

Gandhi and some contemporary African leaders from KwaZulu-Natal

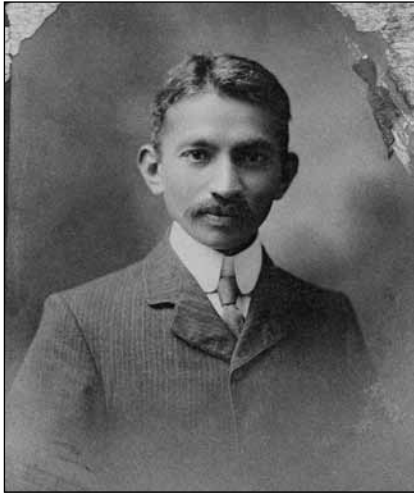
by Anil Nauriya

EXCEPT FOR some visits, mainly to India and England, M.K. Gandhi (1869-1948) was in South Africa during the period May 1893-July 1914. Some scholars in the last few decades have suggested that Gandhi and the African leadership in early 20th-century South Africa had little or no awareness of or contact with one another and were like ships crossing at night. A closer scrutiny, however, indicates multiple contacts between Gandhi and the African leadership. Evidently these were more extensive than has hitherto been assumed. This article is, however, confined to Gandhi's interface with African leaders from what is now known as KwaZulu-Natal.

That Gandhi's ethnographic ideas had evolved considerably even while he was in South Africa is evidenced by his remarks in a speech at the Johannesburg YMCA on 18 May 1908: "If we look into the future, is it not a heritage we have to leave to posterity, that all the different races commingle and produce a civilisation that perhaps the world has not yet seen?"¹

Gandhi's African interface in Natal before Phoenix-Inanda

It is generally assumed that the initial interface that Gandhi had with the African leadership in KwaZulu Natal was when he met John Langalibalele



M.K. Gandhi in London, 1909
(Photograph: National Gandhi
Museum, New Delhi)

Dube (1871-1946) in 1905. By this time Gandhi had a journal of his own, *Indian Opinion*, which had commenced publication from Durban in June 1903, enabling him to express himself on topics of his choice. Before this, in the period from 1893, his journalism in or about South Africa usually took the form of occasional pamphlets and letters to editors of the established Natal press. In the pre-*Indian Opinion* phase, information touching on Gandhi's interface with the African leadership is therefore not as definite as it is for the subsequent period. It is not possible to assert categorically that such interaction existed; nor is it possible, contrariwise, to rule it out. There are certain things one may reasonably infer from what is known even about this early period. The African journal *Inkanyiso*, published from Pietermaritzburg, had taken early note of Gandhi. Founded as an Anglican Christian journal, *Inkanyiso Yase Natal* was effectively under independent African control, chiefly of Solomon Kumalo.² The significantly sympathetic

interest the journal took in Gandhi was such that it seems unlikely that Gandhi himself would have been unaware of it or that he did not have some manner of contact with *Inkanyiso*'s primarily African journalists and, with what was, from around January 1895, its African proprietorship. The journal expressed satisfaction on learning that "the Natal Law Society's objection to Mr Ghandi [*sic*] being allowed to practise in the Supreme Court of the Colony has been overruled".³ "We know not," it continued, "whether prejudice against his colour, or fear for the loss of fees, prompted the opposition"⁴ It saw common factors between the Indian and the African plight: "Already has it been intimated that it is advisable in the interests of the white mechanic that Natives should retire from the struggle to gain a livelihood lest amongst the "survival of the fittest" we should see too many dark skins, and now we find that the Indian, however qualified, must keep back too. How absurd prejudice is when you come to think of it!"⁵

Having come under African ownership from the beginning of 1895, *Inkanyiso*'s editorial of 4 January 1895 referred to itself as being the only such paper in Natal.⁶ Citing discrimination against himself on grounds of colour in Durban's restaurants, *Inkanyiso*'s editor referred in this context also to Gandhi's experience:

Mr M.K. Gandhi in his "Open Letter" pointed to the fact that even respectable Indians had been refused a night's lodging in certain hotels, but he was violently attacked by most of the South African journals, and told that he was guilty of gross exaggeration. It was no doubt felt that treatment such as he complained of was unworthy of Englishmen, hence the indignation.⁷

On political issues such as the question of franchise, *Inkanyiso* supported Gandhi and the Indian position:

Mr M.K. Gandhi's very temperate letter in the *Mercury* on the subject of the Indian franchise has only to be read by any justice loving person in order to be convinced that the Indian in Natal is being deprived of what is his by right. Mr Gandhi very shrewdly points out that the Indian would be perfectly satisfied to have, what the *Mercury* and others have always admitted he ought to have, viz., the same rights here as he would enjoy in India. In his own country he is not excluded from what the Englishman is admitted to and neither should he be in South Africa if justice is of any value to the colonist.⁸

"But," added *Inkanyiso*, those who

take a narrow and selfish view of things have never yet been able to see the real beauties of such qualities as justice and fairness, and we must not be surprised if the lofty and humanitarian sentiments which it is so easy, and often so convenient, for men to give expression to, are so often set aside and forgotten when they should be practised.⁹

A few days later *Inkanyiso* noted editorially the concern that had been caused among colonists by the establishment of the "Indian Congress", a reference to the Natal Indian Congress which had been founded in 1894.¹⁰ The journal asked, pointing to the colonist, that

if his conscience tells him that he *is* behaving justly and honourably towards the coloured races in the country, he will not surely mind a little bit of organisation among either the Natives or the Indians who desire no more than the establishment of friendly relations between all sections of the community, based on the firm foundation of justice and fairness.¹¹

It noted also Gandhi's benign explanation of the objects of the Indian Congress and congratulated the colonists "on their escape from an imaginary danger".¹² Gandhi's explanation of the objects of the Natal Indian Congress had been published a couple of days earlier.¹³ In continuation of its firm support for Indian grievances, *Inkanyiso* observed:

It is amusing to read the various arguments which are brought against the admission of the Indian to the franchise. That these arguments are, all of them, weak and often absurd is evident to those who hear them: and what is more, they go to show that the objection to Indians and Natives enjoying the franchise is not made on principle, but from prejudice.¹⁴

In yet another editorial note in the same issue of *Inkanyiso*, it was suggested that "it would only be just to admit Natives and Indians to the franchise, but this privilege is refused them".¹⁵ Yet "what the Colonist is so much alarmed at are the political objects of the Indian Congress".¹⁶ The journal reiterated its support for granting the franchise "to all those of Her Majesty's subjects in Natal" whose qualifications were equal to Europeans, asserting strongly: "No honest and fair reasons have yet been given as to why the Indians should be excluded...."¹⁷ A week later *Inkanyiso* noted: "The Indian Congress in Natal is being bitterly attacked and Mr Ghandi [*sic*] abused presumably for standing ready to protect Indians from injustice. In Natal this is not surprising."¹⁸ In the following month the journal remarked:

At the Richmond meeting on the subject of the Indian franchise, Mr Harrow said that in New Zealand the Maoris were allowed several representatives in the House. He



M.K. Gandhi leading a small group of striking Indian coal mine workers out of Newcastle on October 29, 1913, en route to the Transvaal border to defy the government's Restriction Act and to court arrest
(Photograph: National Gandhi Museum, New Delhi)

thought that Natal should allow the Asiatics a representative: Mr Ghandi [*sic*] would be superior to anyone already there. So with the Natives – let them appoint a man. Mr C. Hammond and Mr G. Alexander of course vetoed so fair a proposal. Is it not a farce – nay more, hypocrisy – to talk of defending Native interests against the Indians and yet to deny the coloured races the privilege of appointing one or two gentlemen (white) to look after their interests? Does not this look as if the colonists were determined that the interests of both Natives and Indians shall be neglected if possible? It certainly does.¹⁹

Given such solidarity and consistent support by *Inkanyiso* to Gandhi's efforts and Indian causes, one may discount the possibility that Gandhi was not acquainted with the journal or with its proprietor-editor, Solomon Kumalo.

