. કેમકે તેઓ સંત્રાપ માત્રેછે. ગ્રામી શક્યા છીએ. એવું સભાગદ્દેતે ખાતર સર્વે જતું. પાલ્યું છે. તેરલામાંથી પણ તેતા અમુલ્ય રસ આપણ आर्यार्यारा हिराज व्यव्यं छ व्यवीप राम बार्च प्र આ કાલાગાવને ખર્ક ક્લર્કત 🕟 પુપુ કરાફ લોગુ દર્શાળ

યા જ અર્જી છે તેજ અર્જી છે. शबाय निहं आहे जसा माने तेमां जत यथु निहं ते उदा कारवान उदेशक नथी. आह कार्या हहे तथी ते कार्या જ માલેલ તૈદા કુ મુન્નક હતકળ નીમે. ભારેલ પુપુ અગંપમાં રીવે અળવનાર છે તેનાથી સત્યામહી થઇ શકાય, એટકો ફે अर्था ओ हीन निह. पणु के धर्म, हीन ने धमान पर्री એ આસ્થા નહિ. દીનનું નામ લઇ દીનથી ઉલર્શ કામ

महाराम काम नाह काम काम काम काम पार्थ वरपाले हे नाम निष्ठ शाम आचा सलाअह पे मात्र अभि हिश्रिक भट्टांच्या भछ ते भेड भथ् गेरदालभी તેના મનમાંથી ખીક ગઇ એરલે તે કાંઇની ગુલામી નિહ કરે. નની લઇ શકાવી. કેમકે સબાઝહી તે ખરા મરદ ખતે છે. કાલાઝણ લહી છેડા લગ શરૂ છે કે જે મીખ માર્લોકાશ એદ સમજાય તા સસાયહની જત વિષે કંઇ ગુંચવાડા નજ અાવે. . હપરનું લખ્યા પછી તેતા બેદ સમજવાની જરૂર છે. આ

ટ્રાલમતક યુ ત્રાવાના ત્રલાકાું જ્ઞાનું કામ કાલોઝારી શ્રત્રા. ગ્રીલીસ કલાકમાં માવાની ધરી ઉપર એક અકર માર્ટ છે. સંહ આપણે અધીએ છીએ કે પૃથ્લી તે ગાળ છે અને "मते मारी मा न मारी मुखु रही हो धूरे छक," स्थाने તેની કામ ખાડી થઇ ગમ્મેલી. છતાં તેણે પગ દાકીતે કહ્યું ગુલીલીઆ તે માતાની કામની સામે થયા. તેતે મારવાતે શ્રંતા હતા. તેતે પરિણામે આજ જરમની છુટ ભાગને છે. કામ તના મહાન લ્યુથર તે એકરા પાતાની દામુની સામે ધેધા કરવામાં આદે રસ્તે ચાલે છે. તૈયી તે પોતાની ફામની ક્ષામુ ક્રાઝલ પછી વિત્રાઇતે કે ફ્રામ ગેલામું ^{કે}નું ત્રવામા જ્ઞવાયા કેડેઅના લત્ત્રનાડ ઝડેવૈઝ ફ્રાંડ્રા તાવાયા ફ્રાંઝેપા તેલે

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નીષ્ય પુર્વા મુબ્ર કૈંગ્રા આવંડ્ડા.

શુરે પ તેરે જી તાનવા અંગ છે. તાલે તાલ્ળાશી એલતા लारी वात न गणाय. सुभने मधुं लाने छ, ग्राज हिवस કેકલે કેકલે ખાવાવે મને તેમાંથી ગુજરાન ચલાવવું એ કેક નીમક શીવાય કે પ્રજ નહીં. લારે જેલમાં ત્રણ ત્રણ વખત अहळतार जावाने. मेज छ अंतु प मार्ज द्वारापा हैहरा पता દ્રીદીએ વિચારવાનું છે કે હીંદુરતાનમાં વીસ કરાડ હીંદીતે मध्ये पुप साई मिहापा गार मीपेवी जो लारीलाई छें हैं है જેલ જવા માંગે તેતે સ્વાદની ઇદ્વીતે છત્યેજ ધુટકા છે. જે આ નામા સેના સવાલ નથી. તેમ છતાં જેઓ પરમાર્થ કરવા . ज है। प्रिय है। महिरामा क्षेत्र मार्थ मार्थ मार्थ है। ક્વાદાલે જમલે ન અંગઝ ઝેવા બહુ શારાજ એવામાં મી તે સ્વાદમાં જેવે જતી છે તેવે ધણું જત્યું ગણાય. **ખેવામાં આવે છે. મધુ તે તવાપ જેવું' તથી. જલતે મેલવા** મારાક એ લગભગ મારામાં માટા સવાલ થઇ

.બ્રિક્ષ્યુ ખુતાએ. શારુ ઝુ કામઅન ઝુવે છે લારે આવી આળપંપાળ પણ સુવાતે જોઇએ તે માબુસ એકા એક ભાષ તળીએ ત સુધ કેલિમાં ગાહલાં લેવી ઉપર સુંવાળાં ગાદલાં વિગેર્

ડાત્રા તાવુ સારા લાજૈય નાનરવે. ઝુ લાઅત્ર છુ વેવે. શરીર એ તેતે લાડે મળ્યું. છે. તેતે સાર્ક અને તેજસ્વી હોવાથી કેટલાક કંટાળી ગૃંચલા છે. સસાચહી સમુજ છે કે म भर्त विश्वा भिर्म तिराजी अने ही है। जिप्त में में છે. આ અસાધારણ દાખલા ગણાય. સાધારણ નિયમ તો એ શરીરની તાકાત ન દેાય છતાં ધણા વિરલાઓએ સંકડ વેડ્યાં કેલીઆળ શરીરવાળા લધું ભાગે નથી કરી શકતા. મેત્રાખળથી કાલામણ નામકંદની થવાવે. નથી. તેમ જેલની ખર્રદાસ

આમ છ ગુણ તે જેલીને જરૂર હૈાવા જોઇએ. મુધ્રી દિવસ ગુજારવા. એટલે એક પંથતે દા કાજ કર્યા ખરાખર થશે. ભજનમાં, સારા વિચારામાં, માતાની ખામીઓ તપાસવામાં, ને લાં વખતતા સારો ઉપયાગ કરવા – એટલે કે ઇપ્યર્તા हेरी सीर्रक महरी केरही केह ज्ञानी होत ते लागवी श्रेवी જુલમાં જર્શ પુરા તાર્જાઇ પર્જા ગતા દુંાત એ વિઝાઇ કાદાત કારતે માતર – દુઃખ વેઠીને સુખ માનવાનું છે. જે *દ્ધા*ડા ક્યાર્ક, દેખ **ક**રીપુ કીખ માપુ છે તેમ આપણું દેશને ખાતર – છે કે જેલ જવામાં ક્ષેત્ર માનવાવે. છે. મા જેમ બચ્ચાને आभि हमें कर्वाल औ है केल कर्व मंत्री निर्मी. हमेहित ओ .ાષ્ટ્રિત મક્ષ્યાં. જેલના ત્રણ દહાડા તે ત્રણ વરસ જેવા. महार वर्सा वीती गथा ते ते आपक्षे ग्रमाची दीयां, छतां સંધુ મંડી જાય છે. આમ કરતાં દહાડા લાંખા લાગે છે. છેવડે ધીરૂજ બાઇ રહ્યાં. જેલમાં જતાંજ દહાડા ગણવા

માન સમુજે છે. સરીખા છે. બાક્યર ઉદ્દાવવામાં તાખેદારીને ખદલે તે આ દુકાણ આત્રાદ — સ્વતંત્ર — છે તે વાકીર ઉઠાવતા છતાં રાજા વાનુદાડી રૂ વર્ગાડ વાનુદાડી એ મનનું કાર્કલો છે. એનું મન નથી એમ ધારી જેલમાં ન કરાય તા પરિણામ ખરાબ આવે. મેટે છે. તે કરવામાં માન જાય, તે તા કાેઇ દીવસ કર્યું તામેદારી ઉદાવવાની છે. જે હલકો ગણાય છે તેવાં કામ કરવાં મીડે. માન અળવનાર જલમાં ન જઇ શકે. લાં દરાંગાઓની

તેણે સાદા મારાકની ટેવ માડવી જોઇએ. છ દ્વામ મુશ્ર કર્યા મારા કરાયામાર્થ થવા માંગે છ

કોરોહે રૂશીઆ, સપ્ટમ્પર છ, ૧૯૧૦ મેં ૧૯૧૦ મેં ૧૯૧૦ મેં ૧૯૧૦ મેં માર્ય માર્ય માર્ય માર્ય માર્યા પ્રદેશ સાયાયહીઓ વિષે તેમાં જે લખેલું છે તે વાંચી રાજ થયા છું. તે વાંચતા વાંચતાં જે લખોશું છે. તે વાંચતાં વાંચતાં જે લખાશું છે. તે તમારી પાસે મુકવાનું મેતે મત થઇ ગયું. જેમ જેમ હું થુઢા થતા જાલે છું: તેમ તેમ તેમ લખાશ કરીતે જમારે માર્ટ મત્યું તજીક છે એમ તેમ તેમ તેમ હિમાયું દેખાય છે ત્યારે) મારા મતમાં જે સુધા જેવી અને પાહ આગતાની વાત રમી રહી છે તે ખીજાઓ તે કહેવા અને પાહ આગતાની વાત રમી રહી છે તે ખીજાઓ તે કહેવા જેવા અને પાહ આગતાની વાત રમી રહી છે તે ખીજાઓ તે કહેવા જેવા અને પાહ આગતાની વાત જે સલ્લાચઢ એ

शुप्र:

મહાન ટાલસ્ટાય ૮૩ વરસની છુઝરગ વયે દેહમુકત થયા ન મમાચાર ખધે ફેલાયા તેજ અદવાડીઆમાં (તા. ૨૦ તવેમ્પર ૧૯૧૦) તેમતા તરફથી નીચેતા કાગળ મી. ગાંધીતે મખ્યા

તાચ્યી ઓળખાય છે તેજ છે. સત્યાગ્રહ તે શુદ્ધ પ્રેમ સિવાય ખીજાં કશું તથી. મતુખતા આત્માતે એક્સ જો.વાતો પ્રયાસ તેજ પ્રેમ, અતે તે પ્રેમજ માતનીતી જંદગીતે દારતારા દેશામાં ઉચા આપ્રાય કાયદા છે. દરેક માણસ પાતાતા આંદરમાં દુતિયાતા જોદા શિક્ષણમાં ક્સાગ્રેદા તથી ત્યાં સુધી તે લાગ્રણ મારખી શકે છે. આ ક્રમાંત બધાએ — હીંદી, ચીતા, પદ્ધદી કોક, રાયત વગેરે સતોએ પાકારેલ છે. હું માતું **છું કે આ** કાર, રાયત વગેરે સતોએ પાકારેલ છે. હું માતું **છું કે આ** કાર, રાયત વગેરે સતોએ પાકારેલ છે. હું માતું **છું કે આ** કરમાત ઇસુપ્પિસ્તે બહુજ સાખ્યા રીતે સમજાવેલ છે. તેણે પુલ્લું કહ્યું છે કે આમાંજ બધા કાયદા અતે પાગામ્યરાતો મુક્સ કહ્યું છે કે આમાંજ બધા કાયદા અતે પાગામ્યરાતો સમાવેશ શધ જાય છે. તે ઉપરાંત દુતિયાતા સ્વારયમાં અત્ર સમાવેશ શધ જાય છે. તે ઉપરાંત દુતિયાતા સ્વારયમાં અત્ર

ક્ષ⁴બાગર હિવ્ર મહાને ડાલકડાનના વિચારા

અમે દરેક દીદીતે આ વિચારી ખરીખર સમજવા **ભલામણ** કરીએ છીએ. જેમા સમજ શકશે તે જતતું સ્વરૂપ **નાધી** કાકશે તે હતા જેકામ હીંદી પ્રજાત કરવાના છે તે કરી શકશે.

ગાત રૂ આતાતાવા તરાતા જ્ઞાત રૂ સગા

આ દાપલાઓ ઉપરથી સમજાવું જોઇવે કે સત્યામ**હ** મ મનની સ્થિતિ છે. અને જેના મનની સ્થિતિ સલામ**હી મ**ઇ છે તે સદાય, ખેધી જગોએ, અને ખુધી સ્થિતિમાં **અતેશાજ** છે. પછી તેની સામે રાજા થાય કે પ્રજા, અજાણ્યા મા**ણ્ય**

મેરી રિવાજ જેવામાં આવે છે કે જે ઇલાજશી અમુક વસ્તુ મળી હોય તેજ ઇલાજશી તે ટકાવી રખાય છે. જેવરી વસ્તુ મળી હોય તેજ ઇલાજશી તે ટકાવી રખાય છે. જેવરી સાધીતે જોરથી અંગ કે જે અમા જેવરી કાવી રખાય છે. જેઓ જોરથી અંગ કરી કરી કાવી કાવો છે. જેવરી અંગ કરી અંગ કરી અંગ કરી અંગ કરી અંગ કરી મારશાહી ખેતા કરી મારશાહી જેવરી સામ છે તે આવે તે ખારશાહી ખેતા શ્રી જેવરી સામ કરી મારશાહી પારશાહી જેવરી સામ કરી માર લિંગ માર લિંગ માર લિંગ અમાર માર લિંગ માર લિંગ અમાર મારશાહી એ માર લિંગ માર લિંગ માર લિંગ અમાર લિંગ અમાર માર લિંગ માર લિંગ અમાર મારશાય અમાર છે માર જે આ જે આ જે આ જે સામ કરી મારશાહી એ તે સામ માર લિંગ માર લિંગ માર લિંગ અમાર માર લિંગ મામ માર લ

એવી અજપ દવા તે સલાગઢની છે. આપણે ધારિત પાઇતે 'સરકાર અમુક નહિ કરે તા!' એમ ખાલીએ છીએ હાયમાંથી સ્લાગઢનું હશિયાર જતું ન રહ્યું હોય એવી ભાયલાપણાની વાત આપણે કરીએ છીએ. પણ આપણા સલાગઢ આપણે જો કે આપણે હવે ધુડા—આત્રાદ સંયાગઢ આપણે જો કે આપણે હવે ધુડા—આત્રાદ સંયાગઢ આપણે તેને કોઇ ધારિત રાખવાપણું નથી

અમુદ્દારા દોશ ઓવ્સે પુ રાલખાલ અમાર શારા ગયા. માં આપણે હત્યે શારા દહારા આંગળ જવે લઇ છે.. છવડે દ્વાડિજવાન કાલખાલ જવાખ આપ્યા કે "માર્ગની મારિત નથી : જાવાને નથી પાછા કેરો, નહિ તો મારી નાંખશુ:.' ખલાસીઓ પહે શાક્યા લાકે તેમણે કહીં ' હવે અમેરીકા

આ વરસે મેરિકાની એક કન્યાશાળામાં ધરમશાસ્ત્રની પારક્ષા હેતી વખતે મારતરે અને ધરમગુરૂએ પુદાના કરમાને વિષે સવાસા પુષ્ટમાં માસ કરીતે કંઇ ક્રમાન વિષે પુષ્ટામાં અવાયા પુષ્ટમ કરવી નહી તે બાઇખલમાં કૃ કૃરમાન છે. કે દરેક વાતમાં દરેક હાણે હીસા કરવી નહી, એવા તે ક્રમાને છે. કે દરેક વાતમાં દરેક હાણે હીસા કરવી નહી, એવા તે ક્રમાને છે. ક્રિકાણ એવાયા પુષ્ટમાં તેથી અવાયા છે ખરાય અપાય કરવા નહી, એવા તે કૃષ્ટમાને છે. ક્રિકાણ અપાય કરવા નહી, એવા મામાં સ્ત્રમાને છે. ક્રમાને છે. ક્રમા

કેર્ડવે. અગુગુ **ઝા**પુ *ખાક્ષ રદ્દી લક્કર્દ્રા* પાંતીદ શ્રંતાંબ અમિએ' એમ કેલેલ महाभाजभाव क्षां इंडिंग महास्ता, मिलीसमातांभा अवीक छंधी छवीय छीय. यते ले तेम हेथुंबन हेरीय શિક્ષનોનું ગલોકાડવા નદ્ગી, મેલું માત્ર ખેળીઓના ખે ભાગ 9 કે માંલા આપણે કેલેલ થવું. એપડમેં કે આપણે મર્ટમંત્રીલીના ह्यामि पहींयेस छे. मापी स्पीतीमां येल सपास हमे। વર્ષા કે મુલામ થતી ગઇ. તે એરહે સુધી કે હવે તે. આખર્ केम भिरमी भन आशण वधती शह तम भेशुषातनी मुर्क हा अधिक दिवानि स्वास्टि रहा के मिर्डस्क मिल છે, પથ જવ્યરદસ્તીને તેઓ પુજ છે. રાખઓ, અદાલતા અક મીખાદ્યી ઉલરા થી તરેલ છે. ત્રેમ એ તેઓનું ફેરમાન हांद्रिकी दिल हाद्राप्ट भारति प्रथान हिंदाह ક્વીકોર કરમાં છે. છતાં માતાનાં વર્તનમાં તેલે પશુષ્યળતે प्रजामा नथी आल्युं, भिन्नी अलाखे आ हे।यहाती अनुभि ત્રુમ વિષે જેટલું સ્મેલ્ડ સમેન્યવવામાં આવ્યું છે, તેટલું ખીજ igizate it in a signification of the interest of the fire મંદ્રીનાતાના હમમાં કરમાં છે તે બરાબર છે. મિસ્તી પ્રજા જ્વન ગાહ્યું. ખધા જમાનામાં માબુમાએ જંદગી ત્યળવવામાં में अपेटा रहेगी. १६ सर्वत सुरी भिरती प्रलाभ व्यापु જેંદગીના કાયદા કહી શકાયજ નહીં, તા પછી માત્ર પશુખળજ रिम्द्र छेडेव्ह भाष्ट्र भाषाने इसमाह अध्य छोडे हिम् हुनीपी विज्ञित्र अर्धामेक पत्ना मुह्णानिता हुनर रह्यामुद्धे छे. मिरपी सेवारी जीड़ा भरी जान छे: इमह पुरे. मंत्राखुक કાતદાપીઅ કેનું તારીક ઝાંડકા તાફા બલાકાદાંક લાંગુલ *આ*તા^ત *ગુમના કાત*દાની અ*પુષ્*યા સ્વીકારી ક્ષેવામાં આવે છે. આ ાંમાન ક દ્રાખ, દ્રાખ, છ દ્રાખ ાંમાન્ડર ણાંધમ ાંમાન મૈંતો ર્રડેમાન ઝુને લાકુ લુવા દુવા નેહ્યું. જતારે જ્યારે તેરી અપ દકરે સમળી માલેલ એમ વ્યાણે છે–કે પહુંપાત જ દાતિના अर्थ पण तेता ५री मैसाप तेम छ. तेज़े अभन्तपृथुं छ-आनुस छ महीलवात्री आंतरनारंत्री. रक्षले हरने अना हुना में श्रे शर् अमें छे य अभि येता सम में ज्याची

એક તરફથી જોઇએ છીએ કે ગમે તેની સેડેલી સ્થિતિમાં હોવા છતાં પણ પ્રિસ્તી ધરમ પ્રિસ્તી પ્રજામાં સતરૂઓતા અમે તેરહ્યા વધારે લાધ્યુ વાળી શકાય એવા હથીઓરા વાપર વાની જરૂરીયાત વધતી જાય છે એ પણ જોઇમ હથેએ, આ પને વાતથી એમ ગાખ્યું દેખાય છે કે કોતા વહેલા મોડા જોઇએ. આ કરાડી દશાતા ખધી સરકારોતે અનુભવ શાય જોઇએ, અથયા તા લસ્કરા તથા જખરદસ્તીતા અનુભવ શાય જોઇએ, અથયા તા લસ્કરા તથા જખરદસ્તીતા અનુભવ શાય એ. તમારી બ્રિડીશ સરકારતે પણ તેતા અનુભવ શાય હોલચાલતે દાખી દેવા માટે તેઓ જ જાલમ (જે રૂશીયામાં હિલચાલતે દાખી દેવા માટે તેઓ જે જાલમ (જે રૂશીયામાં હોલચાલતે દાખી દેવા માટે તેઓ જે જાલમ (જે રૂશીયામાં હોલચાલા આવ્યો) કરે છે તેવા ખીજી કાખ નીલચાલ માર્

हि ।हैं अंधि अधि श्रित में भिष्टि । हैं भिगाल क्ष्म 'ह 16 तिलद किस्पी ोममार 19 पथ आभी हिलाहा है। ये अभने हुनियाना आ छता पर रहेनाहाओं ચાલ દૈનિયાના બધા રામામાં મહયા ભવું તેમજ અગત્મતું. ને જપારદસ્તી નાયુદ થાય. એટલે ડાંસવાલમાં તમારી દીલ रीप भवे. जामज ह कही माना हरमानना स्वीमार भार आसवाची असीश या उद्रली छ यनै पीराव्हण अची વિરૂદ્ધ વરતવાતું જ પરીણામ છે. છતાં તેમાં કૂરમાંતા મુજબ મંખાં ગંદીય કારાના કગાલીયવે, જે બધુ ક્રિસાતાની યન્દ્રાઓ, આપલાતી, પ્રપ્રશાદાર માણસાની ગાંડપણ ભરેલી માજ માંશીયાલીઝમ, એનાકીઝમ, સાલવેશન આમી,, વધતા જતા હેટ્રાં પણ મ્પ્રિસ્તી ધરમના માણસમાં પડવા વગર રહેતા નથી. हरामेली रही शक्यांनीक नथी; हमह तेना महथा गमे तहसा આપ્યા તે વાતતો દરાયેલી રહેવા દર્ધમ છીએ. છતાં તે વાત હોડીએ છીએ; પણ પેલી નાની ખાળાએ નીશાળમાં જે જવામા मिति स्थारा ५२वा वमेरे पापतामां भुभ प्रदाधन મુખ્યામાં મારા મારા મારા મારા મારા તથી શાધા, અમે આપણા વરતમાન પત્રામાં આપણે ઉડવાની કળા, રાજ્ય

ઓર્ટાવર્ક છે.

इंभेर तेमाती साथे छ यते मांध्यस ६२ता धमर वधार ते पाधा अने तेवां भीना छाती हांश धरी हांहे छे है રૂશીઆમાં મણ તેવા માણમા ગમે તેટલા ચાડા હોયું, છતાં સત્યાયહીઓની સંખ્યા ગમે તેરલી શાડી દેાય, અને ઋધી. માં માણસા દ્વરકરમાં જોડાવાની ના પાડતા જાયએ. 📆 તમા

तमे लाशीते राक थशा है अन्धी इशीआभा भा दिसयाद स्वाह मंड मेर्ल पंथर हाम छ "

अभारांग्रह किया होते हिंदी हिंदी निर्मा कर्ती संभ्या

निरं रामे छे, ग्रेश्सें क निर्धि पृथा माता छेवता भरवांना

અંતે ભય સાંતે યોતાતું રક્ષણ કરવામાં પાતાના સ્વારથ તરક

નેશી કરતા. સેખર્ય લંય કર્યા છે તે સરકાંર સમજ શકે છે

हिमिति निविन्न भाग विश्वमा विश्वमा व्याप व्यापि निविन् तेमक हुं आसी तेता धतिहास आगर्ना में लार भुरहेशीचुं आपणे व्यक्तीज खाजे, पण तेतु मेण इंबांधी भेष ते ही चित सिंह भिर्म भेरती संग्रह जाहे वर्स सुधी शांखी जीम

.ध । हिंदे हैं भाग प्रतास का अप्रतास का अप्रतास है।

संसंभिद्धती संराधिती शहेगात है है। १६०६ ती संसंधींक भारहार

भीवश्री भूवे, वंजन भागवामी भावी. પ્રજાનાં જે જે દુઃમા હતો તે બીખેતમાં રાહત આપવામાં आव्युं हे बराधने वर्णते इसिवासमां रहेती भीटीश दिहा स्रहाह साथ मारा हैहि पेडमा, अने तेतुं पेरीजाम अ उसमाना मारे लागे से जमभ न श्रध शक्षाना, पर्त धाराश ांग्रे हिंदीन हिंदामा आल्यो हेता. કાયદાની આં બન્ને મિંદ્ર મુશ્રીયા કાર્ય કાર્ય કાર્યો કોલી રાંખેલ કોમ જ્ઞનાવે જેવે. र्यङ्ग्या Aippuis Ippope १२२७३ शिभाव श्रमी हैता तेमाँगै ते धांमहा व्यानुसाद अभी है। લારે બાન્ય રૂપે હતા. જે હિંદીઓ દેશમાં મેરાફ અર્રશ ર્મુલ કેમ્પ્ર માયકો ફોલવાલમાં કહેતા હિંદીઓ ઉપર મુખ થી અને નોતાલમી ૧૮૯૪ થી થયું હતું. ૧૮૮૫ તા નેથી થયે. એ હિલેચોલનું મેડાણ તા ડોસવાલેમાં ૧૮૮૫

इंश हर्वुहा

નાંમું અર્થુક ક્ષમાં છે. આ દાવદા અનુસાર દેળવણીની ખીએ કાયદા ધડવામાં આવ્યા જે હ૭ તા નાતાલ એક્ટર્ત ફાર્શાવથી અવીબેદ વાળા કાવદા થતા તો અરકમા; પણ એક તે અરસામાં મુખ્યાત રાજ્યદારી પુરુષ મી. એમ્પરસિપ્તની मुंदी अहार्थना हामुहा सरवा क्र केंगन सवास मुरा भरमा ह्या प्रभारी नीडणी हंती; अने हिंहीओते आवता अरडाववा દેવેની ગુલીર લાગણી હિંદીઓ સામે બુદા બુદા કુમમાં नातासमां सापवामां आव्या ६ता अते तेते सिधे सां रंग ગ્રીદૃં દેઉનાફાસામ ખાવક ગીક્મીરજ્ઞા હિંદી મુજારાત

भ्याअहेनी संरतना इंड धितहास

.ીંગ્યું મામ મામાં કરવામાં આવી હતી. ઓલ્યાં. કાર્યેશુક કેલેરડ સાકાની બાખતમાં જાદીજ અતની સાં આગળ કાયદામાં સંમાનતાના મિદ્ધાંત સ્વીકારવીમાં ન ડ્રાંસવાલમાં તેવી તકેલીફાનાં ત્રથમ ચિન્દ્રા દેખાવા લાગ્યા. શ્રી નાવાલમાં વા રામા કામદા લગવાવે ખાસ રહ્યું. મર્વ તે કર્મ ખીતના માર્ણસ છે તે બેવાતું નહીં. તે દિવસ યુરીક્ષી લઇ તેવાં આવેતારોંગ્રાતે દાખલ કરવામાં આવતા હતા.

મુશ્યાર્ક લેશાનુ તર્ભા

આવી ફેવી: ોમાગમાષ્ટ બ્રામલ વિગ યુમોમલ્ય મિગોલ્ટી મિછમ નિષ્ટ मुंडवामी आव्या हता. जेन व वणतमां सराध भिष्टांनी ગ્રીયર્વવાન આર્ટીન-કથી *હી*દીઓના આવવા *પર આ*કુશ मिन्नोरि हार्य हिस्लाहेर पन्न जनाय क्यों हता. હીંદાઓ વધારે દુઃખો થયા હતા. એવીજ રાજનીતિતા તે કોષણઓના અમલ કરવા પ્રયત્ન કરતા હતો, તે જાઇ સરકોર્ટ લંડાઇ ઓગાઉ જે મજ્યુત વીધા હૈતી હેતી તેજ સરકાર કરવામાં આવશે. પરંતુ ધીકારવા લાવક કાપદાની સોમે વડી भाषी हती है भीरिश हीही अन्तर्रा हुःभारी। नेतन हमा मिनिमां मार्गे हिंदे, धेर के के हिंद थिए सिर्ध हिंदान

Stantistell.

