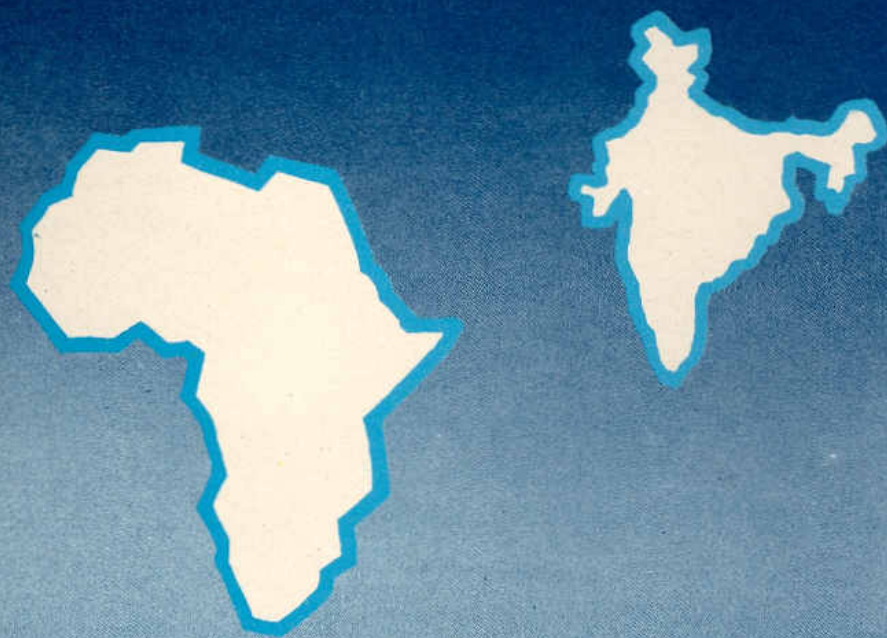


UNESCO SPONSORED GUIDES TO
THE SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF NATIONS

INDIAN SOURCES FOR AFRICAN HISTORY

Volume II

S. A. I. Tirmizi



Indian Sources for African History
Volume II

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON ARCHIVES

Guide to the Sources for the History of Nations

2nd Series:

Africa South of the Sahara

Volume 10/2

UNESCO SPONSORED
GUIDES TO THE SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF NATIONS

**INDIAN SOURCES
FOR
AFRICAN HISTORY**

VOLUME II

S.A.I. Tirmizi



MANOHAR

1989

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To
Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma
Scholar Statesman

PREFACE

This volume is second in the series *Indian Sources for African History* sponsored by Unesco, in collaboration with the International Council on Archives, under its ambitious programme of bringing out Guides to the Sources for the History of Nations. The first volume in this series was compiled and edited by me and it has already been published with the support of and under the auspices of Unesco. The present volume was entrusted to me under contract with the International Council on Archives sometime in the middle of 1984. This considerable task has been accomplished in a comparatively short period.

In this volume the stage is set on the soil of Africa and the story of the drama involves three continents. The colonizing Europe, in search of raw materials and markets, colonized Africa, short of labour and over-populated Asia, exporting manpower. The drama spans a period of about one hundred years from mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century. This period saw the removal of the 'mosquito barrier', steam-power navigation, technological optimism, the opening up of the Suez Canal, the construction of railways, which all combined to help exploration of the African interior, hitherto closed to Europeans. These factors led first to what is called 'the scramble for Africa' by the European powers and then to the colonial conquest and finally the occupation of almost the whole of the African continent by 1905 with the exception of Ethiopia and Morocco.

This was the period which witnessed the end of the official disappearance of slavery and its replacement by a new form of subjection called 'indentured labour' which included coolies, labourers, office-workers, railway-builders, surveyors, etc. This indentured labour was imported mostly from India. On the expiry of their contracts, these indentured labourers were encouraged to settle down in Africa. These new immigrants were welcomed by the Indian trading communities, who had already settled down in Africa long before the advent of the Europeans. The ranks of the Indians were

swelled especially after 1900 by a large number of 'passenger' immigrants, who went to assist their kinsmen with the object of ultimately starting their own business.

From the very outset the white settlers perceived a threat to their interests from the well-entrenched Indian trading communities. They came into conflict over various issues, namely commercial rivalry, limitation of Indian immigration, racial segregation and political under-representation. Moreover, the Europeans feared that the Indians might influence Africans with their comparatively advanced political ideas. They, therefore, sought to express their opposition to Indians through legal enactments by their colonial governments, presented first as a move to ensure whitemen's supremacy but later posed as a necessary protection of the illiterate and backward Africans.

Prompt and sharp was the Indian response, which came in three phases. In the first phase, Indians, as fellow-citizens of the British Empire, claimed equality of status with white settlers. This attempt was resisted and repulsed by the whites. In the second phase, Indians tried to mobilise the support of the Indian Government and the Indian National Congress. These attempts were opposed by the British Colonial Office. The Indian National Congress and its leaders like M.K. Gandhi, Dadabhai Naoroji, G.K. Gokhale, V.S.S. Sastri, Maulana Muhammad Ali, Sarojini Naidu, Motilal Nehru, Dr. M.A. Ansari, Jawaharlal Nehru and host of others succeeded in putting pressure on the Colonial Office through the Government of India for ameliorating the condition of Indians. In the third phase, the Indian national leaders advised Indians to make common cause with the Africans for their betterment and redressal of common grievances. While supporting their struggle against racial segregation and colonial exploitation, Indian national leaders maintained that Indians would be accepted by the sons of the soil only when they identified themselves with the Africans and demonstrated that they too were committed to the future of the country of their choice.

The Indian National Congress repeatedly expressed its deepest sympathy and moral support for African liberation movements. In fact the two movements were akin in their patriotic fervour and anti-colonial upsurge. They, therefore, influenced each other. West African youths came under the spell of Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence as early as 1920, when they established the West African Congress. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Kenneth Kaunda of

Zambia, Tom Mboya of Kenya and Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika (now part of Tanzania) remained inspired by Gandhian ideals for quite some time. Besides Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru was a significant point of ideological contact between India and Africa. His commitment to African liberation went back to pre-independence days. He established contacts with a number of African leaders including Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Milton Obote of Uganda, who subsequently respected him as the founder of the non-alignment movement.

These momentous events form part of this volume which has been divided into six chapters. The first chapter provides the requisite historical perspective of Indo-African relations during the colonial period. Each of the remaining five chapters respectively deals with the records relating to Africa available in (1) The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, (2) Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad, (3) The National Gandhi Museum, New Delhi, (4) State Archives, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, (5) State Archives, Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow.

Each of the last five chapters begins with a brief administrative history of the state which was responsible for creating records or that of the custodial institution which accumulated them. This is followed by an account of the nature of its archival holdings, conditions of access, a brief biographical sketch of the creating agency, whether it be a government department or autonomous institution or private individual. Thereafter are given several illustrative specimens of the archives of the individual or department concerned as gleaned from voluminous indexes, transfer lists and other finding-aids.

These illustrative specimens are arranged in a chronological order under the respective creating agency. At the end of each illustrative specimen is furnished a reference in parentheses, which comprises (a) name of the creating agency; (b) number of the file; (c) abbreviated reference to the branch and the year of its creation. The last section of each chapter describes published or unpublished reference media in varying degrees of details that will assist scholars in reference or research.

This guide is based on the personal investigations made by me along with a band of research fellows. This *modus operandi* had to be adopted because it was, from the very first, difficult to get replies to the questionnaire sent to most of the custodial institutions. When

answers were returned, in a few cases they were unsatisfactory. It was often asserted that the institutions could not, owing to pressure of work, undertake such surveys. It, therefore, became invariably necessary for me to pay visits to the custodial institutions concerned, located at far off places. This permitted an explanation of the purpose of the guide during a talk and facilitated identification of the relevant data with the help of lists, indexes, etc. I was, thus, able to take full advantage of existing goodwill towards me as the former Director, National Archives of India but I could not personally collect data during the often strictly limited space of time, which I could afford to devote to each separate custodial institution. I, therefore, entrusted the task of preparing data-cards to a devoted band of research fellows. In this type of team-work, some mistakes inevitably but inadvertently creep in for which I crave the indulgence of my erudite readers.

Before I conclude, I wish to record that I have received cordial co-operation from so many quarters that an adequate acknowledgement of all my obligations is well nigh impossible. First of all I am beholden to Dr. Maurice Glele, Director, Division of Cultural Studies, Unesco, and Dr. Charles Kacsckemeti, Executive Secretary, International Council on Archives for their encouragement and advice. I must also place on record my appreciation of the ungrudging assistance I have received from Mrs. Shukla Singh, formerly of the National Archives of India, Mr. Syed Shakeel Ahmed of the State Archives, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, Mr. Arif Hussain of Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi and Mr. Rammi Kapoor of the National Institute of Science Technology and Development Studies, New Delhi in collecting data. Others who supported the endeavour include Mr. Shabih Haider Rizvi of Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, for typing and retyping the manuscript.

S.A.I. TIRMIZI

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Part I
PRIVATE ARCHIVES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION :

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

I

Skirting the Indian Ocean, the western coast of the Indian sub-continent and the eastern coast of the African continent have had maritime contacts dating back to remote antiquity. There is impressive archaeological and documentary evidence to show that commercial and cultural relations between India and Africa flourished long before the advent of European powers in the Indian Ocean.¹

II

When the Portuguese arrived in East Africa at the end of the fifteenth century, they found that Indians had already established themselves as traders, middle-men and money-lenders along the coast. These traders gained a foothold by providing manufactured cloth and trading beads on credit to the local people, who exchanged them for money, gold and tropical products from the interior. After the middle of the seventeenth century, Indian merchants, based on the northern island of Mozambique, began to organise their own caravans into the Makua homelands. By 1750, they controlled a vast trading network that extended as far as Quelimane and the Zambezi valley.² However, there was less inland penetration in pre-colonial time although one Musa Mzuri is reported to have gone as far inland as Tobora in 1825.³

For the Portuguese their East African possessions and territories were part of their great oceanic empire of which Goa was the

economic, administrative and cultural centre. In fact the East African coast became a province of the Portuguese Indian administration and Indians, especially Goans, were soon actively involved in Portuguese penetration and development. Indian labour was used to construct forts along the coast. Indian adventurers, traders and junior administrators participated in the chequered process of penetration into the interior. By the nineteenth century, Indians were an informal advance-guard of the Portuguese influence in Central Africa. Indian traders operated every season in the gold areas of Mashonaland. Goan adventurers, of whom Goveja was the best known, carved out virtual personal territories for themselves on the western border of the Portuguese colony.⁴

The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch, the French and the British colonialists. The advent of European powers in the Indian Ocean ushered in an era of western dominance based on merchant capitalism followed by industrial capitalism. The rise of industrial capitalism in Europe increased the pace of colonial conquests. Economically it was their urge to capture markets and import raw materials that provided colonial countries with a major motivation to consolidate their conquests. Industrial capitalism demanded full exploitation of colonial labour.