Actually, in April-May 1895 there had been a controversy in the Natal press, arising from a series of articles,

“Christianity vs Natives” published in *Inkanyiso*. Gandhi was, as we shall see, aware of this debate. Certain missionary attitudes in Africa were specifically critiqued in a series of articles published in *Inkanyiso* beginning on 19 April and concluding on 31 May 1895.²⁰ Provoked by the *Inkanyiso* articles, *The Times of Natal* joined issue on 18 June 1895, while the Bishop of Natal in an address rebutted *The Times of Natal*, and “practically endorsed *Inkanyiso*'s indictment”.²¹ Referring to the bishop's address, Pyarelal, Gandhi's secretary in India and later biographer, writes: “A well-marked clipping of this address preserved among Gandhiji's records bespeaks the deep interest it evoked in him.”²² Bishop Arthur Hamilton Baynes's address appears to have been frowned upon in a section of the Natal press, which suggested that his ideas would change with time. But the bishop earned the respect of Gandhi who had followed the debate quite closely.²³

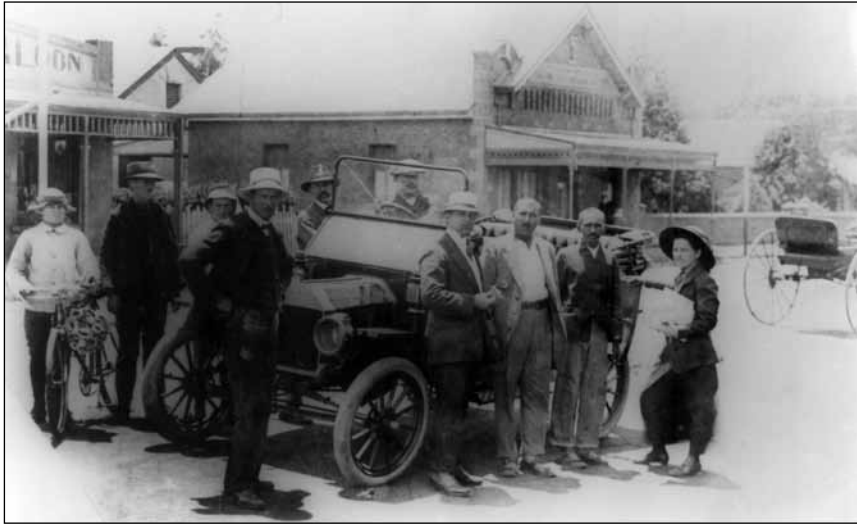
April 1895, when the *Inkanyiso*-initiated debate was on, happened to be the very month of Gandhi's own visit to the Christian mission at Mariannhill near Pinetown, a village "16 miles by rail from Durban". The Mariannhill monastery was established and run by the Trappists, a German Catholic order. Seeking them out initially for their simplicity and vegetarianism, about which Gandhi had read while he was in England, he was pleasantly surprised by what he found at Mariannhill. "The principle of liberty, equality and fraternity is carried out in its entirety," he noted.²⁴ The emphasis on handwork and the various workshops – "blacksmiths', tinsmiths', carpenters', shoemakers', tanners'", the oil machine and the printing department – had impressed Gandhi, as had the convent and the skills taught there. "They have the ironing, sewing, straw-hat manufacturing and knitting departments, where one can see the Native girls, dressed in clean costumes, working assiduously."²⁵ He found the quarters for the African inmates somewhat cramped – remarking on "the closeness and the stuffy air", the beds were "separated by only single boards" and "there was hardly space enough to walk".²⁶ But on the whole Gandhi came back satisfied that the Trappists believed in no colour distinctions. He praised the Trappists for their good treatment of the over 1 200 Africans who lived on the mission: "They believe in no colour distinctions. These Natives are accorded the same treatment as the whites. They are mostly children. They get the same food as the brothers, and are dressed as well as they themselves are."²⁷

Whether the issues raised in *Inkanyiso* had a bearing on the timing of Gandhi's visit to Mariannhill is difficult to

say for certain. But some significance of the write-up in *Inkanyiso* may be sought in the fact that this outspoken African journal had put forth a broad rather than a narrow or denominational view of Christianity. This would most definitely have struck a chord with Gandhi. It had seemed to postulate a Tolstoyan view of Christianity for emulation, thus possibly contributing, directly or indirectly, to stimulating Gandhi's life-long passion for the thinker. *Inkanyiso* was not published after 1896. Its regular readers would have noticed a name occurring with increasing regularity as the author of some communications published in it – that of John L. Dube.²⁸

The connection with John Dube

There appears to have been a growing interest on Gandhi's part in the question of land as it affected Africans. Some indication of this is available between the founding of *Indian Opinion* in June 1903 and the shifting of the International Printing Press and the *Indian Opinion* offices to Phoenix after Gandhi founded that settlement in November-December 1904 in John Dube's Inanda neighbourhood.²⁹ Dube's *Ilanga Lase Natal* had started publication a few months before *Indian Opinion*. In early 1904 *The Natal Mercury* carried a letter, touching on the subject of African land rights, by Josiah Mapumulo, who was apparently connected with the Native Vigilance Committee in Natal. Mapumulo, who would come to be known in subsequent decades as a leading intellectual and regular writer in John Dube's *Ilanga Lase Natal*, pointed out in his letter to *The Mercury* that Africans were being deprived of all but the inferior lands; he proceeded to warn: "We won't sit complacently still while our country is being parcelled out exclusively for



M.K. Gandhi and others under arrest, 1913. He is seen on the right, standing next to Miss Sonja Schlesin, his secretary
(Photograph: National Gandhi Museum, New Delhi)

Europeans. It must not be forgotten, too, that we have an army of sympathisers in the British Parliament who would readily take up our cause, and fight strenuously for our legitimate grievances till we get redress.”³⁰ The letter appears to have impressed Gandhi, who still had faith in the sense of fairness of the British Parliament. Mapumulo’s letter was carefully cut out and preserved in Gandhi’s papers and forms part of his collection preserved in the library at Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad, whose database holds the press clipping under the title “Native Vigilance Committee”, 28 January 1904. As we shall see, during his subsequent years in South Africa, beginning specifically from the very next year, Gandhi would speak up for African land rights. Mapumulo’s letter reveals another characteristic that underlay Gandhi’s own outlook at this time, that of counter-posing the British Government or constitutional institutions against the discrimination encountered in South Africa.

