

**SATYAGRAHA**  
**IN**  
**SOUTH AFRICA**

**M. K. GANDHI**

# **SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA**

87 22

SATYAGRAHA  
IN  
SOUTH AFRICA

BY  
M. K. GANDHI

*Translated from the Gujarati*

BY  
VALJI GOVINDJI DESAI



S. GANESAN,  
PUBLISHER, TRIPPLICANE, MADRAS  
1928

**To**  
**Magànlal K. Gandhi**

## FOREWORD

Sr. Valji Desai's translation has been revised by me, and I can assure the reader that the spirit of the original in Gujarati has been very faithfully kept by the translator. The original chapters were all written by me from memory. They were written partly in the Yeravda jail and partly outside after my premature release. As the translator knew of this fact, he made a diligent study of the file of *Indian Opinion* and wherever he discovered slips of memory, he has not hesitated to make the necessary corrections. The reader will share my pleasure that in no relevant or material particular has there been any slip. I need hardly mention that those who are following the weekly chapters of *My Experiments with Truth* cannot afford to miss these chapters on Satyagraha, if they would follow in all its detail the working out of the search after Truth.

Sabarmati, }  
26th April, 1928. }

M. K. GANDHI

## CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
Preface	... 1
I. Geography	... 11
II. History	... 18
III. Indians Enter South Africa	... 38
IV. A Review of the Grievances ( <i>Natal</i> )	... 45
V. A Review of the Grievances ( <i>The Transvaal and other Colonies</i> )	... 54
VI. A Review of the Early Struggle	... 64
VII. A Review of the Early Struggle ( <i>continued</i> )	... 80
VIII. A Review of the Early Struggle ( <i>concluded</i> )— <i>The Work in England</i>	... 104
IX. The Boer War	... 108
X. After the War	... 127
XI. The Reward of Gentleness—The Black Act	... 151
XII. The Advent of Satyagraha	... 161
XIII. Satyagraha <i>v.</i> Passive Resistance	... 174
XIV. Deputation to England	... 182
XV. Crooked Policy	... 194
XVI. Ahmad Mahummad Kachhalia	... 199
XVII. A Rift in the Lute	... 210
XVIII. The First Satyagrahi Prisoner	... 215
XIX. 'Indian Opinion'	... 220
XX. A Series of Arrests	... 225
XXI. The First Settlement	... 239
XXII. Opposition and Assault	... 244
XXIII. European Support	... 268
XXIV. Further Internal Difficulties	... 283
XXV. General Smuts' Breach of Faith (?)	... 290

Chapter	Page
XXVI. Resumption of the Struggle	... 304
XXVII. A Bonfire of Certificates	... 310
XXVIII. Charge of Forcing Fresh Issue	... 315
XXIX. Sorabji Shapurji Adajania	... 322
XXX. Sheth Daud Mahomed etc. Enter the Struggle	... 330
XXXI. Deportations	... 338
XXXII. A Second Deputation	... 347
XXXIII. Tolstoy Farm—I	... 354
XXXIV. Tolstoy Farm—II	... 359
XXXV. Tolstoy Farm—III	... 370
XXXVI. Gokhale's Tour	... 394
XXXVII. Gokhale's Tour ( <i>concluded</i> )	... 406
XXXVIII. Breach of Pledge	... 412
XXXIX. When Marriage is not a Marriage	... 419
XL. Women in Jail	... 428
XLI. A Stream of Labourers	... 434
XLII. The Conference and After	... 442
XLIII. Crossing the Border	... 451
XLIV. The Great March	... 457
XLV. All in Prison	... 464
XLVI. The Test	... 475
XLVII. The Beginning of the End	... 483
XLVIII. The Provisional Settlement	... 494
XLIX. Letters Exchanged	... 498
L. The End of the Struggle	... 505
Conclusion	... 509

## PREFACE

**T**HE Satyagraha struggle of the Indians in South Africa lasted eight years. The term Satyagraha was invented and employed in connection therewith. I had long entertained a desire to write a history of that struggle myself. Some things only I could write. Only the general who conducts a campaign can know the objective of each particular move. And as this was the first attempt to apply the principle of Satyagraha to politics on a large scale, it is necessary any day that the public should have an idea of its development.

But to-day Satyagraha has had ample scope in India. Here there has been an inevitable series of struggles beginning with the rather local question of the Viramgam customs.

