



THE "TRURO" WHICH BROUGHT
THE FIRST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS
TO NATAL
on FRIDAY, 16th NOVEMBER, 1860

1860 1960

INDIAN CENTENARY COMMEMORATION BROCHURE

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LIFE OF
 MAHATMA GANDHI
 IN
 SOUTH AFRICA
 By BRIDGLAL PATCHAI, M.A.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born of aristocratic parents—his father being Prime Minister of Porbandar, in the province of Kathiawad in India, on 2nd October, 1869. After completing his studies in England, where he qualified as a barrister-at-law, Mohandas returned to India when only 22 years old and set up his legal practice on 20th May, 1892.

Almost exactly a year later, Gandhi's services were secured by Abdul Karim Jhaveri, a partner in the firm of Dada Abdulla and Company, who traded in Durban, in the matter of a lawsuit involving £40,000, against a rival firm in Pretoria, trading under the designation of Taib Haji Khanmamad. To settle this legal dispute, young Gandhi had to come to South Africa. He arrived in Durban in May, 1893, and a few days after his arrival he was on his way to Pretoria.

This very simple and innocuous undertaking to travel to Pretoria turned out to be the turning point in the life of this sensitive young man, which in turn was destined to influence the path of South African and Indian history when this same man took over the reins of leadership both in South Africa and later in India.

Travelling in a first class compartment from Durban, for which he had a first-class ticket, Gandhiji was ejected from this compartment in Pietermaritzburg because a White passenger objected to his presence there. He spent the bitterly cold night in the waiting room contemplating the most extraordinary situation in which he had found himself only seven or eight days since his arrival in Natal. What did Gandhiji himself say of this situation and of the agitation that bestirred his mind? These are his own words:—

"I began to think of my duty. Should I fight for my rights or go back to India, or should I go on to Pretoria without minding the insults, and return to India after finishing the case? It would be cowardice to turn back to India without fulfilling my obligation. The hardship to which I was subjected was superficial—only a symptom of the deep disease of colour prejudice. I should try, if possible, to root out the disease and suffer hardships in the process. Redress for wrongs I should seek only to the extent that would be necessary for the removal of the colour prejudice."

This resolution he had taken was the result of his experience and is significant when considered in the light of later developments. There is one other aspect of this experience that Gandhi could not have missed: the fact that European passengers accepted him as a fellow traveller in the coach from Pardekop to Standerton and that from Standerton to Pretoria a European passenger insisted that Gandhi be allowed to travel first class with him when the conductor was about to repeat the pattern of Pietermaritzburg.

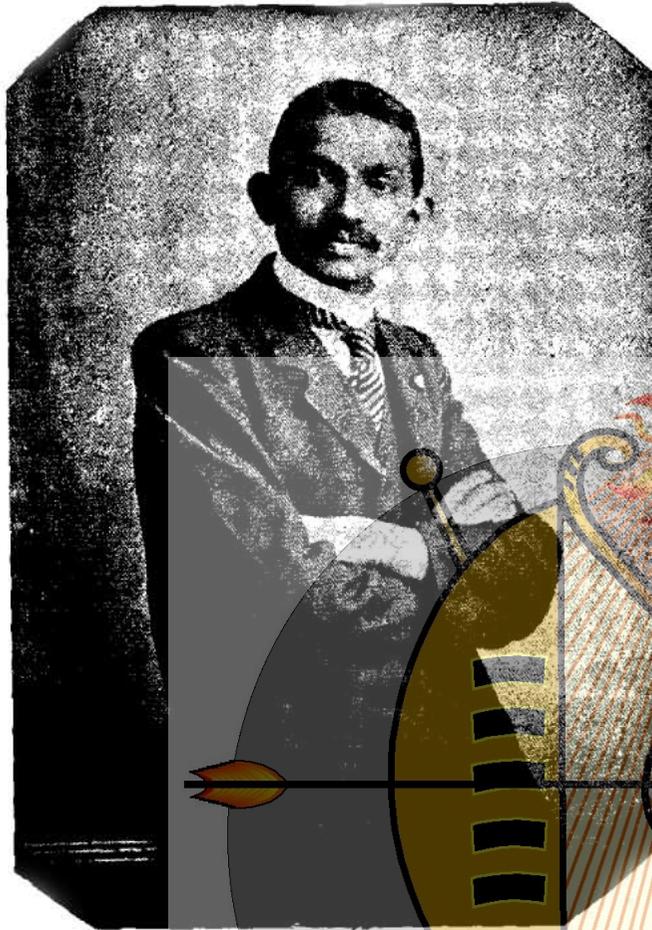
In the shadows of latter-day history these experiences appear insignificant. Who but the man himself can say how much or how little this episode affected him, especially when regard is had to the fullness, to the variety and to the immense activity of his later life? Many years later, Dr. John R. Mott, a Christian Missionary in India, asked Gandhi, "What have been the most creative experiences in your life?" In reply, Gandhi told the story of the night at the Pietermaritzburg Station.

When in Pretoria Gandhi summoned a meeting of Indians. Addressing them in what he admits to have been his first public speech, he exhorted the Indians to conduct their businesses with due observance of truth, to remove the distinctions that created class and religious barriers among them, to adopt more sanitary habits and to learn English. At this meeting Gandhi reminded the Indians of the disabilities they suffered and advised them to form an association to protect their interests. In the pursuance of all these matters, he offered his services to the Indians of the Transvaal.

The Transvaal Indians took Gandhi's advice to heart and worked in the suggested direction. When he left the Transvaal after nearly a year's stay there, the Indians had benefitted from the experience of having regular meetings. Gandhi had himself at this time made a deep study of the social, economic and political condition of the Indians in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. It was this year's stay, too, that had initiated Gandhi into public work. What is more, it was in the Transvaal that the religious spirit within him became a living force. And it was here that he acquired a true knowledge of legal practice.

Though it was to Natal that young Gandhi had come in 1893, it was his journey to the Transvaal and his experiences there that were responsible for his new attitudes to legal, political and religious questions. When he returned to Natal—his legal mission over—he was confronted with a new development which not only delayed his departure home but was responsible for his remaining in South Africa for two decades more, except for two short periods of temporary absence in India.