In the sixties of the eighteenth century, the growth of sugar plantation on the Indian Ocean islands of Ile de France and Bourbon (Réunion) created a regional demand for slaves, which the French traders as well as Portuguese settlers in Mozambique were eager to satisfy. Zanzibar was the centre of a thriving trade in African slaves but abolition of slavery by the British Indian Government in 1843 hit the sugar-cane producing colonies. Consequently, slave-labour was replaced by contract or indentured labour. Since Zulus were difficult to recruit, undependable and inefficient, indentured Indian labour was brought to Natal in 1860 to work on sugar plantations. The original agreement with Indian authorities called for an indenture of three years. If the indentured labourer wished to stay as a free person, he had to reindenture for a fourth year. If he worked on sugar plantation for five years more, he was assured either a free passage back home or equivalent of its value in public land. Many ex-indentured labourers chose to remain in Africa and entered other occupations.⁵

The main recruitment of indentured labour from India was connected with the construction of the Uganda Railway. They were

recruited on terms of indenture not only as construction workers but also as clerks, surveyors and accountants. There was no indentured labour in Central Africa. Some 500 labourers were imported to construct the railway from Beira to Southern Rhodesia but hardly any could survive the depredations of heat, animals and insects. Railway workers were also imported in Nyasaland, where railway construction began in 1908. While some of them returned to India at the end of their contracts, others stayed on.⁶

The Indian population was further augmented, especially after 1900, by a large number of 'passenger' immigrants who were mostly men of commerce and petty traders. They were encouraged by the inauguration of the railways, which facilitated the problems of transportation and encouraged caravan-trade. They fanned out as *dukawallas* or shop-keepers. These *dukawallas* were instrumental in opening shops even in remotest parts, buying local African products, creating a demand for imported goods and helping to spread the use of money. Many Indians went as shop assistants to work for their kinsmen, harbouring ambitions to move into commerce.⁷

Indians thus contributed a great deal to the development of East and South Africa. They had laboured hard in flourishing cities like Mombasa, Durban and Lourenço Marques. These places had an eastern atmosphere and constituted a second India across the Indian Ocean. Similarly Delagoa Bay was inhabited by Indians, though it was considered a plague spot of Africa and all the European attempts to develop it met with failure.⁸ The German Colonial Congress recognised the valuable role played by Indian traders in the economic life of German East Africa.⁹ Natal's title to 'the Garden Colony of South Africa' was primarily because of the hard labour of Indians.¹⁰ In Winston Churchill's often quoted words "it was the Indian trader, who penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no whiteman would go or in which no whiteman could earn a living, has, more than any one else, developed the early beginning of trade and opened up these first slender means of communication."¹¹ Similarly Sir Liege Hulett, Member of South African Legislative Assembly, in 1908, observed that the condition of the colony before the importation of Indian labour was one of gloom and it was only by Indian labour that the country began at once to revive.¹²

III

When Indians were busy developing the African economy, Europeans were witnessing an age of steam navigation and technological optimism. In Europe, steam navigation revolutionised transport by sea. Ships driven by steam not only added to the comforts but also augmented carrying capacity, increasing thereby the volume of international trade. Ventures such as Suez Canal, therefore, became commercially feasible and the Mediterranean Sea once again assumed its former pre-eminence. European vessels could steam a straight course through the Suez Canal without making a long westerly detour of the South Atlantic.

While steamnavigation facilitated transport by sea, the railway revolutionised overland transport of goods. Railway builders covered Western Europe with a great network of iron tracks. They inaugurated the age of great railways in Canada, Latin America and India but Sub-Saharan Africa long remained a back water. It was with the discovery of the Griqualand West diamond deposits in 1869 that the first great impact came for large scale railway construction. This was followed by railway tracks in Senegal, Kenya and the Gold Coast. In constructing the railways, the main aim was to orient the African economy towards export by making the area dependent on economic arrangements in Europe.

When the whiteman in Europe was scintillating with the steam power optimism, the prophylactic use of quinine helped to remove the 'mosquito barrier' that had hitherto shut off the African interior to Europeans. Thus, by early 1870s the stage was set for an African scramble¹² and finally colonial conquest and occupation by the European powers. By 1905, Ethiopia and Morocco were the only African States left truly independent.¹³

IV

Like other European powers, the British, too, were interested in the Cape as it lay on the route to India but until the nineteenth century, Britain paid little attention to East Africa. Even during the Napoleonic Wars, which turned the Indian Ocean into a battlefield, Britain's main interest lay in protecting the direct route from Cape to India and to block French attempts to advance overland to India through the Middle East. It was perhaps in the quest of security of

its commercial interests that the British East India Company got more and more involved first in Asian and then in African affairs. The phase that ended with Lord Wellesley's Governor-Generalship of India in 1805 was marked by his 'Ring Fence Policy'. This policy has been picturesquely described by Lord Salisbury as that of "defending the Moon in order to ward off an attack on Earth from Mars". It was in pursuit of this 'Ring Fence Policy' that in 1841 a British Consulate was opened in Zanzibar which, for all practical purposes, served as an outpost of India in Africa. The British Consul in Zanzibar was in fact appointed and paid by the Bombay Government. He acted as the Political Agent of the Bombay Government in the territories of the Imam of Muscat, which included Zanzibar where the Indian merchants had already settled. Thus was initiated the policy of political support to Indian merchant trading under the British flag and engaged in 'legitimate commerce'.¹⁴ The charter of 3 September 1881, granted by Queen Victoria to the British East Africa Company, gave one of the reasons for official backing of the Company that "the possession by a British Company of the coast-line, as defined and which includes the port of Mombasa, would be advantageous to the commercial and other interests of our subjects in the Indian Ocean who may otherwise be compelled to reside and trade under alien government."¹⁴

In order to forestall expansion of other European powers, the British began to act officially and overtly by extending inland its coast-line holdings. By the third quarter of the nineteenth century, Britain had become the European power most involved in the destinies of Africa. In 1875, British possessions were limited in West Africa to the enclave of the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast (now Ghana) and Lagos. In South Africa, British possessions comprised Natal and Cape Colony but, by the beginning of the twentieth century, these limited colonies expanded into an empire of approximately three million square miles. This resulted in complete British domination of the South and East coasts of Africa.¹⁵

It is significant to note in this connection that many of the British officers who went to East Africa during the early days had served under the Government of India. Moreover, it was the Indian coinage which was made the official currency in East Africa. Indian troops were imported from time to time to maintain order. It was, therefore, little wonder that some of the Englishmen at least thought of East Africa in terms of an economic dependency of British India.

V

Scintillating with steam power optimism and technological advances, the white-settlers hoped to gain control and looked to the bigger white dominions as models for their future prospects in Africa. They soon perceived that the threat to their interests came from Indians, both economically and politically. Even in Nyasaland, where no serious consideration was given to white-settlers in the early days, there was opposition to Indian immigration. Commerce was then controlled by a large Scottish company, the African Lake Corporation, which complained of competition from Indian shopkeepers. In Kenya, too, where the Europeans had never been interested in small scale trading, the white-settlers opposed Indian commercial activity. In Rhodesia, hostility to the Indian traders was even more pronounced and on occasions took the form of victimisation and beating up.¹⁷ In Natal the white-settlers felt that it was proper and fitting for the non-white people to be subordinate and submissive to the white-settlers. They wanted them to fill the menial occupations which the white-settlers would not accept for themselves.¹⁸ The white-settlers also feared that the politically conscious Indians might contaminate the Africans with their political ideas. They were particularly wary of the activities of Indian nationalists.¹⁹ The white-settlers sought to express their opposition to Indians through legal enactments. Presented first as a move to ensure colonial supremacy of the white-settlers, it was later on pressed as a necessary protection of the illiterate Africans.

The Colonial Office encouraged white-settlers to acquire as much land in the highlands of Kenya as possible. Ukambani was the first area in Kenya to be occupied by white-settlers in the late 1890s. By 1902, they had formed in Kenya, a planters and farmers association to press their demand to have the highlands of Kenya reserved for them. Within three years, there were 284 white-settlers in Tanganyika mainly in the Usambara (Bujumbura), and Kilimanjaro areas. The white-settlers sought to dominate these colonies. Indians, who had constructed the Uganda Railways, were excluded from these highlands and their settlements were confined to land immediately along the railways. By the beginning of the World War I, cash crops or the plantation economy in Kenya was firmly in the hands of white-settlers, who excluded both Africans and Indians from participation.²⁰ Similarly in Tanganyika, Indians did pioneering

work in introducing the bus for transport but when the white-settlers found that Indians were making money by this system of transport, they began to impose restrictions one after another. In 1931 heavy licensing fees were imposed and two years later, all highways running parallel to the railway lines were closed to the Indian bus-owners and drivers. The southern highlands of Tanganyika were declared closed to Indian transport in 1940. In Zanzibar, the Clove Act of 1937 was a deliberate attempt to oust the Indians from the clove trade.²¹

More acute were the sufferings of Indians in South Africa. In 1895 the notorious £3 annual tax was imposed on Indian labourers in Natal. Three years later they were deprived of the parliamentary franchise. In 1925, even the municipal franchise was taken away from them. In the Transvaal, they were debarred from ownership of land in six proclaimed areas, which meant textile areas. A finger-print system was enforced on males of Asian origin. In 1908, they were forbidden to reside in these areas. Under a legislation enacted in 1919, they could start no new business. In 1932, the right of residence and trade in their own *bazars* (markets) were withheld from them. Similar discriminations were heaped upon Indians in the Cape Colony.²²

VI

Quick and sharp was the Indian response which can be studied in three phases. In the first phase Indians, as subjects of the British Empire, attempted to establish their claim to equality of status with white-settlers. The concept of equality was first enunciated by Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, in his despatch of 21 March 1873. This despatch, among other things, stipulated that "the colonial laws and their administration will be such that Indian settlers will be in all respects free men with privileges no whit inferior to those of any other class of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the colonies". The same concept was reiterated by Sir Henry Bulwer, Lieutenant Governor of Natal, in his despatch of 7 September 1878. The first major breach was made in this concept of equality two decades later when the few Indians, qualified for the parliamentary franchise, were denied, as a race, any further right to vote.²³

When infringement of the concept of equality took place in South Africa, Indian nationalism was at its initial stages of development.

The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 and from 1894 onwards resolutions on the disabilities of Indians in Africa were adopted at almost every one of its sessions. Indian national leaders were awakened to the situation in South Africa largely through the efforts of M.K. Gandhi, a barrister trained in London. He was called to Natal in 1893 to plead the case of Saith Abdulla, an Indian merchant. In the following year, he decided to return to India but when news appeared about proposed legislation against Indian immigrants, he promptly decided to stay on and defend his people. The legislative proposals were for disfranchisement, physical segregation, annulment of traditional Indian marriages and imposition of a poll-tax.

In order to plead the cause of the Indians in Natal, Gandhi established, in 1894, the Natal Indian Congress with Abdoola Hajee Adam, a Muslim, as its president and began to correspond with Dadabhai Naoroji, past Parsi President of the Indian National Congress, who subsequently made several representations to Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, pointing out the grievances of Indians in South Africa. Gandhi personally made trips to India and succeeded in enlisting support of several national leaders for Indians in South Africa. In order to build up public opinion, he founded the newspaper, *Indian Opinion*. He also inspired the formation of the Transvaal British Indian Association and the Cape British Indian Association. This struggle in South Africa lasted for about a decade, during which a continuous constitutional agitation was carried on through public meetings and mass deputations before local and imperial governments. As constitutional and legal methods did not prove sufficient for redressal of Indian grievances, Gandhi eventually launched his *Satyagraha* or passive resistance in 1907 and led a peaceful march into the Transvaal in defiance of the restrictions imposed. He was accompanied by 2037 men, 129 women and 57 children.²⁴

In 1909, G.K. Gokhale, another past President of the Indian National Congress organised a South African Passive Resistance Relief Fund and in the summer of 1912, he undertook a personal tour of investigation in South Africa and, on his return, made his countrymen aware of the racial discrimination which Indians faced in Africa.²⁵ Gandhi's *Satyagraha* supported by Gokhale and other Indian national leaders resulted in the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914, which Gandhi hailed as the *Magna Carta* of Indian liberties in

South Africa. Having successfully tried the efficacy of *Satyagraha*, Gandhi returned to India in 1915 to lead India to freedom. Smuts, however, interpreted the agreement as a compromise whereby most of the Indians would return to their homeland. The Government of India endorsed this view by first stopping indentured immigration to South Africa and subsequently abolishing the entire system in 1917.