It was through the instrumentality of Bhai Motilal, the public-spirited good tailor of Wadhwan, that I became interested in the Viramgam question. I had just arrived from England and was proceeding to Kathiawad



in the year 1915. I was travelling third class. At Wadhwan station Motilal came up to me with a small party. He gave me some account of the hardships inflicted on the people at Viramgam, and said :

“Please do something to end this trouble. It will be doing an immense service to Kathiawad, the land of your birth.”

There was an expression of both compassion and firmness in his eyes.

“Are you ready to go to jail ?” I asked.

“We are ready to march to the gallows,” was the quick reply.

“Jail will do for me,” I said. “But see that you do not leave me in the lurch.”

“That only time can show,” said Motilal.

I reached Rajkot, obtained detailed information and commenced correspondence with Government. In speeches at Bagasra and elsewhere, I dropped a hint that the people should be ready to offer Satyagraha at Viramgam, if necessary. The loyal C. I. D. brought these speeches to the notice of Government. In this they served Government, and unintentionally, served the people also. Finally, I had a talk with Lord Chelmsford on the matter. He promised abolition of the customs line and was as good as his word. I know others also tried for this. But I am strongly of opinion that the imminent possibility of Satyagraha was the chief factor in obtaining the desired redress.

Then came the Indian Emigration Act. Great efforts were put forth to get indenture repealed. There was a considerable public agitation. The Bombay meeting fixed 31st May, 1917, as the date from which onwards indentured labour should be stopped. This is not the place for narrating how that particular date came to be selected. A deputation of ladies first waited upon the Viceroy in connection with this. I cannot help mentioning here the name of the high-souled sister, Mrs. Jaiji Petit. It was she who may be said to have organised this deputation. Here, too, success came merely through preparedness for Satyagraha. But it is important to remember the distinction that in this case public agitation was also necessary. The stopping of indentured labour was very much more important than the abolition of the Viramgam customs. Lord Chelmsford committed a series of blunders beginning with the passing of the Rowlatt Act. Still, I think, he was a wise ruler. But what Viceroy can escape for long the influence of the permanent officials of the Civil Service?

The third in order came the Champaran struggle, of which Rajendra Babu has written a detailed history. Here Satyagraha had actually to be offered. Mere preparedness for it did not suffice, as powerful vested interests were arrayed in opposition. The peace maintained by the people of Champaran deserves to be placed on record. I can bear witness to

the perfect non-violence of the leaders in thought, word and deed. Hence it was that this age-long abuse came to an end in six months.

The fourth struggle was that of the mill hands of Ahmedabad. Gujarat is perfectly familiar with its history. How peaceful the labourers were! As for the leaders, there can hardly be anything for me to say. Still I hold the victory in this case was not quite pure, as the fast I had to observe in order to sustain the labourers in their determination exercised indirect pressure upon the mill-owners. The fast was bound to influence them, as I enjoyed friendly relations with them. Still the moral of the fight is clear. If the labourers carry on their struggle peacefully, they must succeed and also win the hearts of their masters. They have not won their masters' hearts, as they were not innocent in thought, word and deed. They were non-violent in deed, which is certainly to their credit.

The fifth was the Kheda struggle. I cannot say that in this case all the local leaders of Satyagraha parties adhered to the pure truth. Peace was certainly maintained. The non-violence of the peasantry, however, was only superficial, like that of the mill-hands. So we came out of the struggle with bare honour. However, there was a great awakening among the people. But Kheda

had not fully grasped the lesson of non-violence; the mill-hands had not understood the true meaning of peace. The people had therefore to suffer. At the time of the Rowlatt Act Satyagraha, I had to confess my Himalayan blunder, to fast myself and invite others to do so.

The sixth was in connection with the Rowlatt Act. Therein our inherent shortcomings came to the surface. But the original foundation was well and truly laid. We admitted all our shortcomings and did penance for them. The Rowlatt Act was a dead letter even when it was promulgated, and that black Act was finally even repealed. This struggle taught us a great lesson.

The seventh was the struggle to right the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and to win Swaraj. It is still going on. And my confidence is unshaken, that if a single Satyagrahi holds out to the end, victory is absolutely certain.