In Natal momentous political developments were taking place. The Indian population was rapidly gaining on that of the European. In the year Gandhi first came to South Africa, i.e. 1893, the European population in Natal was 45,000 and the Indian population was 46,000, of whom some 5,500 belonged to the Mohammedan community of traders. The African population was 470,000. What Natal feared at this time was not just a large Indian population. It feared a large free Indian population. The Indian population was made up of three distinct classes: the first was the class of indentured Indian labourers who had come at the invitation of the Natal Government in terms of Law 14/1859. The second class were the ex-indentured labourers who became free at the end of their period of indentures and either worked as free labourers or branched off in independent occupations such as gardening or small-scale trading or hawking. Natal objected to the presence of this class because they were remaining behind as settlers. As Harry Escombe, Attorney-General of Natal, said on this point:--



Mohandas
Karamchand
Gandhi

1913

" Thus God laid the foundations of my life
in South Africa and sowed the seed of the
fight for National Self Respect. "

. . . M. K. GANDHI.

"We understand generally that it was the wish of the Colony that, if the Indians are brought here, they are brought here for the purpose of supplying labour . . . and they are not to form a part and parcel of the South African nation . . . The Indians are to come here appreciated as labourers but not welcomed as settlers and competitors . . ."

The third class was the least welcome in Natal; the trading class who had come at their own expense as free "passenger" Indians, with no restrictions on their entry into or settlement in Natal.

Natal was explicit on this point: Indians were welcome as indentured labourers but not

as settlers and competitors. To prevent their becoming settlers, Natal took the step of depriving free Indians of the right of free Crown lands after ten year's industrial service in Natal. The next step was to deprive free Indians of the franchise which was permitted them by the Natal Charter of 1856 provided they were over the age of 21 and owned immovable property to the value of £50, or rented property to the value of £10 per annum. This was extended in 1883 to those who income was £8 per month or £96 per annum. It is interesting to know that very few Indians qualified for the franchise: in 1880 there were 181 registered Indian voters; in 1895, Gandhi gave the number to be 251 or 1/38 of the European voters.

When Gandhi returned from the Transvaal to Natal in 1894 it was for the purpose of returning to India, his work done. There was the usual farewell party, but with a great difference: it turned out to be a welcome to Gandhiji to remain in Natal to help the local Indians face the latest threat to their status in Natal. The newly-created Natal Responsible Government had introduced a measure to disfranchise the Indians. The significance of this measure was explained to those present at the party by Gandhi. They prevailed on him to postpone his departure to India and to help them organise their protest against the disfranchising measure. Gandhiji stayed on. There seemed no other way out for him. In his own words he says of this situation as follows:--

"Thus God laid the foundations of my life in South Africa and sowed the seed of the fight for national self-respect."

Gandhi organised those present at the meeting into a committee of protest, sent a telegram to the Natal Government requesting that the Disfranchising Bill be delayed. He sent a memo bearing 400 signatures to the Natal Government and another bearing about 10,000 signatures to Lord Ripon, Secretary of State for the Colonies. These 10,000 signatures were obtained in the course of a fortnight. This number represented almost one-quarter of the entire Indian population in Natal at this time. To have succeeded in this it meant that the hitherto untried organisational ability of the Indian had been geared to a high level of efficiency. For this the Natal Indian was indebted to the hard work and to the inspiration of Gandhi himself. In spite of the petitions, Natal went on with its measure and passed it into law as Act 25/1894. But the petition of protest submitted by Gandhi to the British Government had better results. The British Government disallowed the measure. In doing so, it sent a dispatch to the Natal Government, from which the following excerpt is taken:

"We ask you to bear in mind the tradition of the Empire, which makes no distinction in favour of or against race or colour, and to exclude, by reason of their

colour or by reason of their race, all Her Majesty's Indian subjects should be most painful, I am quite certain, to Her Majesty to have to sanction it . . ."

The Committee of Protest set up by Gandhi to oppose the Disfranchising measure received a powerful stimulus when the measure was disallowed by the British Government. The temporary committee under Abdulla Haji Adam was transformed into the Natal Indian Congress, which was inaugurated on 22nd May, 1894, almost exactly a year since Gandhi had come out to South Africa. The first Hon. Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress was Gandhi himself.

This was an important development in the political life of Indians in South Africa. It led to the realisation of the efficacy of organised protests and opposition and it was the forerunner to similar organisations in the Transvaal and in the Cape Colony. But during its infancy it needed the assistance and the guiding hand of Gandhi himself and consequently he was prevailed upon to settle in Natal once



MRS. SHEIK MEHTAB

Women leader who suffered imprisonment during the 1913 Struggle.

the community had guaranteed him legal work. This done, he was admitted to the bar in Natal in 1894 though his application was opposed by the Law Society.

The year 1894 saw a new and dangerous development for the free Indian population of Natal. In that year a deputation from the Natal Government was in India to arrange with the Indian Government for the indentures of the labourers in Natal to expire in India, thereby ensuring that the Indian indentured labourers would not remain in Natal after serving their indentures. Failing to arrive at this arrangement, the Natal Government threatened to impose a residential tax of £25 on those Indians who chose to remain in Natal after completing their indentures. Gandhi organised a strenuous campaign against this tax. Though it is likely that the Indian Government would, in any case, have opposed this tax, the agitation against it by the Natal Indian Congress helped to keep the £25 tax out. Finally, the residential tax was fixed at £3 by Act 17/1895. The subsequent history of this tax in the life and work of Gandhi in South Africa is traced elsewhere in this article. For the present, Gandhi realised that there was need for agitation to seek its repeal. He could promote this agitation by arousing and educating public opinion in India. He had now been in South Africa for three years. His wife and children had been left behind in India. He desired leave from the Indians in Natal for six months in 1896 to fetch his family to Natal and to educate public opinion in India on the position of Indians in South Africa. He left for India about the middle of 1896.

In India Gandhi met several people during the course of the many meetings he addressed there; of these Lokamanya Tilak and Gopal Krishna Gokhale stand out for the impression they made on him and for the ways in which they inspired and influenced him in regard to the public duties ahead of him in South Africa. At this time Natal had started another move to disfranchise those persons who, not being Europeans, were male descendants of people who did not have the franchise to establish their own parliamentary institutions. As Indians did not have the right in India at this time to

elect their own representative institutions, their descendants in Natal were excluded from the Voters' Roll. This measure became law in the form of Act 8/1896.

Gandhi wrote a pamphlet entitled **The Indian Franchise—an Appeal**, in which he traced the franchise question in Natal. The **Green Pamphlet**, as it was called, was sold in thousands in India. Gandhi's activities and speeches in India did not pass unnoticed in Natal where Press reproductions of exaggerated versions fomented an agitation against him and against all "Free Passenger" Indians.