Nelson Mandela has observed:

M.K. Gandhi and John Dube, first president of the African National Congress, were neighbours in Inanda, and each influenced the other, for both men established, at about the same time, two monuments to human development within a stone’s throw of each other, the Ohlange Institute and the Phoenix Settlement. Both institutions suffer today the trauma of the violence that has overtaken that region; hopefully, both will rise again, phoenix-like, to lead us to undreamed heights.³¹

The extent of the interface between Dube and Gandhi has been the subject of discussion.³² In her biography of John Dube, Heather Hughes implies that Gandhi’s first visit to Dube’s Ohlange institution took place only in November 1912.³³ Maureen Swan, an earlier scholar on Gandhi in South Africa, had suggested a higher degree of impact: the inspiration for Gandhi’s Inanda settlement lay not in the ideas of Ruskin and

Tolstoy alone, she suggested, but in the more immediate example of John Dube:

John L Dube, an American-educated Zulu, editor of the weekly *Ilanga lase Natal*, was already directing a communal settlement at Phoenix when Gandhi decided to buy land in the same area. Dube's settlement included a school and training facilities for various trades, all of which Gandhi's commune was eventually to offer. If Gandhi had no prior knowledge of Dube's work, then the establishment of his commune, in the same area, is a most striking coincidence.³⁴

In 1905 Gandhi, writing in the Gujarati section of his journal, quoted appreciatively a "very impressive" speech that John Dube had made in his presence at the Natal residence of Marshall Campbell. In the course of what Gandhi described as an "eloquent speech", Dube had argued that for the Africans "there was no country other than South Africa; and to deprive them of their rights over lands, etc., was like banishing them from their home."³⁵ Hailing him as an African "of whom one should know", Gandhi expressed his appreciation for Dube, who "imparts education to his brethren, teaching them various trades and crafts and preparing them for the battle of life".³⁶ In the context of the interest that Gandhi had started taking in African land rights, as indicated also by the careful preservation of the Mapumulo letter, Dube's words fell, so far as Gandhi was concerned, on receptive soil. In addition to the land question, on other matters as well, Gandhi remained impressed with and in contact with Dube and the institutions the latter established at Ohlange.

Dube had been much influenced by Booker T. Washington and his institution at Tuskegee in the United States.³⁷ Two years earlier, in 1903, Gandhi had

written a significant article in appreciation of Booker T. Washington and the educational aspects of his work at Tuskegee.³⁸ Relying on an article in the journal *East and West*, Gandhi set out the facts of Washington's life, his birth as a slave, his intrepid desire for an education, his association with the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia and then the founding of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Gandhi observed:

His idea about combining industrial education with a knowledge of letters merely, as might well be imagined, was not taken up enthusiastically. He therefore travelled from place to place, lecturing to the people on the advantage of his system. In his struggle for reform, he found Miss Olivia Davidson to be a worthy helper, whom he afterwards married.³⁹

It has been suggested that John Dube's industrial school was "most representative of Tuskegee's influence in South Africa".⁴⁰

Although *Indian Opinion* focused mainly on Indian concerns, the impact of John Dube's speech on Gandhi cannot be discounted. Gandhi's support for the land rights and educational needs of Africans is reflected in his journal's multiple references to John Dube and to the latter's paper, *Ilanga Lase Natal*. A couple of months after the reference by Gandhi to John Dube's August 1905 speech, Gandhi's paper quoted appreciatively and *in extenso* a "trenchant" reply given by the editor of *Ilanga lase Natal*, meaning, in all likelihood, John Dube himself, to a correspondent, Henry Ancketill, who had opposed the acquisition of landed property by Africans.⁴¹ This was followed by further references, as we will see presently.

Meanwhile, with the coming of 1906, the poll tax issue boiled over into the Bhambatha rebellion. Even as Gandhi asked Indians to offer their services to the government in a bid to perform what he saw as his duty as a subject of the Empire and prepared to establish an ambulance corps, his sympathies and dilemmas appeared to approximate to John Dube's own. Referring to the incident in the course of the African revolt in Natal before promulgation of martial law in which two policemen were killed, Gandhi commented wryly on the official response in which some Africans "were prosecuted under the martial law, and 12 of them were condemned to death and blown up at the mouth of a cannon Twelve lives have been taken for two."⁴² Gandhi's anguish at the execution of 12 Africans is again evident in his contemporary account, albeit using language then current, of a search and clash that followed:

The small party of soldiers that was on Bambata's [*sic*] trail included the Englishmen who had shot the 12 Kaffirs. Bambata [*sic*] and his men encircled the party and, though they fought very bravely, the soldiers were defeated in the end and managed to escape with great difficulty. Some of them were killed. The dead included those who had shot the 12 Kaffirs. Such is the law of God. The executioners met their death within two days.⁴³

Interestingly, the next issue of Gandhi's journal carried, with the heading "A Strange Coincidence", an extract from John Dube's *Ilange Lase Natal* which expressed a similar thought:

A remarkable thing about the first fight with Bambata [*sic*] is that the four troopers who were killed were all in the firing party at the execution of the 12 men at Richmond. What does this

mean? Call it a remarkable coincidence if you please, but we regard it as having a very deep meaning, whether we are superstitious or not.⁴⁴

It is evident that Gandhi had come to notice a conflict between his sense of duty and his sense of justice.

With the 1906 experience, Gandhi became even more conscious of African rights, especially with regard to matters concerning land and education. In an editorial in late 1906, Gandhi's paper heaped praise on John Dube along with Joseph Baynes as also on the Bishop of Natal, Arthur Hamilton Baynes. A sermon by the bishop was appreciated for urging that Africans and Indians in Natal be freed from their "admitted grievances"; Joseph Baynes was commended for his criticism of the Unoccupied Land Tax Bill, then before Parliament, which was iniquitous as between Europeans on the one hand and Africans and Indians on the other; and John Dube was hailed as a "self-sacrificing leader", who had "boldly published" a manifesto in *Ilange Lase Natal*, criticising colonial policies that worked unfairness towards Africans.⁴⁵

It appears that both Dube's *Ilange Lase Natal* and Gandhi's *Indian Opinion* were conscious that the espousal of the causes of their respective constituencies led occasionally to less than enthusiastic references to those outside these constituencies and that this phenomenon called for correction. Towards the end of 1906, Gandhi's journal carried, under the heading "Fair Enough", the following extract from *Ilange Lase Natal*: "We candidly admit that whatever may be found in our policy that does not admit of the good of all persons, must be deleted."⁴⁶ As we shall see, some months later, Gandhi on his part would, in clear recognition

of the justice of African demands, begin to commend to the African people the path of passive resistance.

There was enough familiarity between Gandhi's Phoenix institution and John Dube's Ohlange for developments at the Ohlange institution intermittently to be reported in Gandhi's paper. For example, the addition of a building at Ohlange was reported.⁴⁷ Important functions at Ohlange were noticed and Gandhi's journal heartily commended the efforts John Dube had made towards African education, holding him out as an inspiration for all coloured people. The address by the Governor of Natal (Sir Matthew Nathan) at the opening of the new school at the Ohlange Industrial Institute was reported at length in Gandhi's journal which commented:

Mr Dube is to be warmly congratulated upon a success that has culminated in a ceremony such as took place at the Ohlange Mission Station last Monday. He must have felt, when he heard Sir Matthew Nathan's wise words of encouragement, that his years of strenuous endeavour on behalf of his people had not been spent in vain. Mr Dube is a splendid disciple of Mr Booker Washington, and his energetic faith is to be commended to all presently designated "inferior" peoples in South Africa. If the colonial-born Indian will but take heart from so bright an example, and realise that there is something greater even than the ideal of becoming an office employee, he will have done much to better his own condition and that of the land of his birth.⁴⁸

There is little doubt that the sense of appreciation between the two neighbouring leaders and institutions developed on both sides. The Gandhi-led Indian struggle, involving passive resistance by courting arrest, started

in the Transvaal. It evoked an editorial appreciation in *Ilanga Lase Natal* which was reproduced in *Indian Opinion* during Gandhi's imprisonment in Johannesburg in January 1908. Dube's paper expressed admiration for the "the courageous manner in which the Indians are acting in the Transvaal", observing that "it is common for the Bantu to admire pluck" and that this was so "especially when the plucky contender has a fair claim for Justice".⁴⁹

