



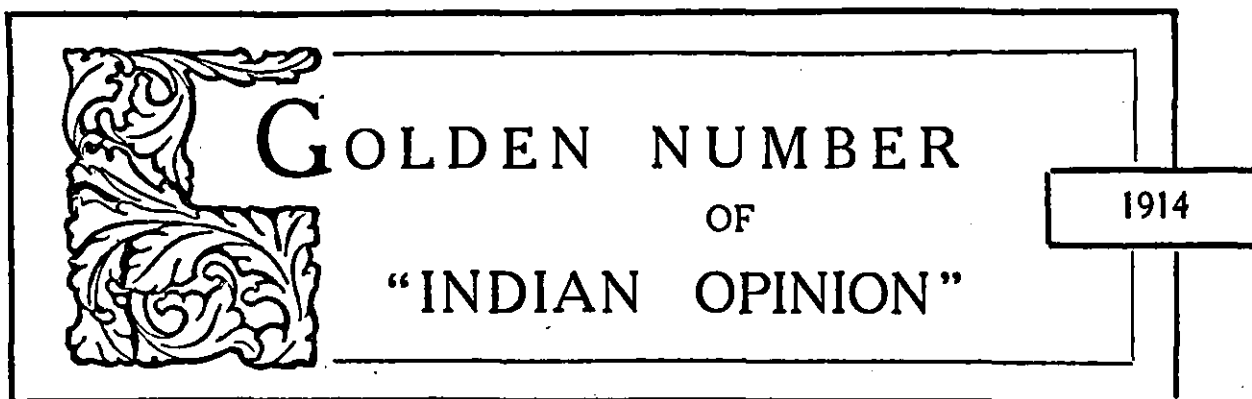
Souvenir
of the

**Passive
Resistance
Movement**

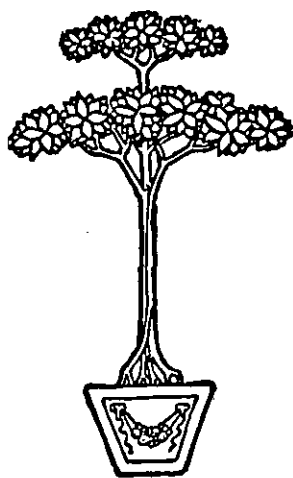
in
South Africa

1906-14





SOUVENIR
OF THE
PASSIVE RESISTANCE
MOVEMENT
IN
SOUTH AFRICA.
1906 — 1914.



Published by the Proprietors of "INDIAN OPINION"
PHOENIX, NATAL.

The Passive Resistance Movement in South Africa

The Great Central Figure



THE 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 equality 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 Phoenix 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 Phoenix, 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 fellow-men, 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.)

NOTWITHSTANDING 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-coloured—is 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 Govern-

ment 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 practical 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.)



At 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 legislation 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,

THE CENTRAL FIGURE.

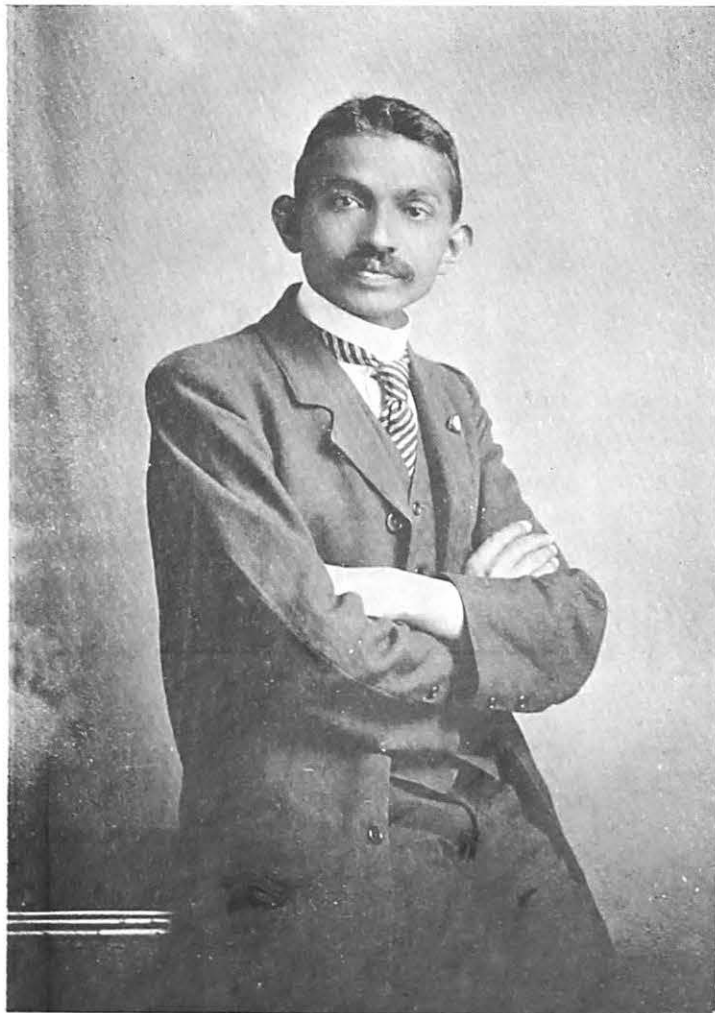


Photo by] [B. Gabriel.
Mr. M. K. Gandhi, as he appeared at the commencement
of the struggle in 1906.



Photo by] [M. Fine
Mr. M. K. Gandhi, as he appeared at the end of the
struggle in 1914.





Senator Marshall Campbell,¹
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]

[B. Gabriel

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]

[O. Byrne

Mr. H. S. L. Polak,

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.



Photo by]

[O. Byrne

Mr. H. Kallenbach,

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*.

Reproduced by kind permission.



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



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



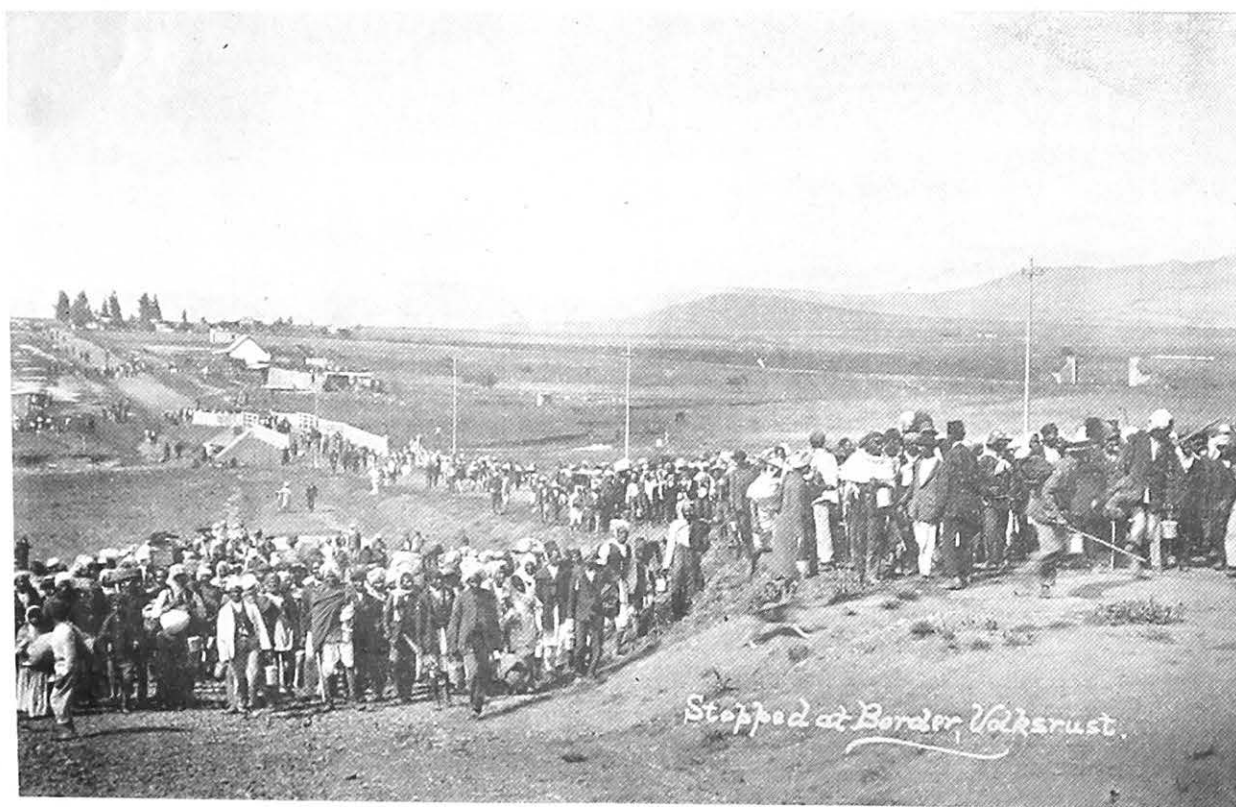
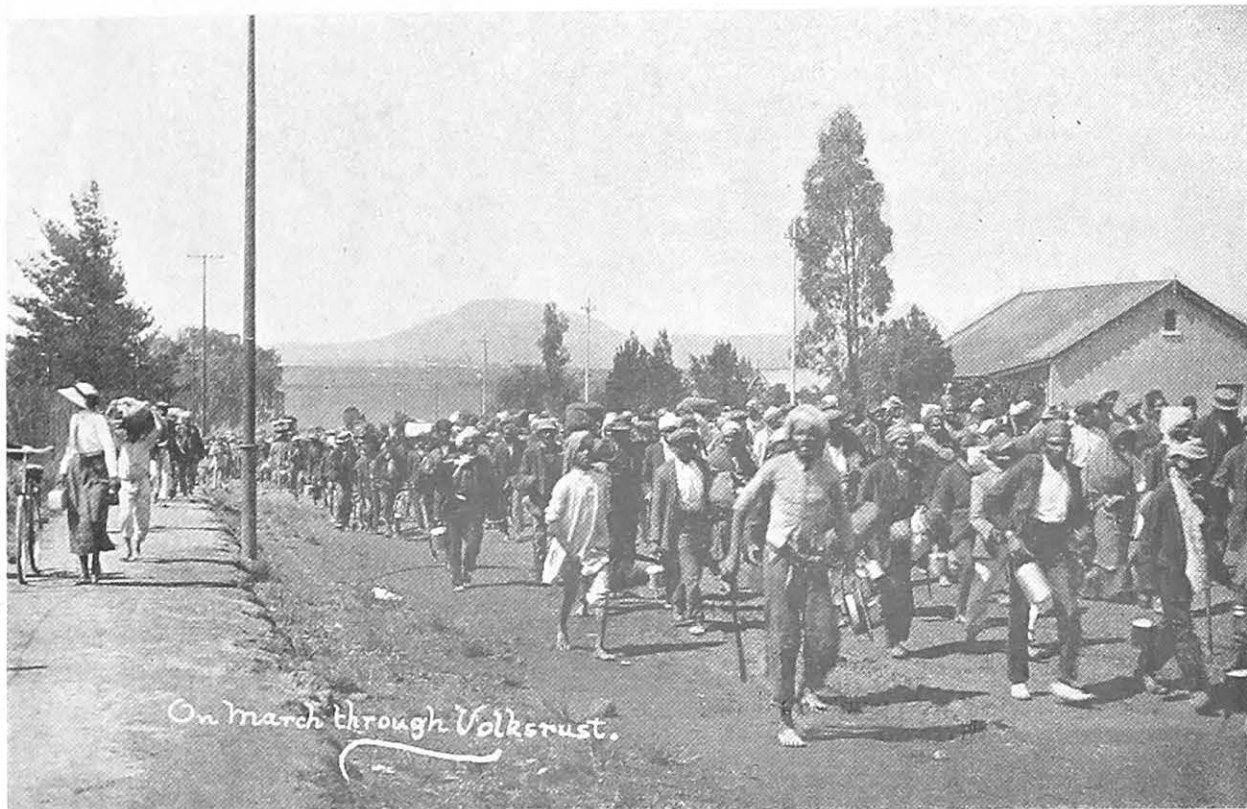
Mrs. Phillips
Wife of the Rev. C. Phillips, of
Johannesburg, who, after years of
sympathetic help, unveiled last July
the memorials to Valiamma and
Nagappen.



Miss Sonja Schlesin
Who acted as private secretary
to Mr. Gandhi for some years, co-
operating 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 likeness 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."



THE 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.)



THE 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 gentle-

men. The contemptuous arrogance which marks the relations of most Europeans with other races in this country has been effectively rebuked by their unflinching 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.)



I SHALL be at least far away from Phoenix, 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 self-suffering. 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 Phoenix along these lines, and one of the reasons for my departure to India is still further to realise, as I already do in part, my own imperfection as a Passive Resister, and then to try to perfect myself, for I believe that it is in India that the nearest approach to perfection is most possible.

(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 Phoenix. Then when Mrs. Naidoo had sought imprisonment, the boys had been taken over to Johannesburg, and he thought that he had lost those four pearls, but the pearls had returned to him. He only hoped that Mrs. Gandhi and he would be able to take charge of the precious gift.

Johannesburg was not a new place to him. He saw many friendly faces there, many who had worked with him in many struggles in Johannesburg. He had gone through much in life. A great deal of depression and sorrow had been his lot, but he had also learnt during all those years to love 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 faith—she had not the knowledge that he had, she did not know what Passive Resistance was, she did not know what it was the community would gain, but she was simply taken up with unbounded enthusiasm for her people—went to gaol, came out of it a wreck, and within a few days died. It was Johannesburg again that produced a 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 lime-light; those others had worked behind the scenes, not knowing where they were going, except this, that what they were doing was right and proper, and (if any praise was due anywhere at all, it was due to those three who died.) They had had the name of Harbatsingh given to them. He (the speaker) had had the privilege of serving imprisonment with him. Harbatsingh was 75 years old. He was an ex-indentured Indian, and when he (the speaker) asked him why he had come there, that he had gone there to seek his grave, the brave man replied, "What does it matter? I know what you are fighting for. You have not to pay the £3 tax, but my fellow ex-indentured Indians have to pay that tax, and what more glorious death could I meet?" He had met that death in the gaol at Durban.) No wonder if Passive

Resistance had fired and quickened the conscience of South Africa! 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 Africa? But, proceeded Mr. Gandhi, he concurred with Mr. Duncan in an article he wrote some years ago, when he truly analysed the struggle, and said that behind that struggle for concrete rights lay the great spirit which asked for an abstract principle, and the fight which was undertaken in 1906, although it was a fight against a particular law, was a fight undertaken in order to combat the spirit that was seen about to overshadow the whole of South Africa, and to undermine the glorious British Constitution, of which the Chairman had spoken so

loftily that evening, and about which he (the speaker) shared his views. It was his knowledge, right or wrong, of the British Constitution which bound him to the Empire. Tear that Constitution to shreds and his loyalty also would be torn to shreds. Keep that Constitution intact, and they held him bound a slave to that Constitution. He had felt that the choice lay for himself and his fellow-countrymen between two courses, when this spirit was brooding over South Africa, either to sunder themselves from the British Constitution, or to fight in order that the ideals of that Constitution might be preserved—but only the ideals. (Lord Amphill 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 Amphill, asked whether they could not for the time being suspend their activity. He had said "No." If they did that it would undermine his loyalty, and even though he might be the only person he would still fight on. Lord Amphill had congratulated him, and that great nobleman had never deserted the cause even when it was at its lowest ebb, and they saw the result that day. They had not by any means to congratulate themselves on a victory gained. There was no question of a victory gained, but the question of the establishment of the principle that, so far as the Union of South Africa at least was concerned, its legislation would never contain the racial taint, would never contain the colour disability. The practice would certainly be different. There was the Immigration Law—it recognised no racial distinctions, but in practice they had arranged, they had given a promise, that there should be no undue influx from India as to immigration. That was a concession to present prejudice. Whether it was right or wrong was not for him to discuss then. But it was the establishment of 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 implicitly, the spirit of Mr. Andrews had pervaded all those statesmen and leading men whom he saw. He came and went away after a brief period, but he certainly fired those whom he saw with a sense of their duty to the Empire of which they were members. But, in any case, to whatever circumstances that healthy tone was due, it had not escaped him. He had seen it amongst European friends whom he met at Capetown; he had seen it more fully in Durban, and this time it had been his privilege to meet many Europeans who were perfect strangers even on board the train, who had come smilingly forward to congratulate him on what they had called a great victory. Everywhere he had noticed that healthy tone. He asked European friends to continue that activity, either through the European Committee or through other channels, and

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

(To his countrymen he would say that they should wait and nurse the settlement, which he considered was all that they could possibly and reasonably have expected, and that they would now live to see, with the co-operation of their European friends, that what was promised was fulfilled, that the administration of the existing laws was just, and that vested rights were respected in the administration; that after they had nursed these things, if they cultivated European public opinion, making it possible for the Government of the day to grant a restoration of the other rights of which they had been deprived, he did not think that there need be any fear about the future.) He thought that, with mutual co-operation, with mutual 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 host vanquished a large host, and God is with the patiently persevering.—*Quran*.
Think ye to enter Paradise, when no such things have come upon you, as on those who flourished before you?—Ills and troubles tried them.—*Quran*



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 fundamental outline.

The origins of the Passive Resistance Struggle are to be sought, not in the agitation of 1906, but in that which commenced, in one of its phases, in the Transvaal, in 1885, and, in another, in Natal, in 1894. The old Republican Law 3 of 1885, whilst imposing various burdens upon Asiatics residing in the country, required that such of them as entered for purposes of trade should be registered at a fixed fee, and that, "for sanitary purposes," they should reside in locations specially set apart for them. To a large extent, both requirements proved a dead letter, but a great deal of friction with the British Government was engendered, resulting in Imperial intervention at the time of the War, when resident Indians, as British subjects, were promised complete redress of their grievances.

In Natal, a British Colony, the position had been complicated by the grave prejudice aroused by the presence of large numbers of Indian labourers brought at the instance of the European Colonists under indenture, and an agitation had arisen for the exclusion of free Asiatic immigration and the disfranchisement of all Asiatics. It became a question whether this was to be accomplished by specifically racial legislation or by general enactment differentially administered. The conflict of views represented by these two methods raged for some time, but at last, thanks to the statesmanship of Mr. Chamberlain, in 1897, the second method was adopted, and the famous "Natal Act" passed, imposing an educational and not a racial test. From then onwards, in Natal, racial legislation was a thing of the past, and hence the first signs of renewed trouble arose in the Transvaal, where the principle of statutory equality had not been accepted, owing to a different political conception of the status of coloured people.

In the re-settlement that took place after the War, it was hoped that the burdens would be removed from the shoulders of the British Indian community, but Indians were dismayed to find the Imperial authorities endeavouring vigorously to enforce the obnoxious legislation against which they had strongly protested in pre-war days, a policy that was later weakly defended by Lord Selborne. Immigration of

Indians was severely restricted by the Peace Preservation Ordinance. 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 colour was lent by the dispersal of the Indian residents of the Johannesburg Indian location throughout the Colony, after it was burnt down at the time of the plague outbreak in 1904, and meetings all over the Transvaal were held with the object of closing the door against all Asiatic immigration, and compelling Indians to trade and reside exclusively in locations. In an atmosphere of prejudice and terror thus created, it was impossible effectively to protest one's innocence, and the request of the Indian community for an open and impartial inquiry, whether by Royal Commission or otherwise, fell on deaf ears; so that when a draft ordinance was published, in 1906, to "amend" Law 3 of 1885, requiring compulsory re-registration of the entire Indian community, men, women, and children, it was vociferously welcomed by the whole European population, whilst it fell amongst the Indian victims-to-be like a bomb-shell. 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 Bhownaggee as its Executive Chairman, Mr. L. W. Ritch as its Secretary, and, subsequently, Lord Ampthill as its President.