VII

In the second phase of their struggle, Indians in Africa tried to mobilize the support of the British Indian Government. Pressed by the Indian settlers, Motilal Nehru, President, All India Congress Committee cabled in June 1920 the then Viceroy of India asking for the Imperial Government's intercession to ensure Indians full status as British citizens.²⁶ Subsequently at the Imperial Conference held in 1921, the Government of India made a strong bid to persuade the Dominions to concede that Indians already resident in their midst should be given equal rights along with the white population. This proposal was pressed with immense vigour by Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India, and was argued persuasively by V.S.S. Sastri as the representative of the Government of India. Canada, New Zealand and even Australia were disposed to accept this concept of Indian equality but Smuts absolutely refused to agree. The resolution was passed with Smuts dissenting but Montagu went on to press Winston Churchill, the then Colonial Secretary, and Smuts' main ally, to give effect to the resolution on the franchise in Kenya. Under the Devonshire Award of 1923, the Kenya Indian community was given inferior representation in a separate communal poll, while the whites retained their privileged position.²⁷

Undaunted by these attempts, Sastri sent a dignified letter to Lord Peel, Secretary of State for India, on 20 July 1923 appealing against the colour bar in British colonies. He argued "two, if not more, classes of citizenship will thus become the distinguishing characteristic of the British Constitution, classes based on colour, a distinction inimical to the destiny of the Commonwealth, the ideal of democracy and the hope of humanity." Three years later, he attended the Round Table Conference between India and South Africa as Indian delegate. This conference resulted in the Cape Town Agreement, which committed the South African Government to shelve its Class Bill intended to segregate Indians in that country.

This Agreement did recognise Indians as potentially equal citizens. The Union Government recognised that Indians domiciled in the Union who were prepared to conform to Western standards of life should be enabled to do so.²⁸

In order to oversee the implementation of the Cape Town Agreement, the Government of India appointed an Agent (later Agent-General) to reside in the Union. He was required to interpret the wishes of the Indian community to the Union Government and to watch the progress of the new scheme of assisted emigration.²⁸ Subsequently Sastri was appointed as Agent of the Government of India in the Union of South Africa for one year but, under unanimous pressure, he extended his stay by six months. During this stay in South Africa, Sastri was ably assisted by his Private Secretary, P. Kodanda Rao.

As in South Africa so in East Africa, the white-settlers dominated political and economic life. In Kenya as already stated, the highlands were reserved for the white-settlers and Indians suffered segregation. In order to mobilise support for their case, Indians founded the East African Indian National Congress, which established contacts with the Indian National Congress as early as 1920. They wanted the Secretary of State for the Colonies to put into practice the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1921 regarding equality of status for Indians domiciled within the empire. The Indian National Congress, at its Cocanada session held in 1923, passed a resolution authorising Sarojini Naidu and George Joseph to attend the forthcoming session of the Congress in Kenya and to advise the Indian community there as to what steps they should take for carrying on their struggle against the insults and injustices imposed upon them. Subsequently Sarojini Naidu, B.D. Chaturvedi and S.G. Vaze attended the fifth annual session of the East African Indian National Congress held on 19 January 1924.²⁹ The report submitted by them raised a demand for safeguarding the interests of Indian-settlers and prompted the Indian National Congress to establish its Foreign Department for this purpose at its Kanpur session in 1925. Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, in his note dated 13 September 1927, pointed out that "Indians in Kenya should co-operate with the Africans and should not claim any special position for themselves". Two years later, Sastri was deputed to East Africa to help Indians to present their case before the Under-Secretary of State for Colonies but this mission of Sastri proved

somewhat disappointing.³⁰ In 1931, he gave evidence before the Joint Select Committee of the British Parliament on closer union of the East African colonies.

Tension between Indians and white-settlers reached its peak in the 1930s, when the role of Indian middlemen in East Africa was narrowed down by a new policy of promoting government marketing boards. This policy was apparently meant to help the native African producers of raw materials but the Indians did not fail to note that the persons appointed to manage these agencies were invariably white. Things came to a boiling point in Zanzibar, where a series of ordinances passed in 1924 were directed at the Indian mercantile community. In order to enquire into this acute problem, the Government of India despatched K.P.S. Menon, a senior official, who discovered that the Zanzibar Indians were in a state of panic.³¹ This deplorable condition of the Indians of Zanzibar was reported to the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress which, at its Wardha meeting held in 1934, assured the Indians of Zanzibar of its sympathy and hoped to avert contemplated forcible exploitation of their just rights in a land in which they had settled with families for centuries and in which they had lived in perfect peace with the original inhabitants.³²

Things came to a boiling point in 1937 again when legislation was adopted with the objective of forcing Indian merchants to purchase all cloves for export from the Clove Grower's Association at a price determined by the Association. This radically reduced their share of the clove profits, since the Indian merchants could no longer negotiate over prices with the local community of clove growers. The Indian National Association of Zanzibar proclaimed boycott of the clove industry and sought the support of the Indian National Congress. The All India Congress Committee, at its meeting held at Calcutta in 1937, expressed their full sympathy with the Indians in Zanzibar and observed that in order to give adequate help in this struggle and to protect Indian interests it was essential that an embargo should be laid on the import of cloves into India. The Committee further called upon the people of India to refrain from the use of cloves until the new decrees were rescinded by the Zanzibar Government. Subsequently it organised a nation-wide consumer boycott against Zanzibar cloves. The boycott substantially affected the commercial life of Zanzibar in as much as India imported 40 per cent of the entire export of cloves from that country. This created a

severe budget deficit.³³ Similarly when, in the neighbouring territory of Tanganyika, Indian transporters were deprived of their business, the President of the Indian Association, Tanganyika Territory sent a letter on 4 May 1940 requesting the Indian National Congress to urge the Government of India to put pressure on the local authorities to drop the scheme.³⁴

More agitated was the Indian National Congress over the atrocities committed by Italy in Abyssinia. It organised Abyssinia Day on 9 May 1936 as a token of sympathy for the Abyssinians in their distress and bitter hour of defeat and humiliation. Speaking on the occasion at Allahabad, Jawaharlal Nehru enumerated three lessons learnt from this tragedy, viz., (1) imperialism and fascism are fundamentally the same; (2) the attitude of the Great Powers towards the Abyssinian problem showed much of duplicity and hypocrisy, especially that of England; (3) the utter futility of the League of Nations, which looked on calmly while horrible methods of warfare were employed against Abyssinian women and children, who were tortured and killed by poison gas and liquid fire. He further observed that the Abyssinian conflict had stirred the people of the great continent of Africa, who would no longer remain silent, exploited people. He expressed his determination to combat imperialism in whatever shape and form it worked. Making common cause with the people of Africa, Nehru remarked "if we think rightly and see world events together in proper perspective, we are more likely to act rightly and work on the way to freedom".³⁵ In order to develop a proper perspective for combating imperialism, it was essential to get in touch with other oppressed people. The Foreign Department of the Indian National Congress, therefore, sent a communication to 20 Negro individuals and agencies all over Africa and America informing them of the desire of the Indian National Congress to establish close relations with races and nations fighting against oppression and exploitation.³⁶

Indian merchants in Ruanda-Urundi (now the Republics of Rwanda and Burundi) were prosecuted and harassed under the cloak of police action and judicial enquiries with the avowed object of discouraging Indian settlers. Darweshali Rashid Bhamani, representative of the Indian Association, Usumbra, in his letter dated 23 May 1939 informed Jawaharlal Nehru that he had been deputed to India to present the case of Belgian Congo (Zaire) Indians to the government and people of India to obtain relief. He submitted cut-

tings from the Belgian Congo press giving an idea of the terrible plight of Indians in Ruanda-Urundi. In his subsequent letter dated 20 June 1939 to the Secretary, All India Congress Committee, he sought the support of the Indian National Congress for the redress of the grievances of the Indian community in the Belgian Congo.³⁷

Four years later, the South African Indians were agitated over the Pegging Act of 1943, which was enacted despite Smuts' assurance of no legislation in war time. Under this act, Indians were debarred from occupying or purchasing any property within white residential areas. In order to discuss this anti-Indian legislation, Dr. N.B. Khare, former Congress Chief Minister and Overseas Affairs Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, convened an informal conference at New Delhi on 7 July 1943. He threatened to defend the self-respect of South African Indians or to give up his office. He succeeded in his attempts as the Indian Government agreed to impose economic sanctions against South Africa.³⁸

VIII

In the third and last phase, the Indian National Congress lent its moral support to the African Indian communities in their unequal struggle and asked them to realise that they had to bear the brunt of the struggle against imperialist forces. It also advised them to regard themselves as citizens of the land where they resided. Subsequently, in 1945 when B.B. Pandya on behalf of the East African Indian National Congress and Harichand M. Shah on behalf of the Africa and Overseas Merchants Chamber, apprised the Indian National Congress about the anti-Indian immigration legislation in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, the Working Committee, at its Wardha session held on 6 August 1945, reiterated its protest against anti-Indian measures. It was of the opinion that any steps to bring about the economic union of the three East African territories should include the provision for equal representation as proposed by the British Colonial Office. The Committee wished all success to the delegation going to East Africa under the leadership of Raja Sir Maharaj Singh to impress upon the East African Governments the advisability of dropping their proposed anti-Indian immigration legislation. The Committee noted with pleasure that cordial relations existed between Africans and Indians and trusted that there would be continued co-operation between the two for their mutual advancement and for the removal of the disabilities which were sought

to be imposed upon both of them by the white-settlers.³⁹

The Indian National Congress wanted Indians to make common cause with Africans for the redress of their common grievances. In order to accomplish this task, it was necessary to knock down barriers of ignorance existing between Africans and Indians. In his Preface dated 12 March 1946 to a book entitled *Egypt in 1945*, Jawaharlal Nehru observed that a large number of people in India were greatly interested in political and other developments in Egypt and, similarly, many people in Egypt were interested in India. He stated that any attempt to overcome the barrier of ignorance was most welcome and remarked that "one must prepare for the future of cooperation and comradeship by getting to know each other more".⁴⁰

Indo-African co-operation and comradeship could not be achieved so long as acknowledged human rights were disregarded in the Union of South Africa, where Smuts proposed to enact anti-Asiatic legislation. This made it imperative for South African Indians to resort to *Satyagraha* once again. This *Satyagraha* kept their struggle free from violence in any shape or form. Among the *Satyagrahis* were included Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis. A few whites like Rev. Scott had also thrown in their lot with the *Satyagrahis*. In order to mobilise the support of the Government of India and the Indian National Congress, the *Satyagrahis* sent a deputation to India. This deputation met the Viceroy and told him the unbroken tale of progressive prejudices against Asiatics. It also met the leaders of the Indian National Congress.⁴¹