With such editorials appearing in the African press, fears were voiced in colonial circles that similar movements could develop among the African people. Responding to these apprehensions in an interview to *The Natal Mercury*, Gandhi observed:

... if the natives were to adopt our methods, and replace physical violence by passive resistance, it would be a positive gain to South Africa. Passive resisters, when they are in the wrong, do mischief only to themselves. When they are in the right, they succeed in spite of any odds. It is not difficult to see in Natal, that, if Bambata, instead of murdering Inspector Hunt, had simply taken up passive resistance, because he felt that the imposition of the poll-tax was unjustifiable, much bloodshed would have been avoided....⁵⁰

This stance was more than a reiteration of Gandhi's position against violent action; it was also an invitation to the African people that Gandhi would repeat more than once before leaving South Africa. Clearly, Gandhi was fine-tuning his political positions so as to place himself as far as possible in a position of minimal or "no-contradiction" with respect to the African leadership. With increased mutual respect and appreciation, interaction between the two neighbouring



M.K. Gandhi at a farewell meeting held in Durban in 1914
(Photograph: National Gandhi Museum, New Delhi)

institutions was bound to increase also on other, including cultural, planes. A visit by the Phoenix Settlement School to the Ohlange Industrial School was reported in Gandhi's journal some three weeks before his release from Pretoria prison. Exhibiting some familiarity with Ohlange, Gandhi's journal noted in its report of the visit: "The Ohlange School has already outgrown its fine two-storey building so that Standard III with its 37 pupils has to be taught in the old refectory. The carpenter shops, smithy and turning benches were also much admired."⁵¹ A musical performance held at the Ohlange Industrial School was also appreciatively reported in Gandhi's journal in the following month.⁵²

Increasingly, Gandhi emphasised the inter-connectedness of African and Asian interests, even if not their amalgamated identity. The Zulu chief Dinuzulu had been tried and convicted on various counts of high treason. He was defended by W.P. Schreiner, a famous lawyer based in the Cape whose sister, the writer Olive Schreiner, became a deeply valued friend of Gandhi. In 1909

Gandhi had complimented W.P. Schreiner, when both were on a visit to London, for his "noble and self-sacrificing work in connection with the welfare of the coloured races of South Africa under the Draft South Africa Act."⁵³ Dinuzulu, who was serving a term in prison, was discharged soon after the formation of the Union of South Africa. John Dube and other African leaders in Natal had close links with the House of Dinuzulu. Welcoming the subsequent discharge of Dinuzulu, Gandhi wrote: "It was no doubt right and proper that the birth of the Union should have been signalled [*sic*] for the Natives of South Africa by the clemency of the Crown towards Dinuzulu [*sic*]. Dinuzulu's [*sic*] discharge will naturally fire the imagination of the South African Natives."⁵⁴

Gandhi saw in the new attitude, then exhibited in South Africa, ground for hope for Asians as well. This may be compared with the way *Inkanyiso* in 1895 had seen African and Indian demands as inter-woven and non-conflicting: Gandhi asked: "Will it not be equally proper to enable the Asiatics in

South Africa to feel that there is a new and benignant spirit abroad in South Africa by conceding their demands, which are held, I make bold to say, to be intrinsically just by nine out of every 10 intelligent Europeans in this continent?"⁵⁵

The founding of the ANC

When the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), later to be renamed the African National Congress (ANC), was founded in January 1912, Gandhi's *Indian Opinion* welcomed the event as "The Awakening of the Natives". It wrote: "Our friend and neighbour, the Rev. John L. Dube, Principal of the Ohlange Native Industrial School, has received the high honour of being elected the first president of the newly-inaugurated Inter-State Native Congress."⁵⁶ The journal expressed appreciation of the manifesto issued by John Dube "to his countrymen" and published extracts from it. These extracts from Dube's manifesto concluded:

We have been distinguished by the world as a race of born gentlemen – a truly glorious title, bestowed on few other peoples – and by the gentleness of our manners (poor though we may be, unlettered and ill-clad) and by the nobility of our character shall we break down the adamant wall of colour prejudice and force even our enemies to be our admirers and our friend.⁵⁷

The formation of such an African organisation had already been presaged in a report that *Indian Opinion* had carried more than five months earlier.⁵⁸

Gokhale's visit to South Africa

The eminent Indian statesman, Gopal Krishna Gokhale visited South Africa in October-November 1912. Gandhi

acted as the main organiser of the visit, escorting Gokhale throughout the tour. The historic meeting between John Dube, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Gandhi took place in November 1912. It was only earlier in the year that Gandhi's journal had occasion to welcome the election of John Dube as president of the new formation and warmly to praise the manifesto issued by him. On the morning of 11 November, 1912, Gokhale was taken by Gandhi to meet John Dube at the Ohlange Institute and discuss political issues.⁵⁹ Gokhale received a warm welcome from the staff and students of Dube's school. The occasion is saturated with historical significance. Gokhale had been president of the Indian National Congress in India in 1905; Gandhi would become president of that organisation in 1924. Thus eight decades before the complete liberation of South Africa, a past and a future president of the Indian National Congress were calling on the leader of the African National Congress.

Characteristically not mentioning Gandhi's own visit to Ohlange, his journal reported: "Mr Gokhale then paid a visit to the Natal Industrial School at Ohlange and spent some time discussing the Native question with the Rev. John Dube, principal of the school, and president of the Native Congress. The students sang a couple of Zulu songs and the band played popular music".⁶⁰ John Dube's paper *Ilanga Lase Natal*, carrying a fuller account, mentioned Gandhi as well:

We of Ohlange have been greatly honoured by the visit of the Hon. G.K. Gokhale on Monday morning last. He came over from the Phoenix settlement with Mr Gandhi and a few friends, and was received by our boys and girls who greeted him with cheers

and gave him an exhibition of band and vocal music.⁶¹

The same issue of *Ilanga* carried an editorial on Gokhale's visit to South Africa.

It observed:

The reception and attention that are being given by the government and people of South Africa to the Hon. G. K. Gokhale, and the hearing he has received on all sides when he has touched upon the unsatisfactory relations existing between the European and Indian population of the Union, convey a lesson of importance to the Native population. We have seen and heard a great man whose knowledge and experience is equal to that of the foremost statesmen of our day, and he is a black man We Natives of South Africa have not been given the opportunity of taking part in the affairs of our fatherland, and consequently cannot boast of such leaders as are Messrs Gokhale and Gandhi ... The Natives have taken a most important step in establishing a representative Congress of their own. They should perfect that organisation and support their congress and men they have chosen to office by every means in their power. Let them speak as those having authority, and the claims of the Natives to attention will at least always have a hearing.⁶²

Significantly, the *Ilanga* editorial acknowledges the leadership attributes of Gandhi and Gokhale and stresses the need to bring about circumstances and possibilities that may help build and engender such leadership within an African context.