But the present fight is epic in character. I have already described our course of unconscious preparation for it. When I took up the Viramgam question, little did I know that other fights were in store. And even about Viramgam I knew nothing when I was in South Africa. That is the beauty of Satyagraha. It comes up to oneself, one has not to go out in search for it. This is a virtue inherent in the principle itself. A Dharma-

yuddha, in which there are no secrets to be guarded, no scope for cunning and no place for untruth, comes unsought; and a man of religion is ever ready for it. A struggle which has to be previously planned is not a righteous struggle. In a righteous struggle God Himself plans campaigns and conducts battles. A Dharma-yuddha can be waged only in the name of God, and it is only when the Satyagrahi feels quite helpless, is apparently on his last legs and finds utter darkness all around him, that God comes to the rescue. God helps when one feels oneself humbler than the very dust under one's feet. Only to the weak and helpless is divine succour vouchsafed.

We are yet to realise this truth, and so I think the history of Satyagraha in South Africa will be helpful to us.

The reader will note South African parallels for all our experiences in the present struggle to date. He will also see from this history that there is so far no ground whatever for despair in the fight that is going on. The only condition of victory is a tenacious adherence to our programme.

I am writing this preface at Juhu. I wrote the first thirty chapters of the history in Yeravda jail. Shriyut Indulal Yajnik was good enough to write to my dictation. The subsequent chapters I hope to write hereafter. I had no books of reference in jail. I do not propose

to get them here either. I have neither the time nor the inclination to write a regular detailed history. My only object in writing this book is that it may be helpful in our present struggle, and serve as a guide to any regular historian that may arise in the future. Although I am writing without books of reference at hand, I must ask the reader not to imagine that any single item in this volume is inaccurate or that there is the least exaggeration at any point.

JUHU, }  
*St. 1980 Falgun vadi 13th,* } M. K. GANDHI  
*2nd April 1924.*

# INDEX

	PAGE		PAGE
<b>A</b>			
Abdul Gani ...	161	Bagasra ...	2
Abdul Kadar Bavazir= Imamsaheb q. v.		Balfour ...	467-9
Abdulla Haji Adam Jha- veri, Sheth ...	70	Banerji, Surendranath ...	84
Abdul Rahman, Doctor ...	26	Basutos, the ...	18
Abubakar Amod, Sheth ...	41,55	Beauty, false notions of ...	19,20
Accounts, the importance of keeping proper ...	191-193	Bechuanas, the ...	18
Adajania, Sorabji Sha- purji ...	322 ff.	<i>Bhagavata</i> , the ...	21
Adam, Sheth Haji ...	72	Bhandarkar, Professor ...	82 ff.
adamji, Miyankhan ...	80-81	Bhavani Dayal, Mrs. ...	422
Agreements, golden rule for interpreting ...	34	Bhownuggree Sir Mun- cherjee ...	105, 107, 185 ff.
Ahmedabad, Satyagraha of the mill hands in ...	4	Bible, the ...	22
Aiyar, Sir Subrahmanya ...	84	Biharilal Maharaj ...	462
Albrecht ...	384	Bloemfontein ...	14,279
Alexander Mrs. helps to save the author from being lynched ...	95	Bloemfontein jail ...	473-4
Alexander, Police Supe- rintendent, contrives to save the author from mob fury ...	95 ff., 285	Boers, the 26; compel 'natives' to till land for them 27; come into conflict with the Eng- lish and 'trek' into the interior 27-8; love their own language 28-9; their large farms 29; their love of liberty 29; their women equally brave 30, 31; their religion ...	30, 44
Ali ...	209	Boer War, the 27-8; 108ff., Indian ambulance corps in ...	119 ff.
Ali, Mr. H. O. ...	185 ff.	Bombay ...	3, 81-2, 85, 128
Allahabad ...	81	Booth, Dr. ...	121
Amad Bhayat, Sheth ...	468	Boston tea party ...	314
Amphill, Lord ...	349 ff., 491	Botha, General 29, 30, 32ff., 171, 204ff., 242, 280, 349ff., 406, 408	
Anandacharulu, P. ...	84	Briscoe, Dr. ...	447, 454
Andrews, C. F. 273, 411, 484-6, 489, 491, 494, 500, 502-3		Buller, General, ...	121ff.
Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance ...	152 ff.	<b>C</b>	
Asiatic Registration Act ...	197 ff.	Calcutta ...	81, 84, 391
Asiatic Department crea- ted ...	131 ff., 135ff.	Campbell Bannerman, Sir Henry ...	32, 36
Avesta, the ...	368	Cape Colony, the 14, 15, 26, 35, 44; Indian grievances in ...	60ff.
<b>B</b>			
Badari Shivpujan ...	427	Cape of Good Hope ...	14
Badruddin Tyebji ...	81	Cape Town 14, 16, 18, 26, 60, 398-9	
		Cartwright, Albert 239ff., 279, 301,	