Subsequently, the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at its Bombay session held in March 1946, observed that the contemplated breach of trade relations between India and the Union of South Africa was the mildest step that the Government of India could have taken. The Committee asked the Government of India to withdraw their High Commissioner forthwith if the Union Government did not suspend the proposed legislation, pending the convening of a Round Table Conference between the two governments to consider the whole policy of the Union Government against non-white people of the earth. The Committee told the victorious Allies that the late war would have been fought in vain if the persistence by the Union Government in the bar sinister against Asiatic races and coloured people, inhabiting that continent, was maintained. The Committee also told the deputation from South Africa that while the Committee and, indeed the whole of India, irrespec-

tive of parties and communities, were with them in their just struggle and would lend them all the moral weight they could, the South African Indians should realise that the brunt of the unequal struggle would have to be borne by them.⁴¹

Soon afterwards an Interim Government was formed in India with Jawaharlal Nehru as Premier. The Department of External Affairs was placed under him. The Interim Government sent an Indian Delegation to the UNO with Justice M.C. Chagla, Judge, Bombay High Court as a delegate. In his letter dated 11 September 1946 to Justice Chagla, Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out that the UNO meeting was important on three counts: (1) the South African India matter; (2) the question of trusteeship; and (3) the question of South Africa's application to absorb South West Africa, which India opposed.⁴² At the General Assembly of the UNO, M. Vyshinsky, the Soviet delegate, pointed out that the question represented breach of agreement between South Africa and India concerning the fate of Indians in South Africa, while the USA recommended that the Indian complaint should go to both the Political and Legal Committees. Subsequently, the Joint Political and Legal Committee of the UNO adopted a resolution, backed by France and Mexico, asking South Africa and India to settle between themselves the dispute over the treatment of Indians.⁴³ Jawaharlal Nehru, in his letter dated 24/28 January 1947, congratulated Justice Chagla on the impressive victory of India in the UNO General Assembly's discussion on the treatment of Indians in South Africa.⁴⁴

With the advent of independence on 15 August 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru was elected the first Prime Minister of India. As Prime Minister of independent India, Nehru advised Indians, who had settled in British colonial territories, to identify themselves with the countries of their choice and not to look over their shoulders to the mother-country for assistance. He maintained that Indians would be accepted by the sons of the soil only when they demonstrated that they, too, were committed to the future of the country of their choice.⁴⁵

IX

India's independence blazed a trail of liberation for many African countries. India was the first non-white British dependency to emerge independent from the colonial rule through non-violent struggle. This fact alone was bound to influence anti-colonial movements in Africa. The Indian National Congress repeatedly expressed

its deepest sympathy and moral support not only for the persecuted Indians settled in Africa but also for African liberation movements. It asked Indian-settlers to make common cause with Africans for the redress of their common grievances and, thereby, commit themselves to the future of the country of their choice. What impressed Africans most was the apparent success of the Indian National Congress in unifying the diverse religious, linguistic and ethnic groups. The Africans appreciated the fact that the *Satyagrahis* against racial discrimination in South Africa included men and women, Hindus and Muslims, Christians and Parsis.

In early 1920, the *Lagos Weekly Record*, a pioneer nationalist paper in Nigeria, made the following observations: "West Africans have discovered today what Indians . . . discovered 35 years ago, that, placed as they were under the foreign power, it was essential to their well-being that they should make a common cause and develop national unity."⁴⁶ West African youth obviously drew inspiration from the Indian National Congress founded in 1885. Subsequently, soon after at the conference called in Accra by Caseley Hayford, the founding father of Ghanaian nationalism, West African youth established in 1920 the West African Congress.⁴⁷ Eight years later, in 1928, young Obafemi Awolowa, founder of the Action Group of Western Africa, was found going through the *Lagos Daily News* for information about the activities of the Indian National Congress. He had developed an interest in Indian politics and Indian nationalists. To quote his own words, "my mental acquaintance with Gandhi, Nehru and Bose had grown into hero-worship."⁴⁸

Besides the Indian National Congress, Gandhi was the significant point of ideological contact between India and Africa. His impact came as a result of his ideas of non-violence and *Satyagraha*. It was in South Africa that Gandhi first used the instrument of *Satyagraha*, while he and his compatriots suffered the impact of racial discrimination. Sharpened in South Africa, Gandhi dexterously and successfully used the instrument of *Satyagraha* in India's struggle for freedom against the British empire. Quite early in life, Gandhi saw that non-violence was a method, which could well be suited to both Indians and Africans. In 1924, Gandhi said that if the black people caught the spirit of the Indian movement, their progress must be rapid.⁴⁹ Twelve years later, Gandhi was wondering whether the blacks, as the most oppressed of all peoples, might not be the best bearers of the message of passive resistance. He observed "it may be

through the Negroes that the unadulterated message of non-violence will be delivered to the world.⁵⁰

It is, therefore, not surprising that Gandhi inspired a number of African leaders to adopt some of his tactics as a method of disengaging colonial rule. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana admired Gandhi for helping to initiate resistance to racism in South Africa through his method of non-violence and non-cooperation. In the late 1940s, he recommended to his people in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) a policy of "positive action . . . the constitutional application of strikes, boycotts and non-cooperation based on the principle of absolute non-violence as used by Gandhi in India." Similarly, Kenneth Kaunda of Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) was deeply attached to Gandhism and opposed the idea of violence as a method of attaining racial justice. Tom Mboya of Kenya and Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika (now part of Tanzania) remained inspired by Gandhian ideals for guidance for some time but later on thought that Gandhian methods had their limitations in the African context.⁵¹

Like Gandhi, Nehru's commitment to African liberation movements went back to pre-independence days. In his letter of 11 November 1931 to the Secretary, the Transvaal Indian Congress he observed, "the struggle of Indians against the British would necessarily have its result in South Africa." Writing to Robert O. Jordan, President of Ethiopian Pacific Movement in the USA on 13 April 1936 he declared, "the struggle of the African people in Africa against imperialism is only a part of the world struggle for the freedom of the oppressed and the exploited." He looked upon the fight against imperialist domination, whether in India or Africa, as "essentially indivisible". He was in touch with a number of African leaders including Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, who sent a letter to Nehru through a member of Kenya African delegation to India on the eve of his election as President of the Kenya African Union in June 1947. Nehru sent back a message not only of support in their struggle but also one which reminded Indians in Kenya of the need to identify themselves with Africans. As Prime Minister of independent India, Nehru invented two principles of diplomacy in the bi-polar world. The first principle accepted the British monarch as head of the Commonwealth of former British colonies without being head of state of each member of the Commonwealth. The second was non-alignment. These principles later determined the direction of all African members of the Commonwealth.

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CHAPTER 2

NEHRU MEMORIAL MUSEUM AND LIBRARY, TEEN MURTI HOUSE, TEEN MURTI MARG, NEW DELHI-110011

Soon after the death of Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, the Government of India decided that the Teen Murti House, where he had lived for nearly sixteen years, be dedicated to his memory. Subsequently on 14 November 1964, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the then President of India, formally inaugurated the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (NMML) as an autonomous body at the Teen Murti House. In order to manage the affairs of this autonomous body, the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library Society was set up on 1 April 1966 with Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, as its President.

This institution has three main constituents: (1) Memorial Museum; (2) Library on Modern India; and (3) Centre for Research in Modern Indian History with special reference to the Nehru era.

In order to facilitate research, NMML has built up a large collection of private papers of national leaders of modern India. Starting with the precious nucleus of the Nehru family papers of pre-independence days, substantial additions have been made to this ever increasing collection. This collection falls into two major divisions: (1) Institutional records of non-official organisations and societies with which Jawaharlal Nehru was connected or those which played an important role in the development of modern India; (2) Private papers of eminent Indians, who have distinguished themselves in different areas of national life, whether it be politics, diplomacy, administration, judiciary, science, industry or education.

The private archives of institutions and individuals constitute a significant part of more than 300 collections acquired by the NMML

under its ongoing programme of acquisition of private archives. Of the Institutional Records, those of the All India Congress Committee and the Servants of India Society relate to Africa. Among the Private Papers, those of M.C. Chagla, G.A. Natesan, Jawaharlal Nehru, Kodanda Rao and V.S.S. Sastri have a bearing on Africa and are described hereunder:

INSTITUTIONAL RECORDS

Indian National Congress

AICC has been the organizational wing of the Indian National Congress founded in A.D. 1885. In the earlier phase of its existence, the Congress devoted itself to expanding opportunities for Indians in the colonial regime and incorporating Indian élite opinion in policy making. The first two decades of the present century brought about a deep struggle over ideology and direction between the Moderates led by Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915) and the Extremists led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920).

Soon after his return from South Africa, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948) converted the elitist Congress into a mass movement leading to independence in 1947. Gandhi was a dominant leader of the Congress till his assassination in 1948. His three principal lieutenants—Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad—presided over the transformation of the national movement into a modern political party. This party has been in power at the centre since independence, excepting a brief spell of three years 1977-1979. The Congress elects its president for a two year term and chooses AICC at its annual session. The real power, however, rests with the Congress Working Committee (CWC), often called the Congress High Command.

The following papers of the AICC relate to Africa:

Memorandum dated 11 December 1920 submitted by the East African Indian National Congress to the Prime Minister containing details regarding Colonial Officer's deliberate policy of driving out Indians slowly but surely. Maintains that the whole policy is directed to one end, that is, to gradually eliminate all Indian competition and ultimately all Indian citizens from the colony. Deals with various

cases under which the process of elimination of Indians is taking place. Adds that in the interest of safeguarding its rights, the Indian community places various demands like (i) representation in the Executive Council; (ii) Municipal Councils, Legislative Council, etc. Opposes legal segregation in the Colony. Deals with various cases of discrimination between Europeans and Indians regarding ownership of land and opposing the reservation of Highlands for Europeans. (AICC, File No. 4/1921, pp. 2-22.)

Letter dated 18 January 1921 from the Honorary General Secretary of the East African Indian National Congress informs the General Secretary of AICC that the writer has sent a copy of the memorandum submitted by the East African Indian National Congress to the Prime Minister, for All India Congress Committee's consideration. (AICC, File No. 4/1921, p. 1.)

Letter dated 19 March 1922 from A. Christopher, Joint Hony. Secretary of Natal Indian Congress, to the Secretaries of AICC requests a copy of constitution and rules with other relevant information. (AICC, File No. 19/1922, p. 31.)

Letter dated 21 April 1922 from the General Secretary of AICC to the Hony. Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress informs him that he has received the constitution of Natal Indian Congress. Adds that the resolution passed in the Congress at Nagpur embodies the constitution. (AICC, File No. 4/1921, p. 161.)

Proceedings dated 14 May 1922 of the mass meeting of the Indian community organised by Natal Indian Congress under the chairmanship of R.B. Chetty, Vice President of the Natal Indian Congress. Notes the condition of Indians with concern and points out discrimination in various forms. Refers to an Ordinance entitled, 'Rural Dealer's Licensing Ordinance' which, in all probability, is to pass through the Natal Provincial Council despite the Natal Indian Congress' opposition. Points out that the Ordinance gives full powers into the hands of five electors, who must be voters, which means that it will be a European manned board. Stresses that the authority of these men is final and cannot be questioned. Views with disappointment the recommendation of the Education Enquiry Committee against improvements or extensions of the education of the Indian community. Objects strongly to the racial discrimination in the Ordinance. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 43.)