It was in such a political climate that Gandhiji returned to Natal in December, 1896, this time accompanied by his wife, his two sons, and a nephew, by the steamship the "Courland" which had been recently bought by Dada Abdulla—the man who had been responsible for bringing out Gandhi to South Africa in 1893. Dada Abdulla was also the agent for the "Naderi". These two ships arrived in Natal on the 18th December, 1896, with a combined contingent of 611 free passenger Indians. The ships were in quarantine till the 11th January, 1897, because they had come from a plague-infected port. The real object of the quarantine, according to Gandhi, was to coerce the passengers into returning to India. White Natal was strenuously agitating to prevent the landing of these passengers. What happened at this time is best described in the words of a telegram from the Government of Natal to the Government of India:—

... "large and unanimous European demonstrations had been organised to prevent landing. Owners hesitated to bring the steamers into harbour, but they were eventually brought in on January 13th. About noon, about 5,000 people had gathered at the landing place to protest against the landing of the Indians."

Gandhi was the real target of this agitation. There were two charges made by Europeans in Natal against him: that whilst in India he had indulged in the unmerited condemnation of the Natal Whites; and that with a view to swamping Natal with Indians he had specially brought the two shiploads of passengers to settle here.

The passengers finally landed but not before Gandhi was himself seriously assaulted by some of the European demonstrators. Though this incident is described quite graphically by Gandhi himself in his "Autobiography", what he thought about it all is best exemplified by his refusal to prosecute his assailants. He was sure that when the truth was known his misguided assailants would know that he had neither villified the Whites of Natal nor organised the immigration of the passengers who came by the "Courland" and the "Naderi".

The result of this agitation was that the Natal Government passed the Immigration Restriction Act 1/1897 which prescribed a test for immigrants in a European language.

Gandhi now set up offices at the corner of West and Field Streets and later in Mercury Lane. He had come this time to settle permanently in Natal. Gandhiji's next important contribution was at the time of the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Boer War in 1899. Though his personal sympathies were with the Boers it was his loyalty to British rule that impelled him to participate in the war on the side of the British, though as non-combatant.

The upshot was the formation of the Indian Ambulance Corps, with eleven hundred Indians as members, made up from three divisions of Indians in Natal: free, ex-indentured and indentured Indians. The Ambulance Corps played an important part in the war, transporting the wounded to the base hospitals. This service often involved carrying the wounded distances ranging between seven and twenty-five miles. That this service was appreciated in official quarters is shown by the fact that the work was mentioned by General Buller in his dispatches and that war medals were conferred on the 37 leaders of the Indian Ambulance Corps, of whom Gandhiji was one.

Having now been in South Africa for almost eight years, during which time he had imbibed the lesson of service instead of self-interest, Gandhiji felt the urge to return to India to take up public work there. He had trained the local Indians to organise themselves and had pointed the way to public service and

activity. There was a further consideration that made Gandhi take this decision at this time : a few local Indians had returned from England as trained barristers. He felt that they could now take his place and that he could be spared for the greater call that awaited him in India.

He was spared, though most reluctantly, the condition of his release from service in this country being that should at any time his presence and assistance be required in South Africa, he would return.

Gandhiji returned to India at the end of 1901, and set up office in Bombay around March, 1902. He was in Bombay for hardly three or four months when he received an urgent cablegram from South Africa stating that he was required here. Towards the end of 1902 he was once again on his way to South Africa; the man with a mission had not yet completed his work.

The urgent matter that had led to Gandhi's return was the visit to South Africa of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, in 1902. With the Anglo-Boer War over, Chamberlain was anxious to see the devastated colonies for himself and to arrange for a gift of £35 million to reconstruct and rehabilitate the devastated colonies. The end of the war foreshadowed no improvements for the Indians, though they had made their humble contribution as stretcher-bearers in the Indian Ambulance Corps and in various other ways in the employ of the British—the one example being the heroism of Parbhusingh in Ladysmith.

Indians in Natal and in the Transvaal desired to take advantage of the presence of this high-ranking British official to present to him a list of their many grievances. In Durban Gandhi led a deputation of Indians to see Mr. Chamberlain. The reply the Indians got from Mr. Chamberlain was not encouraging: Mr. Chamberlain told them: ". . . the Imperial Government has little control over self-governing Colonies. Your grievances seem to be genuine. I shall do what I can, but you must try your best to placate the European, if you wish to live in their midst."

Gandhi hurried thereafter to the Transvaal where Chamberlain had repaired to. Here, too, Gandhi was required by the local Indians to present their grievances to Mr. Chamberlain. But the Transvaal Gandhi was now in, in the year 1902, was not the same Transvaal he had known in 1893. Various and significant developments had taken place in the life of Indians there. To understand the part played by Gandhi in the events that followed it is necessary to trace these developments very briefly:

English-Dutch rivalry and bitterness on the eve of the Boer War had led the British Government to espouse the cause of the Indians in the Transvaal. The British Minister of War, Lord Lansdowne, in a famous speech in Sheffield, had said:

"Among the many misdeeds of the South African Republic, I do not know that any fills me with more indignation than its treatment of the Indians . . ."

The war then intervened. Most of the Indians left the Transvaal when war broke out. A certain number, however, entered the country with the British army as personal servants or stretcher-bearers or camp followers. Many of these remained behind. When the British administration under Lord Milner took over the Transvaal in 1900 the important questions regarding Asiatics were: What was the new position regarding Asiatics in the country and how were they to be admitted?

The policy adopted by the British administration was to prevent Asiatics from entering the colony unless they could prove that they had been there before the war. In May, 1901, the Asiatic Immigration Office was set up in Johannesburg where Indians were required to change their passes for new ones. To carry out the policy of restricting the entry of Asiatics into the Transvaal, the Peace Preservation Proclamation of 1902 as amended by the Peace Preservation Ordinance of 1903 was introduced. This Ordinance provided, among other things, that no Asiatic who was not in the Transvaal on the day the war ended, i.e. 31st May, 1902, would be allowed to enter the Transvaal without a permit. Though this

Ordinance was of general application and did not apply to Asiatics only, this is what the then Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal, Patrick Duncan, said of the Ordinance: ". . . it was enforced against Europeans in a small number of cases. It was chiefly used to give effect to the policy . . . of restricting Asiatic immigration to those who were resident in the Transvaal before the war."

This was the position that Gandhi found in 1902 in the Transvaal. There were many grievances which Indians in the Transvaal wanted to put before Chamberlain. These were mostly in connection with land, trading and residential rights. Indians had every reason to appeal to British justice for they were now under British rule and in any case the British Government had roundly criticised the Boer administration for the very same iniquities that now existed.

