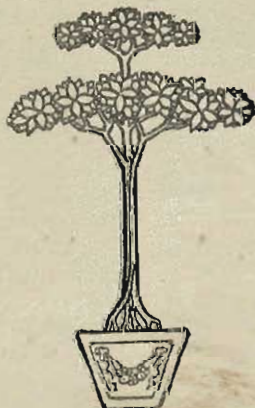




GOLDEN NUMBER  
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1914

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



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# The Passive Resistance Movement in South Africa

## The Great Central Figure



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.)

**N**



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 unflinching belief in the justice of his cause, and stepping 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.)



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



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



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



*Photo by]*

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

*[B. Gabriel*

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.

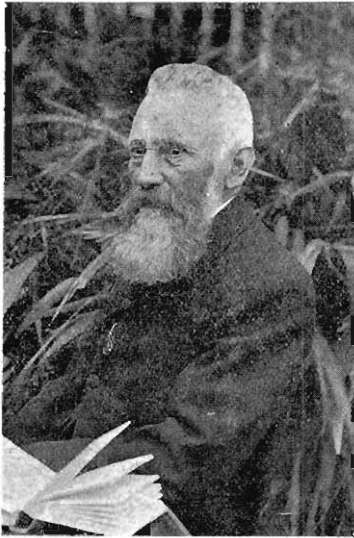


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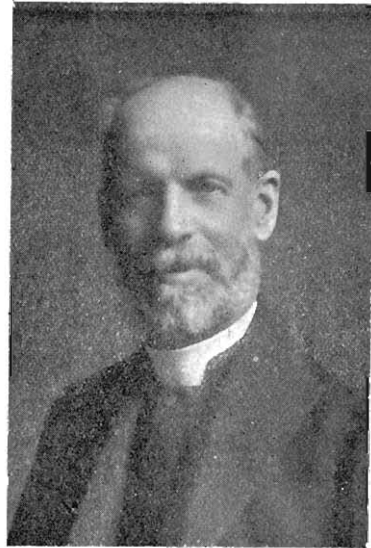
[O. Byrne

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.