Letter dated 17 May 1922 from Hony. Secretaries, Natal Indian Congress to the AICC enclosing an editorial that appeared in *Natal*

Witness dealing with the feasibility of the segregation of the Asiatics, which is currently under discussion in the Assembly. Observes that Kaekeurton's motion in favour of the segregation of Asiatics, whether compulsory or voluntary, is bound to arouse protests, if it is implemented. Adds that any kind of segregation that places other sections in a superior position will lead to host of protests. Blames the view in certain sections that "the Asiatics must go." Mentions that these sections have no right to ask for deportation of Indians as they 'themselves' invited Indians for their own benefit. States that the problem is an imperial problem as well as of South Africa and it should be solved amicably and without haste. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 37.)

Proceedings dated 25 May 1922 of the eleventh annual convention of the South African Native National Convention at Bloemfontein, opened by the Mayor (Councillor Barne). Explains the good work done by the Municipality, especially in the matters of housing and education. The Mayor requests the natives not to make the mistake of showing aggressiveness, which would only retard the progress. The Administrator observes that the Free State Provincial Government spends all the taxes collected from natives on them only. Announces the possibility of the Union Government giving some more money to the Free State for native education in the Province. Assures them that if the money is sanctioned, he would constitute a body in which Natives would be represented for advising the administration in spending the money. The Resident Magistrate appreciates the increasingly sympathetic attitude of whites towards the natives. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 45.)

Resolution passed at the eleventh Annual Convention of the South African Native National Congress held at Bloemfontein on 25 May 1922 unanimously declaring that it disassociates itself from the attitude taken by the conference of some natives and members of the Native Affairs Commission held at Bloemfontein on 15 May 1922. Adds that the conference of 15 May excluded coloured people and Asiatics from locations and also excluded the Asiatics from South Africa. Observes that the National Congress is against any racial restriction in regard to location. (AICC, File No. 9/1921, p. 47.)

Letter dated 27 May 1922 from the Hony. Secretaries of Natal Indian Congress, A. Christopher and Sorabjee Rustomjee to the AICC requests them to bring pressure on the Indian Government in regard to the problems of the Indians in South Africa. Encloses (1)

Report of Mass Meeting convened by Natal Indian Congress against legislation threatening the existence of Indians; (2) Provincial Council's debate on Indian legislation; (3) Editorial of *Natal Witness*, 17 May 1922 on Mackevrtan segregation policy debates in the Union Parliament; and (4) South African Native Conference at Bloemfontein in which Indian cause was defended (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 35.)

Extracts dated 11 June 1922 from *Natal Witness* carrying Natal Provincial Council proceedings, sent to AICC by the Natal Indian Congress. Mentions the second reading of the Durban Land Alienation (private draft) Ordinance seeking to give the Town Council of Durban additional powers to make provision regarding the sale and ownership of Borough lands only to persons of European descent. States that Indians were given sufficient time to protest but they failed to do so. Observes that the Government has no objection to the Bill so long as it gives equal powers to the Corporation to deal with all classes. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 95.)

Letter dated 19 July 1922 from the Secretary for the Interior to the Secretary, Natal Indian Congress communicates the decision (over which the Natal Indian Congress has made representation pleading its case) regarding, (1) Rural Dealers Licensing Ordinance; (2) the Townships Franchise Ordinance; (3) Durban Land Alienation Ordinance. States that the Governor-General has reserved any decision regarding No. (1) and (2) (under the provision of Section 90 of the South African Act, 1909) and the same will be further considered. Informs him that the Governor-General is satisfied with the reasonableness of the Ordinance and hence approved the racial restriction introduced into land sales. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 89.)

Letter dated 8 August 1922 from the Secretary of the Incorporated Law Society of India (Herbert Murray) to the Council (Natal Provincial). Objects to Indians working as clerks in certain legal offices, which according to him and the Council properly belong to Europeans. Adds that it lowers the standing of the profession and suggests that the Indians should be allowed to work in the offices only as interpreters and some other minor duties should be assigned to them (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 103-a.)

Letter dated 13 October 1922 from Hullet, Member of the Anti-Asiatic League refers to the Finance Minister Burton's statement that there is dissatisfaction with the Government in the ranks of the

South African Party. Contends that Government veto on Anti-Asiatic Ordinance has caused intense dissatisfaction. Threatens that he will move the Bill for the third time and if the Government persists with the veto, he, alongwith other members of Parliament, will withhold their support to the Government and go to their provinces explaining their views. Holds emphatically that the Anti-Asiatic League, which has the support of the people, would not allow Indians to govern the towns or provinces or to have unrestrained rights for trade. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 102.)

A paper cutting dated 13 October 1922 from *Natal Mercury* states that the Minister of the Interior had stopped on his way to Zululand. Mentions that his interview with the members of the local board on the subject of the Township Franchise Ordinance, which was passed earlier by the Provincial Council, came up. Observes that the towns people, in a conference with the Minister, strongly expressed their opinion that the Bill be confirmed. States that the object of the Bill is to stop the control of townships by the Asiatic vote. The Minister promises that the Government would go into the matter with the Provincial Council. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 103.)

Extracts dated 26 October 1922 from *Natal Advertiser* containing information regarding the sale of corporation free-hold properties. States that the competition for purchase is keen but, as announced earlier, only persons of European descent are allowed to purchase. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 99.)

Letter dated 28 October 1922 from the Hony. Secretaries of Natal Indian Congress to the AICC explains the increasing restrictions on the rights of Indians in Natal. Encloses the correspondence and newspaper extracts and explains as to how sale of lands by the Durban Municipality is exclusively reserved for Europeans under the Durban Land Alienation Ordinance. Adds that the Indian community is opposed — in principle and practice — to the exclusion of Indians from purchasing the lands put up for sale. Mentions the intention of the anti-Asiatics to reintroduce the Ordinance, which was previously vetoed by the Governor-General in Council. Explains the position of the Natal Law Society to exclude Indians from employment in lawyers' offices except for small jobs. Seeks action from AICC in the interests of Indians in South Africa. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 87.)

Telegram dated 11 November 1922 addressed to the AICC through the Central Khilafat Committee of India, Natal Indian

Congress. Requests representation in the Gaya Congress. Adds that the Indian position in Natal is serious. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, pp. 105-107.)

The draft resolution dated 23 December 1922 sent by Chitale to Gopal Rao on East Africa to be placed in the Congress session. States that the Secretary of State for the Colonies should put into practice, without delay, the resolutions of the Imperial Conference of 1921 and the Joint Standing Committee of the Parliament regarding equality of status for Indians domiciled within the empire, especially in the East African territories. Observes that the delay would drive the Indians in the East African territories to resort to stronger measures to achieve their ends. Mentions that the Imperial Government has no right to tamper with the basic principles of equality of status of Indians residing within the empire. States that any curtailment of the basic rights, such as equal vote and equal representation, equal opportunity of immigration and equal rights of acquiring and holding lands, are against the declared imperial policy. Adds that Indians in the territory can not compromise on these issues. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 131.)

Letter dated 23 December 1922 from Chitale to Gopal Rao informs him that the writer is unable to attend the Congress session due to ill health, although he was appointed as East African delegate to the session. Encloses a draft copy of the resolution on East Africa and requests that either this resolution or a similar one be adopted. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 129.)

Telegram dated 25 December 1922 from the Natal Indian Congress to the AICC urges that the Indian National Congress and other institutions should pass resolutions against a series of discriminatory laws under operation in South Africa against African Indians. Requests the AICC to urge the Government of South Africa not to take back the identity cards issued to Indians for their movement in South Africa. Mentions that Momotalas, Copillay, Bhawanidayal are appointed as delegates to the AICC. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, pp. 121-125.)

Telegram dated 27 December 1922 received at Gaya by the AICC from Nairobi wishes the Congress success. States that the Kenyan Government would be holding a general election on 21 February 1923, without extending common franchise to the Indians. Requests the Congress to help in getting equality of status for Kenyan Indians. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 135.)

Undated telegram (1922) sent from Nairobi by Kenyan Indians received at Gaya by AICC, seeks the advice of Indian National Congress as to whether they should pay taxes now (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 135.)

Undated text (1922) of the copy of the Constitution of the Natal Indian Congress sent to the AICC by the Joint Honorary Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress contains provisions regarding: (1) name of the organisation; (2) objectives; (3) composition of the Governing Committee; (4) procedure for the appointment of the office bearers; (5) frequency of meetings; (6) organisation of committees at lower level, etc.; (7) the objectives including improvement in relations with Indians, study of Indian history, etc. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, pp. 33-34.)

Undated letter (1922) of AICC views with concern the position of the Indians in the East African territories, particularly in Kenya. States that, although Kenya had assured just rights and equality of status in 1921, an attempt is made to deprive them. Observes that there can be no compromise on the rights like-equality, vote, property, etc. with the white-settlers. Calls for a struggle against these attempts by the Imperial Government by non-violent means. Adds that the whole of India would be behind such a struggle. Suggests that a call be given for Kenya Day for the whole of India. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 67.)

Undated note (1922) states that before giving his assent to the Ordinance forwarded by provincial administration, the Governor-General seeks the grant of additional powers to the Town Council of the Borough of Durban in respect of the alienation of or dealing with immovable property belonging to the Borough. The Governor-General, through the Ministry of Interior, asks for an explanation by the Mayor of Durban regarding the intention behind such an ordinance. Seeks this explanation due to the deputation of the Natal Indian Congress to the Minister of the Interior in the second week of June 1922, which pleaded that the Ordinance operates against the interests of the Indian community in Natal. Remarks that the Ordinance purports to restrict ownership of occupation of all-European, Asiatic or natives—but the deputation feels that the Ordinance is biased. Adds that a letter in this regard, seeking an explanation from the Mayor, was sent on 22 June 1922 by the Secretary of Interior, H.B. Shave. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 91.)

Undated letter (1922) from Nagpur by B.S. Moonje to Dr. M.A.

Ansari states that Chitale, who has come to India as delegate to the Congress session, has fallen ill and cannot attend the session. Encloses a draft resolution given by Chitale to be considered in the Congress session. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 127.)

Undated AICC resolution (1922) protests most emphatically against the treatment of Indians in South Africa. Points out a number of discriminatory laws in South Africa against Indian settlers viz., (1) Durban Land Alienation Ordinance; (2) the Tramway Ordinance; (3) Railway Law establishing the principle of segregation against Indians; (4) levy of medical fee on colony-born Indians; (5) the immigration regulation, etc. States that the time has come for Indians in South Africa to resist and to empower the AICC to keep in touch with the Natal Congress and to take necessary steps in support of the South African Indians so that the discrimination is done away with. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, pp. 111-119.)

Letter dated 30 April 1923, released from the office of the AICC to the Associated Press of India. Contains details about a cablegram received from the Natal Indian Congress. Observes that the cablegram contains details regarding Rural Dealers Wholesale Retail Licence Ordinance passed by the Natal Provincial Council, which creates boards consisting of five parliamentary votes, Europeans superseding the Licensing Officers in matters of granting or refusing licences. Mentions that under the newly passed Ordinance, all appeals will be heard by the Appeal Board, which will not consist of men from judiciary. Adds that the Ordinance, if sanctioned, will harm the interests of the Indian community. Remarks that the Natal Indian Congress asks the AICC to bring pressure on the Union Government so that it may withhold sanction. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 147.)