१४ हितसरी १ मासनी संज .િાઈ ડ૰ શ્રુ ડે∘૦ કૈફીવી દેર પૈશા 3 કાશ નંદી આપે તા મા आंगवानी ६२०४ पंडती न નામ નાંધામણીના મા ૩ જ નાત્ર પાંતામહીના મા. (भाजार कामलमा) (मिनिसि अमिसमा)

अवा लपपा है हैहप साम्रसुन्स

क्ष शर्याः सर्वा धामसा

ના ફાસ તેલે બાંગમાં વેતાર

लाभमुन्स वर्गर हा मवास

નવેં લાતકુ-મ કેરવ લાક્રશ્નન 'शंह है है है है हैं। લાઇસેન્સ હતાં તેઓજ આગુલી क्षेत्र भारत साम साह रू

ના પર્ધસા રજી કરી વેપાર સારજ મળતું. ચલાવતા: અને રક્ષણ ધ્રીટીશ સરકારનું હતું.

ટાંસવાલના કાઇ પણ ભાગ માં વગર હરકતે રહી શકતા, અને ખાસ રજા મેળવવાની વાતજ નહોલી.

મીલ્કત ખરીદી શકાતી, જો કે ગારાને નામે.

ક્ષાકેશનમાં ૯૯ વરસને પટે જમીન મળી શકતી.

વગર હરકતે દ્રાંસવાલમાં જવાતું.

પાસ ને પરમીટની ધાંધલ કરનારું એશીઆટીક ખાતું ન હતં.

પ્રીટીશ એલચીએ! એવું રક્ષણ કરતા કે કાેઇના હક કુખે નહીં.

લાર્ડ મીલ્નરનાં રજસ્ટર

૧૮૮૫ના ત્રીજા કાયદા મુજબ લાેરડ મીલનરે ઢાંસવાલના દરેક હીંદીને ક્રીયી રજસ્ટર થવાના આગ્રહ કર્યો. અને અખરે હીંદીઓના આગેવાના સાથે એવી કબલાત થઇ કે હીંદીએ મરક આત રજસ્ટર થાય. હારડ મીલનરે ચાપ્ખી રીતે જણાવ્યું હતું કે આમ રજસ્ટર થયા ૫૯ી કરી રજ સ્ટર થવાતું નહીં રહે. અને જેઓને સટીપીકેટ આપવામાં **અ**ાવશે તેઓને દ્રાંસવાલમાં જાશુક વસવાના અને મરજ પડે તેમ આવવા અને જવાના હકા મળશે.

ઉપલી સ્થિતિને લીધે તથા ૮૫ ના કાયદાના કરડા અમલને લીધે દ્રાંસવાલના હીંદી ભાઇઓએ સુપ્રીમ કારટમાં કેસ લડવા જવાનું ઠરાવ્યું. તેમાં જડજોરં ઠરાવ આપ્યા કે હીંદીઓ તેમની મરજમાં પહે ત્યાં વેપાર કરી શકે છે અને લાકનશમાં ન રહેનારાએાને શીક્ષા થઇ શકતી નથી. આ નિર્ણયથી જે

⁻સરકાર પાસેથી ખાસ રજા મેળવી ન હોય તેનાથી કકત ક્ષાકેશનમાંજ રહેવાય. ક્ષાકેશન હવેથી ખજાર કહેવાયું.

એમ બની શકતું નહીં.

એવી મળેલી જમીન લઇ લેવાના **દરાવ થયાે** અને હવે પછી લાકેશન કયાં કરશે અને જમીન હેવા દેશે કે નહીં એ કંઇ નકી ન હતું.

આગળના ટાંસવાલના ખરા રહીશ (રેક્યુજી) તે પણ અરજી કર્યા છતાં ત્રણ મહીના લગી દાદ મળતી નહોતી, તા નવા ની તા વાતજ શી!

આ ખાતાથી બહુ મુશી **થતા કામને પડવા લાગી.**

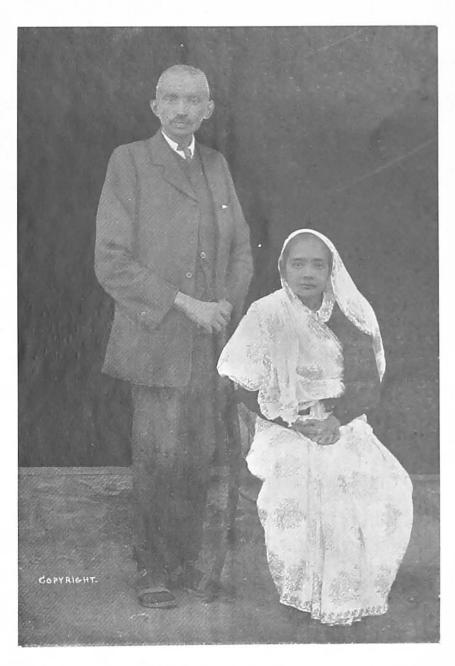
થીટીશ અમલદારાએ જેને લાઇસેન્સ આપેલાં તેવાને પણ વરસની આખરે દુકાન બંધ કરી ઢાકેશનમાં જવાન થય અને તેથી કામને હજારા પાઉડનું નુકસાન થતું હતું. જે ગારાઓ હીંદીઓની વિરુદ્ધ હતા તેમને એક કૃટકા સમાન લાગ્યું. સુપ્રીમ કારટના આ નિર્ણયને કેરવવા તેઓએ કાયદા કરવા પણ પ્રયત્ન કર્યો. પર તુ તે વેળાના કાલાનીઅલ સેક્રે ટરી ક્ષારક લીટલટનના વચ્ચે પડવાથી તેમ થતું અટક્યું. પણ લોકામાં વાત કેલાઇ કે હીંદીએ ખોટી રીતે માટા જથામાં દ્રાંસવાલમાં ઘુસી જાય છે. ખહાર પડેલા જુદી જુદી રીતે કરેલી ગણત્રીવાળા ખાટા આંકડાએા ઉપરથી ગારાએાની આ માન્યતા થઇ હતી, પણ જોહાન્સબર્ગ લાેકેશનમાં પ્લેગ કાટી નીકળ્યા હતા તેને લીધે હીંદીએ આખા ડ્રાંસવાલમાં વીખરાઇ ગયા હતા તે ઉપરથી તેા આ માન્યતામાં વધારા થયેા. ત્યાર પછી આખા દ્રાંસવાલમાં સભાએા ભરી દરાવ કરવામાં આવ્યા કે હીંદીઓના આવવા સામે ખારણાં ખંધ કરવાં. અને હીંદી એાને ક્ષેક્કિશનમાં રહેવાની તથા વેપાર પણ ત્યાંજ કરવાની ક્રજ પાડવી. હીંદીઓએ પાતાનાં દુઃખા બાબતમાં કમીશન થી અથવા તા કાઇ ખીજી રીતે તપાસ કરવાની માગણીએ! કરયે રાખી. પણ આવા કટાકટીના સમયમાં કાં પણ જાતની દાદ મળી નહીં અને છેવટે ૧૮૮૫ ના ત્રીજા કાયદા માં સુધારા કરવા ૧૯૦૬ નું ડરાક્ટ એાર્ડીનન્સ પસાર કર વામાં આવ્યું. તે કાયદા મુજબ આખી હીંદી કામ–પુરુષ સ્ત્રી અને છેાકરાંઓ–ને કરજીઆત કરીથી રજીસ્ટર થવાન હતું. સરકારના આ ડેરાવને ગારાઓએ તા વધાવી લીધા પણ હીંદી કામને તે એક બામ્ખના ધડાકાની પેઠે ચમકાવ નારા થઇ પડયા, કેમકે હાેરડ મીલનરની તરકથી અપાયેલાં વચન-ખાત્રીને- હજુ પુરાં પાંચ વરસ પણ વીત્યાં ન હતાં. પડાેશનાં કાેલાેનીએ તેમજ ત્યાંની ગારી વસ્તી આ બધી હીલચાલ ઉપર ધ્યાન પુરવક નજર રાખતી હતી; કારણ કે દ્રાંસવાલમાં જે રાજનીતિ ધારણ કરવામાં આવે તેવીજ રાજ નીતિ તેઓ એટલે કે પડાશનાં કાલાનીઓ પાતાની એશીઆ

છેવઢના ઉપાય

ડીક વસ્તીને માટે ધારણ કરવા ધારતી હતી.

કામની સામે આમ વિષન્તિનું જે વાદળ ચડી આવ્યું હતું તેથી ભય પામી હીંદીએાના આગેવાનાએ બની શકે તાે તેને અટકાવવાનાં પગલાં ક્ષેવાની તુરતજ શરૂઆત કરી, અને સરકારના જવાબદાર અમલદાર સાથે તેમણે એ વિષે વાત ચિત કરવાની તક મેળવી. પણ તે વાતચિતનું પરીણામ એટલુંજ આવ્યું કે તેમાંથી સ્ત્રીઓને મુકત કરી. છેવટના ઉપાય તરીકે લેજીસ્લેટીવ કાઉસીલ આ ઓર્ડીનન્સ ઉપર વિચાર કરવાને ખેઠી હતી તે સમયે હીંદીઓની એક મહાન સભા પાતાના લાગણા બતાવવાને મળા. પરંતુ કાઉસાલના અંદર તા અગાઉથા ગાઠવણ કરી મુકેલી હતી તે પ્રમાણે નધું કારય એ કલાકમાં પુરૂં કરી દેવામાં આવ્યું. ખીજી બાજી થીએટરમાં હીંદીઓની ગંજાવર સભા સરકારની આ રાજ

90



Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi.

Taken in Johannesburg prior to their (departure) for England, July, 1914.





Imam Abdool Cadir Bawazeer, who, as Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society, did valiant service for the Passive Resistance cause, both inside and out of gaol. Now a Phœnix Settler.



Mr. Sorabji Shapurji, the first of the educated Passive Resisters to test the Transvaal Immigration Law.



Mr. L. W. Ritch, the first Hon. Secretary of the South Africa British Indian Committee. Did yeoman service during the strike.



Mr. V. A. Chettiar, ex-Chairman of the Johannesburg Tamil Benefit Society. Suffered Imprisonment.



Mr. Ebrahim Ismail Aswat, a thorough-going Passive Resister.



Mr. S. B. Medh,
who holds the record for length of
imprisonment, having been eleven times
in gaol as a Passive Resister and twice
fasted for eight days as a protest
against the gaol treatment.



Mr. Amod Moosa Bhyat, who was one of the most aggressive of the Mahomedan Passive Resisters.



Mr. Pragji K. Desai, a well-tried Passive Resister.





Mr. Mahomed Ebrahim Kunke, a stalwart Mahomedan Passive Resister, several times in gaol.



Mr. Harilal M. Gandhi, Mr. Gandhi's eldest son, a persistent gaol-seeker.



Mr. Bhikji, another Mahomedan Passive Resister.



Mr. Moosa Essackji, a well-known Passive Resister.



Mr. Fakira Bhika, a staunch Passive Resister who suffered imprisonment at least eight times.



Mr. R. M. Sodha, who took part in the early stages of the struggle.



NUMBER

Mr. U. M. Shelat, a well-known Passive Resister in 1908.

AN INTERLUDE.

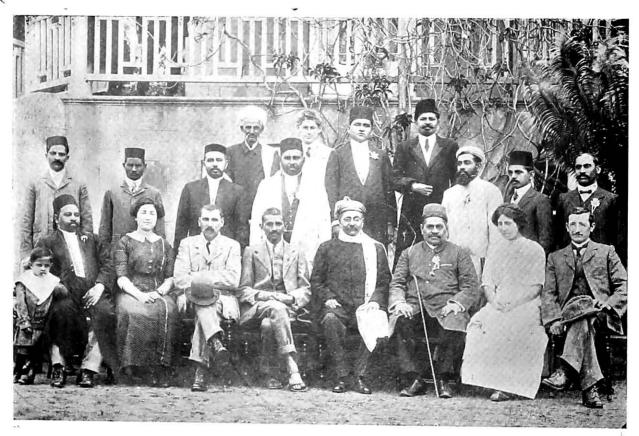
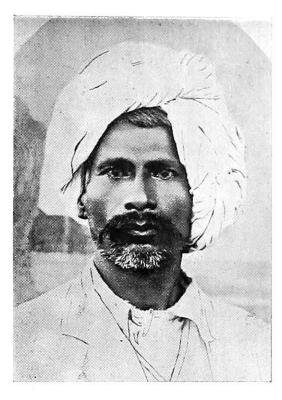


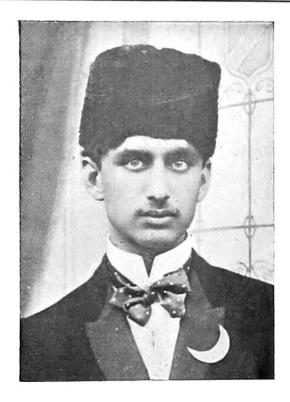
Photo by]

The above photo was taken between the provisional settlement or 1911 and the final settlement of 1914, at the hous2 of Mr. I. A. II. Moosa, the treasurer of the Honourable Gokhale Reception Committee during Mr. Gokhale's visit to Durban.



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Mr. Budree Ahir, a staunch Hindustani Passive Resister, who suffered imprisonment last year.



The late Mr. Hajee Hoosen Dawad, who, even on his death bed, was eager to suffer for the cause.

PIONEER SETTLERS OF TOLSTOY FARM.







NUMBER



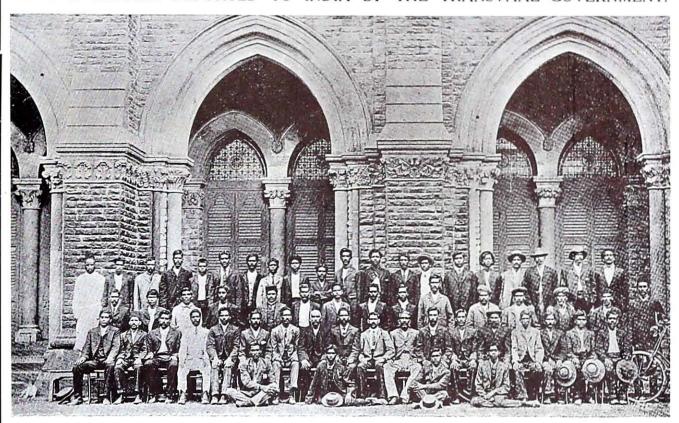


Miss Valiamina Moonsamy, Mrs. Mahabeer, Mrs. Veerasamy,
Mrs. V. S. Naidoo, Mrs. Moonsamy, Mrs. V. S. Pillay, Mrs. Moonsamy Moodley
Spent three months in gaol.



NUMBER

THE 60 INDIANS DEPORTED TO INDIA BY THE TRANSVAAL GOVERNMENT.

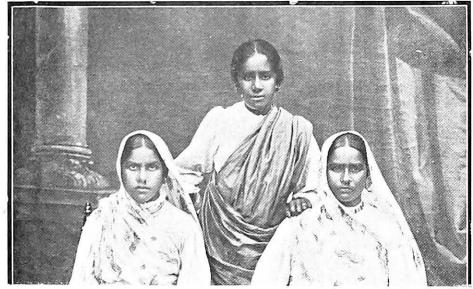


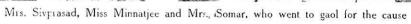
[Reproduced from the Indian Review, Madras.

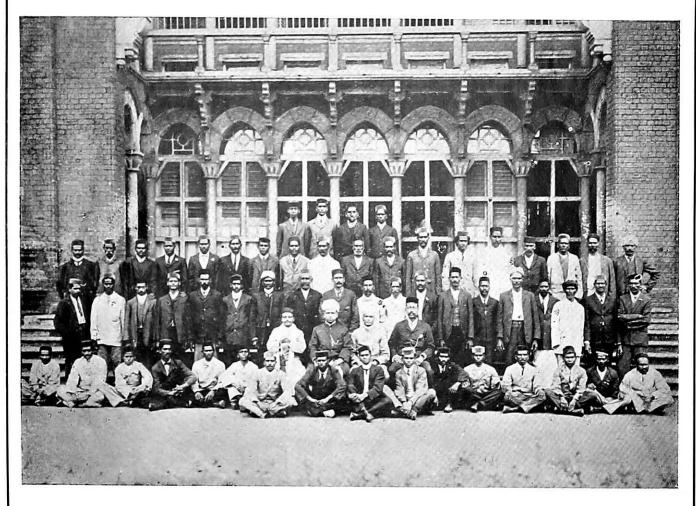


MASS MEETING AT PRETORIA. 1907, WHERE INDIANS WERE ADVISED TO CEASE PASSIVE RESISTANCE AND RESOLUTELY REFUSED TO DO SO.

THREE BRAVE LADIES







South African Deportees at Madras

૧૯૦૭ના નુલાઇ માસમાં નવા કાયદાતી અમલ શરૂ થયે!. અને હોકોએ કાયદેસર રજસ્ટર થવું જોઇએ. એવી ખળરો બહાર પડી. રજસ્ટર કરવા સારૂ સરકારી અમલદારા ડાંસ

મુકા કાતકા બિર્જ્સળ ગાતુા

લુંફીઝાંને આ લડત શરૂ કરવાના દિવસ આવી ઉભા. માગણી ઉપર પણ ખીલકેલ ખાન દેવાયું નહીં. અને છેવટે તથા તે કાર્ય પુરૂ કરવા ખનતી મદદ આપીશું. આ પા સારૂં અને અમે મરજીઆત કરીશી રજીસ્ટર થઇશું પા સારૂં અને અમે મરજીઆત કરીશી રજીસ્ટર થઇશું લડત ન કેવી પડે તો કેક ખીલનું કાર્ય આગળ ન ચલાના લડત ન કેવી પડે તો કેક માગવાનાએ લડત ન કેવી પડે તો કેક માગ્યાનાએ લડત ન કેવી પડે તે કેકોજ ન હતા. પણ હત્યું પડે લડત મહતા. પણ માગ્ય છેલા

લશ્વ శાર્ક શ્રજ્

જ્ઞાનમાં કુલાવ<u>ી</u> રામઝ અર્કેડ મહે ન અમુ *કુજ્ઞ મર્લા દરકાંડ કરવામાં* ન આવી અને *તે*ઓની લાગણીને મેંટમાં પ્રસાર કરી દીધું. હીંદીઓના મત અને વિરૂદ્ધતાની વે. તે લેલે રાત્ર એ શતે કે આ ઓર્ટાન-સને સર્વાનિયતે પાલા ગુરમા પુરવક માગણી કરી. તેથી ફાંસવાલની નવી પાલીમેં ટ ત્રૈકીતીઅન વસ્તીએ એ ઓર્ટીન-**ક**ાને કાવદાન *કેત* આપવા કોગવતાં **થીડીશ કાેેશાનીમાં હાથ નાખવા જેવું ગણાતું** હતું. ક્રી?ા ક્રાઝતપુર્ય માટુ ^{દ્}વે: રાઇલે કે આ પગલું સ્વરાખત હતા. આ કાયદાને મુલતવી રાખવામાં આવ્યો, પણ તે મેન અને ક્ષાર્ટર એમ્પથીલને મુસીડ. તરીકે નીમવામાં આવ્યા આવી. અર મન્ગેર્ડા લ વનગરીતે તેના એક્ઝીકપુરીવ ચેર્ તવી રહ્યું તેમજ સા. આ. ધીરીશ ધીરીઅન કમીરી સ્થાપવામાં ઝ આર્જો કે ઝારીપ-લ *મર બાદશા*લિયા કાર્લ શ્રવારે. મેલ કેળવવા દેખ્યુટેશન ત્યાં મહોંચ્યું. તેમની કાશીવતું પરીણામ મરકાર સાથે મસલત કરવા અને વિલાયતમાં અદ્દેર વિચાર વિલાયત રેપ્યુરેશન માકલવાની ગાદવણ કરવામાં આવી. વડી તારતા પ્લાક તાદ આ યસરા ન જ્ઞાત વા ક્લાર્ક, જીવા દુવૈજ્ઞી **છેલા થયા અતે 'તે દરાવ અમારે કહ્યલ છે' એવા પોકારો** ન કાતાવા અલ અવે' બાકુ ઝાર મધુ ત્રછી જેઅંક માર્લિકા *ડદ રડવામાં ન* આવે ત્યાં સૈદ્ધી દર્કર *ખર્જી* પેને કંશુલ વામાં આવ્યા કે આ કાયદા પસાર થાય તા જ્યાં સુધી તેતે એહાનીસબરગની સભામાં ત્રણ હજાર હિંદીઓની સમક્ષ મુક

भारताय जाता १३१व

તીતિ સામે આવેશમાં સળગી હઠી હતી. આ રાજનીતિ હોશ્ડ, મીલતરે આપેલી ખાત્રીઓતા લંગ કરતી હતી. હોશ પ્રજા ઉપર કાઈ પણ જાતની સાખીતી સિવાય અતે કાંદોતીમાંથી સાંભળેશો દાષ મુકવામાં આવેતા હતા. અતે કાંદોતીમાંથી તેમજ આપ્યરે દક્ષીણ આદ્રીકામાંથી હોંદોઓતા જરમાં એવા શકાય એવી સ્થિતિ આવતી હતી. હોંદીઓતા જરમાં એવા સામ્યર હતા કે જ્યારે

નેવા થમેશે કિમીમેશન કાવદા અતે એશીઆરીક શા અમેડમેંટ કાવદા આ વન્તેના ભેળા અમલથી એવી સ્થિતિ આવી પડતી હતી કે ગમે તેવા ઉચી કેળવણી પામેશા હીંદી શેતે જાતી બેદવાળા કાવદા ન ધડવાની રાજનીતિતું જે રક્ષાથું કર્યું હતું તેતા આ પ્રમાણે કલમના એક ચેરાથી નાશ કર વામાં આવ્યો. કાયરે તેમ હતાં ખવ્ય હતી કે જે કાયદા વામાં આવ્યો. કાયતે તેમ હતાં ખવ્ય હતી કે જે કાયદા વામાં આવ્યો. જાયતે તેમ હતાં ખવ્ય હતી કે જે કાયદા

અવાલું નાગા મનકા

ક્રામતે છુંદી તાંખવાતા પ્રયત્ત તદત તિરુળ ગયેશા જોઈ સરકારે મી આધ્યરટ કાર્ટરાઇટ-'ફાંસવાલ લીકર' પત્રના અધામતિ–મારકૃત સલાહ કરવાના વાત ઉપાડી. તેતું પરી સલાગઢની લડત સુલતી રાખવામાં આવે અતે ત્રણ માથે સુલતની અંદર મરજઆત રજસ્ટર થવાતું હીંદી કામ માથે સુલામતિ અંદર મરજઆત રજસ્ટર થવાતું હીંદી કામ માથે સુલતની અંદર મરજઆત રજસ્ટર થવાતું હીંદી કામ માથે સુલામતિ અંદર મરજઆત રજસ્ટર થવાતું હીંદી કામ માથે સુલામતિ અંદર મરજઆત રજસ્ટર થવાતું હીંદી કામ માથે સુલામતા ક્રમાં કાગળીઓ પર સહી કરતામાં આવે સમજમા હતા. દરમીઆત એક ઇમીએશન કાયદા પસાર કર વામાં આવ્યો.

ામાધાવા

વાર્ગાર મુર્યા મુધા. આમ કેરલીક મુદ્દત સુધ્ય સાધ્યું. પુરવામાં આવ્યા. દરેક જાતિના સેકડા હીંદીઓને જેલમાં ઝોપુ વર્સ *પે*લી કેડેવાડેનું બૈદી બૈદવ કૈફ્ષી કુદમાનામાં ઓઓ' દેશ છારી સાલ્યા જવાતા હુકમ કરવામાં આવ્યા અપુ વર્ડકોની આખર્તીએ કેરલાક આગેવાતાતે *પકડ*વામાં જ્ઞિછો. આ અરજીને પણ ટાપલીમાં ફે.૧૮ દેવામાં આવી, પુ **ક**ીલવની રાખનામાં આ**ને** તા *હેએ. મર*જીઆત રજીસ્ટર્ કરવાં તેરફી અને તે ન કરવું પડે એરલા ખાતર પણ કાયદા અજીાતવામાં આવ્તે. જેવે. કે લાદા કામપુ અપ્તાપ દેઃતા કાલ્પ .िक केंद्र स्रहारति पृष्टीयात्वामां आवी. JHP વાના વખ્વીઅ કરી અને ત્રણ હોદીઓની સહીધી *તે* નાે નાે આવે એવા *કે*વૈજ્ઞી કેર્ડા તાેેે કાે માર્ગ શાંધ કાંગનેતે વળગી રહ્યા. દરમીઆન આ મુસ્કેલીના કાંઇ રસ્ત અમ અલુક મેડતેં. તર્વ ૯ત ૧મ લાદાઓ તાંત્ર લાુફલા કર્યો: અને કાયદાને શર્રણ થવાની એ છેલ્લી તક આપી છે કા*કુ ક*ર્સ્ટર ન્નવાની મેદવ *તૈ*રી ન્નામ *ધે*વી તેમાં મીએ વર્મા*કી* તેલે કેએક્ટર કેરવાના વેના પ્રેયત્મા નિર્ભય ગુષા અને સર

नासमां जी शहरेशी भीके शहरे मेसाईरी हरेना साजा.