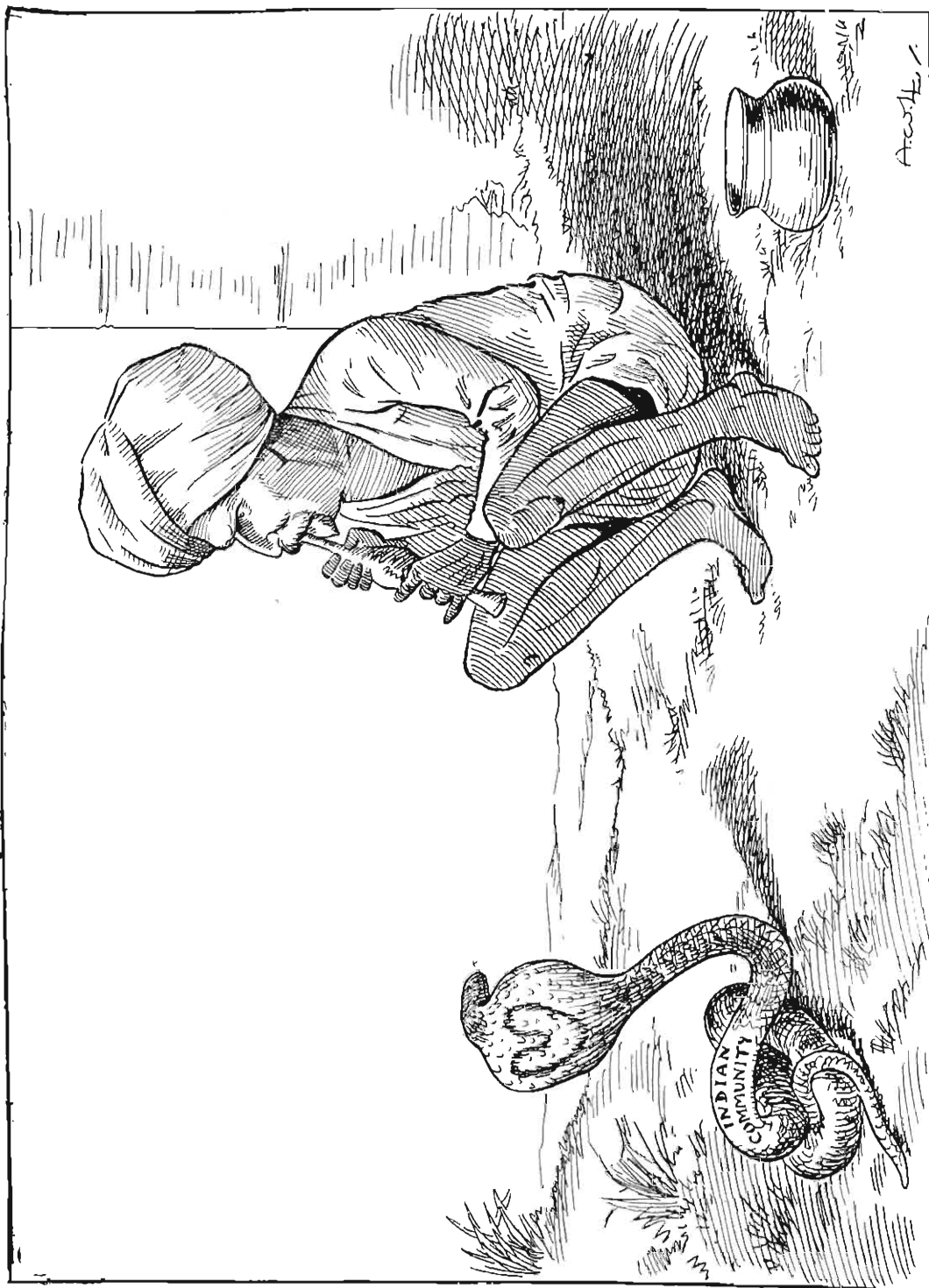


Hon. Hugh A. Wyndham, M.L.A.,  
a strenuous Parliamentary advocate of  
justice. Presided over the Gandhi  
Farewell Banquet, Johannesburg.



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.