	PAGE		PAGE
<b>C—(contd.)</b>			
Chamberlain, Mr.	100ff., 109-10, 123ff.	Doukhobors of Russia	... 180
Chamney, Mr.	259ff., 466, 468-9	Drew, Rev. Dewdney	... 279
Champaran, Satyagraha in	... 3, 4, 133	Drugless healing on Tolstoy Farm	337, 387ff.
Charlestown	440, 446ff., 451ff.	Duncan, Mr.	... 170
Chelmsford, Lord	... 2, 3	Dundee	... 469-70
Chesney, Mr.	... 81	Durban 12, 16, 18, 67-8, 71, 87ff; the author mobbed in 129ff., 220, 270, 272, 283ff., 441ff.	
Christ	24, 30, 180, 265	<b>E</b>	
Christopher A.	... 448	Edward, King	... 31
Clifford, Dr.	... 175	Elgin, Lord,	48, 135ff., 189; his crooked policy ... 194ff.
Clothes, the philosophy of	21	Ellis, Mr.	... 400
'Colour bar' in legislation	50, 138ff.	Emigration Act, the Indian	3
Co-education in Tolstoy Farm	... 371ff.	Empire, the British	... 35
Constitution of the Union of South Africa, how framed	... 35ff.	English, the, in South Africa 27; defeated by the Dutch at Majuba 27; in Natal	... 38
Courland, s. s.	... 85ff.	Escombe, Mr. Harry	40, 74, 88ff., 119
Crewe, Lord	... 349	Esselen, Mr.	497, 495
Cronje, General	... 27, 127	Essop Mian	204, 244, 258, 295, 313
Cullinan, the, the world's largest diamond	... 13	Europeans' argument for excluding Indians from South Africa	... 142ff.
Curtis, Mr. Lionel	147-8, 151, 172	European traders, their relations with Negroes	42ff.
Curzon, Lord	... 125	<b>F</b>	
<b>D</b>		Farrar, Sir George	... 190
Dada Abdulla, Indian firm in Durban	67-71, 85 ff.	Food on Tolstoy Farm	... 375
Dadabhai Naoroji	104ff., 185 ff.	Fourth Resolution, the famous	... 161
Dadibarjor, Dr.	... 96	Friend, the	... 279
Daily Mail, the	... 314	<b>G</b>	
Daily Star, the	... 239	Gandhi, Mrs. Kasturbai	425-7
Damania N.	... 362	Gandhi, Mrs. K. C.	... 427
Daud Muhammad, Sheth	284, 330 ff.	Gandhi, Mrs. S. M.	... 427
Deccan Sabha	... 82ff.	Gandhi, C. K.	... 427
Defence of India Act	... 149	Gandhi, Harilal Mohandas	330
Delagoa Bay	12, 63, 275	Gandhi, Maganlal Khushalchand	172, 272, 483
Deportation to India, Satyagrahis punished with	... 338 ff.	Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand, the author, leaves India for South Africa in Dada Abdulla's case 67; lands in Durban 68; is pushed out of the train at Maritzburg and insulted in other ways 69-70; but sees the case through 71; admit-	
Desai, Pragji Khandubhai	330, 362, 368		
De Wet, General	... 29		
Diepkloof prison, hunger strike, in	... 345-6		
Dharmayuddha	... 5-6		
Dick, Miss	... 275		
Doctor, Mrs. J. M.	... 427		
Doke, Miss Olive	... 263		
Doke, Rev. J.	221, 259ff., 276, 279		