Letter dated 9 May 1923 released by the office of the AICC contains information regarding a cablegram it has received from the Natal Indian Congress. States that the Land Ordinance passed by the Natal Provincial Council establishes the principle of segregation in Boroughs and townships. States that this Ordinance, along with the Rural Licensing Ordinance, is before the Governor-General for sanction. States that the Natal Indian Congress will meet the Governor-General (for which the date is fixed) to express its view against sanctioning the Ordinance. Adds that the Natal Government is to put pressure on the South Africa Union Government to refuse sanction. (AICC, File No. 9/1922, p. 165.)

Resolution dated 8 March 1926 of the Working Committee of the AICC resolves to make arrangements for the South Africa Day. (AICC, File No. 24/1926, p. 7.)

Letter dated 22 July 1926 from the AICC to C.F. Andrews records its high appreciation for the addressee's service to South Africa. Adds that the AICC adopted a resolution, at Ahmedabad, on the same subject. (AICC, File No. G-24/568/1926, p. 19.)

Letter dated 22 July 1926 from the AICC General Secretary to the Hony. General Secretary, South African Indian Congress, Durban communicates the unanimous resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at its meeting, held on 7 July 1926 at Calcutta. Observes that the resolution strongly condemns the action of the South African Union Government against the people of India and Indian community in spite of the strong protests of the Government of India. Assures the full support of the whole country to the Indian community in South Africa in their struggle to resist this Bill. (AICC, File No. G-24/834/1926, p. 23.)

Proceedings dated 1-31 August 1926 of the fifth annual convention of Negro Peoples of the World, held under the auspices of the Universal Negro Improvement Association at Liberty Hall, New York on the question of the social and political status of the Negro people of the world. Makes surveys of typical areas and concrete situations and records that the resolutions adopted relate to (1) Abyssinia (2) Liberia (3) Sudan (4) Egypt (5) North Africa (6) South Africa (7) East Africa (8) West Africa and (9) Central Africa.

Abyssinia: States that in Abyssinia the objective is to maintain independence, which is gravely menaced by the schemes of European imperialist powers. Observes that the recent Anglo-Italian pact is one of those threats to partition and will subjugate the kingdom of Ethiopia. Calls for the maintenance and consolidation of this independence and proposes to establish an Ethiopian University for the training of African youth.

Liberia: Observes that the resolution calls for resisting the expansion of imperialist power in this part. Supports, in every sense, including financial, the integrity and independence of the Republic.

Sudan, Egypt and North Africa: Calls for help to free this exploited region and to assist them in their efforts to organise economically and politically to regain their land and establish their independence.

South Africa: Observes that the Negro people here are deprived

of every form of human rights. States that its recent Colour Bar Bill is one of the sinister moves of the unholy alliance between Nationalists and Laborites. Calls for a most resolute struggle against oppression.

Africa: Resolution to emancipate Africa from imperialist subjugation at whatever cost. Calls for the loyal intelligent action of every member of the race to work for the liberation of Africa. Asks for unity with all other suppressed peoples and classes in achieving complete social and political emancipation. Declares the following objectives: (1) African ownership of African land; (2) African policy supreme within its territory; (3) freedom of speech and press; (4) freedom of movement within Africa; (5) abolition of military conscription; (6) abolition of compulsory labour and organisation of economic and political power of the people; (7) abolition of all social restrictions. (AICC, File No. G-21/1926-27, Correspondence, Foreign Department.)

Letter dated 11 December 1926 from the Hony. General Secretary of the South Indian Congress to Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC states that several resolutions were passed at the emergency session of the South African Indian Congress held at Durban in December 1926. Records its deep sense of obligation and thanks the All India National Congress, All India Khilafat Committee, All India Hindu Mahasabha, Imperial Indian Citizenship Association and other public bodies and citizens. Informs him that copies of the Presidential speech, Secretary's Report, etc., of the emergency Congress session etc., are enclosed with the letter. (AICC, File No. F.D.9/ 1926, p. 165.)

Letter dated 19 December 1926 from B.D. Chaturvedi to Jawaharlal Nehru asks for addressee's favour to do something for the Foreign Department, which was created to deal with Indians abroad in the Kanpur Congress. Requests the addressee to use his influence and admits that the Congress authorities could not do anything for the Foreign Department. Expects the Congress to provide him a clerk and postage money. (AICC, File No. G-24/1926, p. 31.)

Letter dated 27 December 1926 from Srinivasa Iyengar, President, Indian National Congress to General Hertzog and Sir Muhamed Habibullah, states that the 41st session of the Indian National Congress welcomed the Round Table Conference and thanked C.F. Andrews for his active support in making the atmosphere of South Africa conducive to the Round Table Conference.

(AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1926, p. 175.)

Undated letter (1926) from the General Secretary of AICC to the Hony. Secretaries of the Natal Indian Congress encloses the resolution adopted by the Congress at Kanpur with a request to give it wide publicity. (AICC, File No. G. 24-106/1926, p. 1.)

Undated resolution (1926) passed at the Kanpur session of the AICC, creating the Foreign Department of the Indian National Congress. States that its main aim was to look after the interests of Indians abroad and to carry on educative propaganda in the country regarding their position in the British Empire and foreign countries. Observes that it aimed to keep close touch with Indian Congress and associations in the British colonies and in foreign countries and to keep the Indian press well informed about the social, educational and political conditions of Indians abroad. (AICC, File No. G-24/1926, p. 35.)

Letter dated 20 January 1927 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC to the General Secretary, South African Indian Congress states that the Congress at Gauhati on 26 December 1926 adopted the resolution welcoming the Round Table Conference instituted to deliberate upon the best method of settling the question of the status of Indian-settlers in the African continent. Hopes that an amicable settlement of the question would be effected. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1926, p. 163.)

Letter dated 20 January 1927 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, Indian National Congress to the Secretary, East African Indian Congress states that the resolution passed at Gauhati about restrictive legislation against the Indian-settlers in Kenya is a demonstration of British imperialists' continued efforts to maintain European interests at the cost of Indian interests, liberty and aspiration. Observes that the legislation raises the poll-tax from 30 shillings to 50 shillings and hopes that the question of Indian-settlers in Kenya will be solved peacefully. (AICC, File No. G-20/1927, p. 5.)

Letter dated 27 February 1927 from the Hony. General Secretary, South African Indian Congress to the General Secretary, AICC thanks the latter for the resolution passed at the last session of the Indian National Congress relating to the Round Table Conference. Observes that Indians in South Africa are under an eternal debt of gratitude to the Indian National Congress for its interest on their behalf. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1927, p. 161.)

Text of 23 Resolutions dated 12-13 March 1927 passed at the

Annual Conference of the South African Indian Congress held at Johannesburg, stresses among other things: (1) to accept the agreement reached at the Round Table Conference between the Governments of the Union and India and with certain reservations; (2) to protest against certain clauses of the Liquor Bill; (3) thanks the various Indians engaged actively in the cause of the Indian community in South Africa especially M.K. Gandhi. (AICC, File No. F.D.9/1927, pp. 149-159.)

Letter dated 26 March 1927 from Hon. Secretary, South African Indian Congress to the Secretary, Indian National Congress, regrets the sad demise of Swami Sradhanand. Informs him that the South African Indian Congress resolution, Secretary's report, Presidential speech, annexures, etc., have been sent in a separate cover. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1927, p. 147.)

Karandikar's telegram dated 22 April 1927 from London requests Iyengar, the General Secretary of the Congress, to make strong protests against the constitutional changes in Kenya Colony. Requests him to send strong representation to the Colonial Office. (AICC, File No. G-20/1927, p. 3.)

Letter dated 26 April 1927 from the Secretary, AICC to the Hon. General Secretary, South African Indian Congress thanks the addressee for the letter dated 26 March 1927 and for the enclosures containing the resolutions and reports of the South African Indian Congress. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1927, p. 145.)

Letter dated 5 May 1927 from V.R. Karandikar to A. Rangaswami Iyengar informs him that he has issued a pamphlet about Indians in Kenya for which he has not taken financial help from anybody. Adds that the pamphlet is a part of the propaganda work carried on in London. (AICC, File No. G-20/1927, p. 1.)

Note dated 13 September 1927 by Jawaharlal Nehru on India's foreign policy points out that the British propose to create a federation of dominions in Kenya and the adjacent territories with all the powers in the hands of a few white-settlers, who can do what they will to the large number of Indians and the overwhelming African population. Maintains that India cannot associate with this policy which stands for exploitation. States that Indians in Kenya should cooperate with the Africans and should not claim any special position for themselves. (AICC, File No. 8/1927, p. 13.)

Cable dated 7 November 1927 from Dr. M.A. Ansari to the President, African Indian Congress, Kimberley conveys hearty

greetings from the Congress community to her children abroad and requests them to uphold her honour and assures full sympathy and support to their struggle. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1927, p. 139.)

Presidential Address dated 28 December 1927 delivered to the South African Indian Federation at Johannesburg by Moulvi Abdul Kassim surveys the history of the Indian question in South Africa as nothing but a series of promises and broken pledges. Draws attention to the Gandhi-Smuts Settlement, the Paddison Deputation, the amended Immigration Laws and the Asiatic Commission's works. Observes that the conditions of Indian community, in spite of the South African Government's efforts, are highly unsatisfactory. Outlines the forms of protest launched by the Indian community and concludes that the Indian community has, therefore, rejected the Cape Town Settlement and will resolve at this convention on the formation of the South African Indian Federation (with Natal, the Transvaal and Cape Provincial bodies) to safeguard the rights and interests of the South African Indian community. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1927, pp. 111-135.)

Text of the resolutions dated 29 December 1927 passed at the first session of the South African Indian Federation at Johannesburg sent to the Hony. General Secretary, All India National Congress, Madras by the Joint Hony. Secretaries, South African Indian Federation. The first resolution thanks the Indian National Congress for its unremitting expression of sympathy and support to the Indian cause. The second resolution states that the present statutory Commission appointed to investigate the constitutional reforms in India is unsatisfactory and condemns the activity of C.F. Andrews for having placed the Indian community in an embarrassing position and concludes with a request to the General Secretary, AICC to send the report of the last session of the Congress. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1927, p. 109.)

Letter dated 9 February 1928 from A. Christopher, Deputy President, South African Indian Congress to Dr. M.A. Ansari states that the writer would like him to confirm whether a cable despatched by him on 31 January 1928 had reached the addressee. Mentions that the cable, as typed in the letter, reads that the Liquor Bill was passing through the Parliament in South Africa. Adds that if the Bill is passed, then 3,000 Indian families would be deprived of their livelihood. Appeals, therefore, to the addressee to intervene immediately. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1928, p. 103.)

Letter dated 14 February from Under Secretary, AICC to the Joint Hony. Secretary, South African Indian Federation thanks him for letter dated 10 January 1928, and its enclosures. Draws attention to para 2 of the letter, in which C.F. Andrews has been criticised and maintains that C.F. Andrews has always rendered selfless humanitarian work and, therefore, the criticism in the South African Indian Congress resolution is harsh and surprising. States that the Madras Congress has expressed its deep gratitude to C.F. Andrews and a copy of the resolution passed by the Madras Congress has been sent with the letter to the South African Indian Federation. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1928, p. 105.)