But a strange occurrence followed: Gandhi was denied permission by the Asiatic Immigration Department to lead the deputation to Chamberlain. The Transvaal Indians, refusing to pocket this insult to Gandhi, wanted the whole deputation withdrawn. Gandhi, however, advised them to proceed with the deputation in spite of the insult to himself. And though the authorities succeeded in their manouvres to keep Gandhi out of the deputation, it is doubtful whether they guessed at that time how providential their move turned out to be for the Indians. This is what Gandhi himself writes of his experience:

". . . I believe I ought not to leave the Transvaal . . . I must no longer think of returning to India within a year, but must get enrolled in the Transvaal Supreme Court. I have confidence enough to deal with this new department. If we do not do this, the community will be hounded out of the country, besides being thoroughly robbed. Every day it will have fresh insults heaped upon it. The fact that Mr. Chamberlain refused to see me and that the official insulted me, are nothing before the humiliation of the whole community. It will become impossible to put up with the veritable dog's life that we shall be expected to lead."

Gandhiji had decided that there was work yet to be done in the Transvaal. Many things were to happen in the next few years that are indelibly imprinted in the sands of time. In the Transvaal European traders began to complain that Indians who were not pre-war refugees were entering the Transvaal in big numbers. Lord Milner investigated the complaints and found them to be without foundation. However, to placate the Europeans, Milner appealed to Gandhi and the other leaders in 1903 to arrange for the Indians to re-register voluntarily. The old Peace Preservation Ordinance Certificates had contained a name with no means of identifying the name with any particular person. The new certificates were to be different and were to contain a number, the holder's name, family, caste, father's name, height, occupation, age, and the impression of the holder's right thumb where signatures were not affixed.

When Milner asked the Indian to re-register voluntarily, he made a promise. These are his words:—

"Registration gives you a right to be here and a right to come and go . . . Once on the register your position is established, as no further registration is necessary; not is a fresh permit required."

But Milner's promise foreshadowed much trouble to come, for, at this time, he had the following opinion of the Asiatics in the Transvaal:—

". . . I also hold that when a coloured man possesses a certain high grade of civilisation, he might obtain, what I might call, white privileges, irrespective of his colour . . . For the present, however, there is no prospect whatever of their prevailing, certainly as far as the Asiatics are concerned. The Asiatics are strangers forcing themselves upon a community reluctant to receive them."

Some Indians re-registered, while others did not. Europeans kept protesting that an Asiatic "influx" was taking place in the Transvaal. In 1904 they called a "National Convention" to discuss this influx.

What were the Indians doing at this time? Gandhiji formed the Transvaal British

Indian Association in 1903. Throughout his stay in South Africa he was the Hon. Secretary and principal legal adviser of the Association. Gandhi led a deputation of the Transvaal British Indian Association to see the new High Commissioner, Lord Selborne, on 22nd November, 1905, in connection with the position of Indians seeking entry into the Transvaal.

Gandhi had by now geared up his own as well as the resources of the Indian community, both in the Transvaal and in Natal. He was in the Transvaal to guide matters personally. In Natal he had set up an Indian weekly called "Indian Opinion" in 1903 "to advocate the cause of the British Indians in this sub-continent". This newspaper played a very big part in the subsequent history of Indians in South Africa. The most glorious years of this illustrious journal were the years between 1903 and 1914, when practically all that was said, done and thought in the turbulent times of that era were faithfully reflected in the journal. I cannot, here, elaborate on this organ created by Gandhi, except to say for Gandhiji and for his journal that it would not be far from the truth to call them synonymous terms and complementary, the one to the other. Let me quote a few lines on this point from Gandhi's own words:

"Satyagraha would probably have been impossible without 'Indian Opinion'. The readers looked forward to it for a trustworthy account of the Satyagraha campaign as also of the real condition of Indians in South Africa. For me it became a means for the study of human nature in all its casts and shades, as I always aimed at establishing an intimate and clean bond between the editor and the readers."

Almost a year later Gandhiji established the Phoenix Settlement where it stands today as the headquarters of "Indian Opinion", for the purpose of enjoying the salutary effects of the countryside on the life and mind of man. This Settlement was destined to play an important part in the age of Gandhi in South Africa and in subsequent years.

But more was still to happen. In 1906 the

Zulu Rebellion broke out in Natal. Gandhi, as before in 1899 and in spite of the treatment he had received in South Africa, organised an Indian stretcher-bearer corps, himself holding the rank of Sergeant-Major. During the Rebellion the stark horrors of war brought out a realisation to him that that form of violence was "no war, but a man hunt." Two important results that were destined to have a profound effect on the life and work of Mohandas Gandhi emerged from this Rebellion: the love of non-violence, and the need to cultivate greater asceticism. On this latter point, Gandhi wrote:

"It was borne in upon me that I should have more and more occasions for service of the kind I was rendering, and that I should find myself unequal to my task if I were engaged in the pleasures of family life and on the propagation and rearing of children. In a word, I could not live both after the flesh and the spirit."

The result was that Gandhiji took the vow of chastity, of **brahmacharya** for life in the middle of 1906. If what he had done for the Indians of South Africa before this was without parallel, what was to follow in the wake of his new spiritual and moral awakening can only be described as the most chequered chapter in the history of Indians in South Africa.

Gandhiji was, therefore, a changed person when new developments in the Transvaal once again found him answering the calls of duty. On the 22nd August, 1906, soon after his return to the Transvaal at the end of the Zulu Rebellion in Natal, the Transvaal Government introduced the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance which prescribed that every Indian man, woman, or child of eight years and over, who were entitled to reside in the Transvaal, had to register his or her name with the Registrar of Asiatics and take out a certificate of registration. Old permits had to be surrendered. Important marks of identification were to be taken, as well as finger and thumb impressions. Failure to carry out the law was an offence punishable by fine, imprisonment, or deportation.

When he studied the draft Ordinance, Gandhi said that there was "nothing in it except

hatred of Indians." Gandhi objected to the terms of the Ordinance for various reasons: registration was compulsory; police officers could demand to see the certificates at any time and place; the giving of finger prints should have been required only from criminals; the registration of women and children, under 16, was proposed for the first time. Gandhi said of this Ordinance:

"It is not the last step, but the first step with a view to hound us out of the country. We are therefore responsible for the safety, not only of the ten or fifteen thousand Indians in the Transvaal but of the entire Indian community in South Africa."

Gandhi saw in this Ordinance the taint of class legislation. He had agreed to the voluntary re-registration of Indians in the Transvaal in 1903 on the understanding that no further registration would be required of the Indians. He had consented to the giving of thumb impressions where signatures could not be given. But the voluntary giving of thumb impressions in 1903 was being changed in 1906 to the compulsory giving of thumb and finger impressions without regard for a person's educational standards.