In the evening of 11 November 1912 John Dube and Charles Dube attended the banquet held in Durban in honour of Gokhale.⁶³ Charles Dube, John Dube's younger brother, had attended the

founding conference of the African National Congress at Bloemfontein earlier in the year. Both Charles Dube and his wife, Adelaide Dube, were associated with the Ohlange institution. Interestingly, among the European invitees at the banquet that evening was Dr J.B. McCord.⁶⁴ Dr McCord had founded and ran the Zulu hospital in Durban where Katie Makanya, one of the two famous Manye sisters, worked as his assistant and dispenser.⁶⁵

In the following year came the land legislation that was almost universally condemned by Africans in South Africa. Gandhi's paper severely condemned the Natives Land Act as an "Act of confiscation" and supported John Dube's criticism of the enactment:

The Natives Land Act of the Union Parliament has created consternation among the Natives. Indeed, every other question, not excluding the Indian question, pales into insignificance before the great Native question. This land is theirs by birth and this Act of confiscation – for such it is – is likely to give rise to serious consequences unless the government takes care.⁶⁶

John Dube's appeal to the British public against that Act was also reproduced *in extenso*.⁶⁷

Alfred Mangena (1879-1924)

The affairs in the colony, a report in Gandhi's journal noted, were discussed at a recent meeting in London of "nearly 30 Liberal members of Parliament and others" and "among those present were Mr Fox Bourne, Secretary of the Aborigines' Protection Society, and Mr Mangena, an educated native of Natal".⁶⁸ The latter was Alfred Mangena, who would practise law in Pretoria, edit the *Advocate* and, along with Gandhi

and others, be involved with protesting the Draft Union Act in 1909 and, as in the case of Gandhi, also be associated with the Universal Races Congress to be held in London in 1911.

The closer contacts that were now emerging between Africans and Indians were reflected in the African sources of inspiration that the Indian community came to identify, the African achievements which it celebrated and the African demands which it found itself supporting or in sympathy with. In September 1908, two years after Alfred Mangena was first mentioned in Gandhi's journal, the journal re-published from the *East Rand Express*, under the heading "A Successful Zulu", a note on Mangena to mark his being called as a barrister by Lincoln's Inn, London.⁶⁹ The journal noted that Mangena was born near Ladysmith and educated at a mission station in the Cape Colony. It was reported also that Mangena's father, Stomels, "was a veteran of Cetshwayo and fought with his tribe against the British in the Zulu war". The report appeared to show awareness of work that Mangena had earlier done in the Cape Town area. African activism was a feature of which some Indians were probably at least somewhat aware when they set about seeking redress of their own grievances.

On 7 June 1909 Gandhi made an important speech in Germiston in the Transvaal, openly commending passive resistance to Africans: "Nor could such a weapon, if used by the Natives, do the slightest harm."⁷⁰

Soon thereafter, it was two KwaZulu-Natal Africans who were appointed by the Transvaal Native Congress to provide assistance to the African delegation proceeding to London in 1909. Within days of Gandhi's speech at Germiston,

the Transvaal Native Congress "appointed Alfred Mangena (already in London) and instructed him to work in co-operation with the other delegates, viz. Hon W.P. Schreiner, Messrs J. Tengo Jabavu, Advocate Gandhi and others".⁷¹ This information is based on the proceedings of the Transvaal Native Congress, 24 June, 1909, Resolution No 2.⁷² It appears that both Pixley Ka Isaka Seme and Mangena were so requested by the Transvaal Native Congress, which "instructed Mangena and Seme to work in co-operation with Schreiner, J. T. Jabavu, Mahatma Gandhi (who went to London on behalf of the Transvaal Indians) and other delegates".⁷³

Of three "young" lawyers who were among the founding figures of the ANC, Pixley Seme, Alfred Mangena (who was appointed senior treasurer), and George D. Montsioa (who was appointed recording secretary), the first two were, as we have seen, from Natal. Mangena was the first African barrister-at-law and set up practice in Pretoria and Johannesburg after his return to South Africa in 1910. Mangena makes an early appearance in the pages of *Indian Opinion* in 1906. In 1912 Mangena also started the Pretoria-based Bantu-English weekly *Advocate*. It could not have been published for long, however, and appears to have closed down the following year.

Pixley Seme (1881–1951)

The Inanda-born Pixley Seme is credited with having been the driving force in the formation of the African National Congress although the idea of such an organisation had been discussed in African circles for quite some time.

Preparations leading up to the birth of the African National Congress began with Pixley Seme, who had returned

from his studies abroad to start a law practice in Johannesburg, supplying the new energy that was needed. At the end of July 1911, Gandhi's *Indian Opinion* informed its readers, relying on a *Mercury* telegram: "Preliminary arrangements have been completed ... for the union of the various native associations throughout South Africa and a congress of the new organisation will be held next month."⁷⁴ It was reportedly expected at this stage that Dr Walter Rubusana was to be the president of the new organisation and an executive of 30 members had reportedly been set up.⁷⁵

Indian Opinion described Pixley Seme as "a young Zulu attorney practising in Johannesburg", who would be the "hon. treasurer of the new society".⁷⁶ Seme was quoted as saying: "We will discuss questions affecting the status of Natives as a whole, such as the Pass Law."⁷⁷ Seme was also quoted as saying that the new African organisation was "anxious to have an inter-state college erected in a proper place".⁷⁸ Gandhi had supported the proposal for such a college since 1905.⁷⁹

Pixley Seme's statement provided yet another cause for satisfaction to Gandhi who had been recommending the course of passive resistance to the Africans since at least the time of his speech in Germiston on 7 June 1909. As we have seen, this was reiterated by Gandhi in the *Indian Opinion* of 1 January 1910. The expectation that these methods might now be adopted found expression in the *Indian Opinion* report in its issue of 29 July 1911. On the methods to be adopted by the new African organisation to achieve its various objectives, it was noted in the report:

Seme was at pains to remove any suspicion that force in any degree

would be countenanced, but it is clear that the lessons of the Indian agitation have not been lost on the natives, and though nothing definite was said to indicate reliance on passive resistance, it is not improbable that in certain eventualities recourse will be had to it.⁸⁰

1911 was also the year when Pixley Seme called on Gandhi at Tolstoy Farm near Johannesburg. An account of this meeting has become available from the memoirs of Dr Pauline Podlashuk, a medical doctor who was active in the suffragette movement in South Africa as secretary of the Women's Enfranchisement League. It was Dr Podlashuk who had earlier translated Tolstoy's Russian-language letter addressed to Gandhi in 1910.⁸¹ Present at the Gandhi-Seme meeting in 1911, the account she provides in her memoirs of her visit to Tolstoy Farm is fairly detailed and specific.⁸² Dr Podlashuk, accompanied by Miss Stewart Sanderson, who was then joint secretary of the Women's Enfranchisement League, were received at Lawley Station near Tolstoy Farm by Gandhi's friend and associate, Hermann Kallenbach. The two women then waited for Kallenbach to receive another guest arriving by the same train. That was Pixley Seme. According to Podlashuk the party, including Pixley Seme, met Gandhi in his library, "a large room lined with shelves full of books", where "Mr Gandhi told Dr Seme about his passive resistance movement and how he had settled the women and children on the farm". The party was shown around the farm and the workshops "where the boys were learning shoe-making and tailoring and the women, basket-making". Gandhi and Kallenbach were to speak in Johannesburg that evening and they all took

the train back to town. The train had started pulling out when Kallenbach ran to the stationmaster, who signalled it to stop. Dr Podlashuk recalled:

Naturally, all the passengers looked out of the windows to see what was happening and they saw a most curious sight for South Africa. Coming toward the train were four dark men, three who looked like Indians – Kallenbach looked like one too – and a Native. With them were two young white girls. The train stopped and our party went into a first class carriage which carried the sign “Reserved”. I did not know then that this sign meant that the carriage was reserved for non-Europeans.