हकींद्र ५ श्राम्या क्येत्र हरी पाछी गुरू जोसमा शर्य सभी तीते कोता ते, यथ असतिषद्वारु ६ता. सक्षाअधिभागे ते માં હિંદીઓની સ્થિતિ તેમાં કીક રહેતી હતી, મળ મુખ્ય કાવેટી પારલામે હમાં પાસ કરવામાં આવ્યા. કેટલીક બાગત मेर्वानी यापणी मा पारी. या वणते से संभारेश

આ નવા કાનદાશી હિંદીઓને દેશપાર કરવા સરકારને સ-તા િંદુ દેરવાનમાં કશાતાર સના

મુણલામું મેલ્ટ ફેર્મ મામલ કરા મુક્તાલી સરસા સાલી રહી હતી. આ વખતે ડાંસવાલના ગારાઓએ हवा अने हांसवासना, छापाओमां साम्सामी कप्परकर्त सराध विम विसामयना कामाभामां समाखा आब्या भरवां કારડ એમ્પ્યીલની ક્રમીરીના મહાન ત્રમાર જાલુ હતા. हर्ड क्रेज्याओं सहान बुरसा प्रशरी नीइपमा हता. संउन्मा નો લણી મદદ કરી હતી. દ. આદ્રશકાના હિંદીઓમાં દેકાવે મહાન સભાગમાં ભરવામાં આવી હતી. નાતાલે મુધસા એ ધર લરેલી રાજનીતિ સામે વિરૃદ્ધતા ખતાવવા દેકાંથુ नी भूका स्थान कार्य है। है। है। है। स्थान है। स्थान કેરવી મકરી મકરીતે જેલમાં પ્રુરવામાં આવતા હતા, હિંદુરતાન રારુલીઓને નાદાર થવું મરતે હતું, હન્મરા હિંદીઓને વારા અનું તાવાને માન વમ સાગ્રદ તાળવા તાવક મી અ અમ हेरलाहमा हार अप हती, धायहाने शह्ये न यमा भातर વામાં આવ્યા હતા, તેમાંથી કેટલાકમાં છત મળી હતી અતે અરકાવી જેવી. કેરલાક ટેસ્ટ કેમા સમરીમ કાર્યમાં લાવ इसिवालमा ज्यानी शरपा हता वे स्पप्त मेरहुशीअ सरमार् ઓવ્યા દેવા. તેમજ દેકદાર રહેનારાઓ કેલાગાઓએ શમને જાના રહીશાને દેલાગાત્રાખેતે ૧૨તે થય દેશમાર કરવામાં હિંદુસ્તાન દેશમાર કરવાના બંદાવસ્ત કરમાં હતા અને સેકડા કાર્ડરાઇ ટુલોઝાઓબપી ગાંદ જગાય સરકાર સાશુ હિંદીઓતે લાર ખાસ ખતાવા કે રમાં નીચે મુજબ છે: ફાંસવાલની वामां मावता हता. ः। जीक सरत सम्मे जनेसा इर इंड ड्रामाइई फांमसिडिहाम् , अ निम्बिशाभ्रह मध्य ताभन

क्याओं हिंहीओती गंजवद सवामा भवता हरती हती. हरें मिरिस हैं ज्यार्री साम किसी भील हुं । क्या मुरीमां हरें ખેવાવના વજા અંતાનેલાં વસન મળાવવા અંહાનીસખર્ગમાં વડી સરકારની મુંજોરી ન મળી. ખુની કાયદા સામે વિરૂષ્ટ્લના अनुसद ६७ सरहार्ते मणताण है।वाधी ते भारे हायहारे माराहा धरादी तेमक हासवासनी सत्मायहनी स्वाधित हरते। मिहिहानी हिहानी स्वामी मेले पुर्व साम संभाप દ્વા. વળી તેજ અરસામાં રોક્શીઆ તેમજ નાતાલમાં मेमिरीओ होरेन ,रामिसी, मेंत्रनी हमें व्यहेर मंत्र हममी तेता अभुभ भी. वीशीअभ है। सेन तीभाभा हता. ते ગાંકાઝાના જ્ઞાણિ કંશ્રતાંશ

दृ अल जील भिर्मासास मामिशन हो क्यांने कार्ति लेह રિયાતમાં ચોડા સુધારા કરવાતું જાણાવ્યું, પણ ખુની કાંપદા हें हें हहारी वेली निहः हेमहे सरहाई ओ हे अगार्विनी मेर्ट्रापेट मध्यस्य तरीहे रखा. भथा ते हा-हर्न्स्यी अंति अधिवाति भी सिवायामां अविवायां अपि भी भी अधिवाद मेरहार समर अधिरिशियामा मणी. तेमां हिंही तथा श्रीता तेते भड़ेरा भेषी सरहार सामे हों हरी. भा दिशति न्ये पारी भारता, अने अम् हरी के माध्यमि पहावा हाथ રજર્સ્ટરી હન્મરી માણસ સ-મુખ આ સભામાં બાળી નાખ મુરજીયત રજીર કે મામ્યાં આવ્યા હતાં તેમાંના સે કડા का है शब्दा में भी हैं तो अप अमाधानी मधी के शहिता क्यापा है हम हरवामा आव्या क्यहानीमणरगमा भाधीत तरीहे भध्यवामां आंच्या अने तेओते हेश छात्र मधुमानी साधि धराधियां कोडावा हामल थया. ते होहिति ज्या वर्णते नातासना आंगेवाते हासवासभी भानाता हशा

नावासंश अहर

સામે વિરૂદ્ધા દર્શાવવામાં આવી. भिड़ मास त्रितामां आव्या अने के प्रमाणि व्यति लेहिनी અહીંઆ' નાવાલના એક કેળવાએલા મારસીને કેદમાનામાં गुरी भरीविशन अपहों युक्प भी. सीश्रापक शापुरक व्यारा કાલાઝાવની લડત દુરીથી શરૂ કરવા હીદી ત્રન્ન તામપાર થ**ા** मित भिरि हिति क्षिक चीनमी भी भी हिति अभी આવે તા તે કાયદા રદ કરવા તંઇયાર છે. કુદરતી રીતેજ, ifips 11985 310 Dom iright pigelle bye bye सर्वार करणात्य हे अधुड दिशियाने माधीत गणाया ह्यामा विश्वक वर्णा होही हाममी मारा ज्यावनदार श्रम रहेमा. वींप नहीं भूमें कालीवतामी आवते. भा भावर मेंक्यों है मान्द्रा १६ मेर्नान वसन आतिवामां जावते छ अ सान्ती દુંલ કરાઇ માયાવાવે કારકારને કહેવામાં ઓલ્સ કોર્ मंडळजाय डळडरडचे. शम तेर्ड. जात उद्धा लाह संसारिया

भिष्टि वर्णतनी बंडतं शहे भध ોધિક કર્કાળ માર્તા સાંતાય જાહેર કર્યો અને મે માસની અધવચામાં તે પુરું થઇ ગયું. હારુડ સેલ આવવાની મેરજમાત રજરાર થવાતું કામ ક્રીથી શરૂ શૈયું. वयन भाषवामा भावेत तथी, भने ग्रिक्षा विश्वास पाछ। बिन्ती इरवामां आपी; वणी धामहा रह थवाना छ स्थिति भाषी गुंथवारा सरेली सागी. परंतु हामने भास लाधेओं तर्ध्यी सभतं मार भ्यमे. शिंडा सभय सुधी ता भेश शर्यमात थप्त है तुर्तक भी. गांधीने देखांड हीरी ત્રજ્ઞમ મેરજનાવ રજસ્ટર થવાવે કામ કેરીથી શરૂ કરશું. अमे ते हम हुर धराववा तेने मारे सर्व अथती थवा लाग्या.

ત્યાર બાદ ચારે કેાલાનીઓ એકત્ર થયાં; અતે તેતે દક્ષિણ આફરીકાનું યુનીઅન એવું નામ અપાયું. વડી સરકારતે ખાત્રી થઇ હતી કે ધીદીઓની માગણી ન્યાય પુરવકની છે. એટલે આ નવી દિશતિના માભ લઇ વડી સરકારે યુનીઅન કર્મકારતે ૧૯૧૦ ના અકરામરમાં નીએ યુજ્ય રુજાઆતો કર્મકારતે ૧૯૧૦ ના અકરામરમાં નીએ યુજ્ય રુજાઆતો કરામાં કરી હતી. કાપદામાંથી જાતીભંદ દુર કરવાની સખત કળવાએલા અપુક ધીદીઓતે દર વરસે કામના જરૂરીઆતતે માટે દાખલ થવા દેવા. તેમાં એમ પણ દરશાવવામાં આવ્યું હતું કે આ સવાસના નીવેડા લાવતાં ખીજા પ્રાંતના ધીદીઓ તે તેમાં માત્ર લાગવું ન જોઇએ. યુનીઅનના પ્રધાનો તા હકતે તુકશાન લાગવું ન જોઇએ. યુનીઅનના પ્રધાનો સા લાગત સાથે મળતા થયા અને આપત્રે ૧૯૧૧ માં

દક્ષાને આધ્યાયાં શૈનીઓને

@વરવા દુવાની ગુરકાવદેશર ના માડવામાં આવી *હ*તી. अति अति अपना कारण भार मिर्ट होते अपने भारति जीव्याः मर्गे तमाना जन नारीमा स्वामीन उलागिकानि वीमी क्रीली, देशमार शमेसामा ६, माध्याम पाणा will and the tent to the tent and the similar હેવા: અને દી દુરતાનની સરકારના આમદ્યા વડી સરકાર भावता हता ते शामे संभत देशमा पेसार् हेर्यामां भाव्या વર્ડક ખેંચાયું. સલાયહીઓને હિદુસ્તાન દેશપાર કરવામાં થયું સારે વિલાંયતની સરકારતું કંધક ખાને અ સવાલ हिल्डाल जात उहा कांने ब्राहोते भा सव संत जराणर चान भा हराव हमुस राज्या. क्यारे तर माम भुषी भा प्रमाण गिरंभीरिका भन्नरी जर्ध इस्तारी हेरावे भुरंभी. सर्धिर क्षितिसमां भि ग्रीभिक्ष मातासमा भारत्यामां भारतिसा सर्हार्त वस्त्र पारवा मांगेषी हरी. ईलंड-तांती धरपीरीअख भेखें छहारे रीते भधेंसा भर्या हता. हिंहती अन्त्रमें वंडी ह्याहे करही। मुला भुमा हुना अने तेमा शुक्त रूकवाडां લડતેને ચોધુ રાખવા અને તેને મજબુત બનાવવા પા, દ્શ રેતન તાતાના દાખેશા લઈ પ્રયસા એકઠા કરવામાં આવ્યા હતા. जिमानी अरेशी मेगड्री नामते थध हैती, अंते प्रहार तर मार्रीशना हु:भ संहन हरेता स्परिश मधुमा मारे स्पर्शा हिंही प्रजामी महान हित्साह प्रगंदी नीइंग्या हता थने ह. ाणिम निवासी साहार मुधीमां संबी करणांने संबाधी मणी. મહાઓ પાલાવવાની ગાદવણ કરી અંતે મુખઈથી દુગુન તેમ હોર્ક રેક ોાલક મિટીઓ સામાગરીએ દેશમાં દર્મ કેક્સ હવે એકલાજ રહ્યા હતા. તેમણે મી. ગામહોની મદદ લીધી, માં હિદુસ્તાન ગયું. તે પ્રતીનીધી મંડળમાં મીં. માલાક અનું મરણ થયું ત્યાર બાદ પ્રતીનીધી મંડળ નુદીજ દિશ્વતિ નાગાપનના જેલમાંથી છુડયા પછી તેતું કરણા ઉપન્તમે

હીં દુરવા નનું મદદ

નાંડાઝાંને એકઠા કરવા, તેમુખુ ત્યાં સરસ કામ બજાવ્યું. લરવેતે પાસાની મદદ કરવા, ત્યાં કેરલાક ઉત્સાંધી કામ કર તાંરે ઓલ્સે. પુર્છ આ કાતાસપુ અસંવ કાતાના વજા કરવાની નાજ પાત્રી. આથી પ્રતીનીથી મેડળ વિલાયતથી તેવી કાયદામાંથી અતી બેદ દુર કરી એક સામાન્ય કાયદા આવના હતા. મર્વે જનરલ સ્મરસ દુરાયહ ધારેલું કરમાં હતા. કાવાલપા *દે*રત્રા આલેતા વર્ડા કારકાર પરકેશી પ્રમત્ત કરવામાં બાબત ડ્રાંસવાલના યધાના જ્યારે લાં આગળ હતા ત્યારે આ ત્રૈપાઝાન જીકેર એકરતા કાયદા . છેલે . Dinke Him એ તે ગયાં. ધંગ્લાંડમાં આ સવાલ ઉપર તે તેળા ખરાખર મારાક શ્રેયા અરફે. પરંતુ ક્ષાફાએ તા પ્રતિનિધિ મુખ્યાને ક્વાન અને ઇસ્લાંત્રમાં કાંલાનીઓના રાજ્ય કારભાર સામે કારીએ તેઓને પકડવાના સરકારના હતુ એજ હતા કે હિંદુ भिरुपा नाम अवस्पा मेर्य प्रिता भाग छवरपा मा अभिनिधिया हैपरी जयानी तप्तमिया हता तेज समय ओड विसासित मेरिसवा तर्भगार रहवामा माल्या. ज्या मंज्य મેળ્યું. તે વેળા મે પ્રતિનિધિ મંડળા, એક હિંદુરતાન અને १६०६ मी अधन्यमां आं हिंदयांसम् अह मंदीन कवन

હીંદુસ્તાન અને ઇન્લોડનાં ઉચ્યુરેશન

તેના મહિમાં દેશ પરદેશમાં ગવાના લીગો. मिल विद्या संसामित प्राप्त भारति अर्था हि। भार इतेहें ता छक भीवी भान्यता हुंढ थवी थागी, भा सर्व रिव्छ निष्ट थाए कियन नमही मिर्गित हुए धर्मह सिन्धि ગતું. કાકા વધારે ગાખી રીતે સંમુજવા લાગ્યા કે આ ખારૂં नीते. जल्पी गप्त प्रेम प्रेम प्रेम स्वरंग वर्ता इं गंबार भेपे. तामीझाज ता ६६ इरी. संदत लभ लभ लभ स्म भ इंस्ति भेरे तवाध वधारे अणहवा साञ्याः भने तेमां मेख् વેમ વેમ વેઓના જારમાં વધવા લાઝા. તેમાંથી તેઓ શુષ્ધ शियाणानी इरहरती अने अस्ति श्रेडीमां हेवा साग्या र्यानहिंहें कर्ती महान भमात कलाने इन्हें। अवलित તાપુ જેમ જેમ અમલદારાજી કરક તેકવાળ મત્ત ખતાવી અત आपवामां उसाश शापी तहती. तेमता भुरसा ताडी पाड નીજ વર્કની સંધાત્રં લેંગો જેલમાં અમેલદાર્કામું દૈઃત ત્રિવનુ દૈશન ક્રાઝનવાની મળે અનાનદારી ઉદાની હતી. લડાઇમાં ઉત્સાહિત કરવા લાગી. કેરલીક સીઓમ માતાના સુધમાં ન કરમાં એરલુંજ નહિં, પરંતુ પોતાના પતિતે ઉલ્લો पद्मा प्रभापे. सरने मानने हाने हरहा पुरा प्रभाभ रिजार વેમાં તેઓ અળજા નીકળા. યાતાના ધર્મારત શું થશે हती. तेओनी पण आ करेश सम्मामां क्षेप्र कि हिंहा आजाप मले जा अमन् महाप हाउंक जपाववापी

લાક કત્રોજી

હોંદીઓ જેલમાં પુશ્ધા. આ વખતની न भेडी भेडी केलमां भुषीं. सेंडो अने पाछणशी हन्तरी મારવાતે ત્રાક્કાયક પતાવા પતા લાગ્યા. મુખ્ય આગેવાતા तरीहे कार्डेट इस्वामां आपी, ते आ शरीपडा मुक्कुरीते छुंदी માને સખત અને ગેરકાયદેસર પગલાં સવાયાં, ખાણાને જેલ વાલ જવા ઉપડી. તેમને પકડી ખાણામાં પાછા કામે માકલ તેમણે મહાન હડતાલ માડી. તેઓની હજારા સ'પ્યા ડ્રાસ તેર્ફરી નાતાલમાં ખધી જગ્યામેલી ગીર્ગાપિયા ઉદ્યા, મત अने तेओ पणु सउतमां सामेस थया तप्रपार थर. जीक १६८ शामिक प्रमान होसा हिस्स होते । विश्व भाष સરકારની ઉક્કેરણીથી સુત્રીમ ક્રાર્ટ જ ચુકાદા લગ્નના સંખધમાં જર્કડ નદ્યી, તા પણ થાડી હકપાકત અત્રે જણાવવી જોઇએ. મનમાં વાઅજ છે એરકી વેની સંતૈકેલે લિગવ એક બવાવવાની. મા ત્રીજ અને છેલી લડતમાં ખતેલા ખતાવા હજ શોકાતા

છલ્લા લગ્ય

મુકાળા વિસ્તારથી કરીથી ૧૯૧૩ ના સમ્પરમાં શરૂ શરૂ દરકાર કરવામાં આવી નહિ અને લડત અગાઉના કરતાં ઝહેના લરવ વડવર્જ શરૂ કરવામાં આવશે. આ ઝેતવણીની अमल नरमाशसी अने न्यायसी इरवामां न आवे ता सत्या मा ३ मा ६२ ६६ ६१वामा न आवे, अने अधिभागीता ફીંદીઓના દેપમાં દાખલ થવાના હકા જાળવવામાં ન આવે, જાતિબેદ દૂર ત કરવામાં આવે, દ. આધ્રશકામાં જન્મેલા अधिसार न हराववामां आने, ही स्टेट स्'ण'धी अधिमांथी निरिटा १३ कि होस्ट इस्ट रू है शिल मार्ग शिहार

છેલ્લા ઝુવનઘી

માવાના દુરાઅ છાત્રના નહિ, એરલે સરકારને કરેલી બધી મહેનતા પણ ફાકર ગઇ. યુનીઅન સરકારે ગયું હતું. મી. ગાપાસે તે વખતે વિલાયતમાં હતા. ભાં આ પ્રતિનિધિ મંડળ ખાસ મી. ગાખહતી માગણીથી લાં નાખના માગલીઝાના ત્વારાશ ત્રેખ આગળ કબીઓપ કર્યું. મંડળ વિલાયત માકલવામાં આવ્યું. તેણે દી'દીઓની સર્વ વસ્લીફ આપવાનું માકુદ રાખ્યું. દરમીઆન એક પ્રતિનિધિ મી. ગાંધીએ તેવે સમયે હીંદી સવાલની બાખતમાં સરકારતે આ સમયે જોહાનીસખરગમાં ગારાઓએ હહતાલ પાડી હતી. ખીલ દાખલ કરવાની માગણી સરકાર પાસેથા કરવામાં આવી. અને ખીજા વરસતી પારલામેંટમાં હીંદીને સંત્રાષ થાય એવું. આગેવાતાએ સરકારતી સાથે કુરી પાછાં લખાણા શરૂ કરયાં. નહેવેં. લગામ કરીથી શારૂ ન કરવી મડે તેરલા ખાતર હીં.દી भिष्ट भाष भारे स्वांश्विशिक्षां स्वांत साथ भाष भाष માસ કરવામાં આવે તાપણ જયાં સુધી પા. ૩ તા કર ૨૬ ત દીંદી લગ્ન કાયદેસર દરાવવાં જોઇએ. આ પ્રમાણ ખીલ

किट्नांध कातिक हिट्ट इट्ट अलिक मिन अप દરશાવવામાં આવ્યું કે જે વ શાંતિજ કચ્છતી હાય તા દાશી વધાં કીંદી લગ્ના ગેર કાયદેશર કરતાં હતાં. સરકારતે માં રંગ બેદ રહી જતો હતા તેમજ જસ્રીસ સરલના ચુકા ખીલશી પણ હીંદી આગેવાતાતે સંતાવ થયા નહેતા. કાપદા में रमी हामस मेरवा जो मीस महार भारवामी आव्युः आ કદ કરવાવે. ત્રેનીઅતે વચન આપ્યું છે. ૧૯૧૩ માં *પાર*લા

क्षा ३५। १६

सरहार्ड शिर्मीर हेर्न भंभ हेर्न अभिर्ही ह અવેક રીધ માતાના સ્વદેશી મધુઓને મણુ જણાવ્યા કે હી.દી વાવે તેમને વચન આપ્યું હતું અને તે સમાચાર તેમણે મેલાકાય વખપુજ તૈનીઅન સરકાર્ક માં. ૩ તા કર *રદ* કર માટે સામા પક્ષ પણ તેમનાં વખાણુ કરતા હતા. આ असावी. तेमता शक्दारी भुष्धी आतुर्य असे अध्मता नैपीयन सर्शर साम ही.ही सवास ७४५ प्रमर्ख मससप ગાંડ મેલારાવ જેએ આપણાં સરવના મગજમાં વાજ્ય છે. ઝોર્ના દુઃખા માતાની નજરે એવા આવ્યા. યુત્રપા તાદ આ વખતે માનવંતા મી. ગાખકો આ દેશમાં હી'દા

દક્ષીયુ આસ્ટીકામાં મી, ત્રાપાલે

ડીમલીર્મા એવિ! मुरसमृत्या मेहय जार वरंसया वसादी सरपपु रंदी मैसपदी સ્થિતિ પણ આગલા વરવતા ખીલ જેવીજ થઇ. અને માવીઝનલ મિત : હગાલ દામાલ કામલ કરવામાં આવ્યું. તેની માં મીબે. મીલ દામલ રેડલાવે. વેડાય આ ખે. આ વેડાય કૈલવનુ કામનાવે. ૧૬તે. અને સરકાર્ક ૧૯૧૨ ની મારલામે.ડ અને ગ્રાવીઝનલ સેરલમંદની ગાદવર્ણ થઇ મુજબ. લહતત अविष्टि आर्मा के मिरलामें स्मां पास न श्रि शहते. લાંગે તડું એવે. બીલ લાવે. તેલે એ સંચના સ્વીરાર્ધ્વામાં ન अने आगेवानीओ ओपी सुयना ६री है मात्र हांसवासनेल માકારા ઉદ્યાવ્યા. સરકાર સાથે કુરીથી લખાણા શરૂ થયાં ખું ચવી હેવામાં આવ્યા. આ સામે હીં દીઓએ એકત્ર શુધ ના હક મુચવાધ જવા હતા; તેમજ ખીજ પ્રાંતાના હકા મણ ખીલ થવાથી જાતી બેદ ઉલટા વધ્યા. ડાંસવાલના દી'દીઓ બુદ દેક રકતામાં પ આવ્યા અડલે, જ પાયે મળે તૈપાઅપ ખુની કાયદા રદ કરવામાં આવ્યા પરંતુ નવા કાયદામાં અતી ન તરત્રુા: હારડાઝાના જેર સાઝતવાની રલમ *ડે*લુવા દભ આન્ઝુા: *તાલે* આ પવા શતદાડ્ડા *જી ઉ*વ તેલ્લા ફાયુ *તા*ડ જે લડત ચાલી હતી તેતું. સમાધાત કરવાતા ત્રમત્ત કરવામાં , તૈયાઝાય ગુરૂર,માં ભળા તે મારતે. લાંગી મુદ્દત મુધી

શ્રુના ઝુકાય બુલ

તો માગુણી કરી અને છેવટે સ્થિતે એવી આવી પડી કે વડી સરકારતે વચ્ચે પડવું પડચું. કેમીશત તો તીમાયું પણ તેથી દારકારતે વચ્ચે પડવું પડચું. કેમીશત તો તીમાયું પણ તેથી દાદ મળે એવી બહુ આશા રાખી શકાય તેમ તહતું; કેમકે તેમાંતા ત્રણમાંથી એ અહસ્થા હીંદી વીરૂહતી લાગણી ખતાવ નારા હતા એવું હીંદીઓએ અગાઉતા અતુભવે જોયેલું હતું. આ વખતે સરકાર હોંદી આગાઉતા અનુભવે જોયેલું હતું. યા વખતે સરકાર કાર્યા મહેલાં છોડી મુકયા. તેમણે પણ કેમીશત કંપણ તેમણે તેમ સલાહ આપી. અને સંતોયકારક દાદ શકાય એવું છે તેમ સલાહ આપી. અને સંતોયકારક દાદ તેમણે તેમ તેમાં તેમણે પણ સામા તેમણે તેમાં તેમણે અપુપં તેમ તેમાં હોદ્દસ્થાતથી મી. અંગ્રસ્સ અને આપાઇ ગાપ, પણ તેમાં હોદ્દસ્થાતથી મી. અંગ્રસ્સ અને સ્થાયકાર તેમ તેમાં તેમણે આપણે મળે સ્થાયકાર તેમાં હોદ્દસ્થાતથી મી. અંગ્રસ્સ અને સાધસર્મમાં હોદ્દસ્થાતથી મી. અંગ્રસ્સ અને સાધસર્મમાં મી. પીઅરસ્ત તોકળી ચુકમાતા ખબર મળેલા અને વાઇસર્મમાં મી. પીઅરસ્ત ન તોકળી ચુકમાતા ખબર મળેલા અને વાઇસર્મમાં મી. પીઅરસ્ત તોકળી ચુકમાતા ખબર મળેલા અને વાઇસર્મમાં મી. પીઅરસ્ત ન તોકળી ચુકમાતા ખબર મળેલા અને લાઇસર્મમાં મી.

કર્નાકાન

આ લડતના વખતે હીદુરશાનમાં તો હદ વળી. તે સહાન દેશભક્ત તર ગાપશેએ આપણું દુખ પોતાનું કરી લીધું. પારતગર્રા મુંખઇ કલકતા અને મહાસમાં તેમજ ગામે બાંધું. પારતગર્રા મુંખઇ કલકતા અને મહાસમાં તેમજ ગામે આમ સભાઓ મળી. ચક્કે ચક્કે સભાગ્રહની વાંતા ચાલી. હાર્યાઓ સામ સભાઓ માં તવંગર અને ગર્રાય, માંદ્રા વિસાણી સામ સામ માં મહા તે માં તવંગર અને ગર્રાય, આપણે તેને અને સમા માં માં મહાય માંતેના ભાષણું માં હાંદ્રા માંત્રમાં સાક માંત માંત્રમાં માંત્રમાં માંત્રમાં માંત્રમાં માંત્રમાં આવે! હાંદ્રી વાઈસર્ટ્રાય સાર દેશાં માંત્રમાં આવે! હાંદ્રી વાઈસર્ટ્રાય સાર સામ માંત્રમાં મહાય માંત્રમાં આવે! હાંદ્રી વાઈસર્ટ્રાય સાર સામ માંત્રમાં મહાય માંત્રમાં મહાય અને દાદ મળશે એવા શોડા વિસાસ પણ આવ્યો. ખીજ પ્રમા અને દાદ મળશે એવા શોડા વિસાસ પણ આવ્યો. ખીજ પ્રમા અને દાદ મળશે એવા શોડા વિસાસ પણ આવ્યો. ખીજ પ્રમા અને દાદ મળશે એવા શોડા વિસાસ પણ આવ્યો. ખીજ પ્રમા અને દાદ મળશે એવા હોડા વિસાસ પણ આવ્યો. ખીજ પ્રમા અને દાદ મળશે એવા હોડા વિસાસ પણ આવ્યો. ખીજ પરમાં માંત્રમાં કરી રહી હતી. હોડા વાઇસરેરોયે

દ્રિદ્રિક્યાન ગાયત્રે.

થ્યો છે. જમ જમ સસાગ્રહની લડત મજયુત અતે પૃતિ થતી ગુઇ તેમ તેમ હિંદી અતે યુરીપીઅન પ્રત્ય વચ્ચે લાડી સંખંધ ખંધાતા ગયા. લેડતના દરેક નવા દેખાવ સમયે નવી કૃતેહ આવતા ગયા. લડતના દરેક નવા દેખાવ સમયે નવી કૃતેહ અને નવા મિસા મળતા ગયા. હિંદીઓ તરફ ધિઃકાર અતે અણવિષાસ ખતાવવામાં આવતાં હતાં – આવી વરતાયું ક સામે જે લાગણી ખતાવવામાં આવતાં હતાં – આવી વરતાયું ક તે અણવિષાસ અતે ધિઃકાર આજે વિશ્વાસ અતે. માનના તે અણવિશ્વાસ અતે ધિઃકાર આજે વિશ્વાસ અતે. માનના ફયમાં ફેરવાયાં છે. હિંદીઓના બલાની વાત દ્વાય યા તેમતે

नहाई ज्ञांभिया साक्ष

આ વખતે કમીકાનના રીવારટ બહાર પડ્યા. તેવું સભા મહીઓની બધી માગણી વાજખી જણાવી દાદ આપવાની કરાવવાતે સરકારે જે દ્રહતા અને કીતેનરી ખતાવી હતી તેની કરાવવાતે સરકારે જે દ્રહતા અને કીતેનરી ખતાવી હતી તેની છામ કાના ઉપર નહીં પડી હોય ? પા. 3 તો કર ગયો. લગ્નના સવાલતા સંતાવકારક કૃડગા થયા અત કાયદામાંથી લગ્નના સવાલતા સંતાવકારક કૃડગા થયા અત કાયદામાંથી ભાગ કાના સમાં સાંગ્રા આદલું તો ખહૂ હંડા હતરયા સિવાય નજરે અાવી શકે તેમ છે. પરંતુ તેથી પણ

રમીકાવના રીનાકર **અપ્ત** વલા કાતદા .

Or ice wife.