Letter dated 17 March 1928 from Secretary, AICC, to the Deputy President, South African Indian Congress, states that with reference to the letter dated 9 February 1928, the Working Committee of the Congress had taken up the issue at the Delhi Session of the Congress on 11 February 1928. Adds that the Congress had resolved that as the Bill had been withdrawn, the matter should be dropped. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1928, p. 99.)

Letter dated 25 October 1928 from the Hony. General Secretary of the South African Indian Federation to the Secretary, Indian National Congress, observes that the conference of the South African Indian Federation, held at Durban, Natal on October 1 and 2, 1928, passed a set of resolutions, copies of which have been forwarded to AICC for favourable consideration and necessary action. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1928, p. 89.)

Letter dated 31 October 1928 from U.K. Oza to Jawaharlal Nehru relating to Free Traders Union of Uganda seeks addressee's help in getting wide publicity to their demands, which had been stated in a memorandum submitted to the Government, a copy of which was enclosed with the above letter. (AICC, File No. 04/1928, pp. 11-13.)

Memorandum dated October 1928 submitted to the Governor of the Protectorate of Uganda by Free Traders' Union of Uganda on cotton position in (October) 1928. (AICC, File No. 0-4/1928, pp. 15-35.)

Letter dated 15 November 1928 from U.K. Oza, Editor of *Democrat*, to Jawaharlal Nehru informs him that some Indians, by joining with the Europeans, had created an impression in the minds of the natives of the country that Indians were against their aspirations and asked for his intervention. (AICC, File No. 04/1928,

pp. 3-7.)

Condolence telegram dated 21 November 1928 sent to Jawaharlal Nehru by the Secretary, East African Indian National Congress on the demise of Lala Lajpat Rai. (AICC, File No. 04/1928, p. 41.)

Reply dated 22 November 1928 from Under Secretary, Indian National Congress to the condolence message on the death of Lala Lajpat Rai, sent by the Secretary, East African Indian National Congress. (AICC, File No. 04/1928, p. 39.)

Letter dated 27 November 1928 from Jawaharlal Nehru to U.K. Oza expresses his sympathy with the position of the small Indian traders in Uganda and his willingness to help them. (AICC, File No. 04/1928, p. 9.)

Letter dated 6 December 1928 from Jawaharlal Nehru to U.K. Oza states that it was unfortunate that the intention of Indians in East Africa had been misunderstood. Emphasises that Indians stood for unity and co-operation with the natives for mutual advantage. (AICC, File No. 04/1928, p. 1.)

Letter dated 9 February 1929 from the Joint Secretaries of South African Congress to the General Secretary, AICC encloses a copy of the hand-book issued by the South African Indian Congress containing the presidential address, Secretary's Report and other valuable correspondence. States that the ninth session of the South African Indian Conference held at Durban in January 1929 passed a resolution urging the Indian National Congress to place its Overseas Department on a working basis so as to enable it to be of assistance to the South African Indians. Thanks the officers and Working Committee of AICC for their interest and help in the South African Indian affairs. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, p. 85.)

Letter dated 12 February 1929 from B. Rajaram to the four South African Committees states that the Congress met at Gaya in 1922 and affiliated the South Africa based Indian associations to it with an annual affiliation fee of Rs. 100 and encloses a Congress resolution. Adds that the members of the association should be given the status of the Subject Committee of the Congress. (AICC, File No. A-6/1929, p. 11.)

Letter dated 21 February 1929 from the Secretary of the South African Traders Union Congress (National Executive Council) to the General Secretary, AICC states that he has received the Congress bulletins of January 15 and 20, 1929, which were indicators of what Indian workers were demanding. Adds that he would be glad to

meet and discuss with the Indian National Congress delegation to the Second World Congress of the League Against Imperialism. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, p. 87.)

Article dated 2 March 1929 titled "Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri – England's Advertising Agent", published in the *Democrat*, by S.N. Acharya, reprimands Sastri for entertaining feelings of esteem, affection and gratitude towards the imperial masters – Great Britain and closing his (Sastri's) eyes to the emaciated and starving masses of India. Observes that the victims of Amritsar, the over-taxed peasantry were caused by the inglorious rule of British in India. Attacks Sastri for having elected to lead the easy and rosy path of pro-imperialism, which spells comfort and safety with praise. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 113.)

Letter dated 15 March 1929 from the Joint Secretaries, South African Indian Congress to Jawaharlal Nehru, Secretary, AICC, intimates that the South African Government has vetoed the clauses of assisted emigration scheme provided in the Cape Town Agreement, by not helping the repatriates. States that the South African Indian Congress has, therefore, met at Durban and passed a resolution instituting an enquiry into the matter. Notes the fact that the Government of India has not taken any steps to assist the repatriates and consequently forcing them to emigrate to Fiji and Malaya. Requests the addressee to send further information on the repatriation situation. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, p. 83.)

Letter dated 15 March 1929 from Acharya, President of the Indian Association, Kenya informs Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC that U.K. Oza is being deputed by the Indian Association to place the Indian position in Kenya before the Indian community and to discuss the situation with the Indian leaders and organisations. Mentions that the speeches of Sastri on East and South Africa are being exploited by the European community in Africa, causing great damage to their stand on the issue. Adds that it was imperative for Oza to be in India as early as possible. Requests the addressee to inform all Congress organisations, asking them to hold discussions with Oza and suggesting that a formal deputation may be sent to India later. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 105.)

Note dated 16 March 1929 addressed to the Working Committee by Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, All India Congress Committee requests to send its report on the South African question. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, p. 101.)

Letter dated 18 March 1929 from C.S. Schmidt, Secretary for the Interior, Cape Town, sends correspondence to the Joint Secretaries of South African Indian Congress, dealing with the Vice-Secretary of Union of South Africa's Government on the licence policy, land question in the Transvaal, immigration and repatriation laws. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, pp. 29-33.)

Letter dated 22 April 1929 from Acting General Secretary, AICC to Benarasi Das Chaturvedi, Calcutta requests him to collect information on the repatriation question. Encloses a letter received from the South African Indian Congress. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1449/1929, p. 77.)

Letter dated 24 April 1929 from the General Secretary, Provincial Congress Committee, Calcutta, to Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC promises to find out the extent of help offered by the Government of India to the repatriates in Calcutta. Informs him that a sub-committee consisting of Sampurnananda and Pandit Tota Ram Samadhy was appointed, a few years back, to make an enquiry into the condition of repatriates but it had been left incomplete. Requests the addressee to write to the South African Indian Congress to dissuade immigrants from coming to North India as conditions in North India are not suitable. Draws attention to the fact that no emigrants is able to pay £20 lent by the South African Government, let alone pay for the passage to India. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, pp. 71-73.)

Letter dated 24 April 1929 from U.K. Oza to Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC informs him that the position in East Africa is unsatisfactory. States that the national movement in India towards dominion status tends to put them in an unfavourable position. Adds that the acceptance of Western standards of life in South Africa, without being defined properly, has introduced a further difficulty. Points out that it is necessary to consider the whole question of colonial policy from the viewpoint of India. Suggests that the AICC should meet in a conference with him and also make arrangements for his visit. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 111.)

Letter dated 25 April 1929 from Secretary, Indian Youngmen's Congress Committee to the General Secretary, AICC states that his organisation has no objection in affiliating itself to the Indian National Congress provided it amends its resolution by reducing the number of delegates from 10 to 1 and the subscription from Rs. 100 to Rs. 25. (AICC, File No. A-6/1929, p. 7.)

Letter dated 25 April from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC to Oza states that he would like to be enlightened on the true situation in East Africa. Informs him that he had read with amazement the speeches of Sastri on East Africa and that his sudden departure for East Africa is puzzling. Observes that he is unable to meet the addressee as he was needed in Sabarmati. Suggests that the addressee should write a concise note on the East African question, which would be something more than a mere statement to serve as a basis for discussion. Adds that the addressee should interview people in Bombay before the meeting of AICC on 24 of May. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1504/1929, p. 109.)

Letter dated 27 April 1929 from the General Secretaries, E. Mall and S.R. Naidoo, South African Indian Congress to K.V. Reddi, Agent of the Government of India, Durban draws his attention to the reference made in the communication by the Secretary for the Interior to the licence clause contained in the Cape Town Agreement and to the interpretation, the Indian Government places upon the clause. Adds that they have been directed to request K.V. Reddi to communicate to the Government of India with regard to the understanding reached and what interpretation the Government of India places upon the clause in question. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, pp. 43-47.)

Letter dated 30 April 1929 from U.K. Oza, Editor of *Democrat* to Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC states that there is a need to express a final enunciation of their attitude to the native people of the colonies and also of their policy towards their own status in East Africa. Informs him that his note on East Africa has been forwarded to the AICC. Expresses the wish to take part in the meeting and discussions on East Africa at AICC meeting in Bombay. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 107.)

Letter dated 3 May 1929 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC to U.K. Oza states that he eagerly waits for addressee's notes on East Africa. Hopes that the note would be concise as people do not like to read long documents. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1559/1929, p. 101.)

Letter dated 3 May 1929 from U.K. Oza to Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC states that he would be present at the meeting of AICC, in Bombay. Requests the addressee to keep the copy of his note on East Africa, with good care, as he does not possess extra copies of the note. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 45.)

Letter dated 3 May 1929 from Jawaharlal Nehru to Acharya, President of the Indian Association, Nairobi, affirms that the Committee would extend complete help and support to Oza, who was visiting India on behalf of the Indian Association of Kenya. Informs him that an invitation has been extended to Oza to be present at the meeting of AICC at Bombay on 24 May 1929. Adds that he read Sastri's speeches with amazement and that the writer could well understand, that they were being used to the Indian Association's disadvantage. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1554/1929, p. 103.)

Letter dated 3 May 1929 from the editor of *Democrat*, Nairobi informs Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary of AICC that he would be attending the meeting of AICC. Encloses a note prepared by him on East Africa and hopes that it will be printed. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 47.)

Letter dated 8 May 1929 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC, to the Secretaries of the four South African Committees requests them to send Rs. 100/- towards their annual affiliation fee at an early date. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/A6-1649/1929, p. 75.)

Letter dated 26 May 1929 from Under-Secretary, Indian National Congress to the Hony. General Secretaries, South African Indian Congress states that the following committees had been affiliated to the Indian National Congress with the right of sending ten delegates in all between them:

Natal Indian Congress Committee	Durban
British Indian Association	Johannesburg
British Indian League	Cape Town
Point Indian Association	Durban

An affiliation fee of Rs. 100/- per year had been fixed for each of these committees. (AICC, File No. A6/1929, p. 3.)

Letter dated 29 May 1929 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC to S. Acharya, President of Indian Association, Nairobi, Kenya states that AICC has circulated at its meeting a note on East Africa prepared by U.K. Oza. Informs him that in a separate cover some copies are also being sent to him. Reproduces the full text of the resolution passed at the meeting on East Africa. Adds that the resolution congratulates the Indian community for maintaining good relations with East Africa's original inhabitants, whose

interests are superior to all other interests. Pledges full support of AICC to the Indian community in Kenya in its struggle for the achievement of political and economic equality in East Africa. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 45.)

Letter dated 29 May 1929 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC to U.K. Oza informs him that the writer has sent four copies of addressee's note on East Africa and a copy of AICC's resolution to Acharya of the Indian Association, Nairobi. Asks the addressee whether he would be needing some more copies. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 43.)