## G—(contd.)

ted as advocate of the Supreme Court of Natal 74; helps to found the Natal Indian Congress 74 ff; and the Natal Indian Educational Association 77; returns to India 79; writes pamphlet on condition of Indians in South Africa 81; meets Lokamanya 82; and Gokhale 83; addresses meetings in Poona and Madras 84; recalled to South Africa 84; mobbed in Durban 91 ff; but declines to prosecute assailants 100 ff; serves upon the ambulance corps in the Boer War 121; returns to India and starts practice in Bombay, but is called to South Africa again 128; opens an attorney's office in Johannesburg 135; joins the Indian Stretcher-bearer Corps in the Zulu 'rebellion' 152 ff; his speech adumbrating Satyagraha 164ff; serves on deputation to England 183 ff; starts 'Indian Opinion' and founds Phoenix Settlement 220 ff; gets two months' imprisonment 231; his experiences in Johannesburg jail 232ff; comes to terms with the Government on behalf of the Indians 239 ff; but is opposed and assaulted 244 ff; nursed by the Dokes 259 ff; his attempt to cast out fear 286; charged with cunning 317; in prison again 336; goes to England on a second deputation 348 ff; writes

*Hind Swaraj* 353; his experiment of co-education 371 ff.; his experiments in drugless healing 377, 387 ff; his rejection of milk 391-2; his insistence upon speaking in the mother tongue 403; requests Gokhale to speak in Marathi 403-5; meets the mine-owners in connection with Indian labourers' strike 442 ff; goes with the strikers to Charlestown 445 ff; and with them crosses over into the Transvaal 453 ff; gets nine months' imprisonment at Dundee 470; and three months' at Volksrust 471; released after six weeks 486; meets General Smuts 494 ff; negotiates provisional agreement 498 ff; his letter to General Smuts marking the end of the Satyagraha struggle 506 ff; leaves South Africa for England en route to India . . . 509

Gandhi R. M. . . . . 427

Germiston . . . . . 174, 214

Ghelani M. M. . . . . 335

Ghorkhodu Rustomji Jivanji = Parsi Rustomji *q. v.*

Gibson J. C. . . . . 259

Gita, the Bhagavad . . . . 371

Godfrey, Mr. George . . . . 133

Gokhale, Gopal Krishna 82, 82; the author meets 83, 128, 272ff., 324; his visit to Tolstoy Farm 377 ff; his tour in South Africa 395 ff; 414ff; 423, 465, 476, 483-4, 489-91, 500, 509

Gokuldas H. . . . . 427

Govindarajulu V. . . . . 427

Greylingstad . . . . . 466-7

Griffin, Sir Lepel . . . . . 186

Gujarat . . . . . 4, 41

Gujarati 77, 155, 162, 206, 220-1, 367, 370, 376, 424

	PAGE		PAGE
<b>H</b>			
Habib, Sheth Haji	162ff., 170, 348ff.	ves 64-66; their resistance to an attempt to disfranchise them in Natal 71 ff; form ambulance corps in the Boer War 117ff; undergo voluntary registration 149; and get the Asiatic Ordinance as reward 151ff; raise a Stretcher-bearer Corps in the Zulu rebellion 152ff; declare Satyagraha against the Asiatic Act 161ff; send a deputation to England 182ff; inaugurate a fresh body for Satyagraha struggle 200ff; send 150 of their number to jail 237; reach with General Smuts a settlement 239 ff; which is repudiated 290ff; send an ultimatum to the Transvaal Government 304ff; make a bonfire of registration certificates 310ff; charged with forcing fresh issue 315ff; send a second deputation to England 348ff. etc.	
Harbatsinh	... 471	Indians, 'free'	... 41-42
Hardinge, Lord 411, 477, 489-91,	494	Indians Relief Bill	... 505
Heidelberg	... 467	Indian Stretcher-bearer Corps in the Zulu rebellion	... 152ff.
Henry, on finger prints	... 158	Indian Traders enter South Africa 40; their relations with Negroes 42ff; disfranchised in Natal 49ff; restrictions imposed upon them	... 52
Hertzog, General	... 29, 348	Iyengar, Bhashyam	... 84
<i>Hind Swaraj</i> (Indian Home Rule)	... 353-354	<b>J</b>	
Hindi	162, 221, 376	Jail, Johannesburg, author's experiences in 232ff; clothing in 232, 234; diet in	... 235ff.
<i>Hindu</i> , the	... 84	Jameson, Dr., his raid on Johannesburg	... 108
Hobhouse, Miss	... 230	Java	... 26
Hosken, Mr. 174ff., 205ff., 278, 302			
Hunger strike in jail	... 345-6		
Hunter, Sir W. W. 39, 105ff.	186		
Husen Daud	... 331		
<b>I</b>			
Imamsabeh	... 334-5		
Indentured Indian labour, stopping of	... 3		
India, Government of	... 38ff., 79		
Indian Ambulance Corps in the Boer War	... 117ff.		
Indian Immigration restricted in Natal	... 52		
Indian labourers reach Natal 38; their condition bordering on slavery 39-40; Europeans' agitation against them 45; poll tax imposed upon them upon expiry of indenture 48; strike work 429, 434ff; march into the Transvaal 445ff; sent back to Natal and cruelly compelled to work 475ff; but secure a repeal of the poll tax in the end	... 505		
<i>Indian Opinion</i> 153, 155, 170, 172, 220ff., 225, 270, 276-8, 283, 287, 302, 304, 353, 358, 415, 423, 483			
Indian settlers, their hardships in Natal 45ff. in the Transvaal 54ff; in the Orangia 59, 60; in the Cape Colony 60ff; divided among them-			