ત્રીરાજ્યમાં આવ્યા. भेषरे अभीषाह होते. हते. तेथी होरी आह्मी वर्षार तृ लायथु हे केमां हार्ड रहिराने हाकरी व्याप हती व्याप કેદી આવ્યા ન હતા, અને તેમાં મી. એન્ડર્સનું સીડી ઢાલ અદ્રેડમંવ રૂતાવવાના જ કાં, અંગા હોવા થયા હતા તે મગાહ કેપરાઉતમાંજ હતા. મી. ગોધી પણ સાં ગયા, આ પ્રસંગે રાઉનમાં તુરતજ મારલામેં. મળી. આ વેળા મી. એન્પકુસ पर प्रिल हिए नाइ थिए नभर वाह शाहक है। મહેલાં જેમ સાથુરી મકડી હતી તેમ આ વખતે પણ સાથુરી દીલ થઇ પણ હિંદી આગેવાતાએ ત્રીજ લડત શરૂ થઇ મુ તેવામાં રેલ્વેની મહાન હડતાલ પડી. આથી વળી પાછી મછી તુરતજ મરણ પામી. છેવરની વિખ્ડી હજી ચાલતી હતી गम हिता व असमांथी सानेशी मांध्री हिता हुरी भ्रम के ता. ६६ मी डीसेम्पर्रे मेतानी भाता साथे त्रथ मासनी નુદા નુદા જેશામાંથી છુટવા. તેમાંથી એક ખેત વાલીઆમા ના માડી. આ અરસામાં બધા સલામઠી કેદીઓ યુનીઅનની શકે કે કેમાશન સન્મુખ જાળાની અાપવાની તેઓએ ચાપ્પાની જારે કરેતે, પણ હિંદીઓ પાતે લોધેલા સાગતથી કુમ ચળા વિલ્ડાવે રાત્ર શર્ક કર્તા, રમીશને માર્લ માત્રાને રાત્ર हरवारी, हाज ब्राखाववारी, पहरी बती. तेजा ज्ञाल्या ज्ञार मरमां हमडमा. तेओ डर्यन आवे आं सुधी मार्य शह भा अतीनीधी सह भेजभीन देखिरहसन भुंजधरी भास स्री

હીંદીને રજર્સર થવાની મુદ્દત આપવામાં આવી છે. સર કારને માલુમ પડધું છે કે રંજર્સર એાપ્રીસની પાસ પોક્રિડ રાખવામાં આવે છે. તેનું પરીણામ એ આવ્યું છે કે ધણાજ

*નાવા*ની સૈલ માલેમ તરી *ડેઉંડી*. તેઓ સરકારતે ખેવકુક ખતાવશે. પણ તેઓતે શાડી સુદતમાં इ छ होन मल ।लिशिके..... छीटि ।हेशाल मेल अर्जीवर्वा मार्जे, हैं. जनदी सर्जी दृशि छ पुर्य प्रे शर्महा આવેશ અમ દે. વ્યાર્લ, તે. વુદ્ધા વુ શે. છે એ દે. તમત प्या आम नहीं श्रेति आ हामहा जातित अरुत्ते તનાક રહેતા છે. તે કાયદા પસાર કુરતાં કાય મુખાર રેર્ગીએ લીએ. તેકલા સાર્ટ અમે રાજરૂર કાયુરા तेओ पधि वेपार सप होवा मात्रे छे. तेनी हवा अभे જેમ નાતાલમાં છે તેમ હીંદી દામે અહીં કરવા માંડ્યું છે. છે? મને તાલાગે છે કે હીંદી નેપાર તેનું એક કાર્રાયું છે. हे हिंसी की मीई। हेर्स ओली हे बेर्सी हैर्स मेरी की जी વેપાર હીંદીઓના હાથમાં છે. તો પણ શાકા પુખ્યા કરે છે मिन्द्रिम्मा अने भील क्यामि क्या शहा है। है। તફાલામ વમુ મુ-કાલે કરાેુડ (મુડ્રાફાઆ)માં' તાેુડ્યુંબર્ગુમાં' શક્યાં લમાળીપુ લાકુ લરાક્ષ જ્ઞવા કૈફ્ષુ પુ જાલી પુવે. આ બધી ખરાખ રિથતિ હતી, છતાં ધીરીશ સર્ निधा निधा निधारी हमारी हमारी हिश्रतिमां भाषी અમ્કીપણ ૧૯૦૭ અમ્કીપણ ૧૯૦૭ અમ્કીપણ ૧૯૦૭ જન્મસે માતાના ચું રહ્યાં કરતાશાઓની સમક્ષ પ્રાપ્તામાં ભાષણ કર્યું હતું તેમાં તે આ પ્રમાણે માર્સાઓની આગુની આપાણીતે તાડનાશે એકિયા હતા: દક્ષીણ આપ્રીકાની જાગુની આપાણીતે તાડનાશે કૃષ્ય કાયદા પ્રમાણે હિદ્દિ શોકા જે રહ્યરર શધ અપુક્ષ કૃષ્ય કાયદા પ્રમાણે હિદ્દિ શોકા જે રહ્યરર શધ અપુક્ષ કૃષ્ય કૃષ્ય દ્વાના કૃષ્ય સ્વાન સુધ્ધ કૃષ્ય કૃષ્ય દ્વાના કૃષ્ય સુધ સુધ્ધ કૃષ્ય કૃષ્ય દ્વાના કૃષ્ય સુધ્ધ કૃષ્ય ક

દક્ષીણ આક્રીકાની યાદગાર લડત સાથે જતરલ સ્મહસત તમ હમેશાં જોડાઇ સ્વેશે. આ લડતની શરૂઆત કેમ થઇ તથા જુદાજુદા તખકકા સમયે હીંદીઓ માટે આ દેશમાં કેવી તાં ભાષણમાંથી મળી શકે એમ છે. તેથી અમે તેનાં કેટલાં તાં ભાષણમાંથી મળી શકે એમ છે. તેથી અમે તેનાં કેટલાં તો ભાષણમાંથી જાણવા લાયક ભાગ અત્રે આપીએ ક્ષીએ:

જનકલ ક્મજ્સનાં ફુડલાંર અર્તોના લાતર બાત*તે*

કૃષિયા આપે એવી અંતની પ્રાથેના છે. અસ્તુ. કાલ ઉછકે છે તેતે ખીલવવામાં દરેક જણ માત માતાતા किन्ति हेरे अपेर हा आर्र्रीअया के नवीन महान प्रकार શકર્યા છે. સુકેલ અને શાંતિના મારગે તેઓ હુંને માંતાની વધ્યા છે. તેનાં ખાળકા દ. આક્રેરીકામાં પ્રતિધા મેળવી સુરસ વસ્તુ છે. જગતની પ્રેજાઓમાં હિંદુરતાનના દરજ્જો मा १५५१ भार भी हे-तम छ अने अपना ४१५१ ६६ खे हे हैं शारीरीह भण ३१वां आत्मिड भण समिन्तम छे, तिरस्धार ઝુંમ નેતી. *સલાગ્રહની લાડતે સાખીત કરી દરશાની* આ*પ*શું मेले हिन्स र्सानेन सामह छे जान तेनी जानशालीना सप्त हाह क, अने हेने ध्युस श्रमवामां आवधुं छे हे कि ही अल મુક્ર પ્રજાપીય સમાનતાના વાવટા ઉડતા રાખવામાં આવ્યા શાંતી રૂપી નવીન જારમાં સરવત્ર પ્રથરી રહેયા છે. કાયદે દ્વાડમારીઓ, અંતે તેઓએ આપેલા મહાન આત્મભોગોથી છે કે સલાગ્રહીઓએ ભાગવેલાં દુઃખા, તેમણે વેડેલી અતેક ारिगोरें हि सिलार वि.ही आभ सिन हैं। अला हिंदि अला है। विराद्या માં અમાર્ક અલોવવે ખુત્ર મુ કે એ લાબા ઉપર મેલોવ્સા જૈકેલાઉ વા

લાગુ પડતી કાર્કા ખીના હાય તો આજે તેઓના આગેવાતાની સાગુ પડતી કાર્કા ખીના હાય તો આજે તેઓના અગ્રગ્ને સભાગ્રહ એ સાથે પ્રથમ મસલત કરવામાં અગ્રને છે. અને સભાગ્રહ એ સમયમાં કામે વેદ્રશ્રી મેળવી શકાય તેની પણ વિશેષ મેળવ્યું છે. ૧૯૦૭ તો કાપદા રદ કરાવવા લાંથી પ્રથમ હિલચાલ શરૂ થઇ. તે કાપદા રદ કરાવવા લાંથી પ્રથમ હિલચાલ સાગ્રમાં કાર્કા તેમાં માં તેની તેનાજ જેવા કાપદા પ્રાપ્તાના નાખવા જતી બેદ વાળા કાપદા ધડાવાની હમેશા ધારતી તાખવા જતી બેદ વાળા કાપદા ધડાવાની હમેશા ધારતી તાખવા જતી બેદ વાળા કાપદા ધડાવાની હમેશા ધારતી માં જતી બેદ વાળા કાપદા ધડાવાની હમેશા ધારતી સાચવામાં આવતી હતી. આ સમાધાનાથી આપી બેદ વાળા કાપદા થયા એવા સંભવ નથી. હિંદુ સાચ માં જતી બેદ વાળા કાપદા થયા અને સાચાના સાચારા આપી અદ વાળા કાપદા થયા એવા સાચાના કાપદા માં જતી એદ વાળા કાપદા થયા અને સાચાના કાપદા થયા છે. આવા અમાધાનાથી અમાધ તથી. હિંદુ સાચા અનુ કાપાનાથી અમાવતી હદાળા કાપદા થયા અને સાચાનાથી સાચાનાથી આપતા કાપદા થયા કાપદા થયા કાપદા થયા કાપદા થયા કાપદા માં સાચાનાથી આપતા એક લાળા કાપદા થયા કાપદા માના કાપદા થયા કાપદા માં સાચાના અમાવતા કાપદા માં કાપદા માં કાપદા થયા કાપદા થયા કાપદા થયા કાપદા થયા કાપદા માં કાપદા થયા કાપદા કાપદા કાપદા માં કાપદા કાપદ

₹દ્રુવાિરાજી.......

"जे तमे प्रतिहासमां अरहे हु? सुधी जरी। तो स्थापणे भूषा गारा स्थापमां भावेसा; ते तथी स्थापणे धुरोपी अंशिमामांथी धुरापमां भावेसा; ते तथी स्थापणे धुरोपी अन् आसहना ४६वाधमे तम अधासादी६ मासहना प्रण्

अक्षि । ह्याः

મોત્રીલ ક્ષેજરહેટીવ એસેમ્પલીમાં મી. છા. છા, મનીકના એક મુવાલના જવાપમાં મી. ક્રમદ્રસે તીએ મુજ્ય જવાપ

છે કે ઉમરે મહોંચેલા મેરદવી વસ્તી તે મંખ્યાથી વધુ ત્રી. मेल अर्थकां ६,1५८ थर्थ के शारी आपण्ति भारी थाप લગેલર્ગ દર્કુર જીજાંજાજી કેલ્સ્ટ્રેકાન માર્ક એક્સ્સ્ટ કર્યુ છે. उक्तरेरं मार अर्रक हर्। अस् आक महीमा जा ह्यानिम उर्जे हेरती. जा जारतित प्रभाने जुशाजाराष्ट्राज मरकेजाप મુંદ મેળું ખાર્ક છે કેલેલ કામના માર્ક તે ખીખા માલામું દમી કોલવા અશ્વાનાદ્રીકા મેડેઅનાવ કેસ્ટર્ડ મ્લાનું એનું તોલા **વ**ર્વે એ વેવા કે જાંકતાલના *વેરદાંઠ કર્વાં*કા છેલ તેના નાલોમુંડ મેળ ખી કૌના શામન્નલાહ ગાયનને ન્નમ પુપા આગેવામાં મહત્રા અને દુરલીક અરચા કરી, તેતે પરીબામ મોપેન વા સબાલેદાનુ નાદ જેકું કુ છત્તર દે. વુમના કુરલાક र्हांनी लाराध गुयां. आ स्थिति धर्धी अस्तिमार्डह गुथाय. દેશના એક છેડાથી ખીજા છેડા સુધીનાં કેદખાની એશીઆ शनहा अमार्ख अब्य १२। नहीं पर्यानीम म ज्ञान्ती. ह અમલમાં મૈરવા માંડાતા ૭૬લે ખપા શારતે. પુરલે. ઝુ. રડતે. बुँवे को सेलें विजारवा कवे अस माने छ जा मानहाप तेम थतुं असंभीत छ अने तेथी सर्धारे हेवी हिते क्षाम उरीतेण आ वातती धुनी काव्या हत. पथु आवा सम्ममी અંધેર ગણી શકાય. આગળના જમાનામાં લગાઇ જાહેર मा भारी बराधिनी प्याया छ. अने शाम ध्विनी नकर રૂની હિંતે થવું તેના જેની કેફારો દિશ્વિત ખીજ ફોં મું નથી. तेमक लयंडर हिथति ग्रष्ट्राय. सलायद्वती सामे सर्धारे अदग सरपमा प्रमा हांनी अस्मा हुता. मा भढ़ होती ६०० करवी धधी मारी छे. अरहे जीन शाम हे हे सवा रेक्टर हराव्या हतां. जाग्या हैशमां जैशाव्याप्रीहानी पर्नत हिंदि शिक्षा १०० हिंदि है अधावयांनी शहत ता. ३० खुन सुधीनी हरी हती हे व्यान अमार्थ राजर हरवाता हेत पर आवर्था नहीं. राजरह अशिया दिल होता साम सलायह काहर भी कि है। त्राश्मित त्राहिताह सांकडह कृष प्राप्त प्रवाप क्षात्र किर्मिति सिर्मित अमिलमां आव्याः पु मैकल इक्टरंड भवानी नहीं जुही लाई वरी सरमाई महासं राजना. ज्या मायहा ग्रम वर्रस ગિલ્ફામ કામ માના કાર્યકર્ફ માંદ કારકક માંગપ્ય મિનિ

મળા નહીં તેથી અમલમાં નહીં આવી શકમાં પણ ૧૯૦૭માં वंभिय और श्रीमंही क्षेत्री हिया मार्ज येत्र में अंदर्शय में क्षेत्र ह्ये है । इंदेश मां आ होशानी वही सरहारती नीने हते ते वन्नय क्षेत्र मंद्रवीमी औष्ट्र के मीर्वव्या मेलामहापु भाह अंडेओं रेर्जुं मार्साजेंडची औं मेरहेंमी आ अवास भीळ मांपदी छ है जा संलोमां मांपर्वाया अष्टेंशा शापिता पुनी નનોનું હૈતંકેની કાંફાનો મન હેરતો કહ્યાં છે. તેને મંન देशवया इरवाहे શાંપિ અને પુષ્ય વિચાર ધારણ કરશા जीही। श्री है है जी सवाब होर्ने के जोजा जांच पुनी નેક્ષું' ઓ ક્ષેતાલ તૈરી જાણિતા વિચારવાના છે. એનું હૈ માનવેલાં સર્લાસફા ફ્રે ત્રખ્યું લાંદ્ર તંત્રલાં કુતાનું જરૂ हिजार और गाना पन्ना अबै हैं भीपे हैं (ही और) होता किया ત્રેઅના દાલ આ લવાલના હતા તાબ કાંમ તેલે શકતોનું गंजार संवास जैसे मेरत्रा हैं संराध मंत्री और इंतपी जोड़ी अंगा थी विज्ञाद्रवा सामह इम महत्वे. छ असे आंक वे ज्यह ंजा जेशीजीरी है सेवाई जो हेस्सा भेजे जोड वर्ड

चीजेंगा शर्नेहा हैपाः—

કાર્યા કર્યા કાર્યક્સર ગામું કેમરેક લાવવા કરતું તેમાં વાસન રહ્યું કરતો લખતે તો. ર્ગુ સાયર્થિક ૧૯૦૮ તા રાજ મારજીયાત રજીસ્ટર્સને કાયદેસર ગાયુવાના ખીલું ખીબું કોગોર્સ્ટ ૧૯૦૮

તેમાંથી અહીંતી સરકાર માધ્યે હદેતાર નથી. માં પુર્વા મેક્ટ્રેલી તરે વાતળે એમ કરવાના નિશ્નત છે તે અમાર્કા વિચાર આ મૈલક સફેદ ફ્રાફાયા કરવાયા છે. ब्येसम १४वापा पद्गीः मेले हि हाजापु ज्ञावपा ज्ञरशंववापा નંકું માંકુ લુદ્દી ફ્રાંમ સાનું વેરકાંક વન્ના નામાકા હવે રીમુખ્યર મછી વેઝાવી સામે જેમેશને સાર્ટ દરવાન ખધ સે કુ સામાવાળાઓ ગામ્યું ખેતાવી આપણ ક તા હશ शेर्तहा तीली द्रिप आजेबामा मेरेती. है हमुह आजे. नंती हैं. हैं, ही की में जयता की है है की में जीजी जीते. ते. हे अंडेशर्ड मेरवे. अधीवा आर्थेपी माइ छ इ संदर्श छन्दे तेरपे भेलहा मले हैं. पामप्रे પુ ખેલી દૈરાયા ખેલ થયું. (વાળાઝાં) દ્વાદા ક્રોમ અમે અંખામ અ ઓવર્ક કે એક લામ્સિન્સ ઓતવામાં પર્વા ઓહ तह छे. ने मधी हाधने रखरर, धरवामां नदी आवे. ज हीहीओ हास राजर र नहीं थाय ता तेमीते भा छस्ही ति रिस्टाप्त महीता भछी साधितन्य आपवामां आवश् नहीं. मिरिस हाइवामां आवी हे हे भी पासे राजरह नहीं होष રજસ્ટર નહીં થયા હાય તેતે હદમાર કરવામાં આવશે. નવી કરાયા મુકવામાં આવશે. અને જ દીદી મુદ્દતતી અદ્ લડે છે કે દરેક વસ્તુના આંત આવે છે. કાવદા સાખત રીતે નુારા લાદી રજસ્તર થવા છે. મળુ માર્ક તેઓને માદ ઓપનું

જગતમાં ફેનાઇ, તે હિંદુસ્તાનમાં ગરીખતે તવગર, જાવાન તે વધાર્ટ ધારમીક સ્વરૂપ લીકો. દ. આ. ના હિંદીની વાત આખા ક્રમે' ક્યાર્પ વર્ડનેના વ્યવાન બાતારા સર્ભા અરાતા ન લરવ ખર્જ માડી કે નળવી શક્યા નથી. છેલી લડાઇમાં એારતા દાખલ મુક્રાફા કામ જેવી જેરતાલ માડીતે આળવી તેવી ગાણાઓ અમર્ડ રેરફી. જર્પડલ બ્રીક્રીએ ગુપાના એક ભાવણમાં રહ્યું. *શે*દ્ધી અગંધી વેજા ત્રાવાવે નામ તે ત્રાવાના દેશવે નામ લાકુ મારા સ્વપ્નામાં મળે ન જવે કુ વાલ જેઅર ગરાનામ *ના*વાવે નામ વર્ધાક્ર ઉષ્પ્વતા રેડેકું", આ અવાત મુ વાલ્યા अल देशे पा दीरी होते ज्ञा नेजा वधार होते होते नेरही ने લાગતા નથી તે દરેક મજરે જોર વધે છે. જો આપણામાં લરતમાં હમેશાં માણસ વધારે ખળવાન થાય છે. તેમાં થાક એવી છે કે તેમાં હારવાતું કે પસ્તાવાતું છેજ નહીં. તે मेरे छे. में पा वर्णा कर्वाल आध्या है "संसाअहनी सरत તેરે છે એ એયળ કાવદી સંસારી તેમજ ધાર્મીક કરજન લાગ ભરતાં વખત લગાકે તેરહે દરજ તેને વધારે માન્ય ઉપાડના મડશે તેમ તેમ તેને વધારે આપવું પડશે. કરજી કરજ शर्व वर्ग भंग हरे पा कम आंगलीन वर्धारे महनत हर्वी મેરે તેમાં કોતારતા શા દાવ! હું તા જાણતા હતા કે સર કાર્ય પાર લક્ષ્મ મેલે કાર્ય કર્યાદ ક્ષ્મકાર કર્ક અજ્ઞના ભૈડા ઝાકા કુ ફાસવા હતાત ઝાલુ વેમ પ **હે**વેં. આતેર્છ ગ્રોમી તરવે. દેવે. દે લહ્યું કા સંજડા દેવા કે સરકારના દર્શાની સામ **ઉપ**ક્રે ઝ તમુજ મર્જા: , આવે. રેજવે. વેઝમ *માર્ક સાંભા*તવે. રાઇ દગા દાઝ વે. છવરાત ન વખવા વખવ લારૂા ખાતામાં તા દ્વારનીજ વાતા મેં સાંબળી. "વખતા વખત તતે સર્ છવાં *એર તુરધું નહીં ને આપણે* આગળ *નધ્યા.* છેલી વેળાયે લાંથી આગેવાના ભાગ દેવા આવ્યા. લડત ખુબ લંબાઇ નુંળા કાં કર્યા ગતા. અરલેંજ નેલી મેળ નાવાલ વ્યર્ગતે તે મણ તેમજ. મહેલી વેળા સા ખર્સે હીંદા જેલ ગયા. ખીજ ઝુરે વેર્તાપ ઇકા ઝાનના છે એડકી જૈવે વધાર્ક લેટકીં, કાર્તી. મીડી અગણ આસ્થા હતી. મેં જવાબ આપ્યો કે 'દ્વારાએ શુકશે નહીં. આ સાંભળ્યું લારે હું હસેકા. સસ ઉપર ટ્ટ જેનું ફાર્લ લેરફી કું ને ત્રવા ને તેવ કાર્ય ઝાડલે અર્ડ તેવાલી ક્રવાપા વખવ આવ્યા લાકુ લહોા ભારા જીન મેપુ રેલુવા લોજા અર્કડ—છુલ્લે મા−તૈ *વે*વે: તાર્જો અતાક ભાજી ત્રાકર્રજી શકે *લે*ડ છે. *પહે*લું પ્રકરેલું બ[ા]લ થયું બારે આપ**લું—**મું તા કાબાઝણ્વે. ત્રીએ. ત્રેરકતે જવે. અ વાંત્રપાર્ક તાદ કાત્રાવે. દ્ધી એા. ના વાંચક વરગતે આપવાતા હતા. છલ્લી લડત તે મેતે વખતજ મળ્યા તથી. તેમાં મળેલા અનુભવતા લાભ છેલી લડતમાં તા અવધી થઇ છે. તે અનુભવ લખવાતા

[सिमारः श. हा मार्कतहास स्थम्बाहः शांमी]

કાડના કહેલી લેટવેના માટ્રા અવેલન

ક્રાંત રક્યા પારળા શકે ઝવું છે તા તે રસ્તા કાઢમાંજ જાઈએ. भागी शहेनशाहतमां लाहा इत्रा छे? जे आ भुरेंडेवीमांथी ખાન આપવું ઘટે છે. શું આપણે લોકોને બંદુક મારી ગણાંશું. સરકાર વર્રાક્ર આતળું કમીશનના સૈકાદાને તૈરુતૈરૂં. ગે.બીર્ડ ર્રત તેરેટુ જીત છે. વે સાર્રાણા દૈર કરવામાં રહ્યાતનો જ્યા ફિયમિતા વિચાર કરવા અને દિવસા જતાં જે વધારે નથી; હલરાની મુશ્કેલી હબી કરવાવે વે સાધન ખતે છે. ડીક છે, પણ કમીશને આપણને જણાવ્યું છે કે તે તો કેંધ *નીવા*ને દેશ જતા ક્રીત એરક્રા *ે*લે અર્જ સરતા હાય તો તો કેઇએ ખુજાવવાની છે. માં ૩ના કાયદાથી હીંદીઓ પાછા अधि तेता भ्यास नथी करवाताः आपणे ता आपणी योगी મણ બને કે ગમે તેટલું કરતાં મણ શાનિત ન થાય. પરંતુ રીમીર્ટની લલામણા અમલમાં મુકવી ઘટે છે. કદાચ એમ ववाने मारे आपकी के हरी शरीओ ते पधुं डरवा मारे કે મેરેસ નાવાના ભાવેલે દરમ્યાન ખાલ્યા હતા કે શાનિત ફેલા રીલીકું ખીલ સેનેટમાં ખીજ વખતે વચાયું લારે જનરલ પ્રાચા મહિ ગામ

હી દુરતાત અને ઇંગ્લાંડમાં પણ તેઓતું જોર સરસ છે. દક્ષીછા આદીરામાં 9ા અરાવર છે એરલુંજ નહીં પણ પુર્તની કોર્ફાખારી વ્યવસ્થા (આરંગુનાગુશન) અની છ[ુ] કે જે , કેડલાક ઉત્ત્ર્ગ ઝાર્ટિત્રવાન, અને મારી ખુલ્લાળા પુરૂષા છે. શીખ્યા છે. તેઓ ખરેખર બહુ હાંશીયાર છે. તેમાંના કાવે. અંપુ *નુ*ાવાના દેશને કેમ રક્ષણ કરવે. એ તેઓ જારિ ખર્ચાવ દેમ કરવા તે તેઓને આવડે છે; કેમ એકસ ત્રીનીને મૈલીડોવાળી કારા છે. ત્રાવાના જેશતે જૈતના શાત રીકોને જંગલી તરીખે રાખી શકાશે નહીં. કેમકે તેઓ सरहारंपी सामे ज्ञापीने जे वात भरी २६ छ है जेशीआ हाथमां घरवा भेरेल अधरामां अधरा सवाधामांना ते એક छे. અને તે હપર ઘણી સંભાળથી આન આપવું પડે છે આપણું अदी. ओला मही मीक जीजपा सवासमां हामस श्राम छे વેનીવુ જનકલ ક્રમેરકા ખાલ્તા કુ એશીઓરીક એક વેનાવ મિમિક્રાન ખીલ પાલમિંદમાં મારસ ૧૯૧૧ માં રળુ કરતી **કેકે 'હાેેે**

मेरे करवा है। स्मेश्वा मेरे मेखे साध सम बाजा याही. भाराणक इहे जावाक मार् आवतु छ तमारी बती तथा तेता देशरीसि केवा भागड साराभक वस्त्रे हिर्शि संशित भीत में भाव भाव भाव अपने अधि अभिक मि हैं भेरे में तेमनाथी जेवायक निह. मेरे मा महन्तान नेहाता काश्ता. ंभर्श रांभी अने पाणहा काथ तथा मिलंग्नड़ ती होता भाष भाष के हैं है है है मी ६र्त हे भी. इस्तम्छम गंध वेणा मेरधे हुः भ भाग्यु संधनी सार्थेल महान पार्रसी इस्तमञ हता. ध्याना मन નીકળતા હતા તેતા ભાવકારા હતા મારા કાનમાં પડેછે. આ शिक्ष्मिं मार्गेड्रा ते तिलीक त्रिशाम भारता भारता भारता है। गर्गाप् मेल , में जी हैं जो संपंत्रां प जीती जुं , जे हैं प प्रसि होग्रिं हे हे हे से अरियन ग्रामां तेमाने अर साम भारत प्रमा के ने तेजा व्यास्त महम महम तेवी नेथी. हेरेने अंधर लागुषी हती; ते भे में भा માંગ્રેક મિક્સમ નામ્પર દિરાષ્ટ્ર મિક્સમ સારામ દ મિક્સ લડતની શરૂઆત પીનોકેસ લીળોઓથી શકા. જ્યારે સ્ત્રીઓ लही मिल अंगेर होते हैं। हैं। हैं। अंगेरी हैंगे. भाषी ति यसीवरी साइ करेश माध्यमी करहे भारे तिसीम કેર્યું એવારી કેલતે. એરફી મહિલામ એ આવ્યું કે પ્રીનીકેસ पति पेण् भी नियम सीध योती थये। तेमी भान भान भान तेमां शापस शतुं जीधमें, मार्च जीती शीताइसमी कुण्य निवे ले दिस्साय हीय ता, में धरत हरी लगे थारे માંયેની સાથે એ શરત કંતી કે તે વિશાળીઓ પ્રીત્તિક્સ રહે धिंश संभित थिया. भीते हरेंडे निशाणीव्या तथा तेना या भाष्यां तध्यार हता है श्रीनीडसभां आव्या. श्रीनीडर्भमां क् ांम्हाणाङ्गी तिमां वस्तु भार दास हिंदा में भ भरी होर्डिं वर्षारे शारी शीत धीतिंडसभी डरवामा आवी. अमारे राव ने भी धेरतभी भेभूरम था पर अर्थ कर्डिंगीन में में भारतियां असे विश्व के विवासिकियान से अधिक हो हो। सार प्रिनेशन शिक्ष मिल मिल है वाही सीशा रें भिष्टी में हिस्सी

ઘરેડા, પુર્વ તેમજ સ્ત્રી, રાજા તે રાયત, હોદુ યુસલમાત, પાર્ટમી, મારતી, મું બાઇવાંગા, મહાસવાળા, કલક-તાવાળા તે વાહોરવાળા ખંધા જાગ્યા, ખંધા આપણી તવારીખરી વાંકક થયા તે આપણી મારા સરકાર ચમ્મુ, જાયા તે આપણી મારા સરકાર ચમ્મુ, જાગુ જાગુ જાગુ મહત્વ ખતાવવા હું આ ખીતાંચો જગ્ગેજાહેર વાત છે. લંડતેતું મહત્વ ખતાવવા હું આ ખીતાંચો લખો જાગુ તે છે કે જ ખીતાંચોથી હું વિશેષ વાંકક છું, જતી હોદત અપાં રહેતાંરા હોદી પાંધુ ક કે જ ખીતાંચોથી હું વિશેષ વાંકક છું, જતી હોદત અપાં રહેતાંરા હોદી પાંધુ ક કે જ ખીતાંચોથી હું વિશેષ વાંકક છું, જતી હોદત અપાં રહેતાંરા હોદી પાંધુ ક ક જ ખીતાંચોથી હું વિશેષ વાંકક છું, જતી હોદત અપાં સાં રહેતાંરા હોદી પાંધુ ક ક જ ખીતાંચોથી તે વીતાંચોનું દરશન કરેલવું