The disallowance of the measure was, however, merely a temporary respite, for, taking umbrage at what was thought to be an impertinent intrusion on the part of the Imperial Government in the affairs of a practically self-governing British Colony, the European section of the population angrily demanded the immediate re-enactment of the ordinance, and almost the first action of the new Parliament was to rush it through all its stages in a single session of a unanimous House, 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 signalled 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 Resistance. Mr. Sorabji Shapurji, an educated Parsee from Natal, was imprisoned as a protest against the racial bar. The Natal Indian leaders entered the Transvaal, in order to cooperate with their brethren 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 opened with the Government, so as to obtain a promise of remedial legislation in the next session of Parliament. They were, however, interrupted by the European strike, during the heat of which Mr. Gandhi, as spokesman of the Passive Resisters, undertook to refrain from pressing the Indian case for the moment. Meanwhile, a mission had proceeded to England to co-operate with the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, at his urgent invitation, in order to bring home to the Imperial Government and the British public the extreme gravity of the situation, and the certainty of the extension of the demands of Passive Resisters unless a settlement of the points in dispute were promptly arrived at. All these representations, however, failed to conciliate the Union Government, which

proved obdurate, and a final warning was sent to them stating that unless assurances of the introduction of legislative and administrative measures, in the following session, were given to 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 Amphill'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 reconiliation, 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, Narayansamy, 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.)



ON 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 religious 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 a 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.)



IN 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 appointment 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.)

6



THE 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 fortitude 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 out-of-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 flesh.

(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 preferment, 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 never-failing 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.)



THE 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 magistrates 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 non-payment, and what is more important, in asking those who are now serving indenture and who will, therefore, be liable to pay the £3 Tax 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 children—were 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. Boustred

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



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. 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.



Sir BENJAMIN ROBERTSON and STAFF.

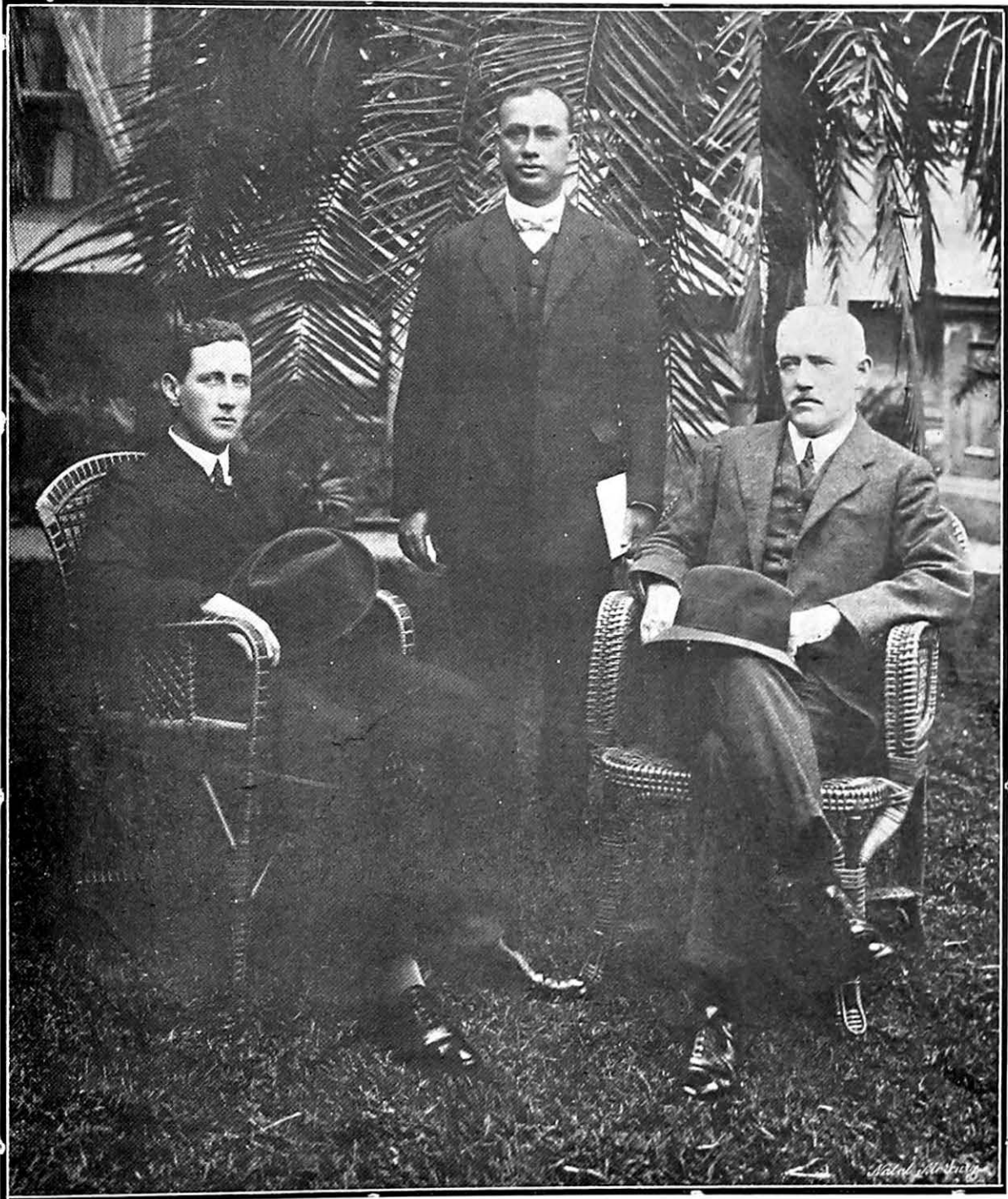


Photo by

Mr. SLATER, *Private Secretary.*

RAI SAHEB SIRCAR.

[B. Gabriel.

Sir BENJAMIN ROBERTSON.



The Rt. Hon. General Louis Botha, P.C.,
Prime Minister of the Union of
South Africa.



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, late Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, who did much during 1914 to bring about an honourable settlement.



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.

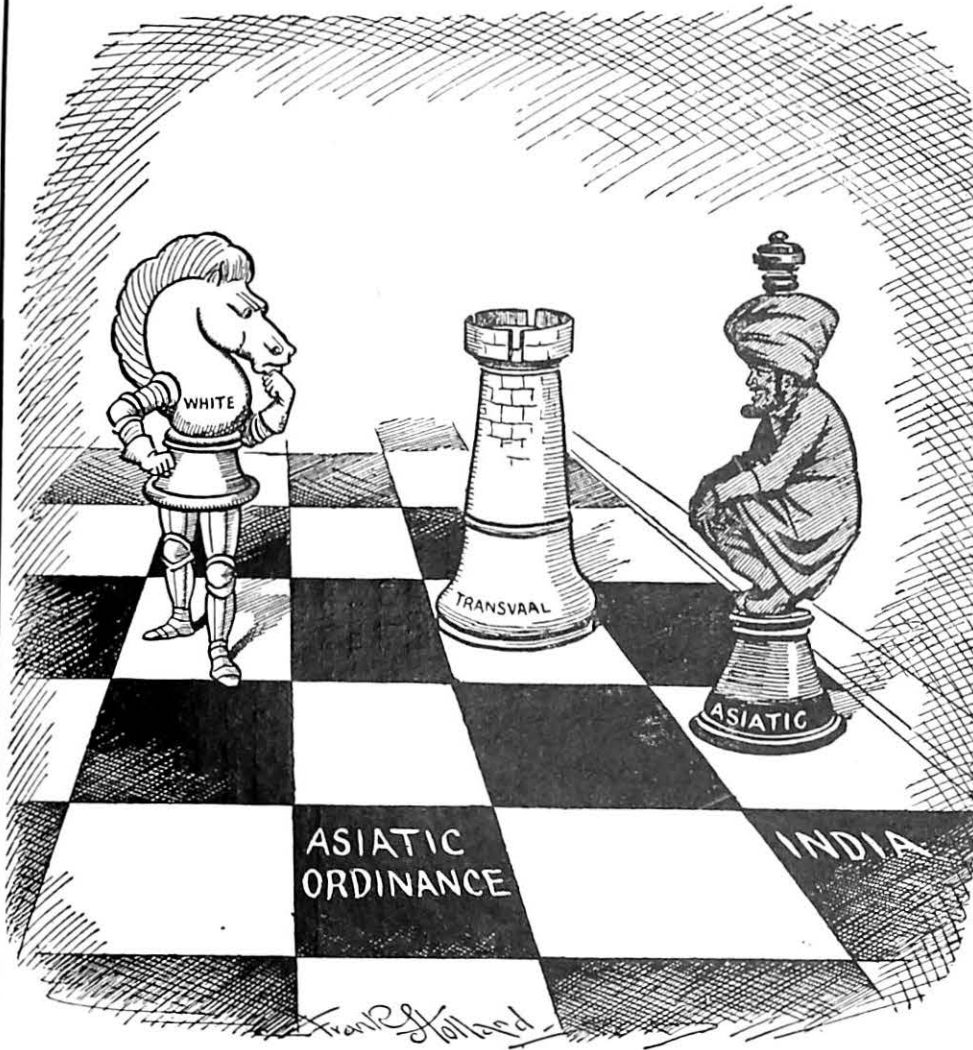


Late Sir Subramania Aizar, who presided over a protest meeting in Madras.

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.)

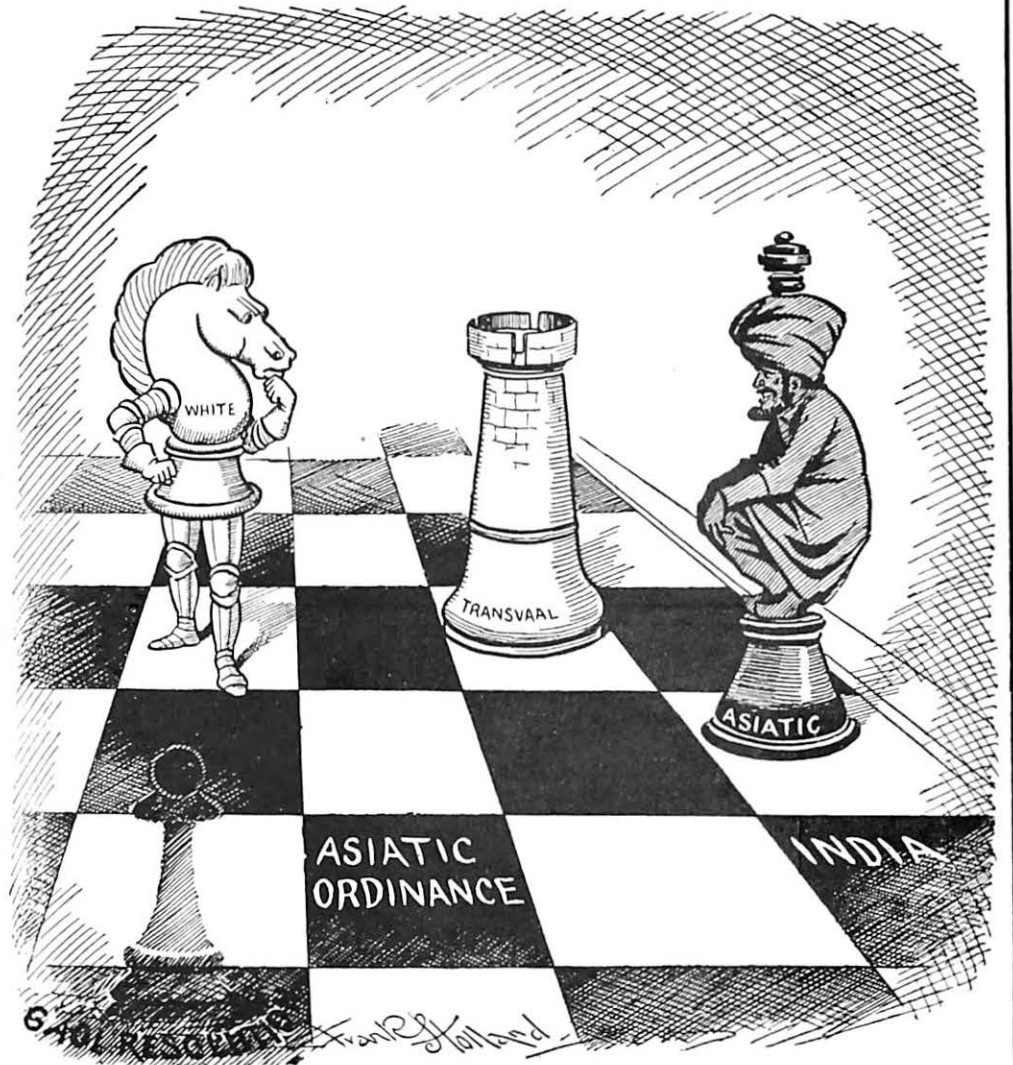


The White Knight will now be able to move into the "Asiatic Ordinance" square and thus save his Castle from the Black King and compel the latter to fall back on "India."

[Reproduced by kind permission.]

REPLY.

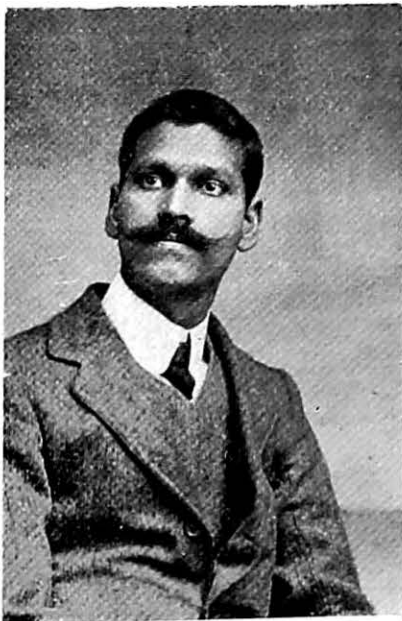
NOT YET. The White Knight, in his eagerness to move into the A.O. square, has omitted to notice the little pawn on the Gaol Resolution square.



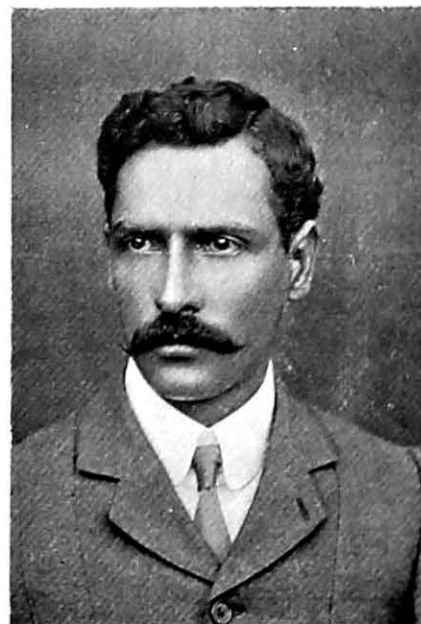
That the White Knight may also, in his blind hurry, have imagined that to be the King which is not, is another story.



Sir M. M. Bhowmagjee,
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.



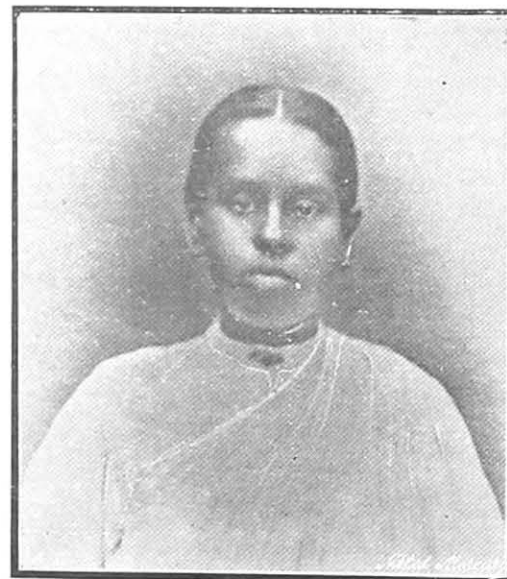
SOME BRAVE WOMEN PASSIVE RESISTERS.



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



Mrs. Sheik Mehtab,
a Mahomedan 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 tenacity, 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 won. 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.)



RUSKIN 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.)



ONE 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, Phoenix 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 Phoenix 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 Phoenix and got advice. If Phoenix ever failed them and wanted a farthing from them, then they should shun Phoenix.

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 AMPHILL:

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."



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."



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 done so nobly and won so noble a victory."

(Then and Now!

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

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.



THE 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 Colonial-born 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 Runnymede 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," yecept 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 African-born 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 Colonial-born 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, so 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 Colonial-born 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 remain a Jew, it is probable that the 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 Colonial-born 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,

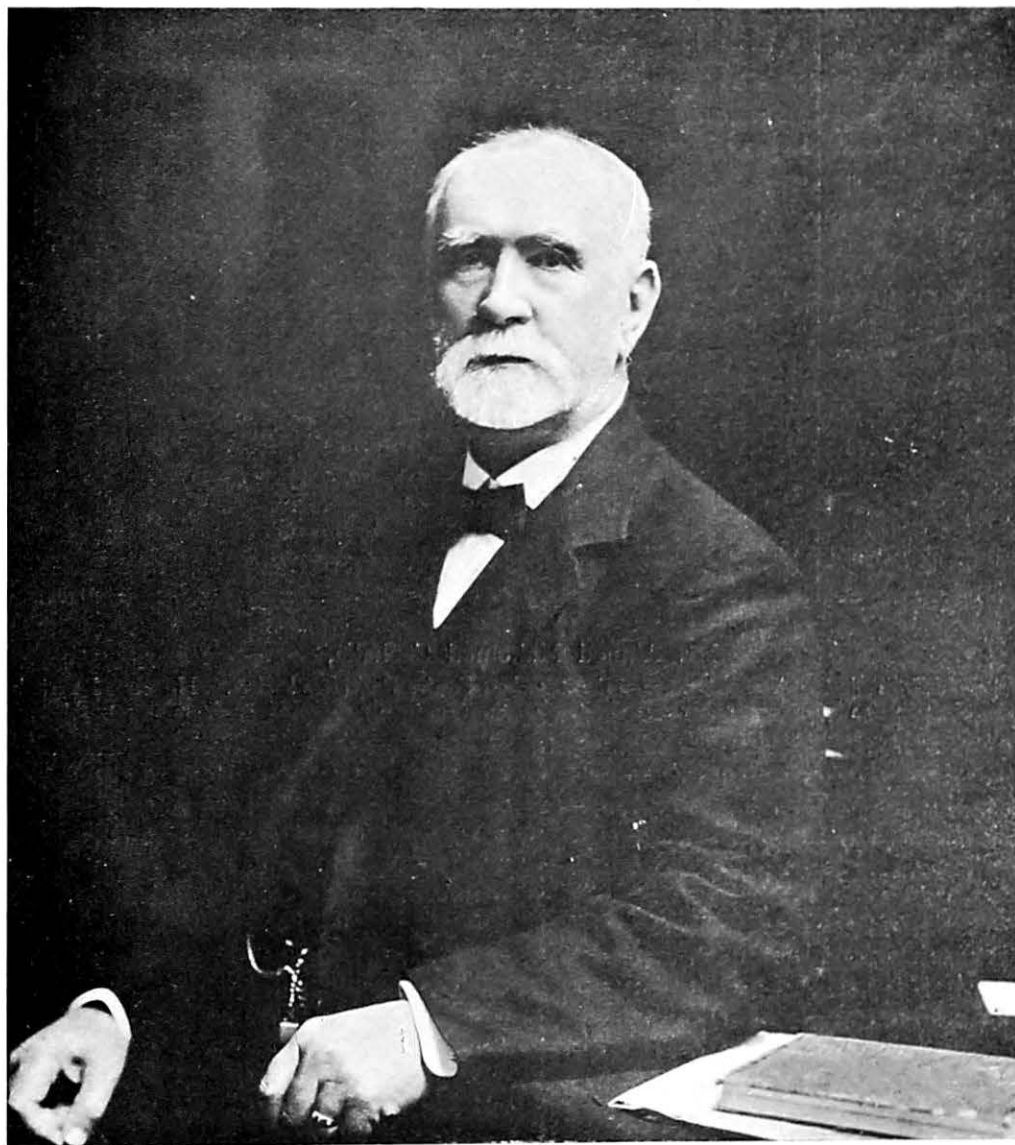
Shall be fused in one humanity for ever.