That Pixley Seme did draw upon and invoke events in Gandhi’s life we know from a subsequent account. More than a decade later, on a voyage from Cape Town to England in December 1922, Pixley Seme would recount to Sobhuza II of Swaziland the earlier 1893 incident of Gandhi’s eviction from a train in Pietermaritzburg; Seme, who was accompanying King Sobhuza II as his legal adviser on questions concerning Swaziland which were to be taken up with the British Government, sought to stress that it was against racial discrimination that Gandhi had protested and once discrimination was removed, with the provision of a first class cabin and no imposition of a colour bar, other discomforts, if any, on the ship did not matter.⁸³

July 1911, when Pixley Seme figures in *Indian Opinion*, was significant also for the First Universal Races Congress held in London. *Indian Opinion* had in its columns been mentioning plans for such a conference as early as 1909.⁸⁴ Gandhi was on the honorary general committee of the conference, along with

others, including Alfred Mangena, Dr Abdurrahman of the African People’s Organisation, Olive Schreiner from South Africa and E.W. Blyden, the famous African intellectual from Sierra Leone, and Dr W.E.B. DuBois, who was later known as the pioneering force behind the Pan-African movement.⁸⁵

The Msimang brothers:

(a) Richard (1884-1933) and

(b) Selby (1886-1982)

The two Msimang brothers, Richard and Selby, played a key role in the history of African nationalism and were associated with the founding circles of the ANC. The SANNC Constitution which was drawn up in 1919, had, in Chapter IV, Clause 13 emphasised “passive action” as a means to be used. It has been suggested that this “was perhaps a reflection of the impact Gandhi’s passive resistance campaigns among South African Indians had made upon African opinion”.⁸⁶ If so, it is of some interest to note that Richard W. Msimang (1884-1933), who “often served as the legal adviser” of the South African Native National Congress, is reputed to have been “primarily responsible” for drafting the constitution of the SANNC in 1919.⁸⁷ Richard Msimang was among the first students at John Dube’s Ohlange Institute.⁸⁸ Thus he was perhaps there when Gandhi set up camp at Phoenix nearby. From 1910 Richard Msimang, having meanwhile qualified as a lawyer in England, established a legal practice in Johannesburg, where incidentally Gandhi, too, had set up base.

While individual factors and threads may be points for further research, there appears to have been a general consensus within the organised African

leadership in South Africa by this time that unity and peaceful action was the way to go forward.

The younger of the two brothers was Henry Selby Msimang, one of the founders of the African National Congress. His papers at the Alan Paton Centre and Struggle Archives in Pietermaritzburg confirm that he knew Gandhi personally. There was also physical proximity. Selby Msimang worked with Pixley Seme and Seme's law offices in Johannesburg were close to Gandhi's. From the manuscript of Selby's *Autobiography*, and recorded interviews available among his papers, it is instructive to note the following observations by Selby about Gandhi: (a) "When Seme would be away from the office for weeks, then I would go to him for advice." (b) "Gandhi's office was just opposite our office. Except that if I had any difficulty in the office during Seme's absence I would go and consult him [and] he helped me get over certain of these difficulties." (c) "Gandhi was a very reserved man. But open, anybody could see him." (d) "I am not sure whether or not Gandhi was practising. But he knew South African law – he was very connected."⁸⁹

In the natural course of things, such consultations which Selby Msimang had with Gandhi could not have happened unless there was a high degree of understanding between Pixley Seme and Gandhi. This understanding clearly existed even if there might not at this stage have been joint action on the ground among the various communities in South Africa.

There is on record also a noteworthy assessment by Selby Msimang of organised politics at the time. He recalled some 70 years later that around this time, "the leadership level of the

African political community would, in any case, have found Indian politics too radical to countenance an alliance".⁹⁰

Not entering into an alliance did not, of course, mean not seeking mutual assistance or not inter-connecting. The interconnections between African and Indian-oriented circles were multi-dimensional. Thus Selby Msimang had worked also with Gandhi's close associate and Phoenix trustee, Lewis Walter Ritch (1870-1964).⁹¹ Ritch had qualified as a lawyer in the course of his association with Gandhi and inherited Gandhi's law practice after the latter's departure from South Africa. One may appreciate better the full significance of Selby Msimang's observation about the comparative radicalism of African and Indian politics at the time by noting that he himself was active in the African trade union movement and was considered around 1919 as, arguably, its most prominent figure. P.L. Wickins holds that at this time Selby Msimang "eclipsed Kadalie in prestige and influence".⁹²

However, John Dube evidently came to be impressed by civil disobedience and the Indian campaign led by Gandhi, though he did not himself resort to it. This is supported by a record of a discussion between Rev. W.W. Pearson, Rev. Charles Andrews' collaborator, who met Dube at the conclusion of Gandhi's last (1913) campaign in South Africa. Pearson and Andrews had arrived in Durban harbour on January 2, 1914, shortly after Gandhi's release from Bloemfontein prison; disembarking at The Point, they were received by Gandhi at whose Phoenix Settlement near Ohlange they would stay during much of their visit. During his stay Pearson, accompanied by

Raojibhai Manibhai Patel, then living in Gandhi's Phoenix settlement, called on John Dube. Patel kept a record of the conversation and of Dube's remarks. It appears in Patel's Gujarati-language memoir of life at Phoenix, *Gandhiji Ni Sadhna*, published in India in 1939. Half-a-century later a translation-adaptation of this work into English was done by Abid Shamsi, then head of the English Department, St Xavier's College, Ahmedabad.⁹³

In his conversation with Pearson, John Dube refers to a strike by Indian workers. The 1913 movement initiated by Gandhi had been accompanied by and involved strikes by mine-workers, plantation workers and indentured labour, and gaoling, not only of men but also women.

Dube had witnessed the tortures to which Indian men, women and children were subject in the course of the strike and was deeply impressed by their willpower.⁹⁴ He was witness to an incident involving police beating Indian workers. Dube recalled that the latter refused to budge saying that "so long as our Gandhi Raja is not released, we shall not go back to work".⁹⁵ Dube, who witnessed the police open fire upon Indian workers, credited Gandhi with having "revived that strength in your nerves".⁹⁶

Patel's account of the Dube-Pearson conversation is credible because it accords also with the editorial views expressed in Dube's paper on the earlier round of the Indian struggle in 1908. As we have seen, *Ilanga Lase Natal* had in early 1908 appreciated "the courageous manner in which the Indians are acting in the Transvaal".⁹⁷

The onset of passive resistance: Indian women jailed in Natal, African women in the OFS

There is an epilogue to the story of Gandhi's interface with KwaZulu-Natal African leaders of his time, which deserves mention because of its long-term impact on events, although the scene now shifts in some measure to outside KwaZulu-Natal and even outside South Africa. Gandhi had in April 1913 made known the possibility of his wife Kasturba and other Indian women courting arrest in the Asian agitation. Here was a case of a cross-fertilisation of ideas, for Gandhi is believed also to have, in turn, been influenced by the African women's struggle in the Orange Free State, which followed immediately, in focusing still further on involvement of women in the next round of his movement in South Africa. The Asian movement was resumed in 1913 as the authorities failed to honour their commitment to repeal the £3 tax on members of former indentured Indians' families and failed also to resolve the fresh issues which had arisen about the validity and recognition of Indian marriages. This followed upon Justice Searle's judgment in the Cape Supreme Court on March 14, 1913 in Bai Miriam's case. The judgment directly concerned Indian women as the status of most Indian marriages became questionable under the new legal dispensation. On April 19, Gandhi informed the Indian statesman Gokhale of the decision:

Most of the settlers here including the womenfolk will join the struggle. The latter feel that they can no longer refrain from facing gaol no matter what it may mean in a place like this. Mrs Gandhi made the offer on her own initiative and I do not want to debar her.⁹⁸

A few days later the South African press reported from Johannesburg of the Indian Women's Association having telegraphed the Minister of the Interior seeking an amendment of the law "so as to recognise the validity of Indian marriages which have been affected by the Searle judgment".⁹⁹ The women stated that they "are prepared to offer passive resistance and go to gaol with their husbands rather than suffer the indignity which the judgment subjects them to".¹⁰⁰ Ultimately Kasturba Gandhi, Valiamma and other Indian women were imprisoned in various prisons in Natal in the course of this movement. The prisons included Newcastle and Pietermaritzburg, among others. Indian women courted arrest from September 1913, after the African and Coloured women in the Orange Free State whose agitation against the pass laws had begun in the interregnum. This agitation by African women was hailed by Gandhi's journal in a bold front-page headline as "Native Women's Brave Stand".¹⁰¹ In the Asian agitation, Gandhi's wife, was arrested on September 23 and not released until 22 December 1913. Interestingly, Gandhi himself ended up in Bloemfontein prison at the end of 1913.