लग्वा संस्थाद है, गेर्च श्रीनिंडसने मंदी भारते भेदे हैं. औरी रार्थनी र्यंसन हे पर आशे आंधि शहे. हु विशेष हिवंस द्वार क्यांस वधार हिंडिंस मेणवी शैरीडसनी डारकारी Mille Bee B . & She Wife itips स्ति हैं में स्त्री समाया तेया है में होता છે તેવું માપ દીદી કેમ કરી શકે તેમ નથી. આ છુપા भिर्मा क्षेत्र क्षितियाचे यां प्रसिध क्षिति सेव सेव भागि ेरिश्वेट रिहे अनिर्मात कि रैंक अनुस्ट होते । सिम्ह के हिर्द के हे जीहमी श्रीनिहसमीशी अल्या नहीं. हुं हैं वर्ष हैं क्षम भिर्दा में अधि हैं।, है अधि। देशवारी शेर्य प्रिक्ष हो होता, भी वेस्ट्रेन में द्वारा भी लोही होते भासित छता मिराइमेखे होर्थ ४९वे करेंचे जो भीजा. भिव्या हतः है। जीर्भीरीयानी शहा तरह्यी मार व्यापनानी र्में श्रीनीहर्मा आशर्रे सीवी. तिमानी अर्रहास हर्म मे मे निहीरीया हादिरीमी हरताक्ष मेरी खाई से हो हो गिरमी जाता नेणसना होमा पूर्व जेधार साथ साथ सीमी. ज्यार मती सीया, अधुवा आहार हुपर निर्माह अधानी, मे गुरामा साथी तथा मुक्ति में हुई भारतामा साथी નવાલ્કે: વેઝાઝ કાવ દિવસના બેદ *મ્હારી* નામ્યી. By fire life gire lifes in 1918 size these विविधित्राम्या मुख् हता. प्रमाला अधित्राम् । अध्याद्वाम् Physp zg immer ibs main imm interlify

ખીજે દેખાવ મેરહુમ હુમેત મીયાની સાથેતા મી. રૂસ્તમંછતી મેળાય હતો. મો. રસ્તમજ તેતે મળવા ગયા લારે તેની આપમાંથી આસુની ધારા ચાલી તે તેણે કહ્યું 'કાકાજ, જો હું' સાંજો હાઉ તો તંમારી સાથે જેલમાં આવું.' ભાઇ હુમેનતા દેશ તરફેતા ત્રેમ ખહુ ભારે હતા. તેણે ખાદેશ વશ હતા લડતતે ટેકા આપેશા તે જે તેતે મળતું તૈની પાસે તે લડતનીજ લડતતે ડેકા આપેશા તે જે તેતે મળતું તૈની પાસે તે લડતનીજ લડતતે કેકા

આમ ખાણાતા હિંદી મળુરા કામ બધ કરતા ચાલ્યા તેથી કાલસાના ધણીઓતા મંડળતી મીટીંગ થઇ. મતે ત્યાં આબ્ધા. તેઓતી માંગણી એવી હતી કે જો આપણ હડતાલ બ પ્રધ રાખીએ તો તેઓ સરકારતે ત્રણ પાઉડતા કર બાબત લખાણ કરે, આ કંઇ સત્યાયહીથી કછુલ ત થાય. આપણતે લખાણ કરે, આ કંઇ સત્યાયહીથી કછુલ ત થાય. આપણતે લખાણ કરે, આ કંઇ સત્યાયહીથી કછુલ ત થાય. આપણતે

મી. હોસ્કેતના પ્રમુખપણા નીચેની યુરોપીયન સહાયક કમીડીયે યતે ખાલાવ્યા. હું તેઓતે મળ્યા. તેઓએ અમુપણી દિલ્લાલ પસંદ કરી ઉન્તેજન આપણાતા દરાવ કરયા. આક રહયા. મેં જોયું કે કોકોના ઉત્સાહ અત્યંત હતા. આરતીની પરદાસ સરકાર ન કરી શક્ષ તે છેવટે તેમતે રખ્યું ના તહેાયત નીચે જેલ આપી. મી. હેઝરસનું ધર હવે સત્યા ના તહેાયત નીચે જેલ આપી. મી. હેઝરસનું ધર હવે સત્યા ના તહેાયત નીચે જેલ આપી. મી. હેઝરસનું ધર હવે સત્યા ના તહેાયત નીચે જેલ આપી. મી. હેઝરસનું ધર હવે સત્યા માણું પકાવવાનું કરવું પડ્યું તેથી મી. હેઝરસ નાસીપાસ ત્યારું પકાવવાનું કરવું પડ્યું તેથી મી. હેઝરસ નાસીપાસ માણું પકાવવાનું કરવું પડ્યું તેથી મી. હેઝરસ નાસીપાસ માણું પકાવવાનું કરવું પડ્યું તેથી મી. હેઝરસ નાસીપાસ મી. મી. શેજરસ નાસીપાસ પડા તેથી કામ ધમધોકાર ચાલ્યું. ખીજ ખાણું!

કરાવ એવા હતા કે આરતાએ ત્યુકાસલમાં ગરિમીડીયાની આરતાતે તથા ગીરમીડીયાતે મળવું. તેઓતે તેઓની દશાતા ચિતાર આપવા તે ત્યા પુકાસલ પહોંચું ત્યારે હડતાલ સમજાવવું: પછી જયારે હું ન્યુકાસલ પહોંચું ત્યારે હડતાલ કૃપ થાંધ પડી. આ સેજ તળાઇ વીના નહી સુનારી, ભાગ્યેજ માં ખાલનારી આરતાએ ગીરમીડીયા પાસે જાહેરમાં ભાષણ માં માલનારી આરતાએ ગીરમીડીયા પાસે જાહેરમાં ભાષણ માં તાઇનારી આરતાએ કં પહોંચું તે પહેલાં તો તેઓએ હડતાલ પાડવાતા આગ્રહ કરમા. કામ લહું જો પ્યમ ભારેલું હતું. માડવાતા આગ્રહ કરમા. કામ લહું જો પ્યમ ભારેલું હતું. તે હડતાલ શરૂ થાંધ, હું ત્યુકાસલ પહોંચ્યા તે દરમીયાન તો તે હડતાલ માટે માં ભાષોના હિંદીઓએ કામ બંધ કરયું હતું.

तेमी ओर ओश्त के गर्भवती हती तेते रस्तामां आध्तां मास मागली ३री नही. ज्याम माज़ामांसी क्षार याद शरी ने सार भरी हाधने जीरीने मारे परिसा भारत्वाची मार्र અધિએ. આ સાધુ પુર્વોએ ઉપરતી સલાહ માન્ય રાખી भिष्पाद म गाद्राप्त मिन्द्राप रिष्टी गिर्मा निर्मा निर्मा मिन વીગેરે વ્યયન છાડવાં જોઇએ. જેઓ ન છાડે તેમણે જાહેર લકતમાં જોકાયા હતા તે આવે લખતે તેઓએ દારૂ, તમાકુ પુઝા **શૃ**દના કુતર વર્રાક્ર નારતના *હેવા*. તેઓ મારમાક ક્રમઅલ્તા *દ્રે વ*જીા ગુકમીરાતા વર્કાદ્ર મહાવા નાસ્તા *ત*રતા રક્ષક મૈયર હતા. કાર્મએ ખીડીની માગણી કરી. મેં સુવાને તેણુ સાથરા હતા. છાપરું આકાશ હતું. તેઓના ओ हेरी हुम हती. तेओ पधात छापहुं अधांथी अपाय है મારે મન તા તેઓ તેત્રીક્ષ ક્રોડી દેવતાઓમાંના હતા. સ્ત્રી આવેવાં' ખેલાના ત્રેલુંડા હતક *લેકન ખીલી કહે*લું. **લેવે**: તેથી તેઓ સુખ માનતા. ભાગ્યેજ કાંધ રહતા જ્યામાં ગડ્યાન માળેલના લ્રંવાતને હૈં, શૈ. વર્ડભેન રર્વે. કે એ અંબ્લે. ટ્ટાન કાવના[.] વેજીાને સારૂ ખાવાનું પુરૂ પાડવું *પડ*તું. આ कोवामां अन्तती हती. हार्ध हिवसना आपी भ्यांश्वतां ते। માથા પર ગાંસડીઓ વાળી હતી. મરદાના માથા પર પેડીઓ मार्गित मिल – मिल हास्यां वाला – मधी मेतिता ન દ્રાપ એવા દેખાવ થઇ રહેયા. જીવાન, યુદાઓ, એાર્ટતો નકામલમાં કેમ જાણે હમેશાં જાત્રાણી સંધ સાવતા શ્રમ: ખુલ,ગીપી ખાણના ફી.દીઓ પહેલા આવી પહે!આ!. gig jež Mijrijajim vojnojit zjum ije "Livije ikip *નુાવાના ખા*ર્લ જીવી ન્યુકાસલ આવવાનાં **સ**માચાર મુખ્યલ ઉદાની ખરૂંજ કરવું એ નિશ્ચય થયાં. ગીરમીટીયાએને મહાચી શકે એમ ન લાગ્યું. તેમ છતાં પણ ગમે તે જોપમ અલાતું. મીચારી મે ઓરતા રાત દીવસ મહેનત કરતાં પણ ઝ *લાદુ રાત્ર દ*વે: ત્રી[.] કુઝક્કાવે_. ત્રરાવ *દે*વુ તહે. વાવે. વરકેથી હેળરા હિંદીને કર્યા રાખવા, તેઓને કેમ જમાડવા *વુ કા*'નાઝ^{તુ}ના *રીજ પ્રતાકા*નુ મલીન કરનાંક *અ*હ્યાના. ખીજ ગીકનીપાસાઓને. ત્રાહ્યા તક કહેવે. દાતાવ જવે: છલ્કા દાત वंझवें अर्थवा पुरे पामर मावें ज अपीपा ग्रावासं आम કરે એ ભય હતા. અને શેઠતું કામ ન કરવું છતાં તેના ધરમાં તૈદ્દી અસર તડે પેલી. તેઓ લલચાઇ અથવા ડરીતે કામ શરૂ મીડીયા ગાતાના શેઠતી જમીનમાં કંદ્ર ભા લગી હડતાલની ન્યુકાસલની કારભાર મંડળીયે વીચારયું કે જયાં લગી ગીર આજ લગી મળુરા પાતપાતાની ખાણમાં રહેતા હતા.

ે દેવાતા ત હતા. માત્ર આપણે દુખ ઉઠાવવાતા હતા. એટલે ન્યુકાસલ આવ્યા. મજકુર મીટીંગતું પરીણામ મેં જ્યાલ્યુ. તેમ ઉત્સાહ વધ્યા. વધારે ખાણામાં કામ બ'ધ થયું. ૧ હું પકડાઇ જાઉ એવા સંભવ હતી. જો તેમ ખતે તેા પણ દુકડીએ કુચ જારી રાખવી, અને જ્યાં સુધી તેઓ પોતે ન પકડાય સાં લગી તેઓએ ચાલ્યા કરવું. રસ્તામાં પોતાક વિએર્ટના બંદાબરત કરવા સરવ પ્રયત્ન થશે, છતાં કુદાચ કાઇ દિવસ ખાવાતું ન મળે તો પણ સંતોષ રાખવા.

નીચે પ્રમાણ શરતા સંભળાવવામાં આવી હતી. કતા. સઉ માતાના મારલાં બાંધી ચાલી નીકળેલા. તેઓને जालपी. मे हिवस शाम पेरेला महानेला हाल चावल मं माजा ,हामज्ञंहरी के, 'व'हे मातरम, भावा भाधारी भरती हुमी તા દેખાવ હું કદી શુલી શકું તેમ નથી. ધ્વારકાંનાથકી જે શિક્સ ક્રિક ફિસ્મમાં માતાના ખરમાં સહીત હતી. આ દુકડી ज्य निश्चय श्रमा. महेली हु धरीमां लगलग ५०० ६ता तेमां मा महेरा अनुसद हता तथी महेदी हुईरी मारे सर् कपी કરેયું રસ્તામાં પકડાપકડી થવાતા સંભવ હતા તેમજ આવી भागः के आरता न यावी शह तेते देवमां वध करवातं मंत्रा मेर्फान मेर्ड में हिमजीज पंजेतीया करी जोम हिराद हेजारी माधुसाने मार्ड रेस लार्ड नक भरमी शाराय. मेरते કરવી એ ડીક જણાવું. પંચ લગભગ ૩૫ માઈલતા હતા. ર્કડે થવી. આવાં કારછે ન્નુકાસલથી આરલસરાઉત કુચ નને 9 લાલગ્રદ્ધી વનત દુર રાખવા એ કારભાર મંડળ દી ઓને લલચાવી રહ્યા હતા. એક પણ મુજુર પડયા નહીં. તો વધારે કેમાં થાય. ન્યુકાસલમાં ખાણાના અસુસા હડતાલી मिसिमिं भी के अधि भाष भाष है। है है हिर्मा में के उपादीभागी भक्षावें क्रेल सहिवा हिमाय रद्या. वणी तेम धरतां न्य હિલા હાથ ન નાખ્યા. લારે હવે ટરાંસવાલની હદ ઓળોગી *જે*આર્ટાતે સારૂ તેની પાસે જેલજ ન *હે*ની તેથી મુજુરા ઉપર मुन्तेरीत परत्वा भारे ता सरहार परति शहती हती. पण સવાલ ઉદ્યા. હડતાલ માડવામાં હેતુ એ હતા કે જેલ જવું. મળેડ્રી રોત્ર તાં, મે રેડેલી લીઝતી' એડર્સ જેવું શૈ. રેડલે. એ **વ**આર્ડ કાર્લોક નીઅ કાર્કા, ખીજી માલુંાના માધારણ રિતે ત્રણ હજારની ગણાય. તેવા ગામકામાં દશ એવી ફિયમિ નહતી. મેયર મભરાએલા. ન્યુકાસલની વસતી મણ ન્યુકાસલમાં હળારા હી'દીતે સદાયતે સાર રાખી શકાય

ગરભપાત થયા. આવાં અતેક દુખા હઠાવતાં છતાં કાર્પ ચાકયા નહિ, પાછા હકયા નહિ.

माना प्राप्ता भारतीवात के होते अभी लोगा सम्मर्गा हैया काम से इ.ध कर्पाणहारी, अमारी न हती. पथ संसामधीत अशि हिर्मित देश क्षामित निमम् निर्मात निमम शहैं भात त हहेवाय. साधार्य दिते व्यमारी पासेशी पह पे. जील जैरेवी ज्यापवा रजेल रहते. ज्या १.६ समाम**र** शहाम माम्बह म नामाह प्रम प्राप्ता माना माहाह ચારલ્સરાઉતતા થાણામાં એરલા કેદીતે રાખવાતી જગા ત હતી. સારે રેલ ગાડી તાઈયાર ત હતી. તેમને માલીસ કર્યા રાખે! धामल अमा न हता. यक्ताओसाने न्युकासल सर्घ कपाने આશ્ચિર્ય પાયતા. ચારલ્સડ. ઉત્તામાં આદલા દ્વિત કાર્ક વેળા हींहा वस्ती लुक छे. ऋरहे अभारी संध कोर्ध मेहाओ। ૧,००० માણસની હશે. તેમાં એકજ શરીઆમ રસ્તા છે. આરેલ્સરાહિત ખકુ તાતું ગામકું છે. તેમાં વસ્તી ભાગ્યે डेथुस राभीते ते थासी ग्री. अभे यारस्सराधन पदीया. જેમ તેતે હુકમ મળે તે પ્રમાણે કરે. અમલદારે આ સુચતા मिन्नी प्रभार सिन्नी हिन्नी अथवा तेना विपरीत पुर्धित महराज्यसा मार्खमा अषु माद्य साम् हेन हरे ५ ५जापा માત્ર દે માર્ગલ દુર હતા. એરહે મેં અમલદારતે કહ્યું કે सिर्धि करवा अने सवास शरी महसा अभे आहस्साधनशी તેની સાથે બીજ કંઈ મદદ ન હતી. પ્રકાવા તેમતે ક્રેમ મકડાયા. પકડવાતે એકજ પોલીસ અમલદાર આવ્યા હતા. स्थाला १५० माणुसारे साइ दार राज्यां. तेओ भुशीशी રાતે વગુડામાં ધાસ પર સુવાતા અનુભવ થયા. રસ્તામાં આવી સ્થિતિમાં પહેલી દુકડીની કુચ શરૂ થઈ. પદેલીજ નહીં કરેશા.

સમજી તેમાં દિવસ ગુજારવા. આ સંઘમાં બધા વર્ષી હતો. હીંદુ, મુસલમાત, **યાલખુ** ક્ષાંતે, વર્ધમ્ય અતે શુદ્ધ હતા. કલક-તીઆ હતા તે તામીલ હતા. કેટલાક પંઠાણાતે તેમજ ઉત્તર તરફતા સીધીતે માર્ ખાઇ લેતાં પણ બચાવ ત કરવાની શરત આકરી લાગી હતી પણ તેઓએ તે શરત ખુશીની માથે સ્વીકારી, એડલુંજ નહીં પણ તેઓની કસાડીતા વખત આવતાં તેઓએ બચાવ પણ

દ સરકારી યોલીસ પકડરા આવે તા પકડાઈ જવું. ૭ યોલીસતી કે કાઇની સામે ત થવુ પણ માર પડે તો તે સહત કરવા, તે સામે માર્ટ મારીતે ખયાવ ત કરવા. ૪ જેલમાં જે દુઃખા પડે તે ઉઠાવવાં, તે જેલતે મહેલ

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લાસમાં પડી રહેવું. ૫ રસ્તામાં આવતાં ઝાડ પાનને જરા પથુ ઈજા ન કરવી.

3 मर्ख पर्यंत पाछा न करिये. ४ रस्तामां शत परे सां धर्ती आशा न शण्यती पथ्

ક લગ્વમાં કંદ્રેવાં સૈની દારૂ નિગેરેને. બ્નસન છાત્વે:

તેથી વિશ્વાસ ખેસી ગએલા: આમ ચાર દિવસ સુધી પકડ! એલા જણુ અમારી સાથે રહેલા. જ્યારે તેઓને લઇ જવા તે પાલીસ તર્કયાર થયા સારે તેઓ ખુશીથી તાખે થયા.

ડુકડીઓની ભરતી થતી ચાલી. કાઈ રાજ ચારસા તા કાઇ રાજ તેથી પણ વધારે. ધણાએ! પગે ચાલતા તથા **બર્કરાંએા મુખ્યત્વે કરીને ગાડીથી** આવવા લાગ્યાં. ચારલ્સ ટાઉનના હીંદી વેપારીના મકાનામાં જ્યાં જગ્યા હતી ત્યાં સમાસ કર્યાં. ત્યાંની કારપારેશને પણ મકાન આપ્યાં. ગારા એક ખીલકુલ કનડગત નહેાતા કરતા એટલુંજ નહીં પણ મદદ કરતા હતા. ત્યાંના ડાક્તર વ્યસ્કાિએ મકત સારવાર કરવાનું માથે લીધું ને અમે જ્યારે ચારલ્સટાઉનથી આગળ વધ્યા સારે તેએ કોમતી દ્વાએ અને કેટલાંક ઉપયોગી શસ્ત્રા મકત આપ્યાં. રસાષ્ઠ મસ્જીદના મકાનમાં થતી હતી. અને ચુલા ચાવીસે કલાક સળગાવવા પડતા હતા. રસાઈ કરવા વાળા હડતાલી માર્માથીજ તદ્યાર થયા હતા. છેલ્લા દહાડામાં ચાર થી પાંચ હજાર માણસાને જમાડવાનું રહેતું છતાં આ કામ દારા કાયર નહીં થયેલા. સવારમાં મકાઈના આટાની રાંબ તેમાં શકર મેળવીને આપવામાં આવતી હતી તથા તેની સાથે રાેડી. સાંજના ચાવલને દાળ તથા શાક આપવામાં આવતાં હતાં. ખધા દક્ષીણ આપ્રીકામાં ઘણે ભાગે ત્રણ વખત ખાનારા હાય છે. ગીરમીટીઆ હમેશાં ત્રણ વખત ખાનારા હોય છે પહ્ય તેઓએ લંડતમાં એ વેળાથી સંતાષ માન્યા. તેઓ **ઝીણા ઝીણા** સ્વાદ કરનારા પણ હાય છે. તે સ્વાદ પણ અહીં છેાડયા.

આ જયાળ ધ જમા થએલા માણસાતું શું કરવું એ વિચાર કરવા જેવું થઇ પડેયું. ચારલ્સટાઉનમાં અગવડે સગવડે આટલા બધા માણુસાને લાંબી મુદત સુધી રાખવામાં આવે તા રાગ ફાડી નીકળવાના સંભવ રહયા. એટલા હજાર માણસ જે હમેશાં કામ કરનારા દ્વાય છે તે નવરા ખેસી રહે એ પણ ઠીક ન ગણાય. આ સમયે એટલું કહી જવાની જરૂર છે કે આટલા ગરીખ માઅસા એકઠા ચએલા હતાં ચારલ્સટાઉનમાં તેઓમાંના એક પણ ચારી નહિ કરેલી. પાલીસની જરૂર કાઇ પણ વેળા નહિ પડેલી તેમ પાલીસને ક્રાઇપણ વેળા વધારે કામ નહાતું કરવું પડયું. છતાં હવે ચારલ્સટાઉનમાં નજ ખેસી રહેવું એજ ઉત્તમ રસ્તા જ્યાયા. તેથી દ્રાંસવાલમાં દાખલ થવાના ને છેવટ જો ન પકડાઇએ તા ટાલસ્ટાય ફારમ પહોંચવાના ઠરાવ કરયા. કુચ કરતાં પહેલાં સરકારને ખબર આપી કે પકડાવાને ખાતર અમે દ્રાંસવાલમાં દાખલ થવાના છીએ. અમારે ત્યાં રહેવું નથી, ત્યાંના હકની ઈચ્છા નથી, પણ જયાં સુધી સરકાર નહિ પુકડે ત્યાં સુધી અમે અમારી કુચ જારી રાખશું અને છેવંટે ટાલસ્ટાઇ ફારમ પર મુકામ કરશું. સરકાર જો પા. 3 ના કર કહાડી નાંખવાતું વચન આપે તા અમે પાછા જવા તઇયાર રહેશું: આ નાેટીસની ઉપર સરકાર ધ્યાન આપે એવી તેના મનની સ્થિતિ નહતી. તેના જાસુસાે તેને ભમાવતા હતા. લાેકા થાકશે એમ સમજાવતા હતા. સર કારે બધી ભાષાઓમાં નાેટીસ છપાવીને હડતાલીઆએાને વહેંચી હતી.

છેવટે ચારલ્સટાઉનથી પણ આગળ વધવાના વખત આવી લાગ્યા. તા. કઠી નવેમ્બરે ત્રણ હજરના સંઘ પરાહીયે રવાના થયા. આખી હરાળ એક માઇલ કરતાં વધારે લાંબી હતી. મી. કેલનબેક તથા હું પાછળના ભાગમાં હતા. સંઘ સરહદ ઉપર પહેાંચ્યા, ત્યાં પાલીસની ટુકડી હાજર હતી. અમે બે ત્યાં જઈ પહેાંચ્યા એટલે પાલીસ સાથે વાતચિત થઇ. તેણે અમને પકડવાની તા ના પાડી એટલે સરધસ નિયમમાં અને શાન્તિથી ફાકસરસ્ટ વચ્ચેથી પસાર થયું. શહેર બહાર સ્ટાંડરટન રાેડ ઉપર જઇ બધાએ પડાવ નાખ્યા. સહુએ ખારાક લીધા. ઓએ કુચમાં સામેલ ન થાય એવી ગાઠવણ કરવામાં આવી હતી. છતાં ભુસ્સાનું પુર અટકા વવું મુશ્કેલ થઇ પડયું અને કેટલીક ઓએા પણ સામેલ થઇ. તાે પણ કેટલીક ઓએા તથા છાકરાં હજુ ચારલ્સ ટાઉનમાં રહેલાં હતાં. તેમની બરદાસ કરવાને મી. કેલન ખેકને ફાેકસરસ્ટની હદ એલાં આયા પછી પાછા માેકલ્યા.

બીજે દિવસે પામક્રડ ≈ાગળ પાેલીસે મને પકડયા. મારા ઉપર તહેામત **ખીન હકદાર મા**ણુસાને **ટ્રાંચવાલમાં** દાખલ કરવાતું હતું. **બીજાએાને પકડવાને તેને હુકમ** ન હતા. એટલે ફાકસરસ્ટ પહેાંચ્યા પછી સરકારને મેં નીચે મુજબ તાર કર્યોઃ "સત્યાત્રહની લડતના મુખ્ય પ્રચારકને સરકારે પકડેલ છે તેથી હું ખુશી ચાઉં છું, પગ તેની સાથે કહ્યા વિના રહી શકતા નથી કે તે માટે જે તક સાધવામાં આવી તે દયાની નજરે જેતાં અત્યંત કફાડી છે. સરકાર કદાચ **જાણતી હશે કે આ કુચમાં ૧૨૨ સ્ત્રીઓ અને ૫૦ ખાળકા** છે તથા બધાં પાતાને ઠેકાણે પહેાંચે ત્યાં સુધી છંદગી ટકી રહે એટલા ખારાક ઉપર નંભે છે, અને શઢ તડકાની સામે રક્ષણ રહિત છે. આવી સ્થિતિમાં મને તેથી વિખુટા કરવા એ ન્યાયનું ભારે પ્યંડન કર્તા કહેવાય. જ્યારે ગઇ રાતે મને પકડવામાં ઓવ્યા સારે મારી સાથેના માણસાને જહાવ્યા વિના હું તેઓને મુક્ષ આવ્યા હું. તેઓ કદાચ ઢાંધથી ગાંડાતુર ખની જાય. એટલે હું માંગું છું કે કાંતા તેઓની સાથે કુચ કરવાની રજા મને આપવામાં આવશ અથવા તા સરકાર તેઓને રેલગાંડાથા ટાર્લ્સ્ટાઈ ધારમ પહોંચ હશે અને ખારાકો પણ પુરી પાંડશે. જેના ઉપર તે માંણુસાને વિધાસ છે તે વિનાના તેઓને કરી સુકવા અને તેની સાથે તેને માટ ખારાકો વીગેરેના કોઈ ખંદાભરત ન કરવા એ અપાગ્ય મહા કેપ્ટ મામ્યા વિના કૃષ્ણુ કાહીતે મળ્યા, વહાલ વૈષ્ણુવ વિષે વીરલાને હોય ખહુ; પીડનારા જ બકિત વિરાધી. મીડનારા જ બકિત વિરાધી. વિદુર કુંતિ કુંવર સહિત દૃષ્યિયાં: વસુમતિ દેવકી નંદજ યશામતી, સકલ મજ બકત દૃષ્ય ભકત મુખિયાં. મુંહા૦

આ અરસામાં મતે ખળર થયા કે મી, પાલાક પ્રકાશ છે. અને હિંદુસ્તાન જવાને બદલે જલમાં જખને ખેઠા છે. તો રાજ્ય થયા કે કે મારે મન મહેલા રેપ્યુટેશન કરતાં આ આવા અતે તે પણ મી. પાલાકની પેડે તથુ મામની જસમાં આવા અતે તે પણ મી. પાલાકની પેડે તથુ ન્યુકામલમાં પાછા આવા સારક ખાસ ડેતા ભરી દંડી તથા ન્યુકામલમાં પાછા આવા લુરક પાસ ડેતા ભરી દંડી તથા ન્યુકામલમાં પાછા આવા લુરક પાસ ડેતા ભરી દંડી તથા ન્યુકામલમાં પાછા આવા લુરક પાસ ડેતા ભરી દંડી તથા ન્યુકામલમાં પાછા આતા સારક ખાસ ડેતા બદ્ધા કરતું પડ્ડાં. પણ સાર્થો માછા આતા સારક ખાસ ડેતા ભરી દંડી તથા ન્યુકામલમાં પાછા આતા સારક ખાસ ડેતા બદ્ધા કરતા પડ્ડાં. પણ સારક ભાર આતા સારક ખાસ ડેતા બદ્ધા કરતા પડ્ડાં. પણ સારક ભાર આતા સારક ખાસ ડેતા બદ્ધા કરતા પડ્ડાં. પણ સારક ભાર આતા સારક ખાસ ડેતા તથા ત્યા સારક ભાર સારક ખાસ સારક માં સારક માં સારક માં સારક ભાર તથા અગાત તથા માં સારક માં સારક માં સારક માં સારક માં સારક માં સારક માં આતા અરસાય ભારો છે. કવિ દયારામે ખાસ સારક માં મું કો માં કો કો તમાં અરસાય માં સારક મા

હું તો જેલમાં દરી દામ ખેઠા. પાછળથી નેલ્ક્રાફ્રમાં મારા ઉપર કામ ચાલ્યું અને દુર્મમાં યમ્મેલી નવ માસ ઉપ રાંત લાં ખીજ ત્રણ માસની જેલ થઇ.