The Transvaal British Indian Association, of which Gandhi was Hon. Secretary, moved into action. It organised a great public protest meeting of some 3,000 Indians at the Empire Theatre, Johannesburg, on 11th September, 1906. At this meeting several resolutions were passed, the most important being the fourth resolution, a short form of which reads as follows:—

"This mass meeting of British Indians . . . resolves that, rather than submit to the galling, tyrannous, and un-British requirements laid down in the Draft Ordinance, every British Indian in the Transvaal shall submit to imprisonment until its repeal."

It was also resolved to send a deputation to England to present the case of the British Indians in the Transvaal before the public there and to endeavour to persuade the British Ministry to withhold Royal assent.

Life of GANDHI Continued . . .

As the famous fourth resolution was in effect the birth of "Passive Resistance" in South Africa, it is necessary to show how this Gandhian development came about since the vow of chastity taken by Gandhi in 1906. According to Gandhi's own admission, it was "the New Testament which really awakened me to the rightness and value of Passive Resistance." The Sermon on the Mount was the particularly influential chapter. The **Bhagavad Gita** deepened the impression created by the New Testament, and Tolstoy's **The Kingdom of God is within you**, gave the impression permanent form. Ruskin's **Crown of Wild Olives** also influenced Gandhi. The theory of Passive Resistance can best be described in Gandhi's own words:

"... 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 . . . in political as in domestic affairs."

Now as to the original of the term "Passive Resistance" in South Africa. It was Gandhi who first suggested the use of the words "Passive Resistance" for the struggle set off by the meeting of 11th September, 1906. But he felt that an Indian word should also be used for the movement. A small prize was announced in "Indian Opinion" to be awarded for the best vernacular designation for the struggle. Maganlal Gandhi, one of the competitors, suggested the word "SADAGRAHA" which means "firmness in a good cause". The word was amended by Gandhiji to "SATYAGRAHA".

Meanwhile, the Transvaal British Indian Association delegation comprising M. K. Gandhi and H. O. Ally sailed for England to protest against the Ordinance. In England they met influential sympathisers such as Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., Sir M. M. Bhowanaggre, M.P., and Sir Lelep Griffin. A Committee was formed under the name of the South Africa British Indian Committee, with Lord Ampthill as President and L. W. Ritch as Secretary. This

Committee met Lord Elgin, the Secretary of State, on 8th November, 1906. At this interview Gandhi pointed out his objections to the Ordinance, explained the position of the Indians in the Transvaal, and asked for the appointment of a Commission to go into the problem of British Indians in the Transvaal.

The upshot of the meeting was that Lord Elgin decided to hold up the matter until it received the attention of the Transvaal Responsible Government Parliament which was to come into being shortly.

It was a great gain for the delegation but in its final result it turned out to be a most temporary one. Responsible Government was granted to the Transvaal on the 1st January, 1907. In March of the same year, the Transvaal Parliament met, determined to rule out the temporary success the Indians had gained. "Within 24 hours and practically without discussion the (Asiatic Law Amendment) Ordinance, re-enacted, passed both Houses of Parliament, not a single member venturing to voice his protest."

In moving the Bill, the Colonial Secretary, Smuts, said:—

"I think, if there is one matter on which the entire White population of the Transvaal is agreed it is on this, that the Asiatic immigration into the Transvaal . . . is growing in volume from day to day."

How far Smuts was correct, if at all, in his assertion is a debatable issue, which time does not permit any digression on. The important and significant thing was that what the Indians had protested against in 1906 and had taken their famous fourth resolution to resist was now in the Statute Book in the form of Act 2/1907. Indians, not without reason, called it the "Black Act." Their objections to this Act were the same as those expressed against the Ordinance of 1906. Act 2 was to take effect as from 1st July, 1907.

On the last day of July, 1907, a monster open-air meeting was held in Pretoria and the momentous fourth resolution of September, 1906, was re-affirmed, in spite of the presence

at the meeting, at General Botha's request, of William Hosken, M.L.A., who brought a message from the Transvaal Premier to the effect that Indians should accept the Act and not resist it.

While the Indians were thus agitating for the repeal of Act 2 (the Asiatic Law Amendment Act), the Transvaal Government passed the Immigrants Restriction Act 15/1907, which was modelled on the lines of the Natal Immigration Restriction Act of 1897. It prescribed an education test in a European language. Any Asiatic who passed such a test would still be deemed to be a prohibited immigrant in the Transvaal if he did not qualify for registration in terms of Act 2. The immigration and the registration laws of the Transvaal were thus combined to exclude Asiatics from the Transvaal.

The Transvaal Indians did not take much heed of the Immigrants Restriction Act because its restrictions were magnified only in conjunction with Act 2. And as the Indians had resolved to give effect to their fourth resolution of seek the repeal of Act 2, it was to the **Black Act** that they gave all their attention for the moment.

One aspect of Satyagraha, as Gandhi saw it, was that no advantage and use of negotiation and compromise must ever be overlooked or ignored. In accordance with this principle, Indians made a conciliatory move. In September, 1907, they presented a petition containing between 3,000 to 5,000 signatures to the Transvaal Government imploring them to realise the suffering that threatened the Indian community and offering voluntary re-registration if the Government would suspend Act 2.

The petition was turned down. Only 500 Indians had complied with the provisions of Act 2 between 1st July, 1907, and December, 1907. The rest had not, and by their defiance had started the Satyagraha movement in the Transvaal against Act 2/1907. The first person to be arrested for failing to take out a registration certificate was Pandit Ram Sunder, on 8th November, 1907. He was sentenced to a month's imprisonment and set the ball rolling for the enactment of one of the most stirring roles in the history of our people in this country.

Indian and Chinese leaders of the Satyagraha movement were summoned to appear in Court on the 26th December, 1907, to show cause why, having failed to apply for registration, they should not be ordered to leave the Transvaal.

Most Satyagrahi prisoners were sentenced to three months' imprisonment without the option of a fine and a further three months with option. Gandhiji's first sentence was somewhat more lenient: he was sentenced to two months' simple imprisonment.

The first batch had not been in jail for a fortnight when negotiations were started by Albert Cartwright, editor of the "Transvaal Leader", for a compromise between Smuts and Gandhi. The substance of the compromise was that if the Indians underwent voluntary registration, the Transvaal Government would repeal Act 2.