# INDEX

V

	PAGE	PAGE
<b>J—(contd.)</b>		
Johannesburg	11, 12, 13, 35, 108 ff., 135, 151, 153, 155, 174, 203, 232, 239, 243ff., 274, 283, 310 325ff., 358, 363-4, 399ff.	
John, King of Portugal	...	14
Joshi H. I.	...	154
Juhu	...	6, 7
<b>K</b>		
Kallenbach H.	274ff., 358-60, 362, 366-8, 378-9, 380ff., 391-2, 397-8, 400, 409, 448, 453-4, 457-9, 461, 470-1, 473-4, 486ff.,	
Kachhalia A. M.	206ff, 229, 267, 276, 295ff., 325, 468, 483	
Kashmir	...	11
Kathiawad	1, 2, 41, 67	
Kenilworth Castle s. s.	...	349
Kheda, Satyagraha in	...	4-5
Khilafat wrong, Satya- graha against	...	5
Kildonan Castle s. s.	...	353
Kitchener, Lord	31, 34, 127, 280	
Kitchin, Herbert	221, 278	
Klerksdorp	...	399
Kohinoor, the	...	13
Koran, the	...	368
Kotwal P. K.	...376, 378	
Kronje, General, misprint for 'Cronje' q. v.		
Kruger, President	29, 56, 108ff.	
Krugersdorp	...	399
<b>L</b>		
Ladysmith	112, 122, 124 ff.	
Lansdowne, Lord,	...	55, 129
Laughton, F. A.	...	89
Lawley	...	358, 387
Lawley, Sir Arthur	...	135
Lazarus, D.	...	436, 440
Locations, Indians segre- gated in	...	58
Lukin, General	...	479
Lutavan	...	388ff.
<b>M</b>		
Madanjit Vyavaharik	200, 269-70	
Madeira	189, 194, 197	
Madras	81-2, 341-2, 477	
Madras Standard, the	...	84
Majuba Hill	...	27, 28
Malays, the	...	26, 60
Marathi, Gokhalo reque- sted to speak in	...	403-5
Mariannahill, Trappist monastery at	...	366
Maritzburg = Pietermaritz- burg q. v.		
Mauritius	40, 41, 228	
Meat excluded from Tol- stoy Farm	...	360-1
Medh S. B.	...	154, 330
Mehta, Dr. Pranjivan Jagjivan	...	324
Mehta, Sir Pheroze Shah Merwanji	...	81, 429
Mehtab, Bai Fatma	...	451
Merriman, Mr.	61, 62, 349	
Milk, the propriety of rejecting	...	391-2
Milner, Lord	32ff., 110, 112, 135, 137, 141, 148, 239, 280	
Mir Alam	257ff., 288, 313	
Miranbai	...	452
Moltano Miss	...	281
Moltano, Sir John	...	61
Moodaley Jack	...	285-6
Morley, Lord	54, 185ff., 349	
Moses	...	31
Motilal, the Wadhwan worker	1	
Mudaliar K. M.	...	427
Mudaliar Valliamma	...	430-2
Mudalingam Mrs. R. A.	...	422
<b>N</b>		
Naderi, s. s.	...	85ff.
Nagappan, Swami	...	343-4
Naidoo, Mrs. A. P.	...	422
Naidoo, Mrs. P. K.	...	422
Naidoo, Mrs. Thambi	...	422
Naidoo P. K.	341-2, 448, 460, 462	
Naidoo, Thambi	228ff. 236, 242, 258, 362	
Nanabhai Haridas, Mr. Justice	...	89
Narayanswami	...	344
Natal 12, 15, 35, 38ff; Indians' grievances in	45ff., 63, 84, 85, 139, <i>passim</i>	
Natal Indian Congress, the, founded	...	74 ff
Natal Indian Educational Association founded	...	77
Natal Mercury, the	...	71
Natesan G. A.	...	341-2
Navajivan	...	83
Nawabkhan	...	238