Gandhi, in a speech in London four years earlier (12 November 1909), had moved to the conceptual edge of the Empire, interpreting adherence or loyalty to it as being dependent upon adherence to the principle of equality underlying the British Constitution.¹⁰² He would not now stand at this periphery longer than necessary; yet the final step would not be taken in Africa, nor immediately upon his arrival in India in January 1915 in the midst of the Great War.

NOTES

- 1 Gandhi, M.K. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* [henceforth *CW*] (Ahmedabad, Navajivan Trust, [1958-1994]) vol. 8 p. 246.
- 2 Meintjes, Sheila "The Early African Press in Natal: *Inkanyiso Yase Natal*: April 1889- June 1896", *Natalia* 16, 1986, pp. 6-11.
- 3 *Inkanyiso Yase Natal*, 7 Sep. 1894.
- 4 Idem.
- 5 Idem.
- 6 *Inkanyiso*, editorial dated 4 Jan, 1895 reproduced in Meintjes, "The Early African Press in Natal", p. 7.
- 7 *Inkanyiso*, 28 June 1895.
- 8 *Inkanyiso*, 6 Sep. 1895.
- 9 Idem. [Italics as in original]. Gandhi's letter to the *Natal Mercury* was published on 5 Sep. 1895. Gandhi *CW* vol.1 pp. 251-3.
- 10 *Inkanyiso*, 27 Sep. 1895.
- 11 Idem. [Italics as in original].
- 12 Idem.
- 13 *The Natal Advertiser*, 25 Sep. 1895; Gandhi, *CW* vol. 1 pp. 256-7.
- 14 *Inkanyiso*, 27 Sep. 1895.
- 15 Idem.
- 16 Idem.
- 17 *Inkanyiso*, 4 Oct. 1895.
- 18 Ibid. 11 Oct. 1895.
- 19 Ibid. 29 Nov. 1895.
- 20 The first two serial articles, published in *Inkanyiso* on 19 and 26 Apr. 1895, are cited in Pyarelal *Mahatma Gandhi: The Early Phase* (Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 1965), pp. 711-14 and p. 806.
- 21 Pyarelal *Mahatma Gandhi: The Early Phase*, pp. 714 and 806 (citing *The Natal Witness*, 21 June 1895).
- 22 Ibid. p. 716.
- 23 Hunt, James D. *Gandhi and the Nonconformists: Encounters in South Africa*, (New Delhi, Promilla & Co., 1986) p. 12. Gandhi would remain in personal contact with Bishop Baynes of Natal during the organisation of the Indian Ambulance Corps in 1899. (See his letter to Bishop Baynes, Before 11 December 1899, Gandhi *CW* vol 3 pp. 127-8). It was Bishop Baynes who had intervened with the Natal Government so as to have Gandhi's offer concerning the organisation of the Indian Ambulance Corps during the South African War accepted. (See *Indian Opinion*, 22 July 1914 and 23 Sep. 1914; Gandhi, *CW* vol. 12 p. 465.
- 24 *The Vegetarian*, 18 May 1895; Gandhi, *CW* vol. 1 p. 224.
- 25 Ibid. p. 226.
- 26 Idem.
- 27 Idem.

- 28 See, for instance, *Inkanyiso*, 24 Nov.1893 which referred editorially to a letter on “Manual Training” from J.L. Dube; see also Dube’s letter in *Inkanyiso*, 13 July 1894.
- 29 The International Printing Press was founded by Madanjit Vyavaharik in 1898 in Durban at Gandhi’s suggestion. It published *Indian Opinion* from 1903 onwards. [Gandhi, *CW* vol. 3 p. 256n., and Bhana, Surendra and Hunt, James D. *Gandhi’s Editor: The Letters of M.H. Nazar 1902-1903* (New Delhi, Promilla & Co., 1989) p. 8]. For a while, until the Ohlange institution acquired a press of its own, John Dube’s paper, *Ilanga Lase Natal*, was printed at the International Printing Press. [Reddy, E. S. *Gandhiji’s Vision of a Free South Africa* (New Delhi, Sanchar Publishing House, 1995) p. 49].
- 30 Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad, India, Gandhi Papers: Serial no. 4127.
- 31 Mandela, Nelson “Gandhi The Prisoner: A Comparison”, in Nanda, B.R. (ed.) *Mahatma Gandhi: 125 Years* (New Delhi, Indian Council of Cultural Relations, 1995) p. 8.
- 32 See Hughes, Heather *First President: A Life of John L. Dube Founding President of the ANC* (Johannesburg, Jacana, 2011) pp. 109-13 and pp. 171-2. Earlier, another writer had asserted that “even a man like Dube was apparently unknown to Gandhi”. (Switzer, Les “Gandhi in South Africa: The Ambiguities of Satyagraha”, *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, vol. 14(1), 1986, p. 125, cited in Hunt, James D. *An American Looks at Gandhi: Essays in Satyagraha, Civil Rights and Peace* [New Delhi, Promilla & Co., 2005] p. 8 and p.92 note 37).
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 172.
- 34 Swan, Maureen *Gandhi: The South African Experience* (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1985) pp. 59-60.
- 35 *Indian Opinion*, 2 Sep. 1905; Gandhi, *CW*, vol. 5, p. 55. According to Heather Hughes, the speech by John Dube, praised by Gandhi, was made in late August 1905 and that among those present on the occasion, apart from Gandhi himself, was also Dube’s wife Nokutela. (Hughes *First President*, p.113).
- 36 *Idem.*
- 37 See Davis, Jr, R. Hunt “John L. Dube: A South African Exponent of Booker T. Washington”, *Journal of African Studies*, vol, 2 (4), 1975, pp. 497-528.
- 38 *Indian Opinion*, 10 Sep. 1903; Gandhi, *CW* vol. 3 pp. 437-40.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 439.
- 40 Marable, W. Manning, “Booker T. Washington and African Nationalism”, *Phylon*, 1974, vol. 35(4), 1974, pp. 398-406.
- 41 *Indian Opinion*, 18 Nov.1905.
- 42 *Indian Opinion*, 7 Apr. 1906; Gandhi, *CW* vol. 5 p. 266.
- 43 *Indian Opinion*, 14 Apr. 1906; *CW* vol. 5 p.281.
- 44 *Ibid.* 21 Apr.1906.
- 45 *Ibid.* 24 Nov.1906.
- 46 *Ibid.* 15 Dec. 1906.
- 47 *Ibid.* 2 Feb.1907.
- 48 *Ibid.* 30 Nov.1907.
- 49 *Indian Opinion*, 18 Jan.1908, reproducing a comment by *Ilanga lase Natal*.
- 50 *The Natal Mercury*, 6 Jan.1909; Gandhi *CW* vol.9 p.127.
- 51 *Indian Opinion*, 1 May 1909.
- 52 *Ibid.* 19 June 1909.
- 53 Gandhi’s letter to W. P. Schreiner, 24 July 1909; Gandhi, *CW* vol. 95 (Supplementary vol. V) p. 5.
- 54 *Indian Opinion*, 11 June 1910; Gandhi, *CW* vol. 10p.263.
- 55 *Idem.*
- 56 *Indian Opinion*, 10 Feb.1912.
- 57 *Idem.*
- 58 *Indian Opinion*, 29 July 1911.
- 59 *Ilanga Lase Natal*, 15 Nov.1912 .
- 60 *Indian Opinion*, 23 Nov.1912.
- 61 “Our Distinguished Visitor”, *Ilanga Lase Natal*, 15 Nov. 1912.
- 62 “Mr Gokhale’s Visit”, *Ilanga Lase Natal*, 15 Nov.1912.
- 63 *Indian Opinion*, “Souvenir of the Hon. Gopal Krishna Gokhale’s Tour in South Africa, October 22 – November 18, [1912]” p.36.
- 64 *Idem.*
- 65 Margaret McCord *The Calling of Katie Makanya* (Cape Town, David Philip, 1995), pp.167-82, 206-8. The hospital was opened by Dr James McCord in May 1909 and is now a large institution. Katie Makanya’s sister was the famous Charlotte Maxeke (1874-1939), probably present at the founding of the ANC in 1912, and who went on to become the first president of the Bantu Women’s League.
- 66 *Indian Opinion*, 30 Aug.1913.
- 67 *Idem.*
- 68 *Indian Opinion*, 26 May 1906.
- 69 *Ibid.* 5 Sep.1908.
- 70 *Ibid.* 12 June 1909; Gandhi, *CW* vol. 9 p. 244. This suggestion was reiterated by Gandhi in his journal on New Year’s Day, 1910. The provocation for this was provided by a seating arrangement by the Pretoria Town Council that discriminated against an African youth. In response to this situation, Gandhi recommended passive resistance, or *satyagraha* as he preferred to call it. “In a country like this”, he continued, “the coloured people are placed in an extremely difficult position. We think