Though Gandhi was not satisfied with the terms of the compromise he agreed on the understanding that Act 2 would be repealed after voluntary re-registration and that the voluntary re-registration would be validated by law. Educated persons, merchants, and property holders could give their signatures in place of the finger prints. Some Indians, especially the Pathans, disagreed with Gandhi. They suggested that Smuts should first repeal the Act and the Indians should register after that. Basing his arguments on grounds of trust, that is, on the belief that Smuts would keep his part of the bargain, Gandhi proceeded with his plans to re-register, even though it led to a brutal assault on his person by a Pathan on 10th February, 1908. After this assault the Government made a further concession: Mohommedans who objected on religious grounds to the giving of finger-prints could give their thumb prints instead.

For Gandhiji it was not the misguided assault that hurt: the bigger blow came when Smuts introduced legislation to validate voluntary re-registration—Act 36/1908, without repealing Act 2 as Gandhi was given to understand. Though there is disagreement among various authorities on whether or not Smuts had given such a promise, there is little doubt

that Gandhi believed that such a promise was in fact given. The failure on the part of General Smuts to repeal Act 2 aroused the resentment of the Indians.

The Satyagraha Committee in the Transvaal, under the leadership of Gandhi, sent a letter to the Government asking that Act 2 be repealed and stating that if a favourable reply were not received by the 16th August, 1908, all registration certificates would be burnt in a cauldron. The Government refused to give way and on the 16th August a mass meeting of some 3,000 Indians was held at the Hamidia Mosque in Johannesburg. Gandhiji was one of the speakers at this meeting. He told the meeting that after much consideration and prayer, the advice he ventured to give his countrymen was that they should burn their certificates. This is what the "Transvaal Leader" reported:—

"A large three-legged pot was then filled with the registration certificates, about 1,300 in all and about 500 trading licences. Paraffin was then poured in, and the certificates set on fire, amid a scene of the wildest enthusiasm. The crowd hurrahed and shouted themselves hoarse; hats were thrown in the air, and whistles blown."

In all, including the certificates of the Chinese, over 2,000 were burnt. The Satyagraha movement was now in full gear. Many Indians, including Gandhi, courted imprisonment. Feelings in India and in England were on the side of the Satyagrahis and every effort was made by the Imperial Government to settle the differences in the Transvaal on the following lines:—

- (1) Indians who possessed pre-war rights should be considerately treated.
- (2) A number of educated Indians should be admitted into the Transvaal.
- (3) Act 2/1907 and the validating Act 36/1908 be repealed.

The Transvaal Government agreed on two of the three points. They declined, however, to accede to the last point—that the objectionable Acts be repealed.

Natal joined the struggle when an educated Natalian, Sorabji Shapurji entered the

Transvaal to test the Immigrants Restriction Act. He was found guilty of contravening the Act on the grounds that though he could pass the education test in the Immigrants Restriction Act, he was not eligible for registration in terms of Act 2. He was sentenced to a month's imprisonment with hard labour. After this, more Natalians—traders and educated men—crossed into the Transvaal and courted arrest. The Transvaal Indians began trading without licences for the same purpose. The Government was being sorely tried on many fronts.

On 24th October, 1908, Gandhi was arrested at Volksrust. This was the occasion on which he sent his historic message to the Indians:

"Keep absolutely firm to the end. Suffering is our only remedy. Victory is certain." It is difficult here to go into the details of the Satyagraha movement; the many arrests, the treatment of Satyagrahi prisoners and their deportations.

The next landmark in the struggle was the appeal to the British Government in 1909. Gandhi and Habib went to England to make a last appeal to the British Government and to state the case of the South African Indians under closer union and to ask that the status of the British Indians be defined in the Union constitution.

Gandhi and Habib arrived in London on 10th July, 1909. On **5th November** of the same year a joint statement was issued by them stating that their negotiations had failed. Smuts was in England at this time. He agreed to repeal Act 2 and to admit six educated Indians each year. He was unable to accept the claim that Asiatics should be placed on a footing of equality with Europeans in respect of the right of entry into the Transvaal.

Gandhiji's mission to England had failed. The position now was that the Satyagraha movement was destined to be a long-drawn affair for which men, money, and accommodation for the families of the Satyagrahis were pressing matters for the moment. As for money, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Ratanji Tata gave 25,000

rupees—about £2,500—to Gandhi for the struggle. As for accommodation, Gandhi got his friend Kallenbach to help in the establishment of Tolstoy Farm at Lawley, 2 1/2 miles from Johannesburg. Gandhi devotes three chapters in his "Autobiography" to Tolstoy Farm.

The Satyagraha movement now became less active. What had really started as a movement against the Transvaal Government now became the concern of the Government of the Union of South Africa when the four states joined hands on the 31st May, 1910. Soon after the formation of Union the British Government addressed a dispatch to the Union Government advising them that Act 2 of the Transvaal be repealed and that a composite immigration law be enacted in which there should be no statutory differentiation against Asiatics but that administrative differentiation could limit the entry into the Union of six educated Indians annually.

At the time of Union there was no single immigration law for the whole country. The pre-union laws were retained temporarily. In 1911 General Smuts introduced the Immigrants Restriction Bill but this failed to give satisfaction to either the Europeans or the Asiatics and the Bill was withdrawn. To enable the Union Government to proceed unhampered in its undertaking to introduce a satisfactory immigration law, a provisional settlement was arrived at between Smuts and Gandhi in April, 1911 in which General Smuts undertook to introduce legislation during the 1912 session of Parliament to repeal Act 2 and to introduce an immigration law which would give legal equality to all immigrants of all races and which would provide for administrative differences only.

The 1912 Immigration Bill fared no better. It, too, was withdrawn pending the arrival in South Africa of the Hon. Prof. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, a member of the Viceroy's Council in India, who was expected to take a personal part in the settlement of the Indian question in South Africa. The Satyagraha movement was suspended during this period of negotiation and the provisional settlement of 1911 was extended for another year.

Gokhale arrived in Cape Town on 22nd

October, 1912. After addressing meetings in all the important centres in South Africa, Gokhale had an interview with the Union Ministers lasting about two hours. According to Gandhi, who was Secretary to Gokhale throughout the latter's tour, Gokhale said to him after the interview was over:

"You must return to India in a year. Everything has been settled. The Black Act (Act 2/1907) will be repealed. The racial bar will be removed from the Immigration Law. The £3 tax will be abolished."

It was also agreed that if a few priests and professional men were allowed to land each year, the Indians would agree to differential tests at the ports of entry.

Gandhi and Gokhale both stood for the "closed-door" policy at this time, that is, that the European mind had to be assured that the Indians did not desire to flood out the country. Hence also the acceptance of inter-provincial restrictions. On the other hand, once the "closed-door" policy became operative, the European must contribute to improve the lot of the Asiatics until they enjoyed full civic rights.