PAGE	PAGE	
N—(contd.)		
Nazar, M. H. 89, 106, 127, 220-1	<i>Phooka</i> , the cruel practice of ... 391	
Negroes, the, of South Africa, 18; their physique 19-20; their huts 20; their clothing 20-22; their food innocent of spices or condiments 22; their languages 22-23; their religion 23; their truthfulness 23; their timidity 23-4; 'civilization' leads them into vice and disease 24-6, 38; their relations with Indian and European traders ... 42ff.	Pietermaritzburg 12	
Newcastle 424, 429, 434ff., 444, 448	author pushed out of the train at ... 69, 70	
Norton, Mr. ... 84	Pietermaritzburg jail ... 430	
O		
Orange Free State = Orangia <i>q. v.</i>	Pillay, Miss B. M. ... 422	
Orangia 14, 28, 44; Indian grievances in ... 59ff.	Pillay, Miss Minachi ... 422	
Orloff, the ... 13	Pillay, Mrs. K. C. ... 422	
P		
Palmford ... 459	Pillay, Mrs. K. Murugasa 422	
Punjab wrong, the Satyagraha against ... 5	Pillay Mrs. N. ... 422	
Parbhusingh, an Indian, assigned most responsible work at the siege of Ladysmith ... 124ff.	Pillay Mrs. N. S. ... 422	
Parsi Rustomji 91ff., 284-5, 330, 341, 426-7.	Pillai, Parameshwaran ... 84	
'Passive Resistance', phrase first used to denote the Indian struggle but since given up 172-3; distinguished from Satyagraha ... 174ff.	<i>Pioneer</i> , the ... 81	
Patel M. H. ... 427	Polak H. S. L. 221, 273-4, 465ff., 486ff.	
Patel R. M. ... 427	Poll tax on Indian labourers, see under 'Indian labourers'	
Peace Preservation Ordinance ... 149	Poona ... 82ff.	
Pearson Willie 273, 411, 485	Porbandar 41, 67, 85	
Permanent funds, the impropriety of managing public bodies with ... 202	Portugal ... 14	
Petit, Mrs. Jaiji ... 3	Portuguese, the ... 12	
Phillips, Rev. Charles ... 279	Potchefstroom ... 399	
* Phoenix 153, 155, 220ff., 272, 293ff., 334-5, 358, 417, 422ff., 477, 483	Pretoria, 13, 67, 69ff., 129ff., 203, 230, 243, 332, 398, 406ff., 491, 494.	
	Pretoria Jail ... 336	
	<i>Pretoria News</i> , the ... 279	
	Progression, law of, applicable to all righteous movements ... 319-21	
	Q	
	Quinn, Mr. Leung 226ff., 242	
	R	
	Raghu Narasu ... 462	
	Rahimkhan ... 462	
	Rajendraprasad, Babu ... 3	
	Rajkot ... 2	
	Raju Govindu ... 427	
	Rama Sundara, Pandit ... 215ff.	
	Ramzan on Tolstoy Farm 376	
	Ranade, Mahadev Govind 81	
	Redmond, Mr. ... 187	
	Reuter sends exaggerated summary of the author's speeches to South Africa ... 85	
	Rickshaw, the author spared the shame of a ride ... 93-4	
	Ripon, Lord ... 50, 72, 76	
	Ritch, L. W. 187, 189, 194, 273, 395	
	Roberts, Lord ... 27	