પાંક્રાં**વ આવવાના નથી.** " મંત્રે ખાત્રી છે કે દુઃખ ભાગવ્યા વિના તેઓની પરના જાલમ કેલી ભાયએને કેરી કેરી આપવામાં દે મારી કરજ સમજરા નેંધી કરવાની તે ભીખ માગીતે પેટ ભારવાની સલાદ મારા છે. અને જ્યાં મુધી તે કર રદ થયા નથી લાં સુધી કામ सलाह आपवानी भारी इंश्क हती. अने ने में जन्मी દું સમળુ છું. અને તે હતાં મને લાગે છે કે શોકોને अने भावणां जन्मिति के संहर सहत हरवा भागा छ ते ખેંચાય તેવી લહત હદાવવાની મારી કુરજ હતી. એમ્પ્રિને रमहस वय्ये के दिशीत हिशी शध 🔊 ते कोतां असीत ध्यान અમ એ. મતે લાગે છે કે ઓત. મી. ત્રાપાર્ટી અને જનરલ દુશી લામિઓ પર ભારે ખાજારુપ છે અને તૈયી તે રદ થયા મબીડ્રા ઇમ્પિલાલાને પણ વીત્તી કરે છું કે આ કર મારા ગંબીર નેકશાન થાય છે તે માટે હું દીલગીર છું. હું હીંદી ખાણાવાળા સામે કોઇ તકરાર નથી. આ લડતથી તેમને લાફાના તન હતક એ અંત તેરા જ વેત્રાં કવે હતદા દેવા. દે માવે છે. કે આ શાકાતે કાસાનીની ખહાર લઇ જવાથી વજ્ઞા નાવાલના બીના કદ્દીજ્ઞ વધીરૂ છે. માકુ માત્રુ લહુ છે. Bपर मुख्यामां माला छ तेती णधी कवाणहारी में अधिल न्यामि भारत सार्व हिंदी, लेपिन है के पद्वामत मारा कार्तीट्से ह ,,अंडि मुप्पानी पर्ड अपु लेही अब्ब पर्डह लाववामी ज्ञाला य में मेलेंस आजा अप रंज मेलवी हैसे यहिभी. भारा हमरता त्रधे आरीप भने वांची संस કુચમાં હતા. તેએ આ કામ સંભાળી લીધું. દુરીમાં મંગળવારે अर्थाः हमें व्यक्तीयी अंता है है भी मालाह अभार्य साझ क्षाराज्याचे वर्वे: अव्हारा अंत्र संलीक जैतराज्या हता सम ररीकी पीरेजेंसे हतें. अने तहांमत गीर्शिरीआओते डाम दर्भाये अस्ति। इंडा क्यांगा महत्रमां क्या वर्भापन वार र જેક રેકે કી દેવા, એમ બન્યું. મને રવીવારે કરી ત્રીજી महिंदी प्रमेत्र मेरावा जीत्जार मेर्ल , जाहिता जनवंतं रद जान लंश ओरेलवायी पंत्रमादी मंत्र दही हती. ते मारे हमरता મગલું લીતે. આ સમયે મી. માલાકતે હોદુરતાતમાં કેપ્સરેશન मिनिया रिक्रिम सेउन्हल क्षित्रिक तथा सेन्द्र हिंदी हिन्ह आस्तीः नेते हेन सर्वेश्वरी जी लेते. करवात प्रम पहते. अपे हेसपी पां. दर मीची मेहत् भरी. अमे पा आगण उस आश्र्य पहींची. क्षां ६रीते मते पहंडवामां आब्या. भेर जीवयी हैयां असादी में हेजार हमर्या हैरेरी स्टारर गारूते जींक जारे और दैश्री सप्त भी हस्म

દીદમાં ખળલવાંડ કરવા મંડકાર મુખ્ભવા ન હવા: में निर्मा अंतरी जीमेली हानपु सहति हरेवा जीनवा पा अमे पहार्थ बर्धा हे मुख्य सम्य हैंड ओर्मवामी आवर्ष हेराहा नेहीं. आगिवातातेल भडावामां आवशे आती अरथ અાવી ગુધા કે મારી સાથેના હીંદીઓતે પકડવાના સરકારતા વેઓતા ઉત્સાહ વમણા વધ્યા. દરમીઆન પ્રીટારીઆથી તા*ર* आंगी शमी हैं. हैंडा मध्र महलाई। हैने हर्नांडाजाय मंत्रुं આંપી. અમીનગીરી તુરતજ વાલકરસ્ટના એક વૈપારીએ માં મેં ની અમીનગીરી માગી એક અદ્વાડીઓની મુદ્દત કેકત ખુતના આરોપમાંજ ના મંજાર કરી શકાય. તેથી તેણે प्पा आमे वांधा बीधा, पथ् न्यायाचीश कथाव्य है भें # ભાળવાની જેવી અરહે મેં મુદ્દલ માંગી. સરકારી વશેલે हबी छ जांडस्मरावयमा मेरुसा हयो पुपा इरह्याञ्चा व्यवस्था વાંગા 4 જેવા મળે જ માલેકા મોર્સફરશી આગળ ગયા તથા સ-મુખ હમાં કરવામાં આવ્યા. માર્ને ખયાવ તા કોઈ કર્ કાર્ડલક્ષ ઓગળ સહિત: મેત્ર નેલિકેક્સના નાનાત્રીશ

ગણાય. હું ઉમેદ રાખું છું કે કરી વિચાર કર્યા પછી સર પ્રતાવ પત્તશે, અને ખાસ કરી ધાવણાં ખચ્ચાં વાળી બાઇઓ માંથી કાઇનાં ચરણ થશે તો જવાબદારી સરકારતી છે."

૧ જુલાઇ—પ્યુતી કાયદા અમલમાં મુકાયા અતે તે મુજખ પ્રીટારીઆમાં પહેલાં રજીરેર આપવાતે લાં રજીરેશન ઓપીસ ખાલવામાં આવી. આજ્ઞાં તે ઓપીસ ડાંસ વાલમાં ૪ મહીતા મુધી ગામ ફરી, પણ લગભગ

द मे—आ डायहाने जाहशाधी मंजुरी मणी.

૧૯૦૦ ૧૬ માર્ય—વડી સરકાર્ટ નામંજીર કરેશા ખુની કાવદા ડાંસ વાલની નવી પારલામેટે ર૪ કલાકમાં પુસાર કરી દીધા.

. કે કેમિયાન મુની કાયદાને બાદશાહે. નામંજાર કર્મો.

. કુમાના કુમાન વાલાતવશી સ્વાના થયું.

અને મી. રીચ તેના સેક્રેટરી નીમાયા,

ગીનની મુલાકાત લીધી. કેદ નવેમ્પર—લંડનમાં સાઉથ આધીકા ધ્રીડીશ ઈડીઅન કેમીડી સ્થપાધ, સર શેપેલ મોધીન ત્યારીશ ઈડીઅન

८ नमेम्पर—रेप्युरक्षने डाहाती भाताना अधान हार अस

ઢ અસ્ટ્રાલઇ—્ફ્રી.શ ટ્રેન્સેટ્સન અુર્શ-ક્લલંડાહ્યું હતરતું. ત્રક્ષાંદ્ર ન્નના

લવાના દરાવ થયા. ૧૨ સપ્ટેમ્પર—પ્યુની કાયદા ફાંસવાલની ધારા સભામાં

જ ઓગસ્ટ —ફાંસવાલ સેઝરસેટીવ કાઉસીલમાં એશીઆદીક એમેડમેંટ એક્ટ રહ્યુ કરવાની મી. ડંકને દરખાસ્ત કરી. ૧૧ સપ્ટેમ્પર—જોહાન્સખરગમાં એમ્પાયર શીએરરમાં હીંદી આની માસ મીટીંગ મળી. આ ખુની કાયદા પસાર થાય તો હાજર રહેલામાંના દરેકે તેતે તાએ ન થતાં જેલમાં જવાના સાગન લીધા. ઇંગ્લાંડ ડેપ્યુટેશન મોક

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ગે માસની આસાન કેદની સળ. કરી. 30 જાન્યુઆરી – સંયાગ્રહી કેદીઓતે છોડયા. ડ્રાંસવાલ સર્ કાર્ટ હીંદીઓની મરજગ્યાત રજસ્ટર, થવાની માગણી સ્વીકારી અને ખુની કાયદા રદ કરવાનું વચન આપ્યું. ૧૦ કૃષ્પરવારી—મી. ગાંધી, મી. થંખી નાઇકુ અને ખીજા ૧૦ કૃષ્પરવારી—મી. ગાંધી, મી. થંખી નાઇકુ અને ખીજા કેટલાક રજસ્ટર ઓપીસે જતા હતા. તેવામાં મી. ગાંધી

કે અન્યુઆરી—અહા-સવરગમાં મી. જોરડતે મી. ગાંધીતે કે અન્યુઅારી—અહા-સવરગમાં મી. જોરડતે મી. ગાંધીતે

વધી મળી. ૧૮ ડીસેમ્પર—જોહાનીસપ્પરગમાં માજર્રેટ મી. જોરડતે મી. ગાંધીતે ૪૮ કલાકમાં ડાંસવાલ છાડવાતા હુકમ કર્યો

થયુ: ૧૧ તનેમ્પર—સલાયહીઓની પકડા પકડી પ્રથમ શરૂ થયુ. ૨૭ ડીસેમ્પર—મી. ગાંધીતે કારડમાં હાજર થવાની ચેત

3 નવેમ્પર્--રજરેટ્રેશનની અરજીમાં સેવાનું આજ્યા પાંધ જ્યાર દિશ્માંથી ૪, પર્રર સંદીતો એક ગંજાવર અરજી દ્રવ વ્યક્સ્પર્-- હતા કાવદાતા લાગ ડાલવાલતા ૭ ૧ ૮

મા સુરત વર્જા વકડા વકડા સફ લગ્ન. પ્રમાણ તાર મત્યા. "તમારી લડત હું ખરાખર જોયા કર્યું છું. ચિંતાતુરિરિતે તેમાં મત પરાવાઇ રહ્યું છે. અવ્યંત દીલસોજ ખતાલું છું. લહતની તારીક કર્યું છે. કર્યું છું. ચિંતાતુરિરિતે તેમાં મત પરાવાઇ રહ્યું છે. અવ્યંત દીલસોજ ખતાલું છું. લહતની તારીક કર્યું છે. કર્યું અકરેખર—ખુની કાયદાની સામે ડાંસવાલની હકે દ

યાં મુદ્દત પછી પકડા પકડી શરૂ થયા. ૮,૦૦૦ જેટલી વસ્તીમાંથી આશારે ૪૦૦ થી ઓખા રજસ્ટર થયા. આ મુદ્દત પછી પકડા પકડી શરૂ થયા.

संसाअहनी संदतनी तवाश्रिभनी नोंध

નળ દમયંતી હરિશેદ્ર તારાતમની, રૂકમાંગદ અંખરિયાદિ કબ્ડિ; તરિસે હ મેહેતા તે જયદેવ મીરાંજની જગ જનની જનાધ લુધ્ધ નિ'દે; જગ જનની જનાધ દુઃખ દુસ્તર સહું, જગ જનની જનાધ લુધ્ધ નિ'દે; મુધા કપાલી વિદ્યા વિશ્વ નિ'દે; મુધા કપાલી નિદ્યા વિશ્વ નિ'દે; મુધા કપાસ કપાય જને તથી,

[આ લખાણતા વિશેષ ભાગ મી. ગાંધી તરફથી લખાવાતા હતા પણ યુરાપી વિચહત લીધે તેમતે જરૂરી અવકાશ મુખ્યા નથી.— અ. ઇ. એા.]

મળે ન લાગુ લમળે મન્ન શતું મળા દતા ત્રિવમ કીઝ લિના પત્ર લાંજી નહિં, નંત્રવ્સે નંદકે વર્ડને જગ્ન નાઝે: છે કેશન માત્ર અ તાંત મે,

असस मन्ना सर्व पु मह छः अस्। असस गंप मुहा दुवै प समण्यै, महे

અરાબા છે. ૧૫ જાન્યુઆરી—મી. ગાંધી નાતાલથી ફાંસવાલ જતાં નેલકરસ્ટમાં ત્રીજ વાર પકડાયા. શાડા અદેવાડીઆ પછી કેસ ચાલ્યા તેમાં ત્રણ માસતી જેલ મળી.

. જાન્યુઆરી – મી. ગાંધીની મુલાકાત ડરખનમાં 'મરકપુરી' તા પ્રતીતિધિએ લીધી. તેમાં તેમણે જ્યાબ્યું હવું કે કાંસવાલમાં લગભગ મે હજાર હિંદી જેલ જઇ

ाप्ट्रिक हिन हिर्माः

સભા મળી હતી. ૧૩ ડીસેખર—માં. ગાંધી ખે માસતી ખીજ લખતની જલ

સાવ દીવસની જેલ મળી. રટ નવેમ્ખર—કલક-તામાં મી, અખદુલ જખરતા પ્રમુખપણા

જગ્યાએથી ગયા હતા. ૧૭ તમેમ્પર્—૫૩ તામીકા ક્રેરી ક્રેરતાં પકડાયા, અતે તેમતે

ગુયા હતા. આ સંખ્યામાં ૬૪ જોહાતીસપર્ગ, ૯૭ જરમીસ્ટન, ૬૦ ત્રીટારીઆ અતે ૬ ખીછ

વેયારી હતા. આ સંખ્યામાં ૬૪ જોહાન્સળરુગ, ૯૭ જરમીસ્ટત અને ૬૦ મીટારીઆતા હતા. ૧૪ તવે ખર્ટ—આ અફવાડીઆમાં ૨૨૭ હિંદીઓ જલમાં

ે નવેમ્પર—આજરી પાંચ દીવસમાં ૨૨૭ હીંદીઓ જલમાં ગયા હતા. તેમાં ઘણા તા હીંદુ તથા મુસલમાન

માસની સખત મહારીની જેલ મળી અદ્વારીઓ પછી તેને કેસ ચાલ્યા તેમાં તેને ખે

36 આગ્રાસ્ટ — પ્રારાધિઓ માસ વારાગમાં વ્યાપ્ય ૬૦૦ જરલા મરજીયાત સર્રાયીકો ખાલ્યાં. કેમ્પ્ર — માં ગાંધી વારકુરમાં પકડાયા અને એક

મીજા હીંદીઓતે સ્ડક્સ્ટ કેક્સ ખાખતેના કાયદા કૃંયવાલ પારલામેં ક્યાં બન્ને હાઉસમાંથી પસાર થયા. કે એવાલ પારલામેં કામ ભાગમાં ખીજાં ૧૦૦ જેટલાં

કર્ક ઓગક્રમ—મેરજનાવ રજસ્ટરને કામદેસર ગણવાના તથા સરકારના તાર કાર્ક સેલમારન ઉપર આવ્યા.

જોહા-સબરગતી માસ મીટીંગમાં ખાત્યાં. ૧૨ જાલાય---રોડેલીઆમાં થયેલ સખત એશીઆટીક કાયદાને બાદશાહી મજારી તથી અમુતા લાકાતી એવા વડી

માસની જલની સન્ન કરી. ૧૨ નુલાઇ—માશરે મે હન્મર જેટલાં મરછમાત રજસ્ટરો

૨૪ જાન—સરકારે ખુની કાયદા રદ કરવાની ના પાડી, તેથી સસાગ્રહની લડત કુરીને શરૂ થઇ. મી. સારાખજ પ્રથમ નાતાલમાંથી ડાંસવાલમાં દાખલ થયા. અને ૨૦ જાલાઇએ તેમને વાલકુસ્ટના માજસ્ટરેટે એક

કામા, તથા ચેડીઆરતે પકડવામાં આવ્યા. જીલાઇ ૪— જોહાતીસ્થારમાં જેલમાંથી હૃદયા પછી જેલમાં

રવાના થતાં અગાઉ મેસરસ કાખલીઆ, કુવાડીઆ

જેલ પુરી કરી ધુરયા. મે ૪— સલાગ્રહી હિંદોઓને જેલમાં ઘી આપવા માંડયું. મે ૪૪ — માં, ગાંધી ત્રીજી વખત ત્રણ માસની જેલમાં જીન ૧૯— જરમોસ્ટનમાં ગાંધીએ "સત્યાગ્રહની નિતિ" એ સાલાવડીમાં મા. ગાંધીએ "સત્યાગ્રહની નિતિ" એ જીન ૧૬— જોહાનીસપરગની માસ મીડીંગમાં મેસરસ જીન ૧૬— જોહાનીસપરગની માસ મીડીંગમાં મેસરસ અંદીઆર, અને એમ. કાબ્લીઆ, હાજ હળીબ, વી. એ. એસરસ અમ. કાબ્લીઆ, હાજ હળીબ, વી. એ. એસરસ અમ. કાબ્લીઆ, હાજ હળીબ, વી. એ. એસરસ અમ. કાબ્લીઆ, ત્રામાં, એન. જ. નાયકુ, ઇ. એસ. કુવાડીઆ, તથા એચ. એસ. મોલાકને હિંદુ જ્યાન મોકલવાના ઠરાવ થયા. અસ. પ્રાયાકને હિંદુ

सर्धाम् ३० मारी, अध्वामा भने प्राज्या १८ सत्मामधी

જવામાં આવ્યા હતા મુધામાં કેઝ સમ્દેગ્યર શી તા. ૧૭ મી મારચ સુધામાં શંગલાં લખાણ વીગેરેતી હસુ સુક વડી

હિંદુરેતાતમાં કરવાતું શરૂ થયું. ૧૨ મારચ—પ્રીટારીઆઓ મીસીસ પીલ્લેતા કેસમાં મી. ગાંધીતે હાથમાં હાથ કડી તાપી કારડમાં લધ

ગારાઓએ ઉપાડી. ૧૦ માર્ટસ—દેલાગાઓએ ૧૨ત સત્માયની કેદીઓને દેશપાર

અને કર્ક્રાઇનમાં કારકાના સ્થાપવાની હિલમાલ દ માર્ટસ—ઓકમબરગ, તેરાયફાન્ટીન, બારબરડન, અને કર્યાર્ટસાર્

છ છ માસની જેલ થકે. ૧૦ દુખરવારી—રોડેશીઆત્રો એશીઆડીક કામદા વ*ડી સર*

કાગળ લખ્યા, મુક્લામ્ડર્ક જામ માર્ગ માર્ગમાં કેટલાએક ક

કરમા. ફ કૃષણવારી—ડાંસવાલની મી હૈારકેનની કમીડીએ હિંદી કેમરેવારી પાયનની ભાષતના લંડન 'રાઇમ્સ'ને

ત્રણ ત્રણ માસતી સજ થઇ હતી. રહ જાન્યુઆરી—કૃગરસડારપમાં ખાલવડ કાન્ફરન્સ મળી. અને દુકાના સ'કેલી ફેરી કરી જેલ જવાના કરાવ

તેજ દિવસે હમીદીઆ સાસાધ્યના ઉપ પ્રમુખ મી. હમરજ સાહે જેની ઉમર દ્રુપ વર્ષની હતી તેમતે, તથા મી. ડેવીડ અરતેસ્ટ, વીગેરે ન્યણીતા હિંદીઓતે

નુગળ નાત્રું મેંઅત છું] भेते हेरी ४६४३ मा મુક્તિનારા બનાવા ખેતા, તૈની [બાઇ ત્રાહ્ય લગભા મુ વર્ષ કુર્યક કાંત્રો કુર્યો કુર્યો પુ કૈલવની કહી

બાર્સ મર્રાજ્યમના ધુના મધ્યા સાથુનાં <u>લ</u>ગ્ન મેર કાયદે मुंधहा आणी, जेमां भुभसमाती शहे भुजप पर्वास કંક માર્ડન—લાદા વર્ડન હમંદ્રા જન્દ્રાસ મર્ડલ દુકુઝુક

ક અમાલ—નવે. શમામુશન ભીલ શૈનાઅન ગુરૂડમાં ખલાક अर्ड १र्राव्या

ં હિંદમ

3 મુ—કાલાકાર્લ કાર્ક કરવાનું અલા-કાતાંકાના મામ મીડીંગ

રેજ મે—તા. ૩૦ એપ્રોલથી મી. ગાંધી અતે મી. પ્રીશરૂ નર્લ વુકા ૧ડાત મૈલ્સ પ્રધાનેનુ મુાશ્લાન્ત્રા હૈવા. मी १५१५ अना जाक अरविशिमामा अभि पर्रहिशी

ને ઐન—*દીતલા તત્ર ત્ત્વંલીડપુા વર્લ ભાગ ત્રગ*ેડ શેતું!' ં (મેલ્સ) ત્રેણાં વચ્ચે શ્રુણી તેત્ર વ્યવદાર બહાર પડ્યા.

ઝીઇર ક્સનારા. આ ઝીઇરમાં શેમીઝુશન અમલદા*ર્ધા* કે ઓગસ્ટ—તવા કાયદાની કૃષે ત્રણે કેશીનીમાં અપીલ ડેય જીલાઇ—નવા કાયદાના ધારા યુનીયન ગેક્રેશ્માં પ્રગૂર થયા. ફંડ બૈન—શ્નામુજાન રાતદાપુ નાદ્શાના મ<u>ં ભૈ</u>ડા મળા જોરો.

૧૩ સેડેમ્પર—સલાગ્રહની શરૂઆત, સરકાર અને મી. ગાંધી मेर्ल भी भी भी भी भी हैं।

हैरी हैरी अधिवा सर्वह भीर्षाणी महावा अने મીંથી સંખ્યાવધ સસાગ્રહી પુરૂપ તેમજ સ્ત્રીઓ રેક કાર્યકારી ૧૫ અકરાળફ — નાતાલ તેમજ કાંમવાલ વડ્યુંના નેલા ઓર્યના મેદા વાળા પત્ર વ્યવકાર છપાયા.

૧૬ અકેટાબર —-યુકાસલમાંથી મા. ૩ ના કર સામે હડ Thic De

ક નવેંખર — મી. ગાંધી હડતાલીઆ સાથે ફાંસવાલમાં તાલ શરૂ થઈ અને બધે ફેલાઈ.

૩૮ નધુંતાઇ — શુંદરના વાર્શિકાંત્રવે. ભાવતી: ૧૧ નવેખર — મા. ગાંધીતે દંડીમાં ૯ માસની સુજા થઇ.

ઢઢ રાકાં,ખડ — કમોશન પોમાસં.

૧૯ ડીસેંબર —નેમરસ ગાંધી, કેલનબેક તથા માલાકને છાડ્યા.

૧૬ ફેબરવારી — સમાધાની મુજબ શુનીશ્વનની જેશામાંથી 8398

ખધા સલાગ્રહી કેદીઓને છાડી મુક્યા.

3 જીન — દીલીક ખીલ ખલાર માતું. . મારસ — કમીશનના દ્રાતારેર ભકાર પત્રો!

૩૦ થ્વેન — છુવેરના કાંત્રાલાના જાભ

इ॰ मे—क्षरती सभाषानी थर्ध, अने सलायदनी सदत हुरी र्ष भिपरीस— ते जीस यासु पारसामें रमां पडत मेसायुं: નીલ બહાર **મ**ડશે.

માર્કિટ્ટિ માર્કિયા કેસ્ટિક માર્કિયા ક્ષિણિયા ક્ષિણિયાન

કેકેટ કે

મી દુશના તારા આવવા રુલગાઓલેમાં મેરેલે તામાં ફરે અકડ્રાબક —મરહુમ નારાયબુંકામી રંડી. ગર્રડરૂર વુરમન

કાા**હુ** મી' મુલાર ૨૬તાન ઓવ્ત્રી'

મિલ્ફિલોએમ ૧૮ ક્રિક્ષાના કામાર ક્રામાર મુલા ૧૪ દુમશવની સંભામાં ભારે શ્ર્યા કરી.

ક્ષુમુજનામાં આવેલા તેની મામે ક્ષાર કાર્યા ક્ષામાર્

ર જેલામ—નારફગીઝ સરકાઇની મદદ લઇ હીંદીઓને દેશ

पु रूप मंता.

ન્યામરગની કારડમાં શરૂ થયે. તેમાં છેવટે છેાટાભાઇ

ે કરે ઓગરર—છારાલાધનાં દારરાના પ્રખ્યાત ટેસ્ટ કેસ જોહા 'lblke little

મછી ઉમર્ર મહોંચતો મળુ રજસ્ટર કરવાની ના માડ

सार्ड इन्टर्स्टर ग्रंभ शहपा प्रमेते १६०८मा हामहा थ्या 30 व्यसान-बीरी पाणोहा है के आफ सुधी हमरे पहोंद्र

मार्रम् प्राप्ता कार्ला

જીન ૪૩-- કું કાંત્રાગ્રહીઓ હિંદુરતાનથી કરી. પ્રેસીડેટ નુાવાવે, કાંઇમ આત્રો.

जून ४ — भी. देवनणें सत्यायधीयाति रहेवां मारे हालीमां

ક્રાકાતારા જ્ઞાતિકારા અરાજનોઓ છ મી વર્તાવ જીન 🕽 — દ. આંકેડીકાવે. યુનીઅને થયુ. 'તૈજ દિવસે મી.

ગીરમીર ભેધ કરવાના દેરાવે પસાર શ્રેયા. કુમરવારી રમ— હિંદી વડી ધારા સભામાં મી. ગાખશતો

ાકેએક

હુજારની રકમ ભરી હતી તે અહેર શયુ. ડીસેમ્પર ૧— હિંદુસ્તાનમાં મી. રતેને તાતાએ રા. ૧૫ ટ્રાં**નન ફ્રે**ક્સલમાં કતાના શર્તી:

નનું તર 13-- નિલાતવ તાંજીલે. લિંદી રેખીટ્શન કરી રીલ

૧કેના મેલાકાવ લાહ્યા કરાજી કોક્સ્પુર કોમના કોમનાલના કેપ્યુરેશને કારક

हिनस मंखी माछणथी मणी हती.

ને મુખી સરકારે બંધ રાખાવી, આ સભા ૧૩ हिर्मर अर्रजा इन्बाने काहेर सला भावाची हती ते ક્ષેડ્રેડિયા કું માર્ગિયા કુર્યો કું કે. આફર્યોકાની લડત

કુશમાં કરામાં ફેવા એલાને ૧૬— કરી. મુત્રફરીમાં ૧૪ *હિં*દીઓને હિંદુસ્તાન બાંગવેલી કારમારીઓને લાગતે નાગાપન મરણ પામ્યા.

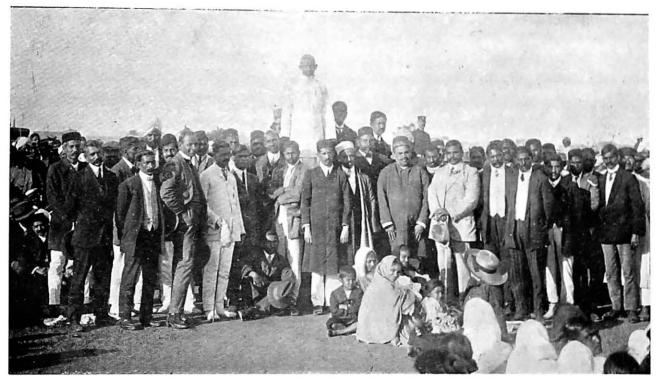
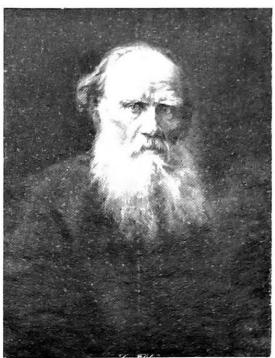


Photo by]

Mr. Gandhi addressing farewell mass meeting at Durban.