—SIR LEWIS MORRIS.)

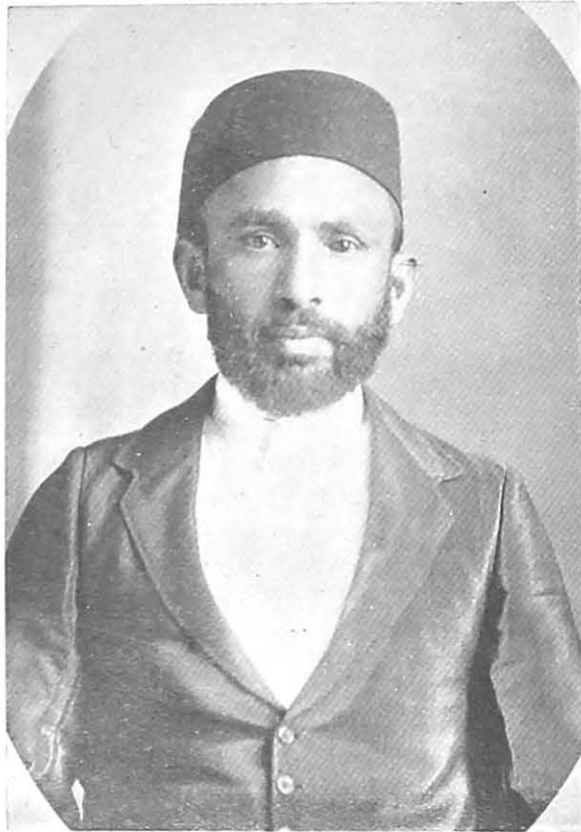


EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Editor desires to thank all those who have helped in the issue of the "Golden Number," either by writing articles, lending or presenting photographs, or in other ways.





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.

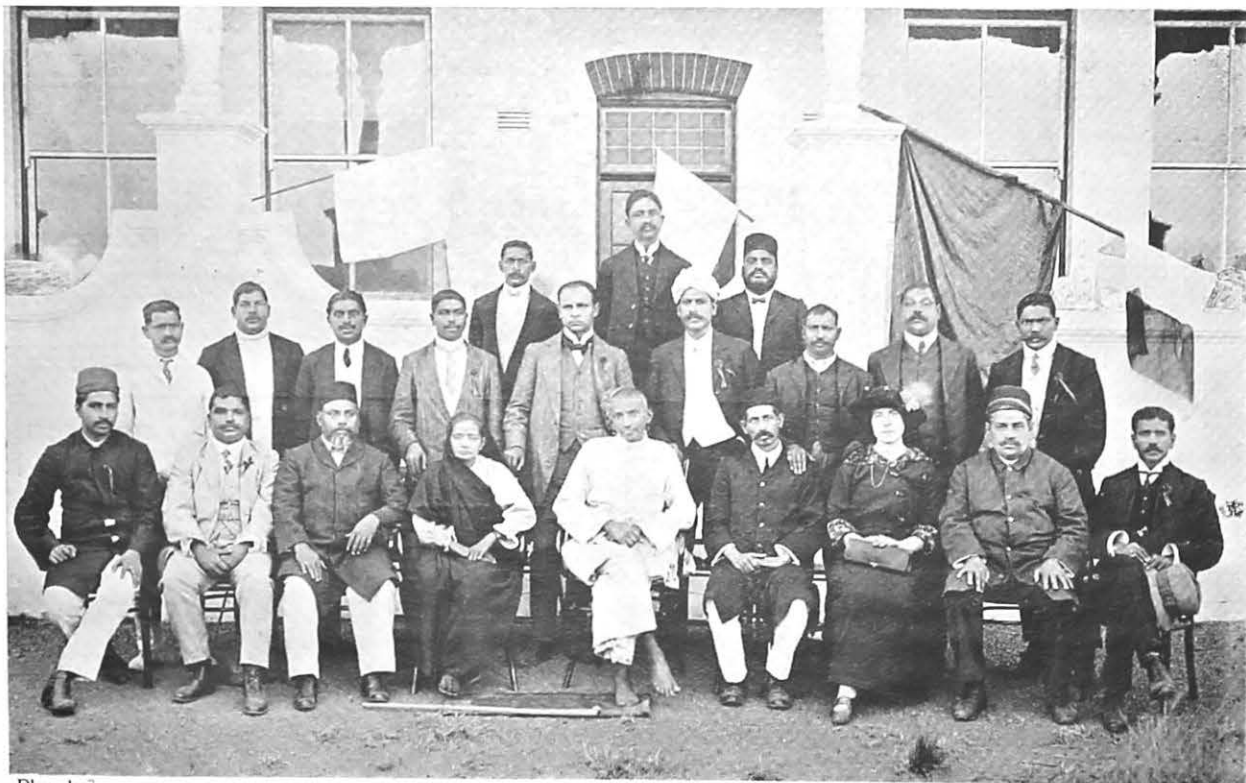


Photo by]

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

[R. Bhagwan.



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



Mr. Omar Hajee Amod Jhaveri,
joint secretary, Natal Indian Asso-
ciation, who in many public
capacities during the struggle ren-
dered great service to the Community.



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.



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



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 families together with some of the students.

[B. Gabriel



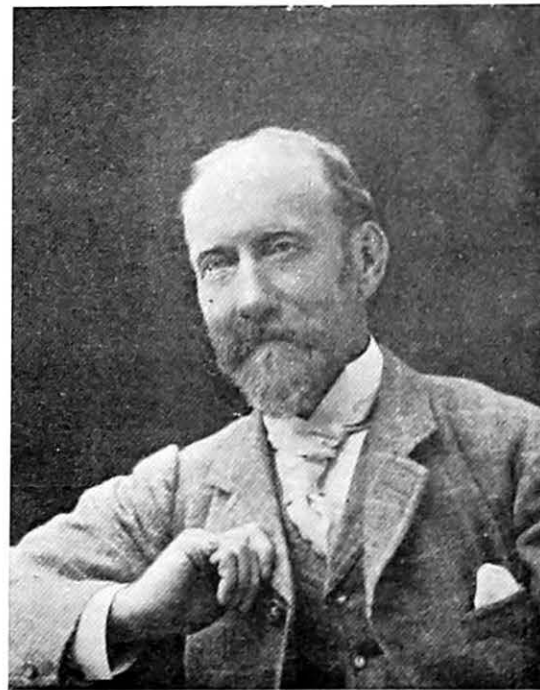
The Right Hon. Lord Amthill, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
Ex-Viceroy of India and Governor of Madras, President of
the South Africa British Indian Committee, London.



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



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



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.



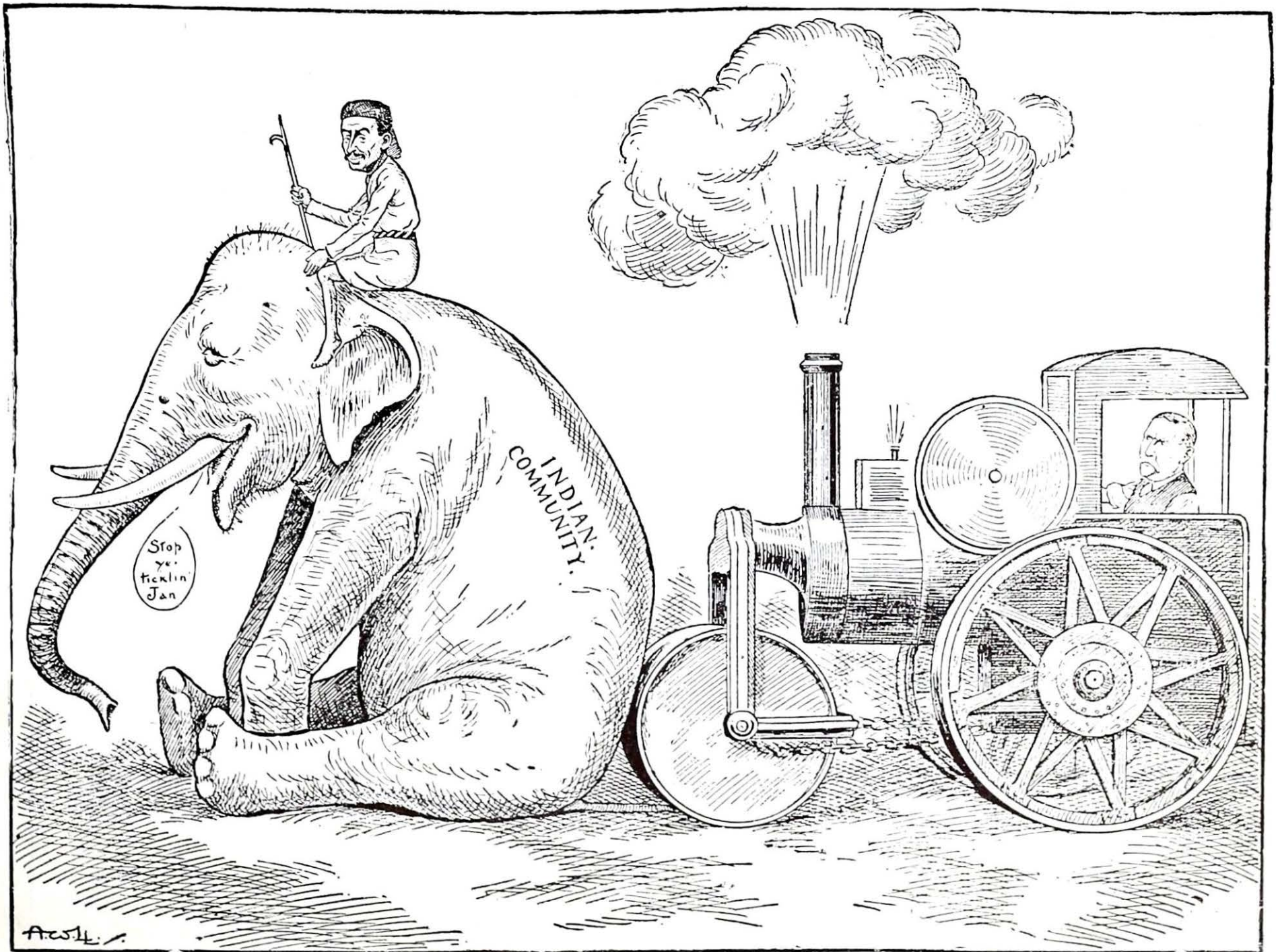
Mrs. D. M. Lazarus,
of Newcastle, who bravely worked for the
comfort of the Indian women and the
strikers.



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



Mr. A. M. Badat,
of 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

Ravjibhai M. Patel, R. Govindoo, Gokuldas Garach, C. K. Gandhi, Maganbhai Patel, Ramdas Gandhi, Solomon Royeppen,
H. Kallenbach, M. K. Gandhi, Mrs. M. Doctor, Mrs. Gandhi, Mrs. C. K. Gandhi, Mrs. Maganlal Gandhi, Parsee Rustomjee.

B. Gabriel



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.

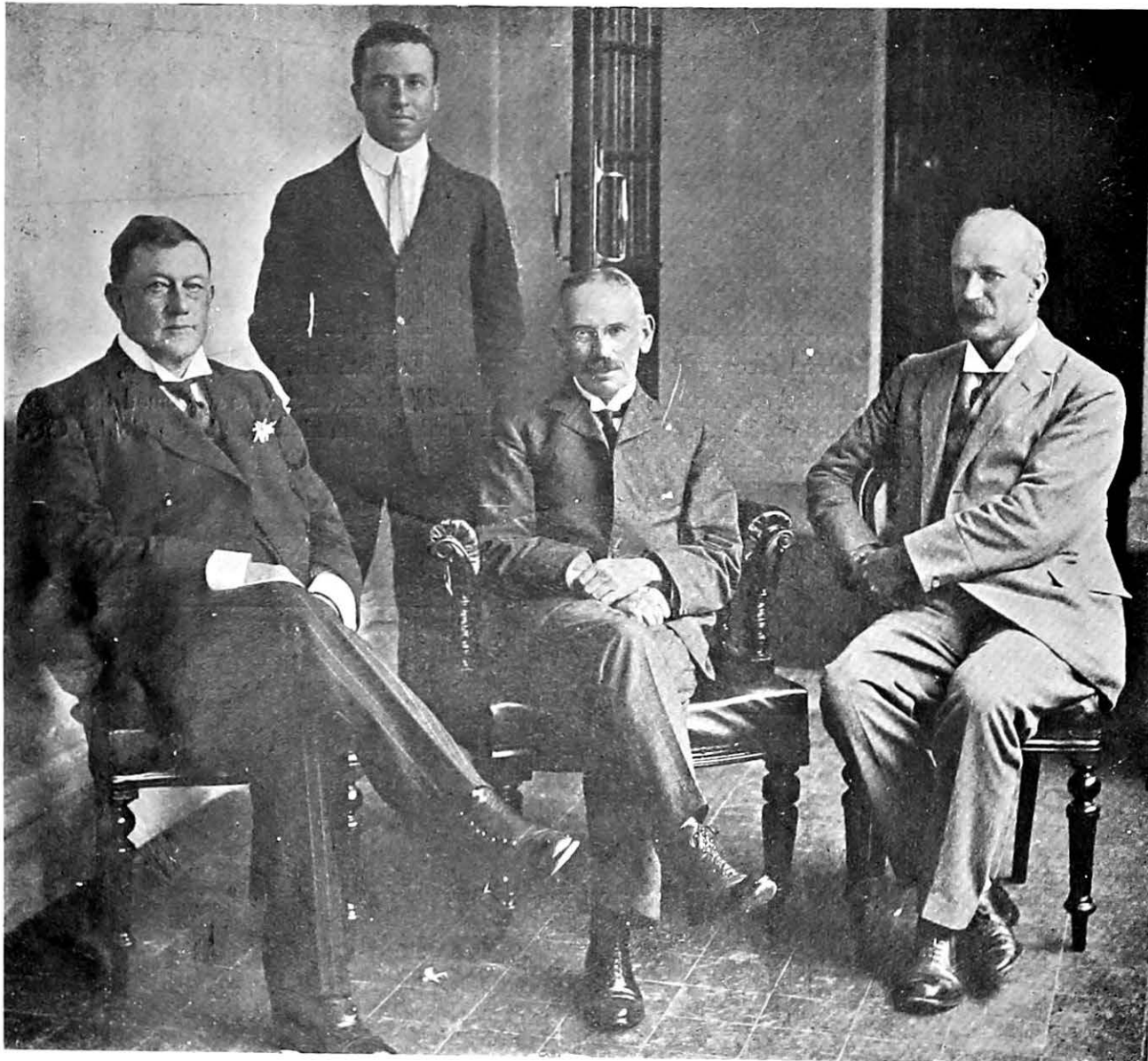


Photo by]

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



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



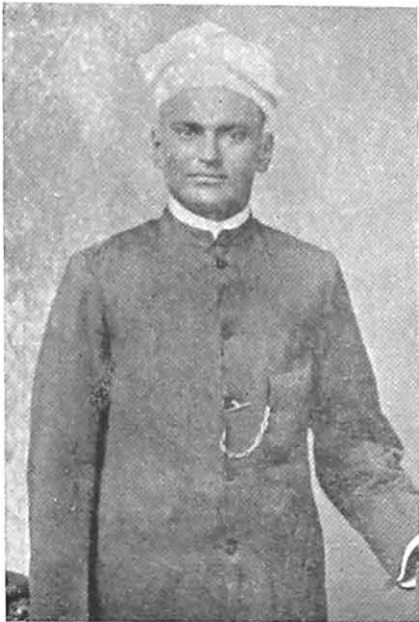
Mr. Patrick Duncan, C.M.G., M.L.A. who, as Colonial
Secretary of the Transvaal Crown Colony Administra-
tion introduced the Asiatic Law amendment ordinance
in 1906 against unanimous Indian protests, and who has
since appreciated the Imperial issues involved and has
advocated measures of redress for Indians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



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



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

ના પદસિ રજુ કરી વેપાર સાંજ મળતું.
ચલાવતા; અને રક્ષણ ખ્રીટીશ
સરકારનું હતું.

ટ્રાંસવાલના કોઇ પણ ભાગ
માં વગર હરકતે રહી શકતા,
અને ખાસ રજા મેળવવાની
વાતજ નહોતી.

મીલકત ખરીદી શકાતી, જે
કે ગોરાને નામે.

લોકેશનમાં દલ વરસને પટે
જમીન મળી શકતી.

વગર હરકતે ટ્રાંસવાલમાં
જવાતું.

ખાસ ને પરમીટની ધાંધલ
કરનાર એશીઆટીક ખાતું
ન હતું.

ખ્રીટીશ એલમીઓ એવું
રક્ષણ કરતા કે કોઈના હક
કુબે નહીં.

સરકાર પાસેથી ખાસ રજા
મેળવી ન હોય તેનાથી ફક્ત
લોકેશનમાંજ રહેવાય. લોકેશન
હવેથી બંધર કહેવાયું.

એમ બની શકતું નહીં.

એવી મળેલી જમીન લઇ
લેવાનો ઠરાવ થયો અને
હવે પછી લોકેશન ક્યાં કરશે
અને જમીન લેવા દેશે કે નહીં
એ કંઈ નકી ન હતું.

આગળના ટ્રાંસવાલના ખરા
રહીશ (રિફ્યુજી)ને પણ અરજી
ક્યાં છતાં ત્રણ મહીના લગી
દાદ મળતી નહોતી, તો નવા
ની તો વાતજ શી!

આ ખાતાથી બહુ મુશી
બતો કામને પડવા લાગી.

ખ્રીટીશ અમલદારોએ જેને
લાઇસેન્સ આપેલાં તેવાને પણ
વરસની આખરે દુકાન બંધ
કરી લોકેશનમાં જવાનું થયું
અને તેથી કામને હજારો
પાઉન્ડનું નુકસાન થતું હતું.

લોર્ડ મીલનરનાં રજીસ્ટર

૧૮૮૫ના ત્રીજા કાયદા મુજબ લોર્ડ મીલનરે ટ્રાંસવાલના
દરેક હીંદીને ફ્રીથી રજીસ્ટર થવાનો આગ્રહ કર્યો. અને
આખરે હીંદીઓના આગેવાનો સાથે એવી કબુલાત થઇ કે
હીંદીઓ મરજીઆત રજીસ્ટર થાય. લોર્ડ મીલનરે એખખી
રીતે જણાવ્યું હતું કે આમ રજીસ્ટર થયા પછી ફ્રી રજી
સ્ટર થવાનું નહીં રહે. અને જેઓને સર્ટીફિકેટ આપવામાં
આવશે તેઓને ટ્રાંસવાલમાં જથ્થક વસવાના અને મરજી પડે
તેમ આવવા અને જવાના હકો મળશે.