Gandhi and Gokhale were both severely criticised for this policy. In India the All India National Congress refused to ratify Gokhale's work in South Africa while the Natal Indian Congress took Gandhi to task. But when the tempers of the time cooled off the policy advocated by these two leaders was more appreciated and less maligned.

Gandhiji had suspended the Satyagraha movement in order to give the Union Government the opportunity to prepare its immigration law in a calm political atmosphere. In March, 1913, the result of this preparation was seen in the form of the Immigrants' Regulation Bill. According to the Bill, the Union Government could deny entry into the Union of a person on economic grounds or on account of the standards or habits of such a person being unsuited to the Union. Indians were disappointed with the other provisions of the Bill: ex-indentured Indians could be classified as prohibited immigrants; a declaration was required by educated Indians before entering the O.F.S.; the right of

South African-born Indians to enter the Cape as before was taken away; the admission into South Africa of wives of domiciled Indians and the status of such women were in doubt; the £3 tax was not repealed.

Though each of these points occupied the attention of Gandhi the two that featured more prominently in his work in South Africa were the admission and status of Indian women and the non-repeal of the £3 tax.

To take each of these two points separately: In terms of Section 5(g) of the Immigrants' Regulation Act of 1913 any person who was proved to be the wife or child under the age of 16 years, of an Indian domiciled in South Africa could enter the Union. This included the wife or child of a lawful or monogamous marriage celebrated according to the rites of any religious faith outside the Union.

On 14th March, 1913, Justice Searle delivered an important judgement in the Cape Supreme Court in the case Essop versus the Minister of the Interior. Let me give the facts of the case very briefly: Essop had lived in Port Elizabeth since 1902. He went to India and married Bal Mariam there, Bal Mariam sought admission to South Africa. Justice Searle refused the application for admission and said that non-Christian marriages, whether solemnised in India or in the Union, which were not performed by a civil marriage officer, were invalid in the eyes of the law and jeopardised the right of entry of the wives of the majority of domiciled Indians in South Africa.

This judgment nullified in South Africa all marriages celebrated according to Hindu, Mohammedan, and Zoroastrian rites; the many married Indian women in South Africa ceased to have the legal status of wives.

Gandhi wrote to the Union Government, protesting against the Searle judgment and asking that Indian marriages celebrated according to the religious customs of the parties and recognised as legal in India be also recognised as such in South Africa. The Government was in no mood to listen to Gandhi or to make concessions.

Another difficulty followed on the marriage

question: the Natal Supreme Court in the Kulsum Bibi case prohibited the entry into the Union of persons whose marriage was admitted to be polygamous. The Mohammedan religion permits the existence of plural wives. Gandhi protested against this total prohibition. He did not ask for the legal recognition of polygamy. All he asked for was the admission of plural wives already married to Indians domiciled in the Union without recognising their legal status.

When Gandhi was informed that no assurance could be given by the Minister of the Interior that legislation would be introduced in the next session of Parliament to validate *de facto* monogamous marriages, he informed the Union Government that he was resuming passive resistance and that this time women were to join in the struggle in protest against the Searle judgment.

Women played a glorious part in the struggle that followed. Their contribution is writ large in the pages of Gandhi's "Autobiography" and in the columns of "Indian Opinion". This part of our history deserves the attention and the interest of scholars and lay people alike. It was the Transvaal women from Tolstoy Farm who were the first women to join the Satyagraha movement. They crossed the border at Vereeniging and began trading without licences. The police refused to arrest them. Gandhiji then planned the next effective steps. These were two in number:

- (1) To send the Phoenix Settlers to cross the Transvaal border without permits, and
- (2) To bring the £3 tax question into the picture.

The Phoenix party of 16 were arrested and sentenced to three months' imprisonment, with hard labour, on 23rd September, 1913.

Five days later Gandhi sent a letter to the Secretary for the Interior advising him that he had decided to ask the indentured labourers to strike against the non-repeal of the £3 tax, which Gokhale was given to understand in 1912 would be repealed.

The decision to include the £3 tax question in the programme of the Satyagraha movement

split the Indian community in Natal; the Natal Indian Congress opposed the step and broke away from Gandhi. Gandhiji now formed the Natal Indian Association on 19th October, 1913.

The indentured labourers struck work on the coal mines of Newcastle. Here they were inspired and encouraged by women from the Transvaal. These women were at last arrested and given the same sentence as the Phoenix group.

Soon the number of coal miners on strike grew into hundreds. The question of their accommodation and feeding troubled Gandhi a great deal. Gandhiji, who was now in Newcastle, decided to take this "army" to the Transvaal and have them safely deposited in jail. This was a colossal undertaking in the year 1913 which any leader could be pardoned for running away from even today. Over 2,200 people—men, women and children—set out from Newcastle, under the leadership of Gandhi, on 28th October, 1913, on the historic march which is indelibly imprinted on paper and in the minds of some survivors who took part in its glory and its magnificence.

Gandhiji was arrested at Volksrust on the 6th November, but released on bail; re-arrested at Standerton and again released on bail; arrested a third time at Greylingstad and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. On the 16th November the 2,000-odd Indians were arrested at Balfour and taken by rail to their respective spheres of work in Natal.

By the middle of November the strikes had spread to the sugar and other industries. The Indian labourers were solidly behind Gandhi. In a letter to his father, Senator Marshall Campbell, his son, William Campbell, wrote:

"... The men now will not listen to anyone

but Gandhi or the gun. . ."

By Natal law the strikers were guilty of criminal offences and liable to be arrested and punished. At various places arrests were made which led to conflicts between the strikers and the police. The two more serious strikes occurred near Mt. Edgecombe and Esperanza. On each of these occasions firearms were used by the police and in all 9 Indians were killed and 25

wounded. Gandhi had himself repudiated all those Indians who resorted to violence. In his speech at Verulam before he left South Africa; Gandhi said of this violence:

"... he wanted to remind them of this one thing, that Victoria County, as also the other Districts of Natal, had not been so free from violence on their own part as the Newcastle District had been. He did not care that provocation had been offered to them or how much they had retaliated with their sticks or with stones, or had burned the sugar cane—that was not Passive Resistance, and, if he had been in their midst, he would have repudiated them entirely and allowed his own head to be broken rather than permit them to use a single stick against their opponents. And he wanted them to believe him when he told them that Passive Resistance pure and simple was an infinitely finer weapon than all the sticks and gunpowder put together."

News of the strikes and disturbances aroused widespread resentment in India and the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, called for a commission of enquiry into the disturbances.

The upshot was that the Union Government appointed the Indian Inquiry Commission in December, 1913, under the chairmanship of Sir William Solomon, a judge of the Supreme Court, to hold an inquiry into the recent disturbances, the causes thereof, the amount of force used and the necessity for this, and other related matters and to make recommendations.