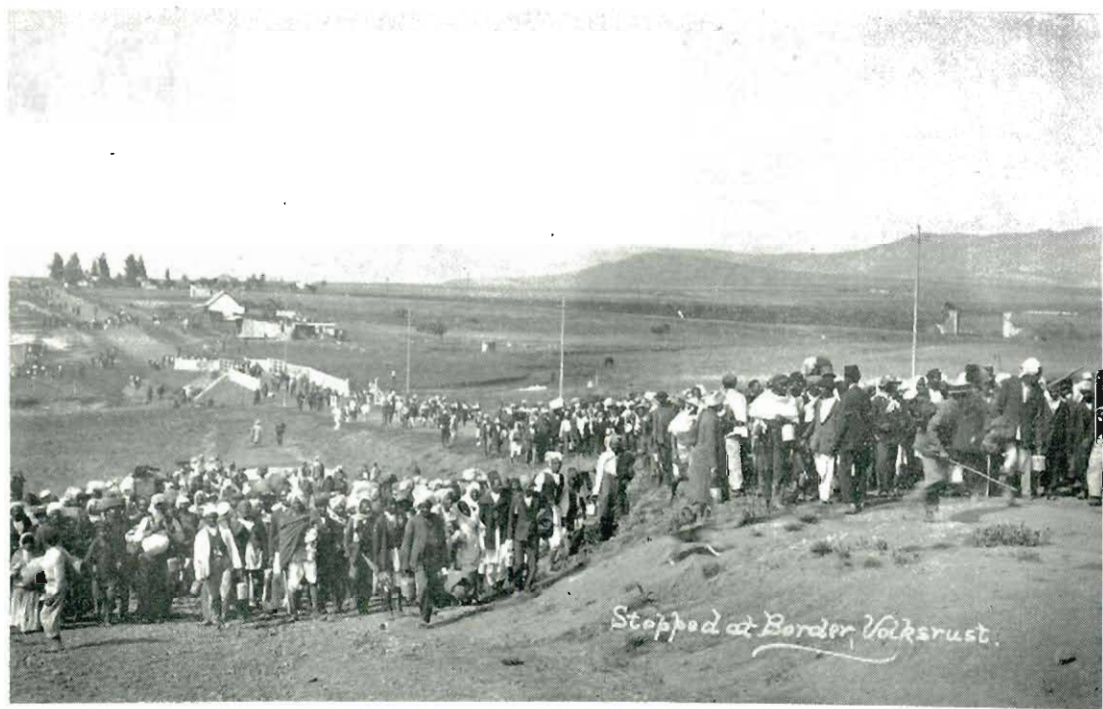
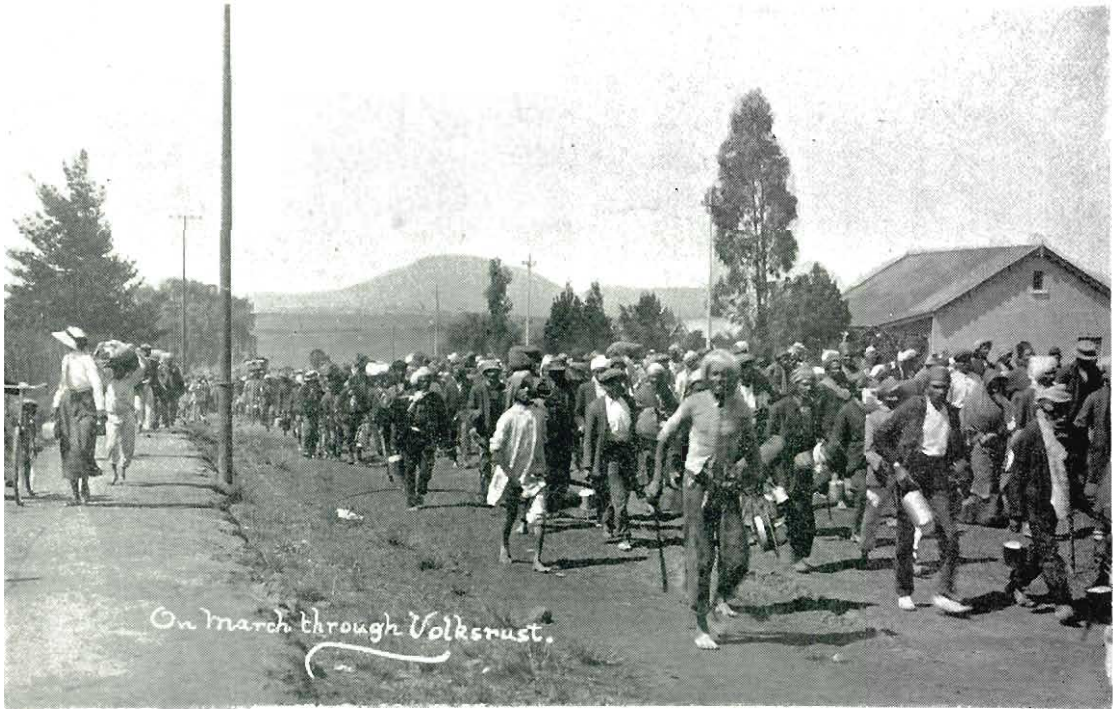


Miss Sonja Schlesin  
Who acted as private secretary  
to Mr. Gandhi for some years, co-  
operating with Mrs. Vogl in the work  
of the Transvaal Indian Women's  
Association, and was the heart and  
soul of the Indian women's work at  
the time of the Strike. An ardent  
Suffragist.





# 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 Phenix. 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. Doko. It was in Johannesburg that he had found in Mrs. Doko 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 Amthill 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 Amthill, 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 Amthill 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*



**T**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 bombshell. The basic assumption, on the part of the authorities, for its necessity lay in the unquenchable belief in wholesale Indian immigration of an unlawful character, to which, in their opinion, resident Indians could not but be a party. So far as the general public was concerned, the measure was hailed as the first instalment of a scheme designed to drive Indians out of the Colony altogether, and Europeans in the neighbouring Colonies and territories eagerly



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