ઉપલી સ્થિતિને લીધે તથા ૮૫ ના કાયદાના કરડા અમલને
લીધે ટ્રાંસવાલના હીંદી ભાષાઓએ સુપ્રીમ કોર્ટમાં કેસ લડવા
જવાનું ઠરાવ્યું. તેમાં જડજોડા ઠરાવ આપ્યો કે હીંદીઓ
તેમની મરજીમાં પડે ત્યાં વેપાર કરી શકે છે અને લોકેશનમાં
ન રહેનારાઓને શીક્ષા થઇ શકતી નથી. આ નિર્ણયથી જે

જે ગોરાઓ હીંદીઓની વિરુદ્ધ હતા તેમને એક ફટકા સમાન
લાગ્યું. સુપ્રીમ કોર્ટના આ નિર્ણયને ફેરવવા તેઓએ કાયદો
કરવા પણ પ્રયત્ન કર્યો. પરંતુ તે વેળાના કોલોનીઅલ સેક્રે
ટરી લોર્ડ લીટલટનના વચ્ચે પડવાથી તેમ થતું અટક્યું.
પણ લોકોમાં વાત ફેલાઇ કે હીંદીઓ ખોટી રીતે ખોટા જથામાં
ટ્રાંસવાલમાં ધુસી જાય છે. બહાર પડેલા જુદા જુદા રીતે કરેલી
ગણતરીવાળા ખોટા આંકડાઓ ઉપરથી ગોરાઓની આ માન્યતા
થઇ હતી, પણ જોહાન્સબર્ગ લોકેશનમાં પ્લેગ ફાટી નીકળ્યો
હતો તેને લીધે હીંદીઓ આખા ટ્રાંસવાલમાં વીખરાઇ ગયા
હતા તે ઉપરથી તો આ માન્યતામાં વધારો થયો. ત્યાર
પછી આખા ટ્રાંસવાલમાં સભાઓ ભરી ઠરાવ કરવામાં આવ્યા
કે હીંદીઓના આવવા સામે બારણાં બંધ કરવાં. અને હીંદી
ઓને લોકેશનમાં રહેવાની તથા વેપાર પણ ત્યાંજ કરવાની
ફરજ પાડવી. હીંદીઓએ પોતાનાં દુઃખો બાબતમાં કમીશન
થી અથવા તો કોઇ ખીજી રીતે તપાસ કરવાની માગણીઓ
કર્યે રાખી. પણ આવા કટાકટીના સમયમાં કોઇ પણ
બતની દાદ મળી નહીં અને છેવટે ૧૮૮૫ ના ત્રીજા કાયદા
માં સુધારો કરવા ૧૯૦૬નું ડરાફ્ટ ઓર્ડીનન્સ પસાર કર
વામાં આવ્યું. તે કાયદા મુજબ આખી હીંદી કોમ-પુરુષ
ઓ અને છોકરાંઓ-ને ફરજીઆત ફ્રીથી રજીસ્ટર થવાનું
હતું. સરકારના આ ઠરાવને ગોરાઓએ તો વધાવી લીધો
પણ હીંદી કોમને તે એક બોમ્બના ધડાકાની પેઠે ચમકાવ
નારો થઇ પડ્યો, કેમકે લોર્ડ મીલનરની તરફથી અપાયેલાં
વચન-ખાતીને- હજી પુરાં પાંચ વરસ પણ વીત્યાં ન હતાં.
પડોશનાં કોલોનીઓ તેમજ ત્યાંની ગોરી વસ્તી આ બધી
હીલચાલ ઉપર ધ્યાન પુરવક નજર રાખતી હતી; કારણ કે
ટ્રાંસવાલમાં જે રાજનીતિ ધારણ કરવામાં આવે તેવીજ રાજ
નીતિ તેઓ એટલે કે પડોશનાં કોલોનીઓ પોતાની એશીઆ
ટીક વસ્તીને માટે ધારણ કરવા ધારતી હતી.

છેવટના ઉપાય

કામની સામે આમ વિપત્તિનું જે વાદળ ચડી આવ્યું હતું
તેથી ભય પામી હીંદીઓના આગેવાનોએ બની શકે તો તેને
અટકાવવાનાં પગલાં લેવાની તુરતજ શરૂઆત કરી, અને
સરકારના જવાબદાર અમલદાર સાથે તેમજ એ વિષે વાત
ચિત કરવાની તક મેળવી. પણ તે વાતચિતનું પરીણામ
એટલુંજ આવ્યું કે તેમાંથી સ્ત્રીઓને મુક્ત કરી. છેવટના
ઉપાય તરીકે લેજીસ્લેટીવ કાઉન્સિલ આ ઓર્ડીનન્સ ઉપર વિચાર
કરવાને બેઠી હતી તે સમયે હીંદીઓની એક મહાન સભા
પોતાની લાગણી બતાવવાને મળી. પરંતુ કાઉન્સિલની અંદર
તો અગાઉથી ગોઠવણ કરી મુકેલી હતી તે પ્રમાણે ધું
કાર્ય બે કલાકમાં પુરું કરી દેવામાં આવ્યું. ખીજી બાજુ
થીએટરમાં હીંદીઓની ગંભવર સભા સરકારની આ રાજ



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 Phoenix Settler.



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



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



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



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



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.



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

AN INTERLUDE.



Photo by]

[B. Gabriel.

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



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.





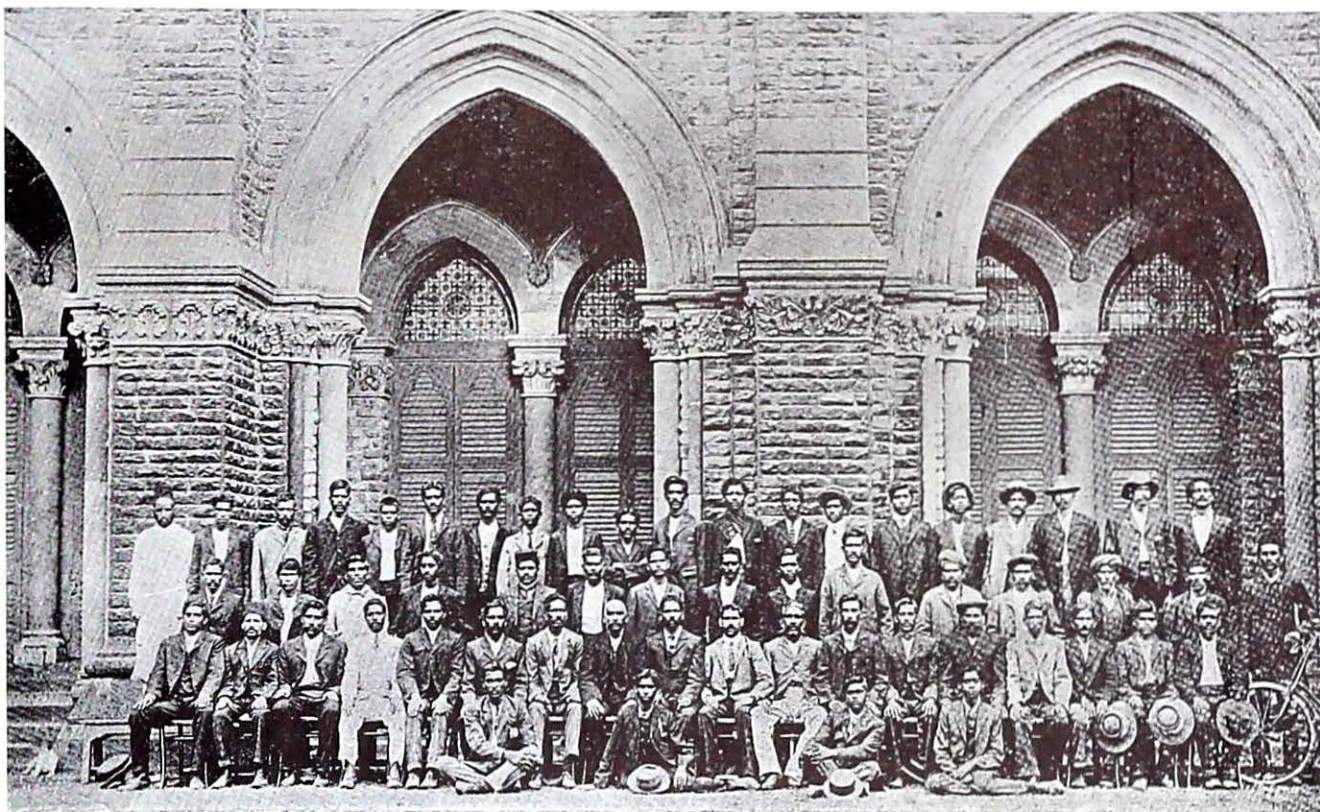
Hanifa Bibi (Mrs. Shaikh Mehtab's Mother) who suffered three months' imprisonment as a Passive Resister



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.



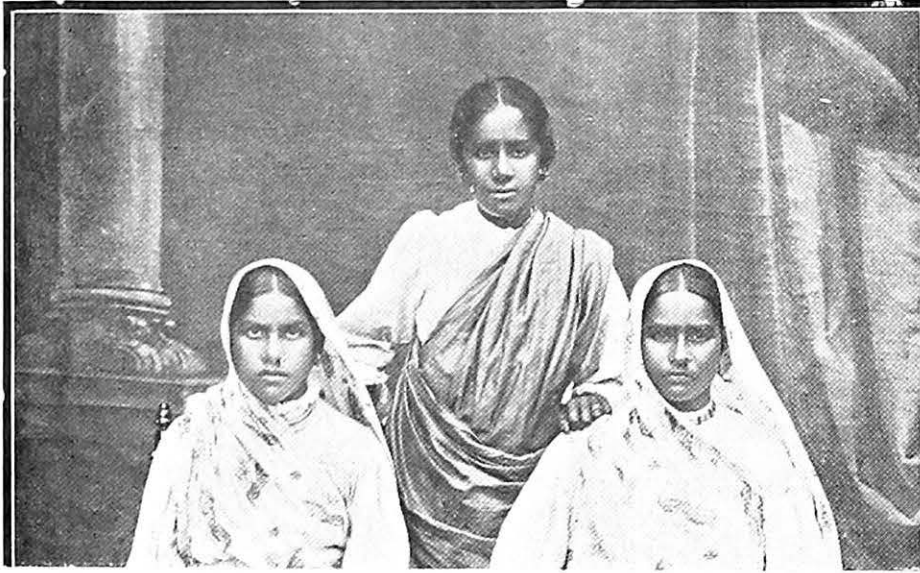
THE 60 INDIANS DEPORTED TO INDIA BY THE TRANSVAAL GOVERNMENT.

[Reproduced from the *Indian Review*, Madras.]

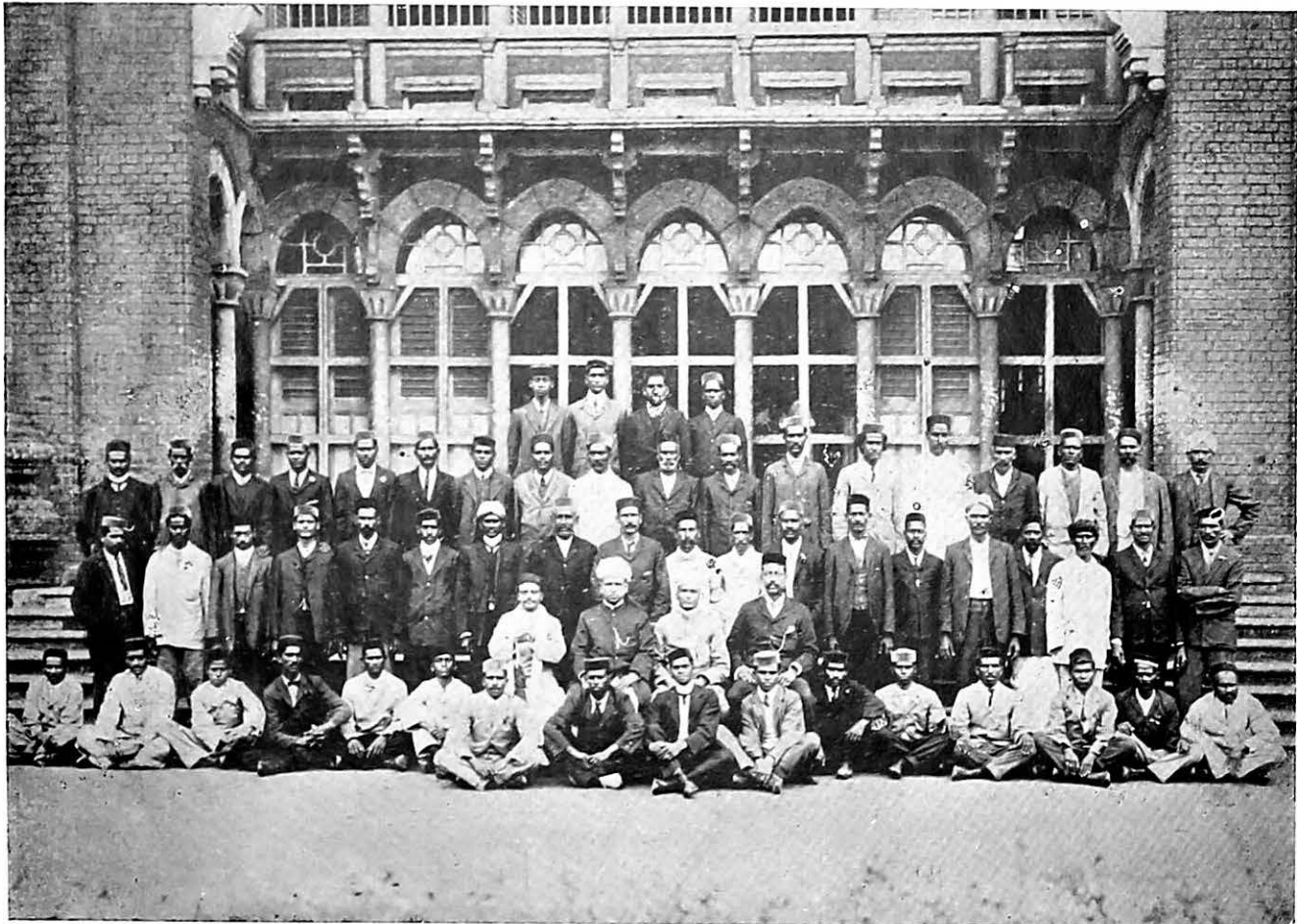
MASS MEETING AT PRETORIA, 1907, WHERE INDIANS WERE ADVISED TO CEASE PASSIVE RESISTANCE AND RESOLUTELY REFUSED TO DO SO.



THREE BRAVE LADIES



Mrs. Sivrasad, Miss Minnatjee and Mrs. Somar, who went to gaol for the cause



South African Deportees at Madras

සාමාන්‍ය ද ඉතිරිව සිටින්නා වූවුන් අතරින් බොහෝමයක් රජයේ සේවයේ දායක වීමට පෙළඹී ඇත. ඉතිරිව පැවති සේවකයන් විටින් විට ඉවත්වී සේවයේ නැතිවී ඇත.

විදේශීය වැටුප් මට්ටම් බොහෝමයක් ඉහළ නැංවීමට රජය තීරණය කර ඇත. මෙය මහජන ජීවිතයට හානි සිදු කළ හැකි අතර, රජයේ සේවයේ පවතින සේවකයන්ගේ වැටුප් මට්ටම ඉහළ නැංවීමට රජයට මුදල් සම්පත් හිඟය. මෙම තත්ත්වය මඟින් රජයේ සේවයේ පවතින සේවකයන්ගේ වැටුප් මට්ටම ඉහළ නැංවීමට රජයට නොහැකි බව පෙනී යයි.

ඉහත සඳහන් කර ඇති කරුණු මත, රජයේ සේවයේ පවතින සේවකයන්ගේ වැටුප් මට්ටම ඉහළ නැංවීමට රජයට නොහැකි බව පෙනී යයි. මෙම තත්ත්වය මඟින් රජයේ සේවයේ පවතින සේවකයන්ගේ වැටුප් මට්ටම ඉහළ නැංවීමට රජයට නොහැකි බව පෙනී යයි. මෙම තත්ත්වය මඟින් රජයේ සේවයේ පවතින සේවකයන්ගේ වැටුප් මට්ටම ඉහළ නැංවීමට රජයට නොහැකි බව පෙනී යයි.

මෙම තත්ත්වය මඟින් රජයේ සේවයේ පවතින සේවකයන්ගේ වැටුප් මට්ටම ඉහළ නැංවීමට රජයට නොහැකි බව පෙනී යයි. මෙම තත්ත්වය මඟින් රජයේ සේවයේ පවතින සේවකයන්ගේ වැටුප් මට්ටම ඉහළ නැංවීමට රජයට නොහැකි බව පෙනී යයි.

නීතිමය තත්ත්වය මත රජයේ සේවයේ පවතින සේවකයන්ගේ වැටුප් මට්ටම ඉහළ නැංවීමට රජයට නොහැකි බව පෙනී යයි.

මෙම තත්ත්වය මඟින් රජයේ සේවයේ පවතින සේවකයන්ගේ වැටුප් මට්ටම ඉහළ නැංවීමට රජයට නොහැකි බව පෙනී යයි. මෙම තත්ත්වය මඟින් රජයේ සේවයේ පවතින සේවකයන්ගේ වැටුප් මට්ටම ඉහළ නැංවීමට රජයට නොහැකි බව පෙනී යයි.

මෙම තත්ත්වය මඟින් රජයේ සේවයේ පවතින සේවකයන්ගේ වැටුප් මට්ටම ඉහළ නැංවීමට රජයට නොහැකි බව පෙනී යයි. මෙම තත්ත්වය මඟින් රජයේ සේවයේ පවතින සේවකයන්ගේ වැටුප් මට්ටම ඉහළ නැංවීමට රජයට නොහැකි බව පෙනී යයි.

તેથી વિશ્વાસ બેસી ગયેલા: આમ ચાર દિવસ સુધી પકડા
એલા જણ અમારી સાથે રહેલા. ન્યારે તેઓને લઇ જવા
ને પોલીસ તખ્તાર થયા ત્યારે તેઓ ખુશીથી તાબે થયા.

ટુકડીઓની ભરતી થતી ચાલી. કોઈ રોજ ચારસો તો
કોઇ રોજ તેથી પણ વધારે. ધણુઓ પગે ચાલતા તથા
અધરિઓ મુખ્યત્વે કરીને ગાડીથી આવવા લાગ્યાં. ચારલ્સ
ટાઉનના હોદી વેપારીના મકાનોમાં ન્યાં જગ્યા હતી ત્યાં
સમાસ કર્યો. ત્યાંની કોરપોરેશને પણ મકાન આપ્યાં. ગોરા
એ ખીલકુલ કનડગત નહોતા કરતા એટલુંજ નહીં પણ મદદ
કરતા હતા. ત્યાંના ડાકતર ક્ષીરકોએ મક્ત સારવાર કરવાનું
માથે લીધું ને અમે ન્યારે ચારલ્સટાઉનથી આગળ વધ્યા ત્યારે
તેણે કોમતી દવાઓ અને કેટલાંક ઉપયોગી શસ્ત્રો મક્ત
આપ્યાં. રસોઇ મસ્જીદના મકાનમાં થતી હતી. અને યુદ્ધો
ચોવીસે કલાક સળગાવે પડતો હતો. રસોઈ કરવા વાળા
હડતાલીઆમાંથીજ તખ્તાર થયા હતા. છેલ્લા દહાડામાં ચાર
થી પાંચ હજાર માણસોને જમાડવાનું રહેતું છતાં આ કામ
દારો કાયર નહીં થયેલા. સવારમાં મકાનના આટાની રાંચ
તેમાં શકર મેજનીને આપવામાં આવતી હતી તથા તેની સાથે
રાટી. સાંજના ચાવલને દાળ તથા શાક આપવામાં આવતાં
હતાં. બધા દક્ષીણ આફ્રીકામાં ધણે ભાગે ત્રણ વખત ખાનારા
હોય છે. ગીરમીટીઆ હુમેશાં ત્રણ વખત ખાનારા હોય છે
પણ તેઓએ લડતમાં બે વેળાથી સતોષ માન્યો. તેઓ
ઝીણા ઝીણા સ્વાદ કરનારા પણ હોય છે. તે સ્વાદ પણ
અહીં છોડ્યા.