- there is no way out of this except satyagraha. Such instances of injustice are a natural consequence of the whites' refusal to treat the coloured people as their equals. It is in order to put an end to this state of affairs that we have been fighting in the Transvaal, and it is not surprising that the fight against a people with such deep prejudice should take a long time [to bear fruit]." (*Indian Opinion*, 1 Jan. 1910; Gandhi, *CW* vol. 10 p.113). In less than four years after Gandhi's Germiston speech, and the reiteration on 1 January 1910 of the suggestion that Africans ought to use passive resistance, African women in the Orange Free State did in fact take to passive resistance.
- 71 Walshe, Peter *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress 1912-1952* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1971) p.22.
- 72 *Ibid.*, p. 28n. citing "Schreiner Papers".
- 73 Odendaal, Andre *Vukani Bantu!: The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912* (Cape Town, David Philip, 1984) p. 205 and p. 347n.
- 74 *Indian Opinion*, 29 July 1911, "A Native Union: The Lessons of the Passive Resistance Movement".
- 75 *Idem.*
- 76 *Idem.*
- 77 *Idem.*
- 78 *Idem.*
- 79 *Indian Opinion*, 30 Dec. 1905; Gandhi, *CW* vol. 5 p. 172 and *Indian Opinion*, 17 Mar. 1906; Gandhi, *CW* vol. 5 pp. 234-5.
- 80 *Indian Opinion*, 29 July 1911.
- 81 That the translation from the original Russian was by Pauline Padlashuk is acknowledged in Gandhi, *CW* vol, 10, p. 370n and p. 512n. The translation was published in *Indian Opinion*, 26 Nov. 1910.
- 82 Podlashuk, Pauline *The Adventure of Life: Reminiscences of Pauline Podlashuk*; ed. by Seftel, Effie and Nasatyr, Judy (Johannesburg, Pan Macmillan, 2010) pp. 69-75.
- 83 Kuper, Hilda *Sobhuza II, Ngwenyama and King of Swaziland: The story of an hereditary ruler and his country* (New York, Africana Publishing Co., 1978) p. 81.
- 84 *Indian Opinion*, 12 June 1909 and 16 Apr. 1910.
- 85 Spiller G. (ed.) *Papers on Inter-Racial Problems Communicated to the First Universal Races Congress* (London, P.S. King & Son, 1911) p. xxxvii. Gandhi did not himself attend the Congress but sent his associate Henry Polak.
- 86 Karis, Thomas and Carter, Gwendolen M.(eds.) *From Protest to Challenge: Volume 1 Protest & Hope 1882-1934* by Sheridan Johns III (Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1972) p. 62. Also see Reddy *Gandhiji's Vision*, p. 75 note 85.
- 87 Msimang, R.W., *Natives Land Act 1913: Specific Cases of Evictions and Hardships, etc.* Reprint. (Cape Town, Friends of South African Library, 1996). Introduction by Timothy Keegan, p. v.
- 88 *Idem.*
- 89 Alan Paton Centre and Struggle Archives, Pietermaritzburg, John Aitchison Collection: PC14/1/3/2/11.
- 90 Swan, *Gandhi*, p.133, note 161. Swan interviewed Selby Msimang at Pietermaritzburg in September 1976.
- 91 Deane, Dee Shirley, *Black South Africans: A Who's Who: 57 Profiles of Natal's Leading Blacks* (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1978) p.117.
- 92 Wickins, P. L. *The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa* (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1978) p.43.
- 93 Patel, Raojibhai M. *The Making of the Mahatma: Based On "Gandhiji Ni Sadhna"*, (Ahmedabad, Ravindra R. Patel, 1990) pp. 213-17. The title of Patel's Gujarati work ought to be more correctly translated as *Gandhiji Ni Sadhana*. A more detailed account of the Dube-Pearson interaction, being a complete translation of the relevant section of Raojibhai Patel's work, is available in Nayar, Sushila *Mahatma Gandhi: Satyagraha at Work* vol.IV (Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 1989) pp.714-6. Nayar, however, utilises a Hindi language translation (1959) of Patel's Gujarati language (1939) work. A further and direct translation from the Gujarati version is available in E.S. Reddy's essay on Gandhi and Dube in Reddy, *Gandhiji's Vision*, pp 23-5.
- 94 Patel, *The Making*, pp. 216-7.
- 95 *Idem.*
- 96 *Ibid.* p. 217. See also the report "Indian Resisters" in *The Bloemfontein Post*, 30 October, 1913, a week prior to Gandhi's arrest near Charlestown, in which striking Indian mine-workers in Natal are quoted as saying that they were "only prepared to receive instructions or advice from Mr Gandhi".
- 97 See note 49 supra.
- 98 Gandhi to G.K. Gokhale, 19 Apr. 1913; Gandhi *CW* vol. 12 p. 41.
- 99 *The Bloemfontein Post*, 7 May 1913.
- 100 *Idem.*
- 101 *Indian Opinion*, 2 Aug. 1913. See also *Indian Opinion*, 5 July 1913.
- 102 *Ibid.* 11 Dec. 1909; Gandhi *CW* vol.9 p. 542.