The late Count L. N. Tolstoy,
the great Russian Passive Resister who was
one of the foremost sources of inspiration of
the struggle and who addressed a letter
thereon to Mr. Gandhi.





Photo by]

[Max Fine.

Mr. C. K. Thambi Naidoo, the "old offender." A many-times ardent gaol-bird and the energetic chairman of the Tamil Benefit Society.



Photo by]

[L. Gabriel.

Mr. Albert Christopher, who assisted in the organisation of the Relief Camp at Newcastle, and figured prominently in the Durban Strike.

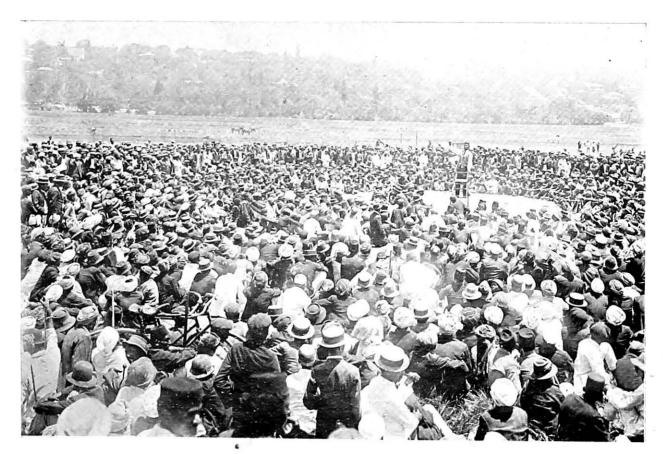
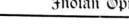


Photo by

[B. Gabriel

Mr. Thembi Naidoo addressing a mass meeting of over 6,000 people on the Durban Indian Football Ground during the Strike, 1913





Mr. K. Packri Moodalzar, of Kimberley, who suffered imprisonment as a Passive Resister.



Mr. P. Ramasamy Padazachy, another Kimberley man who went to gaol.

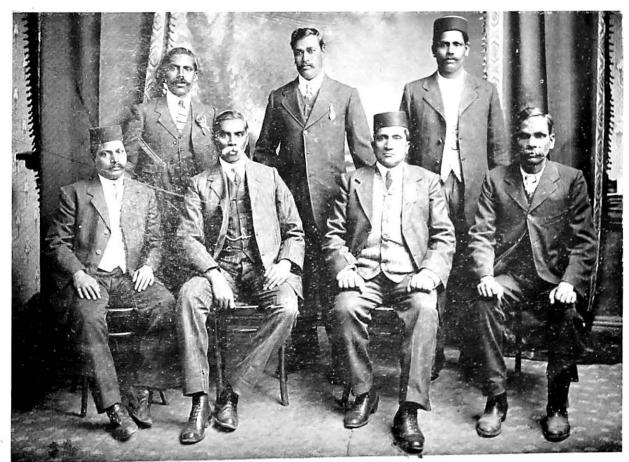


Photo by

Frank H. Goodwin.

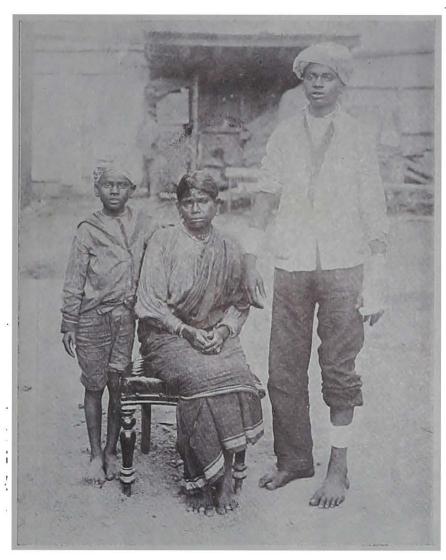


Photo by]

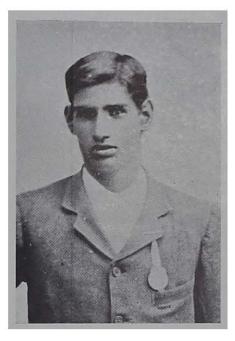
Widow and Sons of Selvan, a free labourer, shot dead during the strike.

The eldest son, Antonimuthu, received three bullet wounds.

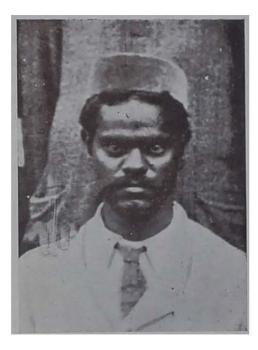


Photo by] LB. Gabriel.

Widow and Orphan of Pachiappan, an Indian Striker on the Coast, shot dead during the strike.



The late S. Nagappen, who died after release from the Johannesburg Prison Road-Camp as a Passive Resister.



The late Naryasamy, who was deported to India as a Passive Resister and who died at Delagoa Bay after being hunted from Port to Port in South Africa by the Union Government.



The late Harbatsingh, a Hindustani stalwart who died in Durban gaol.



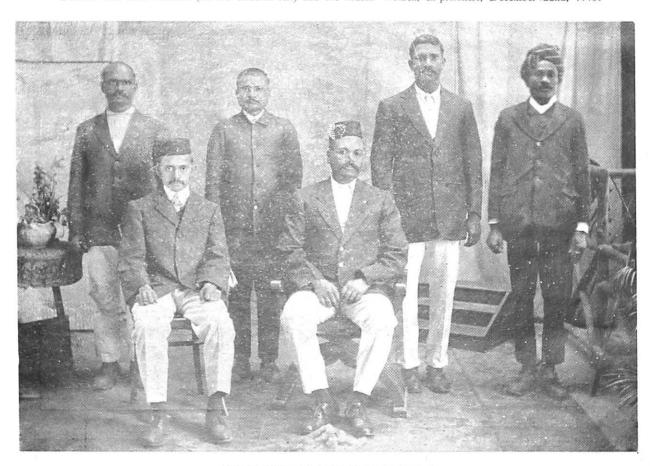
The late Soorzai, with his wife and child. Soorzai was one of the Strike victims.

NUMBER



'A CONSULTATION"

Group consisting of Messrs. M. K. Gandhi, H. Kallenbach, G. Isaac and Mrs. Polak at Maritzburg Station, when leaving for Durban with Mrs. Gandhi (on the extreme left) and the Indian Women, ex-prisoners, December 22nd, 1913.



GERMISTON PASSIVE RESISTERS

All suffered imprisonment. Seated in the centre is Mr. Lalbahadur Singh, the chairman of the Germiston Indian Community:

B. Gabriel

VERULAM FAREWELL MEETING

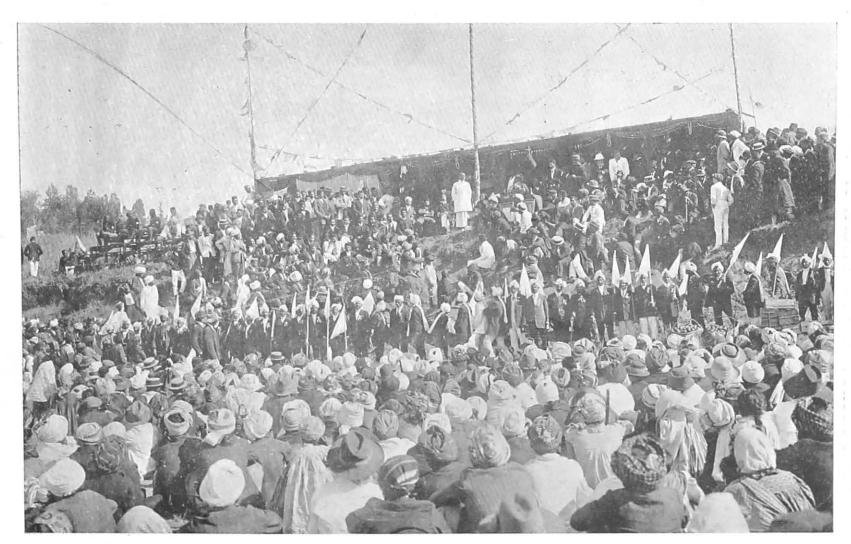


Photo by Mr. Gandhi addressing the Verulam Farewell Meeting—about 5,000 persons present, mostly indentured Indians.

THE LAST SCENE AT CAPETOWN.



Mr. & Mrs. Gandhi & Mr. Kallenbach leaving for England.-Amongst those present were the leaders of the Wellington Indian Community, Mr. J. M. H. & Dr. A. H. Gool, Dr. & Mrs. Abdurahman, Mr. C. K. Thambi Naidoo, Mr. & Mrs. Polak, Miss S. Schlesin and Mr. Vartak.





New York]

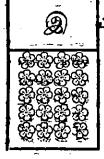
Some notable Colonial-born Passive Resisters of Johannesburg.

[Photo Co.

" இந்தியன் ஓப்பீனியன் ?' சுவண பூரசு முழ்

தென் ஆப்பிரிக்காவில் சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பின் நடவடிக்கை.

சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பின் கொள்கையும், அனுஷ்டானமும். ஸ்ரீமான் மோ. கா. கார்தி அவர்களல் அழுதியது.



ப்புத்தகம் வெளிவருமுன், யான் தாய்கா ட்டித்கே \$பாய்ச் சேராவிடினும், பீனி க்ஸைவிட்டு கொகுதாரம் போய்விடி தேன். ஆயிலும், என் உண்னத்தே ப இந்துவடக்கும் ஆழ்ந்த கருத்தை வெளி யிடவே. இவ்விசேஷப் பிசுதரம் அவகி யமாயிற்து. சென்ற புதிகுரு அருஷ மாய் ''இந்தியன் ஒப்பீஷியன்,'' ஜா

லமின் சி விகயமாய், இத்தென்னுப்பிரிக்காவிற்கும், என் தேசத்தார்க்கும், ஊழியழ்செய்ய முயற்சித்தது. அக்கா லம், மஹா கெருக்கிடையான காலம். அக்காலம் அர் கொருக்கிடை கேர்ர் இராவிடினும், ஒரு காலத்தில் கேர்ர் தே தீசவேண்டியதாகும். சாத்கீக எதிர்ப்பு ஏற்பட்டி குக்காதேல், '' இந்தியன் ஒப்பீனியனும், '' இவ்வழகான நெர்த பிரசுசத்தையும் பிரசுரித்திருக்காது. அது உலக மெல்லாம் கவனிக்கச்செய்த சாத்கீக எதிர்ப்பின் ஆசம் பத்தையும், வளர்ச்சியையும், குறிச்கும். ஏட்டு உருஷ காலத்தில் கடந்த இர்திய சமூகத்தின் முயற்சியனேத்தும் குறிக்க, அப்பதுக்கன் (Passive Resistance) போதா, அதற்கிணயான இர்திய பாஷாபதத்தை இங்கிஷோக்கி குல்சத்ஸக்தி உண்மைச்சக்கி (Truth Force) என்பதாம்.

டால்ஸ்டாய் (ருஷிய ஞானி) அதை ஆண்மசக்கி அல்ல து கட்புவன்மை ஏன்கிருர்போலும். ஆம், அதுவே. இ ச்சக்கியை முற்றும் கையாடினல், பொருட்சக்கியோ, இ தர உலக்சுக்கியோ, எதுவும் இணுயாகா. டிச்சயமாய், அதன்மூலமே மிருத்கத்திக்கும், முரட்டுத்தனத்துக்கும் மேலானதாம், உண்மையில், முரட்டுத்தனத்துக்கும்

ஆன்மாசக்தியின் மறுதலேயேயாம். அந்த மூரட்டுத்தன த்தை முற்றம் செறத்தவர்களே இச்சக்றியை விருத்தி செய்யவும், உருப்படுத்தவும் கூடும். இச்சக்கியைத் தளி மனிதனும் கையானலாம். ஜனசமூகமும் கையானலாம் **சி**ட்டு விஷயங்களிலும் கையாள**வாம்.** அது அழியாகைம யும், உறுதியுமுடையமையால், உலகத்தில் எனரும் கை யாளவாம். மனிதனும், ஸ்திரீயும், குழக்தைகளும் ஒரு மாதிரியர்ச்ஷே ஒகயானலாம். மூரட்டுத்தனத்தை மூர ட்டுத்தனமே செய்து அடக்கமுடியாத பலவிருக்கனால் மட்டும் கையாகப்படிவுடுதள்பது, மூற்தம்பொய். இம் மூடகும்பிக்கை, இவ்விலிஷ் பதங்களின் பொருட்குறைவி விருர்தே உண்டர்பேறது. தாங்கள் பலஹினரென்ற எ ண்ணவேரர்க்கு, இச்சக்கியை கையாளவே மூடியாது முனி தலுக்குள்ளே சுபாவத் துக்கு மேற்பட்ட**து ஒன் ந**ூ ண்டென்ற உணர்க்றுள்ளவர்கள் மட்டும், சாத்கே எதிர் ப்பைப் பயன்படிமாறு ஒதயாளக்கூடும், மற்றவர்களாடுல முடியாது. அதற்தே இறையாதின்றனர். இவளிச்சம் இ ருட்டுக்கு எப்படியோ, அப்படியே இச்சக்தி முரட்டுத்த னத்துக்கும். ஆதலால், எல்லாக் தொடுக்கோன்மைகளே யும் அரீதிகளேயும் இச்சக்கி *தூரத்து* சத்தும்.

மனமாரவோ, மனமில்லாமலோ ஆனப்பட, ஐனங்கள் இராஜ்தர் திரத்திற்கு இசைக்திருக்கும் வரையில், இச்சக் தினயக் வையாளுவுதால், பூரணு ஜெயமுண்டாழ், 1907 இத்தியு திரான்ஸ்ஷால் கட்டத்துக்குத் தீழ்புடிய நாம் விரும்பவில்லே. அது இச்சுத்திக்குமுன் ஓட்டேஷண்டிய தாயிற்று.

நடிக்கு இசன்செழிசனன்டு (1) அச்சட்டத்துள்குக்

2ழ்ப்படியச்சொ**ன்ன**போ*து முரட்டுத்த*னஞ்செய்தல், அ தாவது சண்டையிடல் (2) அச்சட்டத்தில் விதிக்கப்பட்ட தண்டி கேக்கு மட்டும் உட்பட்டு, ஆளுவோர் அல்லது சட் ட நிருமானர்கள் மனதில் ஒற்றுணர்ச்சி உண்டாகும்கால ம்வரை வருக்கி கம் ஆன்மசக்கியை கிரூபித்துக்காட்டி, சட்டத்தை ரத்தாக்கச்செய்தல் என்பனவாம். காம் முய ண்றகாரியம் சித்திபெற கெடுங்காலம் பிடித்தது. ஏனெ னில், ஈம்முடைய சாத்சீக எதிர்ப்பு, முற்றும் பூரணமா னதாயில்லாமையால் தான். எல்லாச் சாத்≅க் எதிர்ப் போரும், அச்சக்தியின் முழுபலத்தையும் சரிவரத்தெரிக் தில்லே. அன்றியும், எப்போதும மனமார முரட்டுத்த **ன**ம் செய்யக்கூடாதென்ற உணர்ந்தவர்களுமில்‰. இ ச்சக்தியை கையாடும்போது வறுமையை அனுசரிக்கவே ண்டி வரு செத்த, யாதெனில் நாளேக்கு நமக்கு அன்ன உஸ் திரத்துக்கு வேண்டியதையும், கஉனித்தற் செல்கூ. கடர்த சாத்**லீ**க எதிர்ப்பில், எவரேனும் நின்று எ ரேல், எல்லோரும் அதுவரையில் போகத்தயாராயில்‰. அவர்கள் உறு திப்படுத் திக்கொள்ளாமல், வர்தார்கள். பல ர் பலவிதமான எண்ணங்களோடு வந்தனர். அழுக்கு **மணதோடு வக்தவர்களும்** இல்லாமவில்‰. சாத்**சீக** போ **தாட்**ட சமயத்**தில், கண்டிப்பான** மேல்பார்வையில்லாவி ட்டால், கிலர் சக்தோஷமாய் சண்டையிட்டிருப்பார்கள். இம்மா திரியாக போராட்டம் கீடித்துவிட்டது. ஏனெ னில், பரிசுத்தமான ஆக்மசக்தியைப் பரிபூரணமாய் உப யோகப்படுத் திணுல், விவர்த் தி சிக்கிரம்வரும்.

இம்மா திரிசெய்ய, பிரதிமனி தனும் கீண்டகாலம், பயி ந்கி பெற்றிருத்தல் மஹா அவசியம். முற்றிலும் பூரண மனி தணுய் ஆகாவிடினும், ஏறக்குறைய பக்குவப்பட்டிருக் தால், சாத்கீக எதிர்ப்புக்கு ஏற்றவனுவான். காம் எல் லோரும், திடீரென்று அம்மாதிரி மனி தர்களாய் ஆகமுடி யாது. ஆணுல், காண்சொல்வது சரியானுல் (சரியென் நோன் அறிவேன்) சாத்வீக் எதிர்ப்பின் சக்தியால் மனி தர் மிக 'கல்லவர்களாய் விடிவார்கள்.' ஆகையால், அதைக் கையாடுதல் ஆகேஷ்பணேக்கு இடமாகாது என்றும், அச்ச க்தி உலகம் முழுவதும் பரவினுல், பரஸ்பர வியவகாரக் கொள்கைகளேத் த‰்கீழாக்கிவிடுமென்றும், சுவேச்சாதி பத்தியக் கொடுங்கோன்மை, சைக்கியாதி பத்தியமாதிய மேல்காடுகளேக் குழப்பிக்கொண்டிருப்பதோடு மேழ்த்திசை நாடுகளிலும் <u>வெ</u>குவாய்த் த‰யெடுத்து வருகிற மூடக் கொள்கைகள் த‰ நசுக்குண்டு போமென்றும் நினக்கி றேன். சென்ற சாத்சீச போராட்டமானது, அதில் து ழைக்த கில இக்தியரையாவுது கூடியமட்டும் பூரணமாய் ச்செய்திருக்குமாயின், அவர்கள் அப்பெயருக்குப் பொரு த்தமாய் உழைத்தார்**களென்**பது மட்டுமல்ல, அவர்க**ள்** பூ வுலகத்துள்ள மனிதவர்க்கத்துக்கே உழைத்த**வர்களாவா^{ர்}** கள். இவ்வாறு கோக்கிஞல், சாத்வீகப் போராட்டமே மிகவும் மேலான கல்ல படிப்பாகும். இப்படிப்பு ஆரம்பி ப்பது சிறுவர் அக்ஷராப்பியாசம் பெற்றபின்னல்ல. குழ க்தைகள் கெடுங்கணக்குப் பயின்று உலக அறிவு பெறமு னயே, ஆன்மா என்பதென்ன 🕻 என்றும், உண்மை பெ ன்பதென்ன? என்றம், அன்பு என்பது என்ன? என்றம், ஆன்மாவுக்குள் எவ்வித சக்திகள் அமைந்துள்ளன? என் றும், தெரிந்திருக்க வேண்டுமென்பதை மறுக்கமுடியாது.

ஒரு குழக்கை த**ன்** ஜீவியகாலப் போ*ராட்டத்* தில், ப கைமையை கேயத்தாலும், பொய்யை மெய்யாலும், முர ட்டுத்தனத்தை தானே வருக்துதலாலும், சுலபமாய் ஜெ விக்கக்கூடியதான படிப்பே படிப்பு. அதுவே உண்மை யான படிப்பின் முக்கிய சாரம்சமுமாகும். ஏனெனில் கடைசெப் போராட்டத்தின் முன்பாகத்தில் டால்ஸ்டாய் பாரத்திலும், பிறகு பீனிக்ஸிலும் சில குழந்தைகளுக்கு இ ம்மா திரியாய் இப்பத்த திப்படி போதிக்க என்னுலானமட் டும் முயன்றதில், இச்சக்தியின் பலின உண்மையெனக் கண்டேன். மேலும், இர்தியாவுக்குத் தற்சமயம் புறப்ப டுவதற்கான காரணங்களுள் முக்கியமானது ஒன்று உண் ம். அது என்னவெனில், ஏற்கனவே நான் த‰யிட்டுள் ள, சாத்கீகப் போராட்டத்தில் என்னிடமுள்ள இதர குறைவுகளேயும் நிவிர்த்தித்து, என்னேயே பூரணைஞய் ஆ க்கிக்கொள்ள முயல்வதற்காகவே கான். எனெனில், இர் தியாவே பூரணமாக்குவதற்கு எற்ற இடமென்ற நான் கம்புவதேயாம்.

சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பின் கிளர்ச்சியும், அதன் வாலாறும்.

இதில் கிடைத்துள்ள சொற்ப இடத்தில் இத்தென்னை ப்பிரிக்காவில் சென்ற 8 வருஷங்களாக இக்தியர்கள் அ ணுபவித்துவக்த கஷ்டக்கூளப்பற்றியும் அது காரணமாக கடத்திய சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பின் விவரங்களேப்பற்றியும், முற்றிலும் எழுதக் கூடாமையினுல், அங்கச்கே முக்கிய மாய் ஏற்பட்டுவர்த சிற்கில விஷயங்கின் மட்டுமே இங்கே எழுதத் துணிர்தோம்.

போவர் யுத்தத்தின்பின் இத்தென்னப்பிரிக்காவில் இ ங்கிலீஷ் அரசாகூலி ஏர்ப்படுவதினுல் இந்தியர்களுக்கு ந ன்மையை விளேவிக்குமென்று எதிர்கோக்கியிருந்தும், யுத்

தமுடிந்தவுடன் நாம் கிணத்திருந்ததற்கு எதிரிடையாக இர் தியர்களின் குடியேற்றத்தைக் கண்டனம்செய் து இரா ஜப்பி ததிகி இயாசிய லார்ட் மில்னர் ஏன்பவர், இந்தியர்க ள் தங்கள் தங்களுடைய பெயர், தொழில், இருப்பிடம், கி றம், உயரம் முதலிய அத்தாகஷிகீனத் தாக்கல்செய்யவே ண்டுமென்ற ஆஞ்ஞாபித்தார். இந்தியர்கள் இங்கிலீஷ் குடிகளாயிருப்பதினல், இங்கிலீஷ். இராஜாக்கத்தைச்சே ர்ந்த தேசத்தில் குடியேரவும், வசிக்கவும் சுதந்திரமுடை யவர்களாயிருக்க மேற்சொல்லியவாறு தங்கள் தங்களு டைய பெயர்களே தாக்கல்செய்து இவ்விடத்தில் வசிக்க **உத்தர**வு பெற்றுக்கொள்வது, தங்களுக்கும், தங்களுடைய தேசத்தாருக்கும் அவமானமாய் இருக்கிறதென்றுணர்க்கு அதர்க்கிணங்கியிருக்க விருப்பம் இல்லாதவர்களா ஞர்கள். இப்படியிருக்க, இக்தியர்கள் மேற்சொல்லியவாறு தங்கள் தக்களுடைய பெயரைத் தாக்கல் செய்வோருக்கு, ஏற்க னவே கிடைத்துள்ள அத்தாகூடிப்பத்திரம் (ரிஜிஸ்ட்ரே ஷன் ஸ்ர்ட்டிபிக்கேட்டுகள்) முடிவான தாயிருக்குமென் றும், அப்பத்திரம் உடைய இந்தியர்கள் தங்களுக்கு இஷ் டமாணபோது யாதொரு சங்கடமின்றி டிரான்ஸ்வாலக் குள் செல்லவும், வெளியேவரவும் சுதந்திரமுடையவர்க ளாய் இருப்பார்களென்ற உருதியான வாக்களித்ததின் பேரில், இந்திய ஜனத் த‰வர்கள் மேற்படி தாக்கல்செய் வதை வற்புருத்து தலின் பேரிவில்லாமல் அவரவர்களு டைய மனேராஜியில்செய்வதாய் ஒப்புக்கொண்டார்கள். இப்படியிருக்கையில் உத்தி ரவில்லாமலே டி ரான்ஸ்வாலு க்குள் இந்தியர்கள் ஆயிரம் கணக்காக சென்றுவிட்டார்க ளென்று, ஐரோப்பியர்கள் **வீணே** புகார்செய்துக்கொண் டு டிரான்ஸ்வால் முழுமையும் அங்கங்கே கூட்டங்கள் கூடி இந்தியர்கள் குடியேற்றத்தை முற்றிலும் கண்டனம் செய்யவேண்டுமென்றும், இர்தியர்களே லொக்கேஷண் என்றுசொல்லப்பட்ட பிரத்தியேகமான இடத்திலேயே வடுக்கச் செய்வித்தும், அவ்விடத்திலேயே அவரவர்களு டைய வியாபா **ரத்தை கடத்த உத்தி ரவ**ளிக்**கவேண்** டுமெ ண்று கூக்குரவிட்டார்கள். ஐரோப்பியர்களின் செயல் பிசசென்றம், அவர்கள் சொல்லிய காரணங்கள் உண்மை யல்லவென்று வெளிப்படுத்தும்பொருட்டு, சர்க்கார் ஒர் விசா ந‱க் கமிட்டியை ஏர்ப்படுத் தவேண்டுமென் று இர் தியர்கள் கேட்டுக்கொண்டார்கள். ஆளுல் இதற்கு யாரும் செவி கொடுக்கவில் இ. இப்படியிருக்க 1906 வருஷத் தில் இக்கியர்கள் தக்கள் தங்களுடைய பெயர், இருப்பிடம் முதவிய விபரங்களே மறுபடியும் பதிவுசெய்யவேண்டு மென்று ஒர் மசோதா சர்க்காரால் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டது. இச்சட்டம் அமூலுக்கு வரவே இந்தியர்கள் தங்கள்பேரில் வெடிகுண்டு வக்து வீழ்ந்ததுபோல் வியாகூலமடைந்தா லும், ஐரோப்பியர்களோ இர்தியர்க**ோ** இவ்வூரிலிருர்*து* வேருடுகினப்பித் *தா*த்திவிடுவதற்கு இராஜாங்கத்தார் உண்டாக்கிய சர்ப்பாடுகளில் இது முதலாவதென்றென்

ணி குதூகலித்தார்கள். மேற்படி சட்டத்தைப்பற்றி பார் வியமண்டில் பேசிக்கொண்டிருக்கும் பொழுது, இர்தியர் கள் ஒர் மகாஜனக்கூட்டம் கூடி சர்க்காரால் ஏர்ப்படுத்த ப்போகிற சட்டத்தை இந்தியர்கள் எவ்விதத்திலும் அக்கே கரிப்பதில் **உ**யென் றம், இர்தியர்களுக்கு அச்சட்டத் தின் மேல் உண்டாகிய அருவருப்பைக்காட்ட '' பாஸிவ் தெஸி ஸ்ட்டென்ஸ்" என்னும் சாத்சீக எதிரிடைக்கட்சி உண் டாக்கி ஜெயிலுக்குப்போவதே உத்தமமென் மும், அக்கூட் டத்தில் ஆஜராகவிருக்தவர்களில் சுமார் மூவா ப்ரம் இக்கி யர்கள் முன்வந்து பிரமாணிக்கம் செய்தார்கள். இதனுல் இர் தியர்கள் அளவிலாத் துன்பத்திற்காளாகின் நடையால் இவ்விஷயக்களே, இம்பீரியல் கவர்ண்மென்டாருக்கு, வி பரமாகத்தெரிவித்து மேற்படி மசோதாவை ஒப்புக்கொள் ளாவண்ணம் செய்ய தென்னுப்பிரிக்காவிவிருந்து விசே ஷபோருள் செலவுசெய்து இக்கிலாக்து தேசத்திற்கு பிர திரிதிகளே அனுப்பினர்கள். இவர்கள் இங்கிலாக்திற்குச் சென்ற, முன் சென்னேயில் கவர்ணராகவிருக்த லார்ட் ஆம்தில் பிரபுவின் உதவியைச்சொண்டு செய்த முயற்செயி ஞல் மேற்படி சட்டத்தை இம்பீரியல் கவர்ண்மெண்டா ரால் அங்கோரிக்கப்படுவதை சிரிதுகாலம் தள்ளிவைக்கப் பட்டது.