આ જથાખંધ જમા થયેલા માણસોનું શું કરવું એ વિચાર
કરવા જેવું થઇ પડ્યું. ચારલ્સટાઉનમાં અગવડે સગવડે
આટલા બધા માણસોને લાંબી મુદત સુધી રાખવામાં આવે
તો રોજ ફાટી નીકળવાનો સંભવ રહ્યો. એટલા હજાર
માણસ જે હુમેશાં કામ કરનારા હોય છે તે નવરા બેસી રહે
એ પણ ઠીક ન ગણાય. આ સમયે એટલું કહી જવાની
જરૂર છે કે આટલા ગરીબ માણસો એકઠા થયેલા છતાં
ચારલ્સટાઉનમાં તેઓમાંના એકે પણ ચોરી નહિ કરેલી.
પોલીસની જરૂર કોઇ પણ વેળા નહિ પડેલી તેમ પોલીસને
કોઇપણ વેળા વધારે કામ નહોતું કરવું પડ્યું. છતાં હવે
ચારલ્સટાઉનમાં નજ બેસી રહેવું એજ ઉત્તમ રસ્તો
જણાયો. તેથી ટ્રાંસવાલમાં દાખલ થવાનો ને છેવટે જે ન
પકડાઇએ તો ટોલસ્ટોય ફારમ પહોંચવાનો ઠરાવ કર્યો.
કુચ કરતાં પહેલાં સરકારને ખબર આપી કે પકડવાને ખાતર
અમે ટ્રાંસવાલમાં દાખલ થવાના છીએ. અમારે ત્યાં રહેવું
નથી, ત્યાંના હકની ઈચ્છા નથી, પણ જ્યાં સુધી સરકાર
નહિ પકડે ત્યાં સુધી અમે અમારી કુચ જારી રાખશું અને
છેવટે ટોલસ્ટોય ફારમ પર મુકામ કરશું. સરકાર જે પા.

૩ નો કર કહાડી નાંખવાનું વચન આપે તો અમે પાછા
જવા તખ્તાર રહેશું: આ નોટીસની ઉપર સરકાર ધ્યાન
આપે એવી તેના મનની સ્થિતિ નહતી. તેના જસુસો તેને
ભમાવતા હતા. ઢોકો થાકશે એમ સમજાવતા હતા. સર
કારે બધી ભાષાઓમાં નોટીસ છપાવીને હડતાલીઆઓને
વહેંચી હતી.

છેવટે ચારલ્સટાઉનથી પણ આગળ વધવાનો વખત આવી
લાગ્યો. તા. ૬ઠી નવેમ્બરે ત્રણ હજારનો સંઘ પરોડીયે
રવાના થયો. આખી હરોળ એક માઈલ કરતાં વધારે લાંબી
હતી. મી. કેલનબેક તથા હું પાછળના ભાગમાં હતા. સંઘ
સરહદ ઉપર પહોંચ્યો, ત્યાં પોલીસની ટુકડી હાજર હતી.
અમે બે ત્યાં જઈ પહોંચ્યા એટલે પોલીસ સાથે વાતચિત
થઇ. તેણે અમને પકડવાની તો ના પાડી એટલે સરઘસ
નિયમમાં અને શાન્તિથી ફ્રેકસરસ્ટ વચ્ચેથી પસાર થયું.
શહેર બહાર સ્ટાંડરટન રોડ ઉપર જઈ બધાએ પડાવ નાખ્યો.
સહુએ ખોરાક લીધો. સ્ત્રીઓ કુચમાં સામેલ ન થાય એવી
ગોઠવણ કરવામાં આવી હતી. છતાં જુસ્સાનું પુર અટકા
વવું મુશ્કેલ થઇ પડ્યું અને કેટલીક સ્ત્રીઓ પણ સામેલ
થઇ. તો પણ કેટલીક સ્ત્રીઓ તથા છોકરાં હજુ ચારલ્સ
ટાઉનમાં રહેલાં હતાં. તેમની બરદાસ કરવાને મી. કેલન
બેકને ફ્રેકસરસ્ટની હદ ઓળંગ્યા પછી પાછા મોકલ્યા.

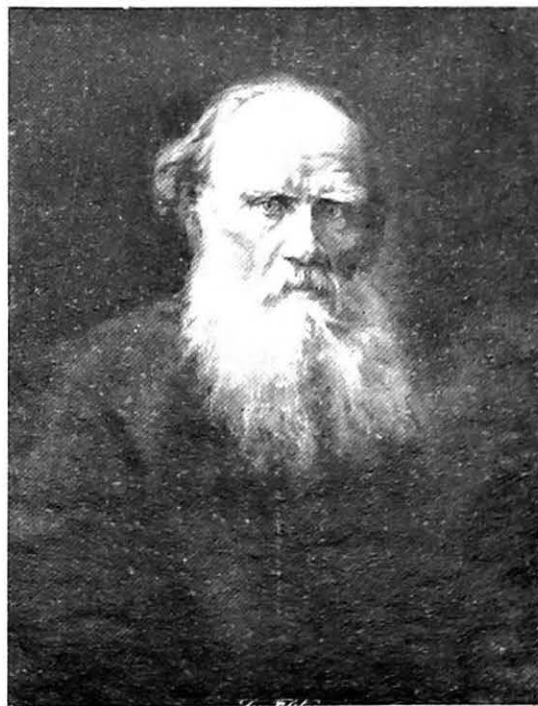
ખીજે દિવસે પામફરડ આગળ પોલીસે મને પકડ્યો. મારા
ઉપર તહોમત ખીન હકદાર માણસોને ટ્રાંસવાલમાં દાખલ
કરવાનું હતું. ખીજાઓને પકડવાને તેને હુકમ ન હતો.
એટલે ફ્રેકસરસ્ટ પહોંચ્યા પછી સરકારને મેં નીચે મુજબ
તાર કર્યો: “સત્યાગ્રહની લડતના મુખ્ય પ્રચારકને સરકારે
પકડેલ છે તેથી હું ખુશી થાઉં છું, પણ તેની સાથે કલા
વિના રહી શકતો નથી કે તે માટે જે તક સાધવામાં આવી
તે દયાની નજરે જોતાં અત્યંત કફેડી છે. સરકાર કદાચ
જાણતી હશે કે આ કુચમાં ૧૨૨ સ્ત્રીઓ અને ૫૦ બાળકો
છે તથા બધાં પોતાને ઠેકાણે પહોંચે ત્યાં સુધી જાંદગી ટકી
રહે એટલા ખોરાક ઉપર નભે છે, અને ઘાઠ તડકાની સામે
રક્ષણ રહિત છે. આવી સ્થિતિમાં મને તેથી વિખુટો કરવો
એ ન્યાયનું ભારે ખંડન કરતાં કહેવાય. ન્યારે ગઇ રાતે
મને પકડવામાં આવ્યો ત્યારે મારી સાથેનાં માણસોને જાણવ્યા
વિના હું તેઓને મુક્તિ આપ્યો છું. તેઓ કદાચ કોઇથી
ગાંડાતુર બની ન્નય. એટલે હું માંગું છું કે કાંતો તેઓની
સાથે કુચ કરવાની રજા મને આપવામાં આવશે અથવા તો
સરકાર તેઓને રેલગાડીથી ટોલસ્ટોય ફારમે પહોંચાડશે અને
ખોરાક પણ પુરી પાડશે. જેના ઉપર તે માણસોને વિશ્વાસ
છે તે વિનાના તેઓને કરી મુકવાં અને તેની સાથે તેને માટે
ખોરાકની વીગેરેનો કોઈ બંદોબસ્ત ન કરવો એ અન્યાય



Photo by]

Mr. Gandhi addressing farewell mass meeting at Durban.

[B. Gabriel



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.

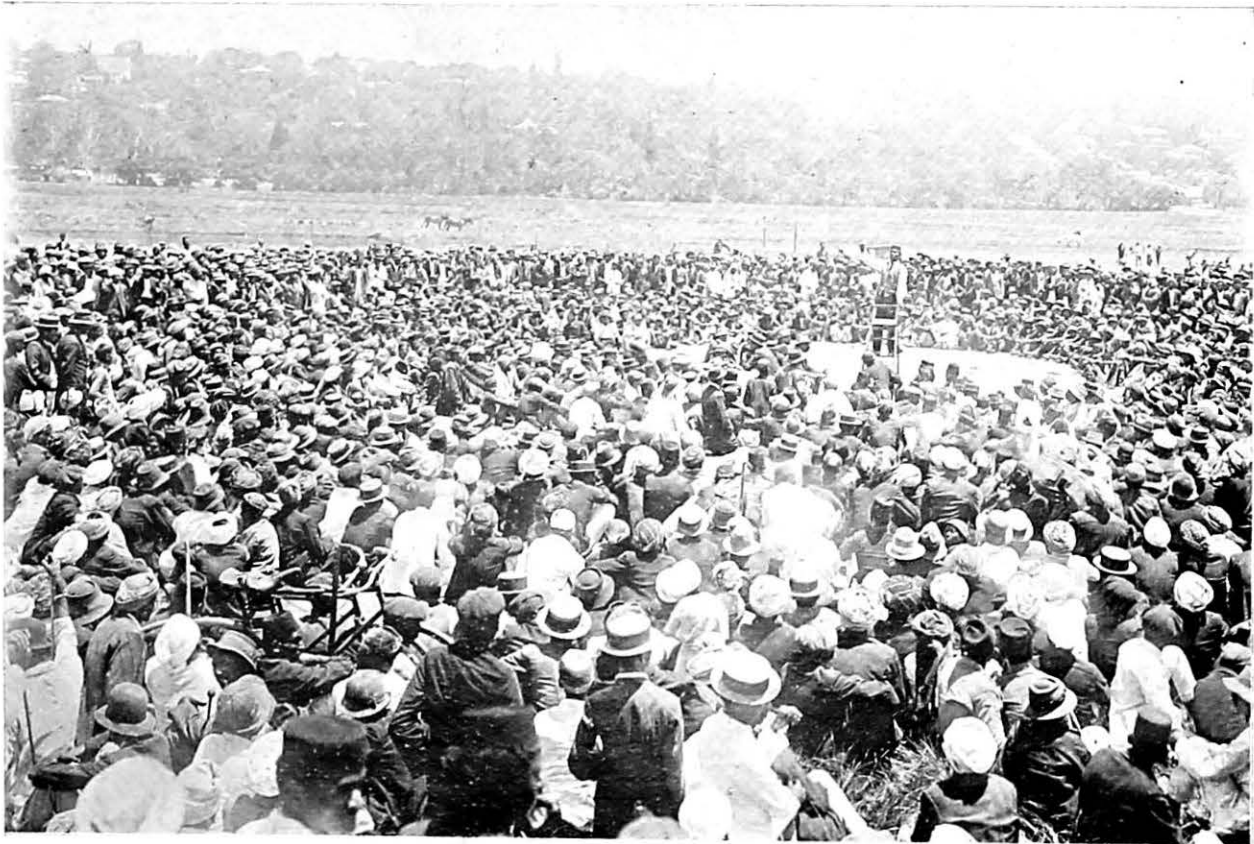


Photo by]

[B. Gabriel

Mr. Thambi 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.

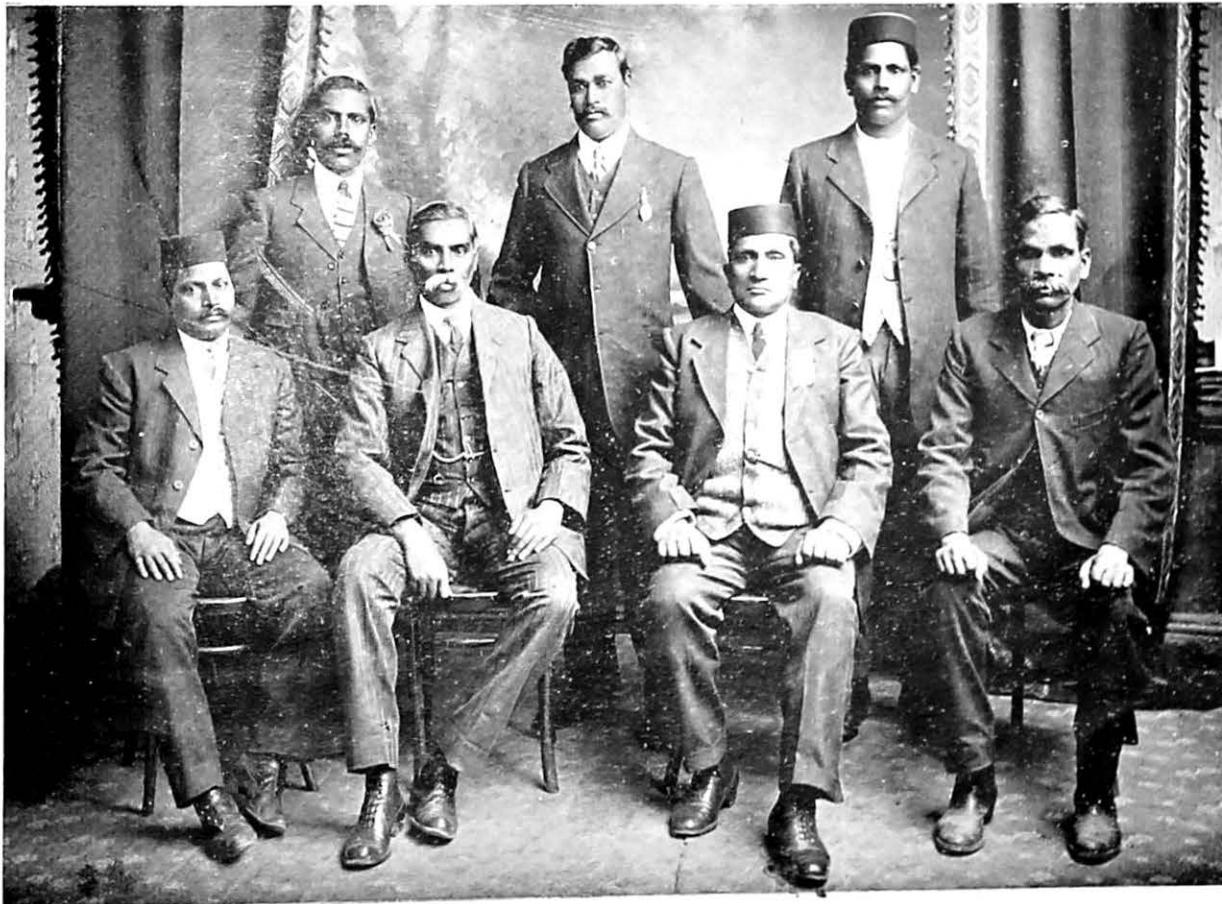


Photo by]

[Frank H. Goodwin.

SOME OF THE KIMBERLEY PASSIVE RESISTERS.

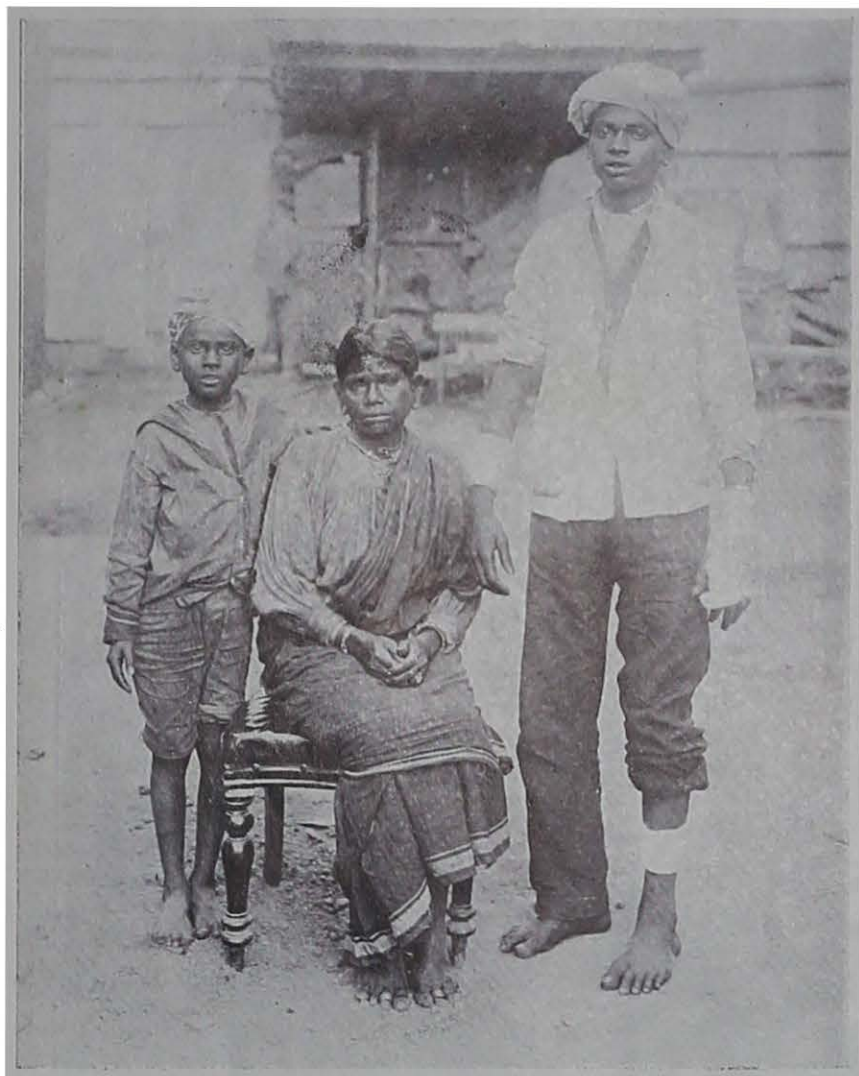


Photo by]

[B. Gabriel.

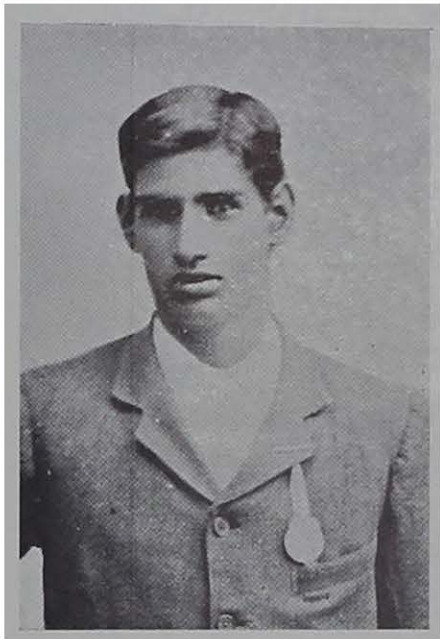
Widow and Sons of Selvan, a free labourer, shot dead during the strike.
The eldest son, Antonimuthu, received three bullet wounds.



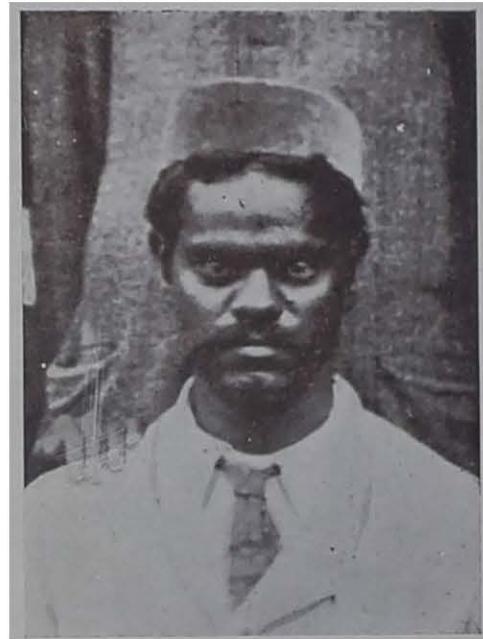
Photo by]

[B. 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.