## INDEX

vii

PAGE	PAGE
	R— <i>1/2</i> <i>1/2</i> <i>1/2</i>
Robertson, Sir Benjamin	21
494, 498, 500, 502-3	462
Roosevelt, President ...	146
Rose Innes, Sir James ...	487
Rowlatt Act, the 3;	
Satyagraha against ...	5
Royeppen, Joseph ...	335, 363
Royeppen, Solomon ...	427
Rule, the golden, for the interpretation of agreements ...	34
S	
Saiyad Ibrahim ...	434
Sandals making on Tolstoy Farm ...	366
Sanitary arrangements on Tolstoy Farm ...	365-6
Sarvajani Sabha ...	82ff.
Satyagraha, advent of 161ff; implications of 5; 32, 146-7, 288-9, 319-21, 433, 464; invention of the term 172-3; distinguished from passive resistance 174ff; fresh association organised for ...	200ff.
Satyagraha in India in respect of Viramgam customs 1, 2; as regards the stopping of indentured labour 3; in Champaran 3, 4; by the mill hands in Ahmedabad 4; in Kheda 4, 5; against the Rowlatt Act 5; against Khilafat and Panjab wrongs 5, 6; for Swaraj ...	5, 6
Satyagrahis keen upon keeping promises 385ff; their chivalry ...	491-3
Saunders, Mr. ...	84
Savage, Dr. ...	153
Schlesia, Miss Sonja 274ff., 448, 483	
Schreiner Olive ...	61, 280ff.
Schreiner, W. P. ...	61, 62, 399, 487
Searle, Mr. Justice ...	418ff.
Selborne, Lord, ...	55, 129, 135
Servants, no domestic—on Tolstoy Farm ...	359
Shelat U. M. ...	154
Shukadeva ...	21
Sinba, Ramnarayan ...	462
Smuts, General 29, 32, 142, 204ff., 239ff; his breach of faith (?) 290 ff., 316ff., 349ff., 406, 414, 456, 464, 485ff.	
Snakes on Tolstoy Farm ...	384-5
Socrates ...	452
Sodha Ratansi Mulji ...	330
Sodha Revashankar R. ...	427
Solomon, Sir Richard ...	194ff.
Sorabji Rustomji ...	479
South Africa, climate of 11; geography of 12ff; cereals, fruits etc., of 14, 15; cattle in 15; landscape in 16; rivers in 16; agriculture in 17; seasons and rainfall in 17; the Negroes of 18ff; area and population of 18; the Dutch in 25ff; the Malays in 26; Indians in ...	38ff.
Standerton ...	402, 466
Stead, Mr. W. T. ...	32, 230
Stent, Mr. Vere ...	279
Subrahmanyam, G. ...	84
Subrahmanyam, Indian labourer assaulted by his master ...	86
Surat ...	41
Swaraj, the fight for ...	5, 6
Swazis, the ...	18
Symonds, Mr. ...	190ff.
T	
Taal, the Boer language... ..	28
Table Mountain ...	16
Tagore, Maharaja J. M. ...	84
Taib Haji Khanmamad, Indian firm in Pretoria ...	67
Tamil, ...	162, 221, 367, 370, 424
Tata, Sir Ratanji ...	355
Teaching children on Tolstoy Farm ...	366ff.
Teakworth ...	466
Telugu ...	162, 367, 370, 424
Testament, the New ...	30
Testament, the Old ...	30, 56
Theatre, Empire (Johannesburg), Indians de-	

	PAGE		PAGE
T—(contd.)			
clare Satyagraha at meeting in	161 ff.	Vihari	362
Thwaites, Dr.	261	Virangam cust. iscordon, Satyagraha as regards	1, 2, 5
Tibet	11	Volksrust 326, 333, 440, 451, 455ff.	470
Tilak, Lokamanya	82ff.	Volksrust Jail	336, 471
Tolstoy	180, 239	W	
Tolstoy Farm	209, 354ff., 453	Wadhwan,	1, 2
Transvaal, the, gold and diamond mines in	13, 28	Washington, Booker T....	145
44; Indian grievances in	54ff., 63, 129, <i>passim</i> .	Weakness, the duty of judging—charitably	218-9, 344
Transvaal Immigrants Restriction Act	315	Wedderburn, Sir W.	104ff., 186
<i>Transvaal Leader</i> , the	239, 461	West, Albert	268ff., 483-4, 486
Tulasidas	434	West, Miss Ada	272, 483
U		White, General	122
Union, the, of South Africa	34ff.	Wylie, Col.	487, 495
V		Y	
Vereeniging, the peace of	32, 33, 422	Yajnik, Sr. Indulal	6
Vernon, Police Superintendent	242, 328	Yeravda Jail	6
Verulam	477, 479	<i>Young India</i>	83
Victoria, Queen	28	Yusuf Mian=Essop Mian, <i>q. v.</i>	
		Z	
		Zanzibar	275, 404, 409
		Zulu 'rebellion', Indian stretcher-bearers in	152ff.
		Zulus, the	18ff., 38-