Gandhi and other Indians protested against the other two commissioners, J. S. Wylie, K.C., and E. Esselen, K.C. They wanted such names as Sir James Rose-Innes and W. P. Schreiner to be added to the list. They also requested that an Indian should sit on the Commission. India was represented by Sir Benjamin Robertson.

When these demands were rejected, Gandhi planned a new passive resistance march on 1st January, 1914. South Africa in the new year of 1914 was in further trouble: European railway workers had also struck work on the Rand and the Government was on the

horns of a dilemma. When Gandhi was approached by Vere Stent, editor of the "Pretoria News", not to revive the strike or the passive resistance movement during the railway strike, Gandhi readily agreed.

On the 21st January, 1914, Gandhi wrote to the Secretary for the Interior explaining the points on which Indians sought relief. These were:

- (i) The repeal of the £3 tax.
- (ii) The marriage question.
- (iii) The Cape entry question.
- (iv) The O.F.S. question, and
- (v) "an assurance that the existing laws, especially affecting Indians, will be administered justly with due regard to vested rights."

Gandhi informed the Government that he would not give evidence before the Commission. This decision was criticized and not all Indians agreed with it. Gandhi's popularity and place towards the end of his stay in South Africa cannot be placed as highly as they stood before and during but not at the end of the great passive resistance struggle in South Africa.

Gandhi was criticised for being partial towards the better-class Indians and for championing their cause more than the cause of the poorer Indians. Hence the Natal Indian Congress broke away from him on the question of including the £3 tax in the Satyagraha movement.

Another grievance felt and expressed in some quarters was that Gandhi preferred to work with European advisers and friends than with his own people. On this point it is interesting to note that those Europeans who were Gandhi's loyal friends in the country—men such as H. S. L. Polak, L. W. Ritch, H. Kallenbach, Albert West and Miss Sonja Schlesin, stood by Gandhi whom they respected as a leader. Their loyalty and steadfastness proved to be pillars of great strength for Gandhi in his work in South Africa. Yet this association had aroused a measure of suspicion which only time rectified.

The Commission's main recommendations were:

- (i) The abolition of the £3 tax in Natal.
- (ii) Provision for the admission into the Union, along with her minor children, of one wife in the case of any Indian who was married according to the tenets of his religion, outside the Union, provided that she was the only wife in the country.
- (iii) Appointment of marriage officers to solemnise marriages according to the rites of an Indian religion.

The Union Government introduced the Indians Relief Bill, 22/1914, to give effect to the recommendations of the Solomon Commission. The Bill did not give full satisfaction to the Indians. Gandhiji once again took up the matter of the shortcomings from the Indian point of view in the Relief Bill. A series of letters between Smuts and Gandhi, known as the **Smuts-Gandhi Agreement**, settled these outstanding points. The chief points in this Agreement were: certificates of discharge would be given to all Indians subject to Act 17/1895, on completion of their indentures; a limited number of plural wives and their children were to be permitted to join their husbands or their fathers in South Africa; South African born Indians would be permitted to enter the Cape in small numbers; a limited number of educated Indians would be permitted to enter the country; passive resistance offences were not to be deemed to be criminal offences for record purposes.

The Smuts-Gandhi Agreement marks the close of the era of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in South Africa. It is not without just cause that South African Indians can claim that the Gandhian period in the history of South Africa, from 1893 to 1914, constitutes a grand era of 21 years of positive contribution. What of this contribution? Even now, nearly fifty years since Gandhiji left the shores of South Africa on 20th July, 1914, it would be presumptuous to think that the last word on the great contribution made in this country by this outstanding leader has been written or that the last force or effect of his guiding spirit and counsel have been felt.

In the multitudinous ways in which this great leader modelled and reformed the social, economic, religious, educational and political structure of the life of Indians in this country, it is not possible here to give the credit that is due to the Mahatma for his conscientious and unrelenting efforts to elevate the spiritual life of Indians in South Africa. He strove after truth, after justice, after cleanliness, after simplicity, after godliness. It would need many chapters and many minds to place these achievements in their right place and proportion.

It remains to be said that the 24-year-old Mohandas Gandhi came out to South Africa in 1893 without any idea of the task ahead of him and without any preparation for it. When he left he was 45 years old, trained and prepared for the exigencies that lay ahead of him in the tortuous path that gave to the world the **Mahatma**; he had organised the South African Indians in various political units. He had pointed out to the Indians that South Africa was their home and that they should work towards finding a place for themselves in this country; in this direction he had organised the Indian Ambulance Corps in 1899 and 1906. His greatest contribution was the conception, organisation and practice of Passive Resistance or Satyagraha in South Africa.

When he left the shores of South Africa he had by no means solved all the problems of that day. Such a task needed more than a life-time of endeavour. If he had not succeeded in all, there are gains for which we are all deep in the Mahatma's debt. We need only to think of the recommendations of the Solomon Commission and of the terms of the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement to recall the extent of our gratitude. There remains, too, the living monument to his work and ideals in South Africa: the Phoenix Settlement, whose aims and objects are of the highest order.

In September, 1912, Gandhi created a Trust of the Phoenix Settlement. The objects of the Settlement, as outlined in the Trust Deeds, were that the settlers were to make a living by handicraft or agriculture; the Settlement was to promote better understanding between Europeans and Indians in South Africa; it was to promote the purity of private life; to establish

a school; to establish a sanatorium and hygiene institute. It was to train the settlers for the service of humanity, and it was to conduct "Indian Opinion."

His departure did not close the door to any further agitation for improvements at any future date. In a letter to Reuter before his departure from South Africa, Gandhi wrote:

"... I have assured them (Indians) that the present settlement does not preclude them from agitation . . . for the removal of other disabilities which the community will still suffer."

In conclusion, allow me in summing up the life and work of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in South Africa, to quote one of his favourite extracts from the Bhagavad Gita, which he had occasion to make use of first on South African soil:

"Finally, this is better, that one do
His own task as he may, even though he
fail,

Than take tasks not his own, though they
seem good.

To die performing duty is no ill;

But who seeks other roads shall wander
still."

THE LATE Mr. M. E. LAKHI

Mr. Lakhi was a great philanthropist. He was keenly interested in education and was responsible, with Mr. Sastri and others, for the erection of Sastri College. He was the largest individual contributor to the fund for the building.

Mr. Lakhi presented to the Greytown Municipality the place where General Louis Botha was born, and in Maritzburg he established the Lakhi Ward at the Grey's Hospital.