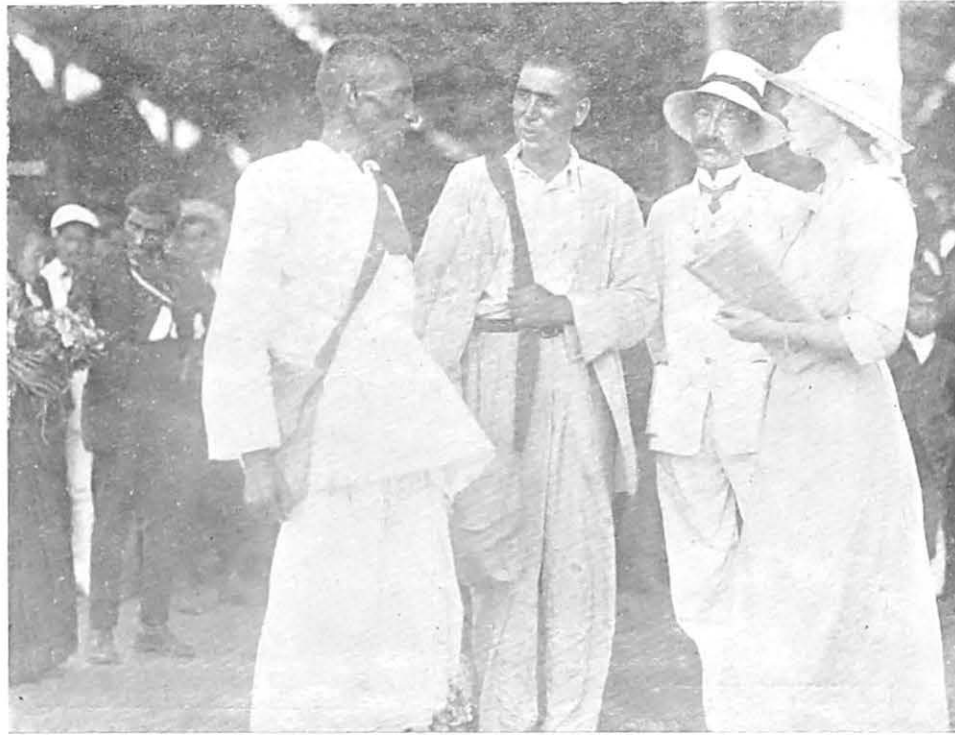
The late Naryasamy,
who was deported to India as a Passive
Resister and who died at Delagoa Bay
after being hunted from Port to Port in
South Africa by the Union Government.



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

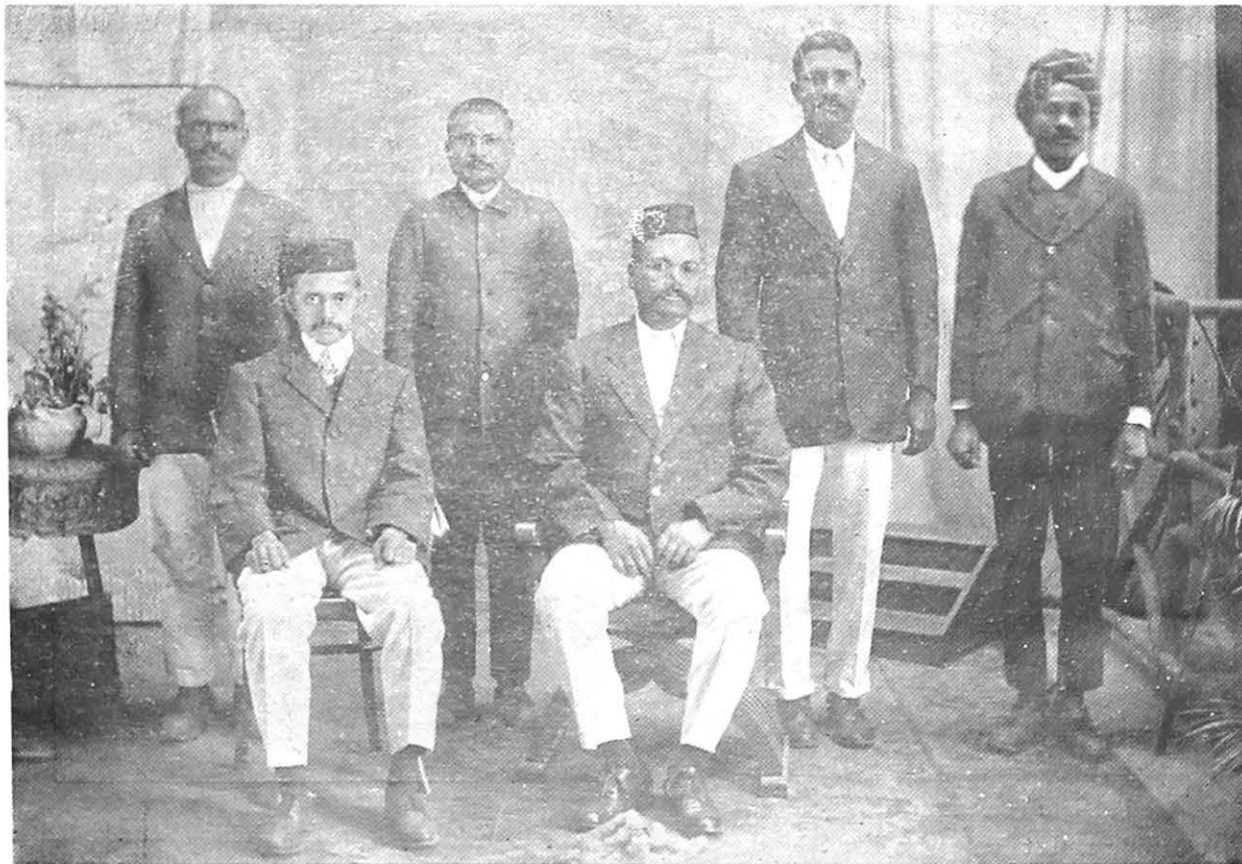


The late Soorzai, with his wife and child.
Soorzai was one of the Strike victims.



“ 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.

VERULAM FAREWELL MEETING

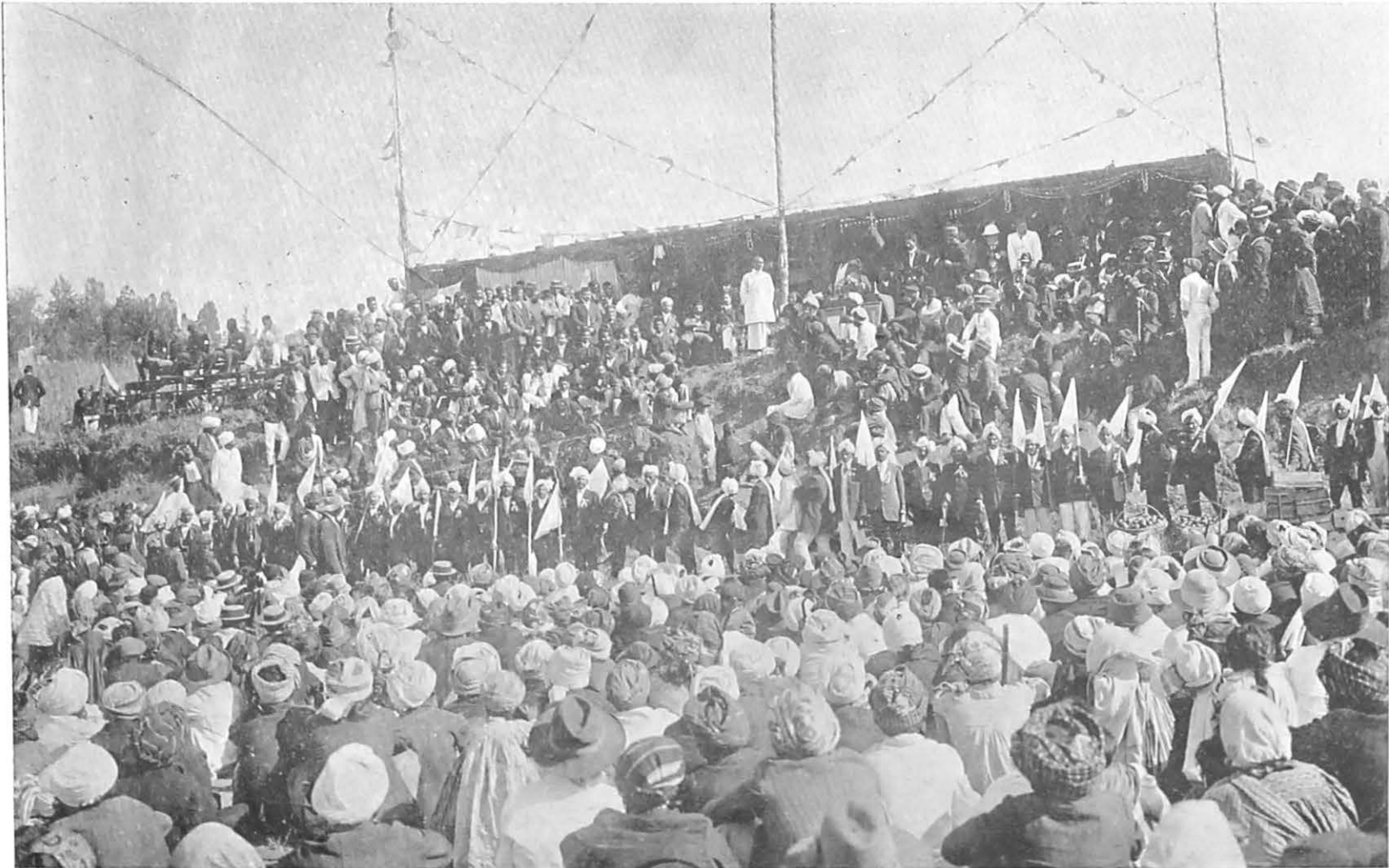


Photo by]

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

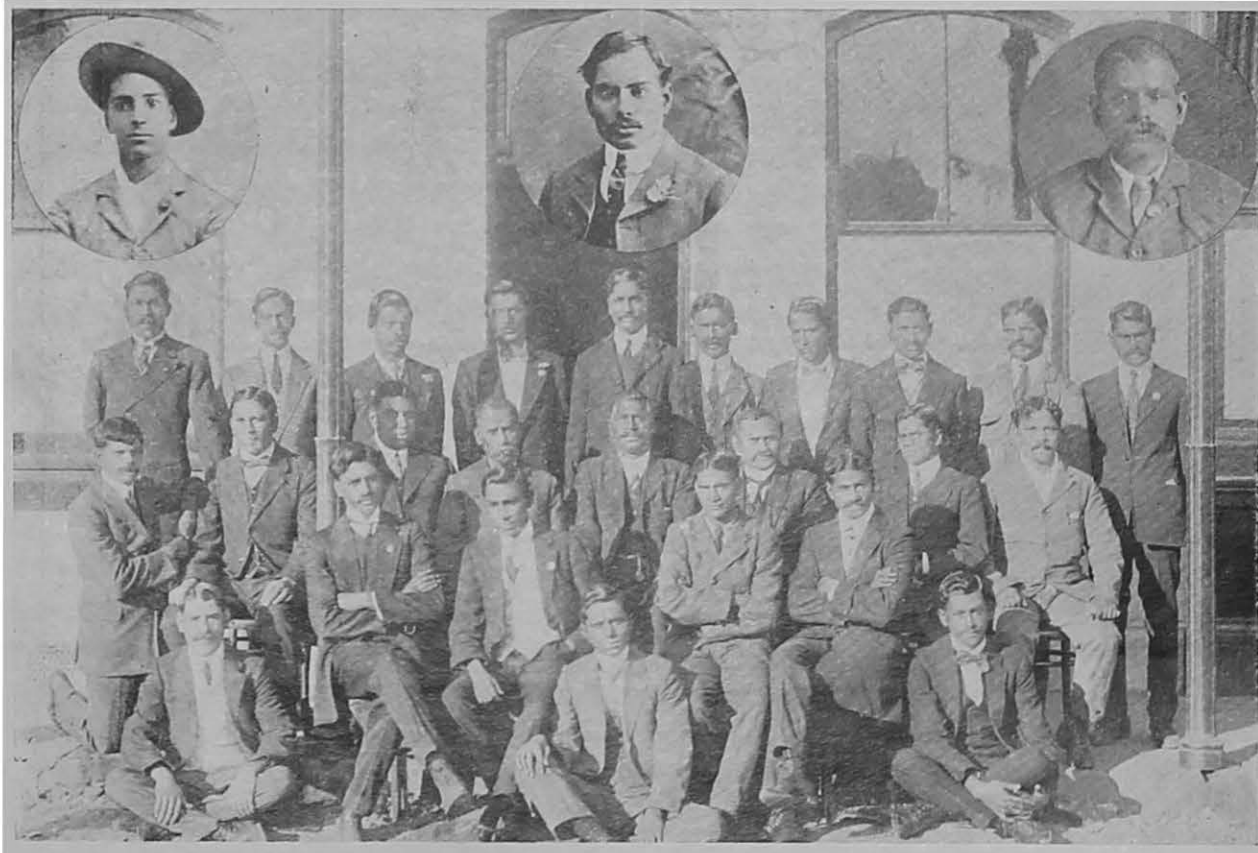
[B. Gabriel



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.

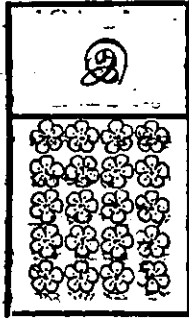
[Photo Co.

“ இந்தியன் ஒப்பீனியன் ” சுவண பிரகாசம்.

தென் ஆப்பிரிக்காவில் சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பின் நடவடிக்கை.

சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பின் கொள்கையும் அனுஷ்டானமும்.

ஸ்ரீமான் மொ. கா. காந்தி அவர்களால் எழுதியது.



இ

ப்புத்தகம் வெளிவருமுன், யான் நாய்காட்டிற்கே ஓபாய்ச் சேராவிடினும், பீனிக்ஸைவிட்டு செருதாரம் போய்விடுவேன். ஆயினும், என் உன்னத்தே பதிந்துகிடக்கும் ஆழ்ந்த கருத்தை வெளியிடவே, இவ்விசேஷப் பிரகாசம் அவசியமாயிற்று. சென்ற புகிசெருவருஷமாய் “இந்தியன் ஒப்பீனியன்” ஜா

லயின்தி விநயமாய், இத்தென்னாப்பிரிக்காவிற்கும், எந்தேசத்தார்க்கும், உழியும்செய்ய முயற்சித்தது. அக்காலம், மஹா நெருக்கிடையான காலம். அக்காலம் அந்நெருக்கிடை நேர்ந்திராவிடினும், ஒரு காலத்தில் நேர்ந்தே நீரவேண்டியதாகும். சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பு எற்பட்டிருக்காதேல், “இந்தியன் ஒப்பீனியன்” இவ்வழகான நெர்ந்த பிரகாசத்தையும் பிரகரித்திருக்காது. அது உலகமெல்லாம் கவனிக்கச்செய்த சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பின் ஆசம் பத்தையும், வளர்ச்சியையும், குறிக்கும். ஏட்டு வருஷ காலத்தில் நடந்த இந்திய சமூகத்தின் முயற்சியினத்தும் குறிக்க, அப்பதங்கள் (Passive Resistance) போதா, அதற்கிணையான இந்திய பாஷாபதத்தை இங்கிலிஷாக்கி னுல்சத்தஸத்தி உண்மைச்சத்தி (Truth Force) என்பதாம்.

டால்ஸ்டாய் (ருஷிய ஞானி) அதை ஆன்மசத்தி அல்லது நட்புவுண்மை என்கிறார்போலும். ஆம், அதுவே. இச்சத்தியை முற்றும் கையாடினால், பொருட்சத்தியோ, இதர உலகசத்தியோ, எதுவும் இணையாகா. நிச்சயமாய், அதன்மூலமே மிருகசத்திக்கும், முரட்டுத்தனத்துக்கும் மேலானதாம். உண்மையில், முரட்டுத்தனம் இம்மஹா

ஆன்மாசத்தியின் மறுதலையேயாம். அந்த முரட்டுத்தனத்தை முற்றும் வெறுத்தவர்களே இச்சத்தியை விருத்தி செய்யவும், உருப்படுத்தவும் கூடும். இச்சத்தியைத் தனி மனிதனும் கையாளலாம். ஜனசமூகமும் கையாளலாம் வீட்டு விஷயங்களிலும் கையாளலாம். அது அழியாமையும், உறுதியுமுடையமையால், உலகத்தில் எவரும் கையாளலாம். மனிதனும், ஸ்திரீயும், குழந்தைகளும் ஒரு மாதிரியாகவே கையாளலாம். முரட்டுத்தனத்தை முரட்டுத்தனமே செய்து அடக்கமுடியாத பலவீனர்களால் மட்டும் கையாணப்படுகின்றபடி, முற்றும்பொய். இம்முடும்பிக்கை, இங்கிலிஷ் பதங்களின் பொருட்டுகறவி விருந்தே உண்டாகிறது. தாய்கள் பலவீனரென்று எண்ணுவார்க்கு, இச்சத்தியை கையாளவே முடியாத மனிதனுக்குள்ளே சபாபத்துக்கு மேற்பட்டது ஒன்று உண்டென்று உணர்ந்துள்ளவர்கள் மட்டும், சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பைப் பயன்படுமாறு கையாணக்கூடும், மற்றவர்களாலே முடியாது. அதற்கே இறைவாசின்றனர். வெளிச்சம் இருட்டுக்கு எப்படியோ, அப்படியே இச்சத்தி முரட்டுத்தனத்துக்கும். ஆதலால், எல்லாருக்கு நோக்கோன்மைகளையும் அந்நிகளையும் இச்சத்தி தூரத்தாத்தம்.

மனமாரவோ, மனமில்லாமலோ ஆண்பட, ஜனங்கள் இராஜநீரத்திற்கு இசைத்திருக்கும் வரையில், இச்சத்தியைக் கையாளுவதால், பூரணவெறுமுண்டாய். 1907 னுத்திய திரான்ஸ்வால் சுட்டத்துக்குக் கீழ்படியு காம் விரும்பவில்லை. அது, இச்சத்திக்குமுன் வட்டிவுண்டிய தாயிற்று.

கமக்கு இராணுவத்தினருக்கு (1) அச்சட்டத்துக்கு

தீழ்ப்படியச்சொன்னபோது முரட்டுத்தனஞ்செய்தல், அதாவது சண்டையிடல் (2) அச்சட்டத்தில் விதிக்கப்பட்ட தண்டனைக்கு மட்டும் உட்பட்டு, ஆளுவோர் அல்லது சட்ட நிருமணர்கள் மனதில் ஒற்றுணர்ச்சி உண்டாகாமலாவரை வருந்தி நம் ஆன்மசக்தியை நிரூபித்துக்காட்டி, சட்டத்தை ரத்தாக்கச்செய்தல் என்பனவாம். நாம் முயன்றகாரியம் சித்திபெற நெடுங்காலம் பிடித்தது. ஏனெனில், நம்முடைய சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பு, முற்றும் பூரணமானதாயில்லாமையால் தான். எல்லாச் சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்போரும், அச்சக்தியின் முழுபலத்தையும் சரிவாத்தெரிந்தில்லை. அன்றியும், எப்போதும் மனமார முரட்டுத்தனம் செய்யக்கூடாதென்று உணர்ந்தவர்களாயில்லை. இச்சக்தியை கையாடும்போது வறுமையை அனுசரிக்கவேண்டியவருகிறது. கருத்து, யாதெனில் நாளைக்கு நமக்கு அன்னவஸ்திரத்துக்கு வேண்டியதையும், கவனித்தற்கில்லை. கடந்த சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பில், எவரேனும் நின்றுள்ளரேல், எல்லோரும் அதுவரையில் போகத்தயாராயில்லை. அவர்கள் உறுதிப்படுத்திக்கொள்ளாமல், வந்தார்கள். பலர் பலவிதமான எண்ணங்களோடு வந்தனர். அழுக்கு மனதோடு வந்தவர்களும் இல்லாமலில்லை. சாத்வீக போராட்ட சமயத்தில், கண்டிப்பான மேல்பார்வையில்லாவிட்டால், சிலர் சந்தோஷமாய் சண்டையிட்டிருப்பார்கள். இம்மாதிரியாக போராட்டம் நீடித்துவிட்டது. ஏனெனில், பரிசுத்தமான ஆத்மசக்தியைப் பரிபூரணமாய் உபயோகப்படுத்தினால், நிவர்த்தி சீக்கிரம்வரும்.