இதன்பின்பு, ஐரோப்பியர்கள் கடுங்கோபத்துடன் மே ற்படி சட்டத்தை சர்க்கார் உடனே ஸ்த பணப்படுத்தவே ண்டுமென்று வாதித்ததின்பேரில், அது இந்திய பிரழை களுக்கு விரோதமாயிருந்தும், ஐரோப்பிய பிரஜைகளின் வேண்டுகோளுக்கிணங்கி மேற்படி சட்டத்தை இம்பீரியல் கவர்ண்டுமன்டார் உடனே அங்கேரித்துக்கொண்டார்

இப்பு இய சட்டம், 1907 இல் ஜூலம் வெளிவக்தது. ஆவினும் இக்கியர்களோ தாங்கள் கட்டாயமாய் ரிறிஸ்ட் டர் செய்வதில்‰யென்று செய்துக்கொண்ட நீர்மானத் தின் வண்ணம் உறு தியாய் எதிர்த்து நின்ருர்கள். இதனு டன் மூவாயிரம் கையொப்பங்கள் வைத்தன்ன மனு ஒன் றை தயார்செய்து மேற்படி ச**ட்டத்தை கிருத்திவைக்கும்** பட்சத்தில் இக்தியர்கள் மஞேசாஜியாக ரிஜிஸ்ட்டர் செ ய்ய தெத்தமுடையவர்களாய் இருக்கிருர்களென்று சர்க்கா ருக்குத் தெரிவித்தார்கள். இந்த மணுவுக்கு சர்க்கார் இ ணங்காமல் ஜனத்த‰வர்களேப் பிடித்து தேசத்தைவிட்டு வெளியே போய்விடவேண்டுமென்று உத்தரவு*செ*ய்து, அதற்கிணக்காதவர்களே கடினகாவல் தண்டனே விதித் தார்க**ள்.** இவ்விதம் செய்தும் **நூற்றுக்கணக்கான** இக்**தி** யர்கள் ரிஜிஸ்டர் செய்யாமல் சிறைச்சாவேக்குச் சென்று க்கொண்டேயிருக்தார்கள். கவர்ண்மென்டாரும் இந்திய ர்களே ஆயிரம் கணக்காக, சிறைச்சுரிலகளே நாளுக்குநாள் கிரப்பிக்கொண்டுவந்தார்கள். சர்க்கார் இவர்களே காளுக் கு நான் கெருக்குவேண்டுமென்று எடுத்த உபாயங்கள் கிறை வே நாமல் போசி நதைய நிர் து '' டி தான் ஸ்வால் லீடர் "

என்னும் பத்திரிகையின் பத்திராதிபர் மிஸ்டர் ஆல்பர்ட் கார்ட்ரைட் என்பவர் மூலமாய் இர்திய பிரதிநிதிகளிடம் கலர்துபேடி ஒர் உடன்பாடு செய்துக்கொண்டார்கள். அ தென்ன சென்முல் '' இந்தியர்கள் சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பை கிருத்தி மூன் அமா**தத் தவணேக்குள்ள**ாக யாவரும் சுயேச் சையாய் ரிதிஸ்டர் செய்ய**ேண்**டுமெ**ன் நம், அ**தற்கேடா க சர்க்கார், இத்தியர்களே பலவக்தமாய் ரிஜிஸ்டர் செய் யவேண்டுமென் அ கொண்டுவுக்க புதிய சட்டத்தை நிருத் தி, மேற்படி ரிஜிஸ்ட்டர் செய்வது இருப்திகரமாய் கடக் தேரினுல் இப்புதியசட்டத்தை சத்தசெய்வதாய் வாக்க ளித்ததே." இதன்பின்பு, இந்தியர்கள் தாற்கள் சம்மதி த்தவிதம் ரிஜிஸ்டர்செய்து தீர்ந்தபிறகு, சர்க்கார் செய்ய வேண்டிய ஒழுக்குக**்காப்**பற்றி கேட்டபோ*து*, மேற்கொ வ்வியவா*று சட்டத்தை ரத்துசெ*ய்வதாய் அளித்தவாக்கை இல் ஷேசென்று மறத்துவிட்டார்கள். இதன்பேரில் இக் இயர்**ச**ருக்கு**ள்** பெருத்த குழப்பமுன் டாயின. சர்க்கார் இல் இந்தியாகளே இவ்துரில் வகிக்க தகுதியற்றவர்களே ன்று அப்புரப்படித்தவும், இமிக்கிரேஷன் சட்டத்தில் குவவர்க்குபேதுக்கள் இருக்கவும் அதை இக்கியர்கள் சம்ம தியோடு அற்கேளித்தால், மேற்படி கட்டத்தை ரத்துசெ ய்வதாய் தெறிவித்தார்கள். ஆகுல் நிக்கியர்கள் இதை அந்தோர்க்**தவி**ல்லே. ஜோ**ஹான**ஸ்ப*்க்*கில் கூடிய ஓர் முதாஜனத்துட்டத்தில், ஏற்கனவே இந்தியர்கள் சுயேச் ரையாய் ரிஜிஸ்ட்டர் செய்ததில் கொடத்துள்ள ஸர்ட்டி ர்பித்தேட்**தே**டை பணி உற்கம். ந தெடுடி பூ**ர்**ட்டு வறு உ**றை** ட்டார்கள். அதன் பின்பு சர்த்தாறின் பிரதான உத்தி யோகஸ்தர்களுக்கும், இர்திய, தேன பிரதிகிதிகளுக்கும் ஆலேச்சணேக் கூடடம் கடக்தேறியது. ஆணுல், மேற்படி ச<u>ுட்டத்தை சத்துசெய்யாதபுமுயி</u>னல், சாத்**வீ**த எ<u>டிர்ப்</u>பு மும்மடுக்கு அதிகமாப் முதுபுடியும் நடத்தப்பட்டு ஆகேகர் கிறைக்கானாகியும் இத்தேசத்திலிருர் த தேசப்பிரஷ்டம் டிச<u>ய்யப்பூட்டும்</u> போயினர். ஆனுல், **எவ்வ**ளுவு சீக்கிரம் இந்தியர் ஒரு முறான்ஸ் வரல் எல்லும் விருந்து வெளியில் சொண்டுவுக்கு தன்ளினர்களோ, சுவ்வளவுக்கவ்வளவு சீக்கிரம் இந்தியர்கள் முறபடியுழ் டேற்புடி எல்லக்குள் சென்று தர்க்கார் தடிதளுக்குக்காட்டிய அவிசுவாசத்தை <u>ஒப்புக்கொள்வதேயில்லே ஏன்பதற்கு அறிகுறியாக சர்க்</u> காரால் பிடிக்கப்பட்டு குறைச்சா இத்குச் சென்றனர். இது சாசணமாக அநேத இந்தியர்கள் , சங்கள் தங்களுடை டைய சழ்பாத்தியத்தையெல்லாழ் தோற்று தரித்திரத்சை யுடைந்தும். அளவிலாக் துண்பத்திற்காளர்இயம் வந்தார் **கள், க**ம் தாய்காடாத்ப இர்தியாவி(`லா_்ஆற்காற்கு கட ட்டந்தன் கூடப்பட்டு, தென்னுப்பிரிக்கா கவர்ண்மென் டாரின் செயல்களேச் சண்முத்தும், ()தன்ணப்பிரிக்கரவி ல் பிறந்தவர்**வோயு**ங்கூட இந்தியாவு i கு தேசப்பிரஷ்டம் இசய்வதைப்பற்றி தர்க்கித்தனர். இவ்விதம் பிரதேசம அப்பப் பட்டவர்களில் காலஞ்சென்ற கனம் நாராயண சாமியைத்தவி நமற்றெல்லோரும் மறுபடியும் தென்னுப் பிரிக்காவுக்கு வந்துசேர்ந்தார்கள். காலஞ்சென்ற கணம் நாராயணசாமி என்பவர் மாத்திரம் இக்கிலீஷ் தறைமுக ங்களில் இறங்க இடங்கிடைக்காதபடியால் கப்பவிலேயே வியர்திப்பட்டு மரணமடைந்தார்.

1912-ம் உருஷத்தில் ஆனாபின் மிஸ்டர் கோக்னேயவர்கள் தென்ஞப்பிரிக்காவிற்கு விஜயஞ்செய்திருந்தபோது இந்தியர்களின் கஷ்டங்களேப்பற்றி நேரில் விசாரித்தரிந்து, அவைகளே நீக்கவேண்டுமென்று கவர்ண்மென்டாரி டத்தில் விவாதம் செய்தார். இவர் வந்திருந்தபோது தான், உடன்பாட்டு இந்தியர்கள் செலுத்திவந்த மூன்று பவுண் வரியை ரத்துசெய்வதாய், சர்க்கார் அவருக்கு நேரில் வாக்களித்ததாக, சமாச்சாரம் வெளிப்பட்டது.

1913-ம் வருஷக்கிய மசோதா பார்விமெண்டுக்கு வர்த போது, இக்தியர்கள் விவாக சம்பர்தமான விஷயங்களே ஒழுங்குசெய்ய வேண் மென் தம், புதிய சட்டத்தில் குல வர்க்க வித்தியாச பிபந்தணகள் ஏர்ப்பட்டிருக்கக்கூடா தென்றும், சர்க்காருக்குத் தெறிவித்தனர். ஆயிணும் சர்க் கார் அதற்கிணங்காம**ற்** பேரணப்<mark>டியால், மற</mark>ுபடியும் இர்தி யர்கள் ஒரே தாரம் விவாகம்செய்வது, குலவர்க்க வித்தி யாசழின்மை, ஆரஞ்சு ரீவர் காலனி, கேப்தாலனிகளில் தென்னுப்பிரிக்காவில் பிறர்த இர்தியர்கள் செல்லும் உரி மை, உடன்பாட்டு இக்கியர்களுடைய (3) மூன்ற பவுண் வரியை ரத்துசெய்வது, முதலான சீர்திருத்தங்களே ஒழு ங்குசெய்ய, அடுத்த பார்விமென்டில் மசோதா ஒன்றை பு தொய் கொண்டுவர சர்க்கார் ஒப்புக்கொள்ளாவிழ்ல் மறு படியும் சாத்கீக ஏதிர்ப்பை துவக்குவோமென்று தெறி வித்தார்கள். தெறிவித்தும் சர்க்கார் ஒப்புக்கொள்ளா மையால், சாத்கீக எதிர்ப்பை முன்கடத்தியதற்கு பதின் மடங்கதிகமாய் கடத்தப்பட்டது. இதே சமயத்தில், ஜட்ஜ் கோர்ட்டார் இக்து, மகம்மதிய மதத்தின் முறைப்படி செ ய் தக்கொண்ட இக்கியர்களின் விவாகத்தை இவ்வூர் சட் டத்தின்புடி அங்கோரிக்கப்படாதென்ற தீர்மானங்கொடுத் தனர். இது இக்கியர்களுக்கு பெரிய அவமானத்தை உ ண்டாக்கினமையால், இந்திய ஸ்திரீகளும் சாத்கீக எதிர் ப்பைச்சேர்க்து கடுஞ்சுறையடைக்து வருக்கினர்கள். இ தனேடு மூன்று பவுண் வரியை சர்க்கரர் சத்தசெய்கிற தாக கொடுத்த வாக்கை கிறைவேற்றுமையால், கெட்டா வில் எங்கே பார்த்தாலும் ஆயிரம் கணக்காக இர்கியர்கள் ஆண்களும், பெண்களும், தங்கள் தங்கள் உத்தியோக்த் தை நிருத்தி சர்க்காரிடத்தில் தர்க்கித்து சிறையிலடைக்த *னர். நெட்டாவில் வடபாகத் திவிருக்கும் நிலக்கரி சுரங்* கங்களில் வே‰செய்*து* வக்**த ஆவிரங்கணக்கான இக்**திய ர்கள் தந்கள் தங்களுடைய வே‰களே விட்டுவிட்டு, ம ^{இன் விடிக்களுடன், பெருங்கஷ்டங்களேயடைக்கு} கால் க டையாய் டிருன்ஸ் அால் எல்லேக்குட்சென்றனர். இவர்க ஞர முன்கொண்டு நடத்தியவுர்கள் நமது தேசாபிமான

செம்மங்களாகிய ஞீமான் காந்தி, மிஸ்டர் காலன்பாக், மிஸ்டர் போலாக் என்பவர்களே. சர்க்கார் இதைக்கண்டு மேற்படி ஜனத்த‰வர்களே பிடித்து கைதுசெய்தனர். ஜனத்த‰வர்களேப் பிடித்துக்கொண்ட பிறகு கெட்டால் முழுமையும் அங்கங்கே இந்தியர்கள் வேவயை விட்டு விட்டு ஆயிரங்கணக்காய் சாத்கீக எதிர்ப்பின் கட்சியைச் சேர்க்தனர். அகேக இடங்களில் ஐயர்யிரம் பதிஞ்பிரம் கணக்காக ஜணங்கள் கூட்டங்கள் கூடி இந்தியர்களின் கி‰மையை ஒழுங்குசெய்ய வேண்டுமென **வ**ற்புருத்திக் கூறினர். தாய்தேசமாகிய இந்தியாவிலும் பல், பிரத்ர்ன் பட்டணங்களில் ஆங்கீர்ங்கு கட்டங்கள் கடப்பட்டு; இதன்ளுப்பிரிக்கன் கவர்ண்மென்டார் செய்துவரும் அட் டூழியங்களே (இங்கிலாக்*த*ு இம்பீரியல் தவர்ண்டெண்டார் கண்டணஞ் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று பிரரேபித்து வர்ப்பு ருத்தியத்டன், தென்னிப்பிரிக்கா இந்தியர்களின் கண்ட ங்களே கூடுமான வகையில் கிவர்த்திக்கும் பெரிருட்டு தேரர் ன்மான திர்விய சக்ரியமும் செய்தனர். இச்சம்பத்தில் சென்னோயில் கட்டியக்ட்டத்தில்; இத்தியாவின் கையச்ராய் லிர்ட் ஆர்டிஞ்ச், தென்னிப்பிரிக்கர் இந்தியர்களின் கிகூ ன்மின்ப் விசாரித்து அனிலகளே நிழுங்குசெய்ப் சிர்க்கா ரால் ஒர் விசிர்ரீண்க் கமிட்டியை தோப்படுத்தவேண்டுமெ ன்ற தன் அப்ப்பிராயத்தை வெளியிட்டார். லார்ட் ஆ ம்தில் பிரபுவும் இக்கே தண்புரும் இந்தியர்களின் விரும மிர்க் வீடர்முயற்கியாய் இங்கிலாக்கில் வரதாடிவக்கார். கடைசெயில் ச்ரீக்கீர்ர் ஒர் விசார2ண்க் கேமிட்டியை நிமமி த்து, இறையில்டைக்கப்பட்டிருந்த, ஞிமான்களாகிய காக் தி, கால்னபாக், போலாக் என்ற மூவரையும் விடுதல சேய்தனிர். ஆயினும் மேற்படி விசாரணிக் கமிட்டியில் கியமிக்கப்பட்ட அங்கத்தினர்கள் இந்தியர்களின் என்னம் வீப் விரும்பாதவர்களாயிருந்ததை முன்னிட்டு நம் திலவ ர்க்ள் இவர்களிடத்தில் தங்கள் குண்றக்கோப்பற்றி முறை யிடுவது பிரயோஜன்மற்றதேன்று எண்ணி மேற்படி கமி ட்டியில் பேர்க்கும்லம் கொடிக்க மிற்த்துவிட்டார்கள். தவிர் சர்க்காறுண்டய் உத்திசுமாகஸ்தர்களாலும்) டிபாலீ ஸ்ர்ர்கள் நலம், ம்ரண்க்கிக்க் க்குள்ளாகிய பல இந்தியர்கள், தங்கள் தங்களுடைய ரிப்போர்ட்டுக்‰ர் மேற்படி க்கிட்டி யிர்ரிடம் தொல்ல மண்மற்றவ் நாயினர். இந்தியர் க்வேர்ண் மென்டார், ஸ்ர் பெற்றுமின் சர்பர்ட்ஸன் அவர்களே மே ற்படி கமிட்டிக்குச்டுச்ணற் இந்தியர் கவர்ணிமேன்டார் த்றப்பில் வர்க்குமுலம் கெர்டுக்கும்படி கெட்டாலுக்கு அனுப்பியிருக்தனர். இதே சம்மத்தில் இக்கிய்ரவிலிருக்து ஞூயுத் ஆண்ட்ரூஸ் பாதிரியாரும் மிஸ்டர் பீயர்ஸனும் ஆகிய இ**ர**ண்டு ஐரோப்பியர்கள் இர்தியர்களுக்குதவி செய்து சமாதானத்தை ஏர்ப்படுத்தும் பொருட்டு கெட் டாலுக்கு வக்திருக்தார்கள். இவர்களிருவரும் இக்தியர்க ளுக்குச்செய்த பேருத்வி மிக்க மெச்சப்படத்தக்கதே. இறையிலடைக்கப்பட்டிருக்த இக்கிறர்களில் கண்டு அர்பத்

சிங், ஸ்ரீமதி வள்ளியம்மான், கணம் நாகப்பண், கணம் கா ராயணசாமி என்ஹம் கால்வர் செற்றவில்லுபவித்த இம் ஸையிஞல் வியாதிக்குள்ளாகி சுகமடையாமல் சாத்வீக் எதிர்ப்பின் கட்டிபை கி‰கிருத்தம் பொருட்டர்க த்வீகன் யிரை தத்தம் செய்கனர். இவ்வித் அலங்கோலத்இல் க ம்முடைய சுக்கதிய ருக்கும்போது, வெள்ளய வேலையாட் கள் தங்களுக்குச் சம்பனம் போதாதென்று வேல்ல கிர்ப் பாட்டம் "ஸ்ட்ரைக்" ஒன்ற எர்ப்பட்டுவீட்டத். இச் சமயத்தில் இர்தியர் களும் சாத்வீக் எதிர்ப்பை மும்முரம்? க் கடத்துவார்களாகில் கவர்ண்டுமன்டாருக்கு கண்டத் தை வீண்விக்குமென்ற ஸ்ரீமர்ன் கார்நியவர்கள் அபிப்பி ராயப்பட்டு இந்தியர்களின் விஷயங்கீன இலகான் கிறுத் இடைப்பதாக தீர்மா னித்து சீர்க்காருக்குத் தெறிவித்தனர். பிற்பாடு விசாரஃணக்கமிட்டி, சாத்கீக எதிர்ப்பின் கட் சியார் கேட்டுச்கொண்ட சிர் இருந்தங்கண் செய்யமேண் டுமென்ற் சர்க்காடுக்கு சிபாரிசு செய்த**ின்**பேரில் சர்ச் காரால் புதிய மகோதர் ஒன்று கொண்டுவரப்பட்டு, அ தை பார்விமென்டாறால் அங்கோர்க்கப்பட்டது.

சாத்கீக் எதிர்ப்பு நாப்படர் ததற்குமுன், சர்க்காருக்கு இ ந்தியர்களின்பேரில் ஏர்ப்பட்டின் த அகையியம், அவகம்பி க்கை, முதலான் தூர்யேர்சனேகளெல்லாம் போய் தற் பேர்து கம்மீது மதிப்புக்கிடமாவிகுக்கிறத். சர்க்கார் தற் கன்து பிர்ணைகளின் எல்விருத்தியை விரும்பவேண்டிய சிதன்தம், புது சட்டங்களோர்ப்படுத்தும்பெர்முது பிச தைக்கின் கண்ணங்களேயும் அவர்கள் மண்விருப்பத்தை யும் அறிக்கு சட்டங்களேர்ப்படுத்த வேண்டுமென் வர்ப்பு ருத்துவது சாத்வீக வதிர்ப்பின் அந்தரங்கக் கொள்கை பாம்:

சாத்கீக் எதிர்ப்பின் கட்கியானத் மூதன்மூதலில் டிசர் ன்னவாலில் 1907-ம் வருஷத்தில் ஏர்ப்படுத்திய 2-வது சட்டத்தை சர்க்கார் ரத்துடுசய்யவேண்டுமென கேட்ட தீர்மர்ணத்திறை தவக்கப்பட்டது: மேற்படி சட்டத்தை இப்போது ரத்துடிசய்யப்பட்டு விட்டதுடன் அம்மாதிரி யான சட்டங்கள் மற்ற மாகாணங்களிலும் ஏர்ப்படுத்தா வண்ணம் தடுத்துவிட்டது.

சட்டங்களில், ஆரோப்பியசென்றும், இந்தியரென்றும் ஏர்ப்படுத்த குலவர்க்க வித்தியாசங்கள் இப்போது நிவர் த்தியாயின.

இர் தியாவிலிருர் ஓ உடன்பாட்டில் வர் துள்ள இர் தியர் களே கசைக்கிப் பழிர் த வேலையாக்கி, அவர்களால் அ டையும் லாபத்திலுல் வெள்ளேயர்கள் பிரபுக்குளால் தி திவ்விதமான பின்பும் தக்கீளேண்டு அடிகைக்களின் தலை களயே ரசுக்குவதாம், இன்னும் அவர்களுக்கும், அவர்க ள் பெணடுபின் வேளுக்கும் வருஷமோன்றக்கு தக்குலே (3) மூன்று பவுண் வரி விதித்து அவர்களே மீனாத்துயர த்துக்குள்ளாக்கிவர் தநும் ஒழிர்தன.

சிக்கார் இந்திப விவர்க்க்களே அக்கேரிக்கவும் சம்ம

தித்திரிக்கூ:

மொத்தத்தில் இந்தியர்களுக்கு சாதாரணமாய் கிடைக் கவேண்டிய உரிமை, சுதந்திரமுதலான துகளே கவனித்து நடத்தவேண்டிய கடைமையை சர்க்கார் அதுசரிப்பவர் களாஞர்கள்

இக்த சாத்கீக எதிர்ப்பின் கட்கூடி ஒருவருடைய கீரத் தண்மையையும், பலமும், கீதி கியாயங்களுக்கு மேலான தல்லவென்றும், கீராவேசத் திற்குமேல், பொறுமையுடன் கூடிய வல்லமை பெரிதென்றும், எருவருடைய உட்பகை, வன்மம், அடங்காக்கோபம் முதலாகிய தர்செய்கைகள், அன்பு, விவேகம், சீர் தூக்கு தல் முதலாகிய இனிய குண ங்களுக்கு மேற்பட்டதல்ல வென்றம், வெகு தெளிவாக விளக்கியது. இதாதேசவாசிகளினுல் இர்தியாவிற்கும் ஒர்வித மதிப்பு ஏர்ப்பட்டுவிட்டது.

இக்தியர்கள் அவரவர்களுடைய உற்சாகத்தையும், சா மார்த்தியத்தையும், தேசாபிமானத்தையும் மேன்மேலும் விருத்தியெய்து, ஒற்றமையும் சமாதானத்தையுமுடைய வர்களாய் வாழ்க்துவர முயற்கிப்பது கடமையாகும்

உடன்பாட்டு இந்தியர்களுக்கு ஓர் அறிக்கை. ஸ்ரீமான் கார்தியவர்களால் எழுதி வெளியிடப்பட்டது.

நீங்களும் உங்கள் மீனவிமக்களும், இதுகாலம் வ ருஷா வருஷம் சர்க்காருக்குச் செலுத்திவர்த மூன்று பவு ன் வரியையும், ஏற்கனவே கடனுயேற்பட்டுள்ள நிலுவை வரியையும் சர்க்கார் ரத்துசெய்து விட்டதை ரீங்கள் யா வரும் தெரிர்து கொண்டிருப்பீர்களென்று கம்புகிறேன். ஆகையால், ரீங்கள் தற்போது மறுபடியும் உடன்பாடு (எக்ரிமெண்ட்) கொடுக்காமல் இத்தேசத்தில் உடிக்கலாம் மூன்று பவுண் நீர்வை செலுத்தாத இர்தியர்கள் எவ்வி தம் இத்தேசத்தில் குடியிருக்கி**ருர்களோ** அவ்விதமே நீர் வை கட்டவேண்டியவர்களும் குடியிருக்கலாம். சில வார **ங்களுக்கு முன்,** சர்க்கார் தற்போ*து* ஏற்படுத்தியிருக்கிற சட்டப்பிரகாரம் மேற்படி வரி செலுத்தவேண்டியவர்கள் தங்கள் தங்களுடைய எக்ரிமெண்ட் தீர்ர்தவுடன் மறு எக் ரிமெண்ட் கொடுத்து இவ்விதம் சதா அடிமைத்தனத்தி லேயே இருக்கவேண்டுமென்றும், அப்படிச்செய்ய ஒப்புக் **கொள்ளா தவர்களே** சர்க்கார் பலவர் தமாய் இர் தியாவுக்கு அனுப்பிவிடக்கூடுமென்றும் '' மெரீக்குரி '' என்னும் ஆ **க்**கிலேய பத்திரிகை தன் அபிப்பிராயத்தை வெளியி<u>ட்</u> டது. இது சரியல்ல, எனெனில், இப்புதிய சட்டத்தை ப்பற்றி " மேர்க்தரி" பத்திரிகை அவ்விதம் கூறியது தப்பெண்று சர்க்கார் வெகு தெளிவாகவும் திட்டமாகவும் காகிதமூலமாகத் தெறிவித்திருக்கிருர்கள்.

இப்பு இய சட்டத் இல் ஏற்படுத் இய ஒழுங்கு கூள இக் இயா கவர்ண் மெண்டாரும், இங்கிலாக் து கவர்ண் மெண்டாரும் கூடிக்கு க்கொண்டிருக்கிறுர்கள். தவி ர, இப்பு இய சட்டப்பி ரகாரம் கீங்கள் மூன்று பவுண் கட்டவேண் டிய கிபக்தூணைய சர்க்கார் ரத்து செய்த இல் கீங்கள் யாவ

ரும் மேற்படி வரிகட்ட வேண்டியதல்லாத மற்றவர்களேப் போலாகிறீர்களென்றும், அவ்விதம் மூன்று வருஷம் இத் தேசத்தில் குடியிருப்பவர்களுக்கு, இந்தியாவிலிருந்து சு வாதீனமாய் (பாஸஞ்ஐராக) இந்நெட்டாலுக்கு வந்தஜனங் கள் எவ்விதம் இங்கேயே வசிக்கச் சுதந்தரமுண்டோ, அ வ்வண்ணமே, உங்களுக்கும் அச்சுதந்தரமேற்படுவதைத் தெளிவாகத் தெறிந்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிருர்கள்.

கிலகாலத்திற்கு முன் சர்க்கா நால் கியமிக்கப்பட்ட விசா நீணக்கமிட்டியும் இவ்விதம் செய்யவேண்டுமெனை சர்க் காருக்குச் சிபாருசு செய்திருக்கிறது. கடைசியாக காண் உங்களுக்கு சொல்லவிரும்புவது என்னவெனில், இப் புதிய சட்டத்தில் ('' மேர்க்குரி'') பத்திரிகை எழுதிய வாறு உங்களே இவ்வூரில்வகிக்கத் தகுதியற்றவர்களென்று அப்புறப்படுத்தினுல், கான் எவ்விடமிருக்தபோதிலும், அதைத் தவிர்க்க பிரையாசைப்படுவேண்.

ஆனுல், கவர்ன்மெண்டாரும் அவ்விதம் செய்ய எண் ணமுள்ளவர்களாயில் வென்பது எனக்குத் திட்டமாய் த்தெறியும். அவர்கள் ஏற்படுத்திய புதியசட்டமும், அவ் வித கருத்தை யுள்ளதல்ல. இம்மூன்று பவுன் வரியை ரத்துசெய்வதற்காக ஊக்கமுடன் நமக்காக உழைத்துவர்த ஆனரபின் மிஸ்டர் மார்ஷல் கேம்பல் அவர்களும் இதற்கு சாட்சி பகர்ந்திருக்கிருர்கள்.

ஆகையால், கீங்கள் யாதொன்றுக்கும் பயப்படவேண்டியதில்லே. ஒரு இந்தியராவது அவரைச் சர்க்கார் இத்தே சத்திலிருந்து, அப்புறப்படுத்துவார்களென்ற அச்சத்திரை ல் மறுபடியும் எக்கிரிமெண்ட் கொடுக்காமல் இருப்பீர்க சென்ற முற்றிலும் நம்புகிறேன்.