இம்மாதிரிசெய்ய, பிரதிமனிதனும் நீண்டகாலம், பயிற்சி பெற்றிருத்தல் மஹா அவசியம். முற்றிலும் பூரண மனிதனாய் ஆகாவிடினும், ஏறக்குறைய பக்குவப்பட்டிருந்தால், சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்புக்கு ஏற்றவனாவான். நாம் எல்லோரும், திடீரென்று அம்மாதிரி மனிதர்களாய் ஆகமுடியாது. ஆனால், நான்சொல்வது சரியானால் (சரியென்றே நான் அறிவேன்) சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பின் சக்தியால் மனிதர் மிக நல்லவர்களாய் விடுவார்கள். ஆகையால், அதைக்கையாடுதல் ஆகேற்புணர்ச்சி இடமாகாது என்றும், அச்சக்தி உலகம் முழுவதும் பரவினால், பரஸ்பர வியவகாரக்

கொள்கைகளைத் தலைதூக்கிவிடுமென்றும், சுவேச்சாதிபத்தியக் கொடுங்கோன்மை, சைநியாதிபத்தியமாதிய மேல்நாடுகளைக் குழப்பிக்கொண்டிருப்பதோடு தீழ்த்திசை நாடுகளிலும் வெருவாய்த் தலையெடுத்து வருகிற மூடக் கொள்கைகள் தலை நசுக்குண்டு போமென்றும் நினைக்கிறேன். சென்ற சாத்வீக போராட்டமானது, அதில் துழைந்த சில இந்தியரையாவது கூடியமட்டும் பூரணமாய் செய்ய்திருக்குமாயின், அவர்கள் அப்பெயருக்குப் பொருத்தமாய் உழைத்தார்களென்பது மட்டும்ல்ல, அவர்கள் பூவுலகத்துள்ள மனிதவர்க்கத்துக்கே உழைத்தவர்களாவார்கள். இவ்வாறு நோக்கினால், சாத்வீகப் போராட்டமே மிகவும் மேலான நல்ல படிப்பாகும். இப்படிப்பு ஆரம்பிப்பது சிறுவர் அக்ஷராப்பியாசம் பெற்றபின்னல்ல. குழந்தைகள் நெடுங்கணக்குப் பயின்று உலக அறிவு பெறுமுனயே, ஆன்மா என்பதென்ன? என்றும், உண்மையென்பதென்ன? என்றும், அன்பு என்பது என்ன? என்றும், ஆன்மாவுக்குள் எவ்வித சக்திகள் அமைந்துள்ளன? என்றும், தெரிந்திருக்க வேண்டுமென்பதை மறுக்கமுடியாது.

ஒரு குழந்தை தன் ஜீவியகாலப் போராட்டத்தில், பகைமையை நேயத்தாலும், பொய்யை மெய்யாலும், முரட்டுத்தனத்தை தானே வருந்துதலாலும், சுலபமாய் ஜெயிக்கக்கூடியதான படிப்பே படிப்பு. அதுவே உண்மையான படிப்பின் முக்கிய சாரம்சமுமாகும். ஏனெனில் கடைசிப் போராட்டத்தின் முன்பாகத்தில் டால்ஸ்டாய் பாரத்திலும், பிறகு பீனிக்ஸிலும் சில குழந்தைகளுக்கு இம்மாதிரியாய் இப்பத்ததிப்படி போதிக்க என்னாலானமட்டும் முயன்றதில், இச்சக்தியின் பலனை உண்மையெனக்கண்டேன். மேலும், இந்தியாவுக்குத் தற்சமயம் புறப்படுவதற்கான காரணங்களுள் முக்கியமானது ஒன்று உண்டு. அது என்னவெனில், ஏற்கனவே நான் தலையிடும்ன, சாத்வீகப் போராட்டத்தில் என்னிடமுள்ள இதர குறைவுகளையும் நிவிர்த்தித்து, என்னையே பூரணமாய் ஆக்கிக்கொள்ள முயல்வதற்காகவேதான். ஏனெனில், இந்தியாவே பூரணமாக்குவதற்கு ஏற்ற இடமென்று நான் நம்புவதேயாம்.

சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பின் கிளர்ச்சியும், அதன் வரலாறும்.

பத்திராதிபரால் எழுதப்பட்டது.

இதில் கிடைத்துள்ள சொற்ப இடத்தில் இத்தென்னுப்பிரிக்காவில் சென்ற 8 வருஷங்களாக இந்தியர்கள் அனுபவித்துவந்த கஷ்டங்களைப்பற்றியும் அது காரணமாக நடத்திய சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பின் விவரங்களைப்பற்றியும், முற்றிலும் எழுதக் கூடாமையினால், அங்கங்கே முக்கிய

மாய் ஏற்பட்டுவந்த சிற்சில விஷயங்களை மட்டுமே இங்கே எழுதத் துணிந்தோம்.

போவர் யுத்தத்தின்பின் இத்தென்னுப்பிரிக்காவில் இங்கிலீஷ் அரசாங்கி ஏர்ப்படுவதினால் இந்தியர்களுக்கு உண்மையை விளைவிக்குமென்று எதிர்கோக்கியிருந்தும், யுத்

தழுடிந்தவுடன் நாம் நினைத்திருந்ததற்கு எதிரிடையாக இந்தியர்களின் குடியேற்றத்தைக் கண்டனம் செய்து இராஜப்பிரதிநிதியாகிய லார்ட் மில்னர் என்பவர், இந்தியர்கள் தங்கள் தங்களுடைய பெயர், தொழில், இருப்பிடம், நிறம், உயரம் முதலிய அத்தாஷிகளைத் தாக்கல் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று ஆஞ்ஞாபித்தார். இந்தியர்கள் இங்கிலீஷ் குடியேறியிருப்பதினால், இங்கிலீஷ் இராஜாங்கத்தைச் சேர்ந்த தேசத்தில் குடியேறவும், வசிக்கவும் சுதந்திரமுடையவர்களாயிருக்க மேற்சொல்லியவாறு தங்கள் தங்களுடைய பெயர்களை தாக்கல் செய்து இவ்விடத்தில் வசிக்க உத்தரவு பெற்றுக்கொள்வது, தங்களுக்கும், தங்களுடைய தேசத்தாருக்கும் அவமானமாய் இருக்கிறதென்றுணர்ந்து அதர்க்கிணங்கியிருக்க விருப்பம் இல்லாதவர்களானார்கள். இப்படியிருக்க, இந்தியர்கள் மேற்சொல்லியவாறு தங்கள் தங்களுடைய பெயரைத் தாக்கல் செய்வோருக்கு, ஏற்கனவே கிடைத்தன்ன அத்தாஷிப்பத்திரம் (ரிஜிஸ்ட்ரேஷன் ஸ்டீடிபிக்கேட்டுகள்) முடிவானதாயிருக்குமென்றும், அப்பத்திரம் உடைய இந்தியர்கள் தங்களுக்கு இஷ்டமானபோது யாதொரு சங்கடமின்றி டிரான்ஸ்வாலுக்குள் செல்லவும், வெளியேவரவும் சுதந்திரமுடையவர்களாய் இருப்பார்களென்று உருதியான வாக்களித்ததின் பேரில், இந்திய ஜனத்தலைவர்கள் மேற்படி தாக்கல்செய்வதை வற்புறுத்துவதின் பேரில்லாமல் அவரவர்களுடைய மனோராஜியில்செய்வதாய் ஒப்புக்கொண்டார்கள். இப்படியிருக்கையில் உத்திரவில்லாமலே டிரான்ஸ்வாலுக்குள் இந்தியர்கள் ஆயிரம் கணக்காக சென்றுவிட்டார்கள் என்று, ஐரோப்பியர்கள் வினே புகார்செய்துக்கொண்டு டிரான்ஸ்வால் முழுமையும் அங்கங்கே கூட்டங்கள் கூடி இந்தியர்கள் குடியேற்றத்தை முற்றிலும் கண்டனம் செய்யவேண்டுமென்றும், இந்தியர்களை லொக்கேஷன் என்றுசொல்லப்பட்ட பிரத்தியேகமான இடத்திலேயே வசிக்கச் செய்வீதும், அவ்விடத்திலேயே அவரவர்களுடைய வியாபாரத்தை நடத்த உத்திரவளிக்கவேண்டுமென்று கூக்குரலிட்டார்கள். ஐரோப்பியர்களின் செயல்பிசென்றும், அவர்கள் சொல்லிய காரணங்கள் உண்மையல்லவென்று வெளிப்படுத்தும்பொருட்டு, சர்க்கார் ஓர் விசாரணைக் கமிட்டியை ஏற்படுத்தவேண்டுமென்று இந்தியர்கள் கேட்டுக்கொண்டார்கள். ஆனால் இதற்கு யாரும் செவி கொடுக்கவில்லை. இப்படியிருக்க 1906 வருஷத்தில் இந்தியர்கள் தங்கள் தங்களுடைய பெயர், இருப்பிடம் முதலிய விபரங்களை மறுபடியும் பதிவுசெய்யவேண்டுமென்று ஓர் மசோதா சர்க்காரால் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டது. இச்சட்டம் அமுலுக்கு வரவே இந்தியர்கள் தங்கள்பேரில் வெடிகுண்டு வந்து வீழ்ந்ததுபோல் வியாகூலமடைந்தாலும், ஐரோப்பியர்களோ இந்தியர்களை இவ்வூரிலிருந்து வேறேடுகிணப்பித் தரத்திவிடுவதற்கு இராஜாங்கத்தார் உண்டாக்கிய அப்பாடுகளில் இது முதலாவதென்றெண்

ணி குதூகலித்தார்கள். மேற்படி சட்டத்தைப்பற்றி பார்லிமெண்டில் பேசிக்கொண்டிருக்கும் பொழுது, இந்தியர்கள் ஓர் மகாஜனக்கூட்டம் கூடி சர்க்காரால் ஏற்படுத்தப்போகிற சட்டத்தை இந்தியர்கள் எவ்விதத்திலும் அங்கீகரிப்பதில்லையென்றும், இந்தியர்களுக்கு அச்சட்டத்தின் மேல் உண்டாகிய அருவருப்பைக்கூட்ட "பாஸில் ரெஸிஸ்ட்டென்ஸ்" என்னும் சாத்வீக எதிரிடைக்கட்சி உண்டாக்கி ஜெயிலுக்குப்போவதே உத்தமமென்றும், அக்கூட்டத்தில் ஆஜராகவிருந்தவர்களில் சுமார் மூவாயிரம் இந்தியர்கள் முன்வந்து பிரமாணிக்கம் செய்தார்கள். இதனால் இந்தியர்கள் அளவிலாத் துன்பத்திற்காளாகின்றமையால் இவ்விஷயங்களை, இம்பீரியல் கவர்ன்மெண்டாருக்கு, விபரமாகத்தெரிவித்து மேற்படி மசோதாவை ஒப்புக்கொள்ளாவண்ணம் செய்ய தென்னாப்பிரிக்காவிலிருந்து விசேஷப்பொருள் செலவுசெய்து இங்கிலாந்து தேசத்திற்கு பிரதிநிதிகளை அனுப்பினார்கள். இவர்கள் இங்கிலாந்திற்குச் சென்று, முன் சென்னையில் கவர்ன்ராகவிருந்த லார்ட் ஆம்ஸ்டீல் பிரபுவின் உதவியைக்கொண்டு செய்த முயற்சியினால் மேற்படி சட்டத்தை இம்பீரியல் கவர்ன்மெண்டாரால் அங்கீகரிக்கப்படுவதை சிரிதுகாலம் தள்ளிவைக்கப்பட்டது.

இதன்பின்பு, ஐரோப்பியர்கள் கடுங்கோபத்துடன் மேற்படி சட்டத்தை சர்க்கார் உடனே ஸ்தாபனப்படுத்தவேண்டுமென்று வாதித்ததன்பேரில், அது இந்திய பிரஜைகளுக்கு விரோதமாயிருந்தும், ஐரோப்பிய பிரஜைகளின் வேண்டுகோளுக்கிணங்கி மேற்படி சட்டத்தை இம்பீரியல் கவர்ன்மெண்டார் உடனே அங்கீகரித்துக்கொண்டார்கள்.

இப்புதிய சட்டம், 1907ஆம் ஜூலை 11 வெளிவந்தது. ஆயினும் இந்தியர்களோ தாங்கள் கட்டாயமாய் ரிஜிஸ்ட்டர் செய்வதில்லையென்று செய்துக்கொண்ட நிர்மானத்தின்வண்ணம் உறுதியாய் எதிர்த்து நின்றார்கள். இதனுடன் மூவாயிரம் கையொப்பங்கள் வைத்துள்ள மனு ஒன்றை தயார்செய்து மேற்படி சட்டத்தை நிரூபிப்பதற்கும் பட்சத்தில் இந்தியர்கள் மனோராஜியாக ரிஜிஸ்ட்டர் செய்ய சித்தமுடையவர்களாய் இருக்கிறார்களென்று சர்க்காருக்குத் தெரிவித்தார்கள். இந்த மனுவுக்கு சர்க்கார் இணக்காமல் ஜனத்தலைவர்களைப் பிடித்து தேசத்தைவிட்டு வெளியே போய்விடவேண்டுமென்று உத்தரவுசெய்து, அதற்கிணக்காதவர்களை கடினகாவல் தண்டனை விதித்தார்கள். இவ்விதம் செய்தும் ஞாற்றுக்கணக்கான இந்தியர்கள் ரிஜிஸ்டர் செய்யாமல் சிறைச்சாலைக்குச் சென்றுக்கொண்டேயிருந்தார்கள். கவர்ன்மெண்டாரும் இந்தியர்களை ஆயிரம் கணக்காக, சிறைச்சாலைகளை நாளுக்குநாள் நிரப்பிக்கொண்டுவந்தார்கள். சர்க்கார் இவர்களை நாளுக்குநாள் நெருக்கவேண்டுமென்று எடுத்த உபாயங்கள் நிறைவேராமல் போகிறதையறிந்து "டிரான்ஸ்வால் லீடர்"

என்னும் பத்திரிகையின் பத்திராதிபர் மிஸ்டர் ஆல்பர்ட் கார்ட்ரைட் என்பவர் மூலமாய் இந்திய பிரதிநிதிகளிடம் கலந்துபேசி ஓர் உடன்பாடு செய்துக்கொண்டார்கள். அ தென்ன வென்றால் “இந்தியர்கள் சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பை நிரூபித்த மூன்றுமாதத் தவணைக்குள்ளாக யாவரும் சுயேச்சையாய் ரிஜிஸ்டர் செய்யவேண்டுமென்றும், அதற்கிடாக சர்க்கார், இந்தியர்களை பலவந்தமாய் ரிஜிஸ்டர் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கொண்டுவந்த புதிய சட்டத்தை நிரூபித்தி, மேற்படி ரிஜிஸ்டர் செய்வது நிரூபிதகரமாய் நடந்தேரினால் இப்புதியசட்டத்தை ரத்துசெய்வதாய் வாக்களித்ததே.” இதன்பின்பு, இந்தியர்கள் தங்கள் சம்மதித்தவிதம் ரிஜிஸ்டர்செய்து தீர்ந்தபிறகு, சர்க்கார் செய்யவேண்டிய ஒழுங்குகளைப்பற்றி கேட்டபோது, மேற்சொல்லியவாறு சட்டத்தை ரத்துசெய்வதாய் அளித்தவாக்கை இல்லையென்று மறுத்தாவிட்டார்கள். இதன்பேரில் இந்தியர்களுக்குப் பெருந்த குழப்பமுண்டாயின. சர்க்கார் சில இந்தியர்களை இவ்வூரில் வசிக்க தகுதியற்றவர்களை என்று அப்புரப்படுத்தவும், இயிக்கிரேஷன் சட்டத்தில் குலவர்க்கப்பேதங்கள் இருக்கவும் அதை இந்தியர்கள் சம்மதியோடு அங்கீகரித்தால், மேற்படி சட்டத்தை ரத்துசெய்வதாய் தெறிவித்தார்கள். ஆனால் இந்தியர்கள் இதை அங்கீகரிக்கவில்லை. ஜோலாணஸ்பர்க்கில் கூடிய ஓர் மகாஜனக்கூட்டத்தில், ஏற்கனவே இந்தியர்கள் சுயேச்சையாய் ரிஜிஸ்டர் செய்ததில் கிடைத்தன ஸர்ட்டிபிபிக்கேட்டுகளை புவிரங்கமாய் பெருப்பிவிட்டு எறித்துவிட்டார்கள். அதன் பின்பு சர்க்காரின் பிரதான உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களுக்கும், இந்திய, சீன பிரதிநிதிகளுக்கும் ஆலோசனைக் கூட்டம் நடந்தேறியது. ஆனால், மேற்படி சட்டத்தை ரத்துசெய்யாதபடியினால், சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பு மும்மடக்கு அதிகமாய் மறுபடியும் நடத்தப்பட்டு அநேகர் கிறைக்கரினாகியும் இத்தேசத்திலிருந்து தேசப்பிரஷ்டம் செய்யப்பட்டும் போயினர். ஆனால், எவ்வளவு சீக்கிரம் இந்தியர்களை டிரான்ஸ்வால் எல்லை லிருந்து வெளியில் கொண்டுபோக தன்னினர்களோ, அவ்வளவுக்கவ்வளவு சீக்கிரம் இந்தியர்கள் மறுபடியும் மேற்படி எல்லைக்குள் சென்று சர்க்கார் தங்களுக்குக்காட்டிய அவிசுவாசத்தை ஒப்புக்கொள்வதேயில்லை என்பதற்கு அறிஞறியாக சர்க்காரால் பிடிக்கப்பட்டு கிறைச்சாலைக்குச் சென்றனர். இதுகாரணமாக அநேக இந்தியர்கள் தங்கள் தங்களுடைய சம்பந்தியத்தையெல்லாம் தேற்று தரித்திரதசையடைந்தும், அவ்விலாத் துன்பத்திற்றாளாகியும் வந்தார்கள். கம் தாய்நாடாகிய இந்தியாவிலுள்ள ஆங்காங்கு கூட்டங்கள் கூடப்பட்டு, தென்ஆப்பிரிக்கா கவர்ண்மெண்டாரின் செயல்களைக் கண்டித்தும், தென்ஆப்பிரிக்காவில் பிறந்தவர்களைப்புகூட இந்தியாவுக்கு தேசப்பிரஷ்டம் செய்வதைப்பற்றி தர்க்கித்தனர். இவ்விதம் பிரதேசமூப்பப் பட்டவர்களில் காலஞ்சென்ற கணம் நாராயண

சாமியைத்தவிர மற்றெல்லோரும் மறுபடியும் தென்ஆப்பிரிக்காவுக்கு வந்துசேர்ந்தார்கள். காலஞ்சென்ற கணம் நாராயணசாமி என்பவர் மாத்திரம் இங்கிலீஷ் துறைமுகங்களில் இறங்க இடங்கிடைக்காதபடியால் கப்பலிலேயே வியாதிப்பட்டு மாணமடைந்தார்.

1912-ம் வருஷத்தில் ஆனரபின் மிஸ்டர் கோக்ளேயவர்கள் தென்ஆப்பிரிக்காவிற்கு விஜயஞ்செய்திருந்தபோது இந்தியர்களின் கஷ்டங்களைப்பற்றி நேரில் விசாரித்தறிந்து, அவைகளை நீக்கவேண்டுமென்று கவர்ண்மெண்டாரிடத்தில் விவாதம் செய்தார். இவர் வந்திருந்தபோது தான், உடன்பாட்டு இந்தியர்கள் செலுத்திவந்த மூன்று பவுண் வரியை ரத்துசெய்வதாய், சர்க்கார் அவருக்கு நேரில் வாக்களித்ததாக, சமாச்சாரம் வெளிப்பட்டது.

1913-ம் வருஷத்திய மசோதா பார்லிமெண்டுக்கு வந்த போது, இந்தியர்கள் விவாக சம்பந்தமான விஷயங்களை ஒழுங்குசெய்ய வேண்டுமென்றும், புதிய சட்டத்தில் குலவர்க்க வித்தியாச நிபந்தனைகள் எர்ப்பட்டிருக்கக்கூடாதென்றும், சர்க்காருக்குத் தெறிவித்தனர். ஆயினும் சர்க்கார் அதற்கிணங்காமற் போனபடியால், மறுபடியும் இந்தியர்கள் ஒரே தாரம் விவாகம்செய்வது, குலவர்க்க வித்தியாசமின்மை, ஆரஞ்சு ரீவர் காலனி, கேப்கரலனிகளில் தென்ஆப்பிரிக்காவில் பிறந்த இந்தியர்கள் செல்லும் உரிமை, உடன்பாட்டு இந்தியர்களுடைய (3) மூன்று பவுண் வரியை ரத்துசெய்வது, முதலான சீர்திருத்தங்களை ஒழுங்குசெய்ய, அடுத்த பார்லிமெண்டில் மசோதா ஒன்றை புதிதாய் கொண்டுவர சர்க்கார் ஒப்புக்கொள்ளாவிடில் மறுபடியும் சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பை துவக்குவோமென்று தெறிவித்தார்கள். தெறிவித்தும் சர்க்கார் ஒப்புக்கொள்ளாமையால், சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பை முன்நடத்தியதற்கு பதின்மடங்கதிகமாய் நடத்தப்பட்டது. இதே சமயத்தில், ஜுட்ஜுகோர்ட்டார் இந்து, மகம்மதிய மதத்தின் முறைப்படி செய்யுதுக்கொண்ட இந்தியர்களின் விவாகத்தை இவ்வூர் சட்டத்தின்படி அங்கீகரிக்கப்படாதென்று தீர்மானங்கொடுத்தனர். இது இந்தியர்களுக்கு பெரிய அவமானத்தை உண்டாக்கினமையால், இந்திய ஸ்திரீகளும் சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பைச்சேர்ந்து கடுஞ்சிறையடைந்து வருந்தினார்கள். இதனோடு மூன்று பவுண் வரியை சர்க்கார் ரத்துசெய்கிறதாக கொடுத்த வாக்கை நிறைவேற்றாமையால், நெட்டாவில் எங்கே பார்த்தாலும் ஆயிரம் கணக்காக இந்தியர்கள் ஆண்களும், பெண்களும், தங்கள் தங்கள் உத்தியோகத்தை நிரூபி சர்க்காரிடத்தில் தர்க்கித்து கிறையிலடைந்தனர். நெட்டாவில் வடபாகத்திலிருக்கும் நிலக்கரி சுரங்கங்களில் வேலைசெய்து வந்த ஆயிரங்கணக்கான இந்தியர்கள் தங்கள் தங்களுடைய வேலைகளை விட்டுவிட்டு, மனைவிடிகளுடன் பெருங்கஷ்டங்களையடைந்து கால் நடையாய் டிரான்ஸ்வால் எல்லைக்குட்சென்றனர். இவர்களை முன்மொண்டு நடத்தியவர்கள் நமது தேசாபிமான

சிம்மங்கனாகிய ஸ்ரீமான் காந்தி, மிஸ்டர் காலன்பாக், மிஸ்டர் போலாக் என்பவர்களே. சர்க்கார் இதைக்கண்டு மேற்படி ஜனத்தலைவர்களை பிடித்து கைதிசெய்தனர். ஜனத்தலைவர்களைப் பிடித்துக்கொண்ட பிறகு நெட்டால் முழுமையும் அங்கங்கே இந்தியர்கள் வேலையை விட்டு விட்டு ஆயிரங்கணக்காய் சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பின் கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்தனர். அநேக இடங்களில் ஐயாயிரம் பதினாயிரம் கணக்காக ஜனங்கள் கூட்டங்கள் கூடி இந்தியர்களின் நிலைமையை ஒழுங்குசெய்ய வேண்டுமென வற்புருத்திக் கூறினர். தாய்தேசமாகிய இந்தியாவிலும் பல, பிரதான பட்டணங்களில் ஆங்காங்கு கூட்டங்கள் கூடப்பட்டு; தென்ஆப்பிரிக்கன் கவர்ண்மெண்டார் செய்துவரும் அட் டீழியங்களை (இங்கிலாந்து) இம்பீரியல் கவர்ண்மெண்டார் கண்டணகு செய்யவேண்டுமென்று பிரரேபித்து வர்ப்பு ருத்தியதுடன், தென்ஆப்பிரிக்கர் இந்தியர்களின் கஷ்டங் களைக் கூடமர்ன் வண்ரயில் நிவர்த்திக்கும் பொருட்டு ஏரர் லீமான் திரவிய சகாயமும் செய்தனர். இச்சமயத்தில் சென்னையில் கூடியகூட்டத்தில்; இந்தியர்வின் கூவசிராய் லீர்ட் ஆர்டிஞ்சு, தென்ஆப்பிரிக்கர் இந்தியர்களின் நிலை மையை விசாரித்து அவைகளை ஒழுங்குசெய்ய சர்க்கார் ரால் ஓர் விசாரணைக் கமிட்டியை ஏற்படுத்தவேண்டிமெ ன்று தன் அபிப்பிராயத்தை வெளியிட்டார். லார்ட் ஆ ம்தில் பிரபுவும் இங்கே துன்புறும் இந்தியர்களின் விஷய மர்க் விடர்முயற்சியாய் இங்கிலாந்தில் வர்தாடிவந்தார். கண்டசியில் சர்க்கார் ஓர் விசாரணைக் கமிட்டியை நியமி த்து; சிற்றயிலடைக்கப்பட்டிருந்த; ஸ்ரீமான்கனாகிய காந் தி; கர்லின்பர்க்; போலாக் என்த மூவரையும் விடுதலை செய்தனர். ஆயினும் மேற்படி விசாரணைக் கமிட்டியில் நியமிக்கப்பட்ட அங்கத்தினர்கள் இந்தியர்களின் நன்மை யை விரும்பாதவர்களாயிருந்ததை முன்னிட்டு நம் தலைவ ர்கள் இங்கிலாந்தில் தங்கள் குறைகளைப்பற்றி முறை யிடுவது பிரயோஜனமற்றதென்று எண்ணி மேற்படி கமி ட்டியில் வீர்க்குமூலம் கொடுக்க மறுத்துவிட்டார்கள். தவிர சர்க்காருடைய உத்தியோகஸ்தர்க்களாலும்; போலீ ஸர்களாலும்; மரணக்கிண்க்குள்ளாகிய பல இந்தியர்கள்; தங்கள் தங்களுடைய ரிப்போர்ட்டுகளை மேற்படி கமிட்டி யர்ரிடம் சொல்ல மனமற்றவராயினர். இந்தியர் கவர்ண் மெண்டார், ஸர் பெஞ்ஜமின் ராபர்ட்ஸன் அவர்களை மே ற்படி கமிட்டிக்குச்சென்று இந்தியர் கவர்ண்மெண்டார் தற்ப்பில் வர்க்குமூலம் கொடுக்கும்படி நெட்டாலுக்கு அனுப்பியிருந்தனர். இதே சமயத்தில் இந்தியர்விலிருந்து ஸ்ரீயுத் ஆண்ட்ரஸ் பாதிரியாரும் மிஸ்டர் பீயர்ஸனும் ஆகிய இரண்டு ஐரோப்பியர்கள் இந்தியர்களுக்குதவி செய்து சமாதானத்தை ஏற்படுத்தும் பொருட்டு நெட் டாலுக்கு வந்திருந்தார்கள். இவர்களிருவரும் இந்தியர்க ளுக்குச்செய்த பேருதவி மிக்க மெச்சப்பட்டத்தக்கதே. சிற்றயிலடைக்கப்பட்டிருந்த இந்தியர்களில் கன்ம் அர்பத்

சிங், ஸ்ரீமதி வள்ளியம்மாள், கன்ம் நாகப்பன், கன்ம் கா ராயணசாமி என்றும் நர்ல்வர் சிற்றயிலனுபவித்த இம் ஸையினால் வியாதிக்குள்ளாகி கைமடையாமல் சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பின் கட்சியை நிலைநிறுத்தும் பொருட்டாக தங்களு யிரை தத்தம் செய்தனர். இவ்வித அலங்கேலத்தில் க ம்முடைய சங்கதியிருக்கும்போது, வெள்ளைய வேலையாட் கள் தங்களுக்குச் சம்பளம் போதாதென்று வேலை நிர்ப் பாட்டம் "ஸ்டைக்" ஒன்று ஏற்பட்டுவிட்டது. இச் சமயத்தில் இந்தியர்களும் சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பை மும்முரமர் க் நடத்துவார்களிடில் கவர்ண்மெண்டாருக்கு கஷ்டந னை விளைவிக்குமென்று ஸ்ரீமான் காந்தியவர்கள் அபிப்பி ராயப்பட்டு இந்தியர்களின் விஷயங்களை சிலகால் நிறுத் திவைப்பதாக தீர்மானித்து சர்க்காருக்குத் தெறிவித்தனர். பிற்பாடு விசாரணைக் கமிட்டி, சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பின் கட் சியார் கேட்டுக்கொண்ட சீர் திருத்தங்களை செய்பவேண் டமென்று சர்க்காருக்கு சிபாரிசு செய்ததன்பேரில் சர்க் காரால் புதிய மசோதா ஒன்று கொண்டுவரப்பட்டு, அதை மார்க்லிமெண்டாரால் அங்கேரிக்கப்பட்டது.

சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பு ஏற்பட்டாததற்குமுன், சர்க்காருக்கு இ ந்தியர்களின்பேரில் ஏற்பட்டிருந்த அகமகியம்; அவசம்பி க்கை; முதலான் னூர்யோசனைகளுள்லீர்ட் போய் நற் போத்து நம்மீது மதிப்புக்கிடமாயிருக்கிறது. சர்க்கார் தங் கந்து பிரணைகளின் நல்விருத்தியை விரும்பவேண்டிய தென்றும், புது சட்டங்களைப்படுத்தும்பொழுது பிர னைகளின் வண்ணங்களையும் அவர்கள் மனவிருப்பத்தை யும் அறிந்து சட்டங்களைப்படுத்த வேண்டுமென வர்ப்பு ருத்தவது சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பின் அந்தரங்கக் கொள்கை யாம்.

சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பின் கட்சியானது முதன்முதலில் டி.சர் ன்ஸுவாலில் 1907-ம் வருஷத்தில் ஏற்படுத்திய 2-வது சட்டத்தை சர்க்கார் ரத்துசெய்யவேண்டுமென கேட்ட தீர்மானத்தினால் துவக்கப்பட்டது. மேற்படி சட்டத்தை இப்போது ரத்துசெய்யப்பட்டு விட்டதுடன் அம்மாதிரி யான சட்டங்கள் மற்ற மாகாணங்களிலும் ஏற்படுத்தா வண்ணம் தடுத்துவிட்டது.

சட்டங்களில், ஐரோப்பியரென்றும், இந்தியரென்றும் ஏற்படுகிற குலவர்க்க வித்தியாசங்கள் இப்போது நிலவ் ததியாயின.

இந்தியாவிலிருந்து உடன்பாட்டில் வந்துள்ள இந்தியர் களை கசைக்கிப் பிழிந்து வேலைவாக்கி, அவர்களுக்கு அ டையும் லாபத்தினால் வெள்ளையர்கள் பிரபுக்களாகவும்; அவ்விதமான பின்பும் தங்களைவிட அடிமைகளின் தலை களையே நகருவதும், இன்னும் அவர்களுக்கும், அவர்க ள் பெண்பிள்ளைகளுக்கும் வருஷமொன்றுக்கு தக்குலை (3) மூன்று பவுண் வரி விதித்து அவர்களை மீளாததுயர த்துக்குள்ளாக்கிவந்ததும் ஒழிந்தன.

சர்க்கார் இந்திய விவர்க்களை அங்கேரிக்கவும் சம்ம தித்தார்கள்.

மொத்தத்தில் இந்தியர்களுக்கு சாதாரணமாய் கிடைக்கவேண்டிய உரிமை, சுதந்திரமுதலானவைகளை கவனித்து நடத்தவேண்டிய கடைமையை சர்க்கார் அறியுமா என்பவர்களானார்கள்.

இந்த சாத்வீக எதிர்ப்பின் கட்டி ஒருவருடைய வீரத்தன்மையையும், பலமும், நீதி நியாயங்களுக்கு மேலான தல்லவென்றும், வீராவேசத்திற்குமேல், பொறுமையுடன் கூடிய வல்லமை பெரிதென்றும், எருவருடைய உட்பகை, வன்மம், அடங்காக்கோபம் முதலாகிய துர்செய்கைகள்,

அன்பு, விவேகம், சீர்தூக்குதல் முதலாகிய இனிய குணங்களுக்கு மேற்பட்டதல்ல வென்றும், வெகு தெளிவாக விளங்கியது. இத்தரதேசவாசிகளினால் இந்தியாவிற்கும் ஓர்வித மதிப்பு ஏர்ப்பட்டுவிட்டது.

இந்தியர்கள் அவரவர்களுடைய உற்சாகத்தையும், சாமர்த்தியத்தையும், தேசாபிமானத்தையும் மேன்மேலும் விருத்தியெய்து, ஒற்றுமையும் சமாதானத்தையுமுடைய வர்களாய் வாழ்ந்துவர முயற்சிப்பது கடமையாகும்.

உடன்பாட்டு இந்தியர்களுக்கு ஓர் அறிக்கை.

ஸ்ரீமான் கார்தியவர்களால் எழுதி வெளியிடப்பட்டது.

நீங்களுக்கும் உங்கள் மனைவிமக்களும், இதுகாலம் வருஷா வருஷம் சர்க்காருக்குச் செலுத்திவந்த மூன்று பவுன் வரியையும், ஏற்கனவே கடனாயேற்பட்டுள்ள நிலுவை வரியையும் சர்க்கார் ரத்துசெய்து விட்டதை நீங்கள் யாவரும் தெரிந்து கொண்டிருப்பீர்களென்று நம்புகிறேன்.

ஆகையால், நீங்கள் தற்போது மறுபடியும் உடன்பாடு (எக்ரிமெண்ட்) கொடுக்காமல் இத்தேசத்தில் வசிக்கலாம். மூன்று பவுன் தீர்வை செலுத்தாத இந்தியர்கள் எவ்விதம் இத்தேசத்தில் குடியிருக்கிறார்களோ அவ்விதமே தீர்வை கட்டவேண்டியவர்களும் குடியிருக்கலாம். சில வாரங்களுக்கு முன், சர்க்கார் தற்போது ஏற்படுத்தியிருக்கிற சட்டப்பிரகாரம் மேற்படி வரி செலுத்தவேண்டியவர்கள் தங்கள் தங்களுடைய எக்ரிமெண்ட் தீர்த்தவுடன் மறு எக்ரிமெண்ட் கொடுத்து இவ்விதம் சதா அடிமைத்தனத்திலேயே இருக்கவேண்டுமென்றும், அப்படிச்செய்ய ஒப்புக் கொள்ளாதவர்களை சர்க்கார் பலவந்தமாய் இந்தியாவுக்கு அனுப்பிவிடக்கூடுமென்றும் “மெரீக்ஞரி” என்னும் ஆக்கிலேயே பத்திரிகை தன் அபிப்பிராயத்தை வெளியிட்டது. இது சரியல்ல, ஏனெனில், இப்புதிய சட்டத்தைப்பற்றி “மெரீக்ஞரி” பத்திரிகை அவ்விதம் கூறியது தப்பென்று சர்க்கார் வெகு தெளிவாகவும் திட்டமாகவும் காகிதமூலமாகத் தெரிவித்திருக்கிறார்கள்.

இப்புதிய சட்டத்தில் ஏற்படுத்திய ஒழுங்குகளை இந்தியா கவர்ன்மெண்டாரும், இங்கிலாந்து கவர்ன்மெண்டாரும் கூட தெரிந்துகொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். தவிர, இப்புதிய சட்டப்பிரகாரம் நீங்கள் மூன்று பவுன் கட்டவேண்டிய நிபந்தனையை சர்க்கார் ரத்துசெய்ததில் நீங்கள் யாவ

ரும் மேற்படி வரிகட்ட வேண்டியதல்லாத மற்றவர்களைப் போலாகிறீர்களென்றும், அவ்விதம் மூன்று வருஷம் இத்தேசத்தில் குடியிருப்பவர்களுக்கு, இந்தியாவிலிருந்து சுவாதினமாய் (பாஸுபூராசு) இந்நெட்டாலுக்கு வந்தஜனங்கள் எவ்விதம் இங்கேயே வசிக்கச் சத்தரமுண்டோ, அவ்வண்ணமே, உங்களுக்கும் அச்சத்தரமேற்படுவதைத் தெளிவாகத் தெரிந்துகொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள்.

சிலகாலத்திற்கு முன் சர்க்காரால் நியமிக்கப்பட்ட விசாரணைக்கமிட்டியும் இவ்விதம் செய்யவேண்டுமென சர்க்காருக்குச் சிபாரூசு செய்திருக்கிறது. கடைசியாக நான் உங்களுக்கு சொல்லவிரும்புவது என்னவெனில், இப்புதிய சட்டத்தில் (“மெரீக்ஞரி”) பத்திரிகை எழுதியவாறு உங்களை இவ்வூரில்வசிக்கத் தகுதியற்றவர்களென்று அப்புறப்படுத்தினால், நான் எவ்விடமிருந்தபோதிலும், அதைத் தவிர்க்க பிரயோசனப்படுவேன்.

ஆனால், கவர்ன்மெண்டாரும் அவ்விதம் செய்ய எண்ணமுள்ளவர்களாயில்லை யென்பது எனக்குத் திட்டமாய்த் தெரியும். அவர்கள் ஏற்படுத்திய புதியசட்டமும், அவ்வித கருத்தை யுள்ளதல்ல. இம்மூன்று பவுன் வரியை ரத்துசெய்வதற்காக ஊக்கமுடன் நமக்காக உழைத்துவந்த ஆணரபின் மிஸ்டர் மார்ஷல் கேம்பல் அவர்களும் இதற்கு சாட்சி பகர்ந்திருக்கிறார்கள்.

ஆகையால், நீங்கள் யாதொன்றுக்கும் பயப்படவேண்டியதில்லை. ஒரு இந்தியராவது அவரைச் சர்க்கார் இத்தேசத்திலிருந்து, அப்புறப்படுத்துவார்களென்ற அச்சத்தினால் மறுபடியும் எக்ரிமெண்ட் கொடுக்காமல் இருப்பீர்களென்று முற்றிலும் நம்புகிறேன்.