Letter dated 29 May 1929 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC to Acharya, President of the Indian Association informs him that, at the previous meeting of AICC, a note on East Africa by U.K. Oza was circulated among its members including the text of the resolution passed by AICC on East Africa. Mentions that the Committee congratulates the Indians of East Africa on their friendly and cordial relations with the East Africans. Trusts that they will continue to maintain and treat the interests of the original inhabitants as superior to all other interests. Assures its full support to the Indian community in Kenya in their struggle for political and economic equality in East Africa. Hopes that Acharya would convey this resolution to the African inhabitants. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1767/1929, p. 43.)

Note dated 29 May 1929 by B. Raja Ram states that the Point Indian Association was affiliated to the Congress at Gaya in 1922 subject to payment of the affiliation fee of Rs. 100. Mentions that apparently there was some confusion as the letter containing a copy of the resolution did not reach the Association, due to wrong addressing and reached the hands of Young Men's Society. Seeks permission to ask for the address of the Association from the Society so as to secure the fee. (AICC, File No. A-6/1929, p. 9.)

Letter dated 29 May 1929 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC to Oza enquires whether he would like some more printed copies of his note on East Africa. Informs him that he is sending four copies of the note as well as one copy of the resolution passed by AICC to Acharya, President of the Indian Association. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1765/1929, p. 41.)

Letter dated 30 May 1929 from the Under-Secretary, Indian National Congress to the Hony. Secretary, Point Indian Young Men's Society requests him to forward his letter to the Point Indian

Association and asks for the address of the latter to facilitate correspondence between them. (AICC, File No. A-6/1229, p. 5.)

Letter dated 31 May 1929 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC to the Secretaries, South African Indian Congress states that the South African Indian Federation, Natal Branch, has expressed a desire to affiliate to the Indian National Congress. Observes that, before taking a decision on the matter, the writer would like to have further particulars regarding the relation between this Federation and the South African Indian Congress. Requests the General Secretaries to send him further information on this organisation. Informs them that AICC had shifted office to Allahabad in 1928 and that all correspondence should be mailed to the Allahabad Office. Intimates the General Secretaries about the inauguration of separate Foreign Department of the Indian National Congress whose services could be utilised by them. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1812/1929, p. 67.)

Letter dated 31 May 1929 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC to the General Secretaries, South African Indian Congress informs them that the Government of India has not helped the repatriates at all. Advises the General Secretaries to inform emigrants not to come to Northern India as the unemployment rate is very high and newcomers would find it difficult to get jobs. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1813/1929, p. 69.)

Letter dated 10 June 1929 from the Hony. Joint General Secretaries (E. Mall and S.R. Naidoo) of South African Indian Congress to the Secretary for the Interior requests him to carefully consider the issues regarding the harsh and unjust administration of the licensing laws in different parts of the South African Union in so far as the Indians are concerned and also to consider the question of ownership of land in the Transvaal by Indians and also the repatriation and immigration laws. Expresses the hope that once economic opportunities are provided to the Indian community, they would attain Western standards of civilization. Conveys their eagerness to avoid by all means, bringing the Indian question into the arena of party politics. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, pp. 34-41.)

Letter dated 17 June 1929 from S. Acharya, President of Indian Association to Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC thanks him for the support extended by AICC in giving an opportunity to Oza to address the House and also in moving a very encouraging resolution. Mentions that the Congress' full support has infused a

new vitality in their ranks. Thanks AICC on behalf of Oza and informs him that Oza will leave East Africa for India either on 28 June or on 10 July 1929. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 39.)

Letter dated 17 June 1929 from S. Acharya, President of Indian Association, East Africa to Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC expresses his gratitude to AICC for having given an opportunity to Oza to address the House and to move a very encouraging resolution. States that the Indian position of supporting the East African Indian community has become clear and informs him that Oza, who has just returned from India, has decided to leave for India towards the end of June and hopes that this will be of much benefit for both Indians and the East African Indian community. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 41.)

Letter dated 30 June 1929 from the Joint Secretaries (E. Mall and S.R. Naidoo), South African Indian Congress to Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC requests him to institute enquiries into the problems of repatriation of Indians and to direct the information to them. States that the specific questions on which enquiries ought to be made are: (1) Is the Government of India doing anything to help the repatriates in economic terms? (2) Are any Repatriation Officers being appointed by the Government of India to look after the welfare of repatriates? (3) Is it true that a large number of repatriates are emigrating to Fiji and Malaya, due to harsh conditions in India. Requests the addressee to appoint some reliable persons to look after the repatriates, who disembark on the Indian soil and also lend them help. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, pp. 63-65.)

Letter dated 30 June 1929 from E. Mall and S.R. Naidoo, Hony. Joint Secretaries of the South African Indian Congress Natal to Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC informs him that South African Indian Congress is the only organisation, which is recognised by Indians as a whole and represents the interests of and acts for the Indian community in the African Unions. Requests that the South African National Congress and its legitimate constituent bodies viz., (1) the Natal Indian Congress; (2) the Transvaal Indian Congress; (3) the Cape British Indian Council, should be recognised by the Indian National Congress and not the South African Indian Federation (Natal Branch). Urges AICC not to recognise this body as it has been working against the interests of the Indian community. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, p. 13.)

Letter dated 1 July 1929 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General

Secretary, AICC to S. Acharya, President, Indian Association, Nairobi thanks him for his letter dated 17 June. States that the writer is glad that the resolution on East Africa passed by AICC has been appreciated by the addressee. States that Oza's return to India is advantageous as his advice on East Africa could be availed of. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/2236/1929, p. 37.)

Letter dated 1 July 1929 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC to S. Acharya, President of Indian Association, Nairobi thanks him for having appreciated the resolutions on East Africa passed by the All India Congress Committee. Expresses his happiness over Oza's decision to return to India and hopes that AICC will have the advantage of Oza's advice on questions relating to East Africa. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 39.)

Letter dated 13 July 1929 from the Hony. Joint Secretaries of the Natal Indian Congress to Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC drawing his attention to one of the bulletins published by the Congress Committee, which has affiliated the Point Indian Association with the Transvaal British Indian Association. Informs the addressee that the Transvaal British Indian Association has ceased to exist and has been superseded by the Transvaal Indian Congress. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, p. 53.)

Letter dated 15 July 1929 from the General Secretary of Eastern Africa Indian National Congress to Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC informs him that the decision of the Executive of the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress to send a deputation on 3 August 1929, led by B.B. Pandya and Ishar Dass, to India to explain the East African position to AICC. Refers to U.K. Oza's visit of May 1929 to India when he submitted a note on the East African position. Requests the addressee to meet the delegation or to delegate someone for the purpose. Communicates the deputation's programme in Bombay, and the proposed places to be visited in India. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 37.)

Letter dated 6 August 1929 Nairobi from U.K. Oza to Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC informs him that he has decided to stay on at Nairobi. States that he would like to be financially independent. Adds that he is unofficially connected with *Democrat*. Refers to a Kenya Deputation's Indian visit. Requests him to circulate a copy each of his note on East Africa to various persons, whose names he mentions in the letter. Urges him to send a dozen copies of his Rajkot address and asks whether it will be possible for the

Foreign Department of the Congress to publish a paper prepared by him titled "A History of Indian Position in Kenya from the Earliest Times to the Present Day". (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 5.)

Letter dated 6 August 1929 from the Under-Secretary, AICC to the Hony. General Secretary, the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress regrets his inability to inform the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, due to delay in receiving the letter of the delegation. States that all Provincial Congress Committees were asked to tender assistance to the deputation. Hopes that Bombay Provincial Congress Committee would give every facility to the delegation. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 29.)

Letter dated 6 August 1929 from the Under-Secretary, AICC to the Secretary, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee requests him to hand over a letter to Ishar Dass of the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress to whom it is addressed. Urges him to send the address of the Indian Imperial Citizenship Association. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 31.)

Letter dated 9 August 1929 from the Joint Secretaries (E. Mall & S.R. Naidoo) of the South African Indian Congress to Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC informs him that they have been directed by the Executive of the South African Indian Congress to send a copy of the correspondence passed between the Department of Interior, Union Government and the South African Indian Congress, arising out of the resolutions passed at the ninth session of the South African Indian Congress held in January 1929, and out of an interview between the South African Indian Congress and the Minister of Interior at Cape Town in February 1929. Requests the addressee to pursue the points raised by the Congress on withholding of trade licences to the South African Indian Congress and to treat the copy of correspondence as strictly confidential. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, pp. 25-27.)

Letter dated 9 August 1929 from the Joint Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to the General Secretary, AICC informs him that the writer had forwarded to AICC, a letter regarding the East Africa delegation to the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association. States that he would request the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association to inform him about their proposal regarding the reception and propaganda for the delegation in Bombay. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 27.)

Letter dated 9 August 1929 from Dr. M.A. Ansari to the Bombay

Provincial Congress Committee requests him to arrange public meetings and stay of the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress deputation, which arrived in Bombay on 3 August 1929. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 17.)

Letter dated 12 August 1929 from the Joint Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to Dr. M.A. Ansari informs him that Eastern Africa Indian National Congress deputation would arrive at Bombay on 17 August instead of 3 August. States that arrangements will be made for the delegation's stay and public meetings. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 15)

Letter dated 13 August 1929 from the Secretary of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee to AICC informs that he can arrange for the programme of the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress deputation if the date of the programme of the deputation is altered. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, pp. 23-24.)

Letter dated 13 August 1929 from the Secretary of Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee to AICC informs his readiness to arrange for a lecture by the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress deputation if the date is communicated in advance. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, pp. 19-21.)

Letter dated 16 August 1929 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC to the Jt. Hon'y. Secretary, South African Indian Congress. Thanks him for information on South African Committee affiliations enclosed in his letter dated 30 June. Enquires about his address for communication. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, p. 57.)

Letter dated 16 August 1929 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC to the Joint Secretaries, South African Indian Congress informs them that he received their letter dated 30 June regarding the repatriation of Indians. Adds that enquiries into the matter are going on and that he would communicate as soon as the report was published on the subject. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, p. 59.)

Letter dated 16 August 1929 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC, to Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Barabanki, requests him to collect information on three matters which are desired by the South African National Congress, viz., (1) Is the Government of India rendering help to repatriates from South Africa and in what forms? (2) Have they appointed any officers to look after the welfare of the repatriates as soon as they land in India? If so, what are the duties of

these Repatriation Officers and are they exercised efficiently? (3) Is it a fact that a large number of repatriates have migrated to Fiji and Malaya due to unsatisfactory conditions in India? (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, p. 55.)

Letter dated 19 August 1929 from the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC informs him that he has received the letter from the General Secretary containing information regarding the visit of the East African deputation to Calcutta. Assures him that on receiving the letter from the East African deputation, he will make arrangements for public meetings. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 13)

Memo dated 21 August 1929 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC states that he has received a communication from the South African Indian Congress on the issue of affiliations. Requests the Working Committee of AICC to affiliate the organisations as recommended by the South African Indian Congress. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, p. 51.)

Identical letter dated 22 August 1929 from the Under-Secretary, the East Indian National Congress to (1) Mohanlal Saksena, Lucknow, (2) Prakasha, Benaras, (3) Garnish Shankar Vidyarthi, Kanpur, and (4) A. Dass, Allahabad informs them about Ishar Dass led delegation's programme and requests them to arrange public meetings in Allahabad, Kanpur, Lucknow and Benaras, according to the times given in the letter. Adds that after finishing the programme at Benaras, the deputation will leave for Bombay. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 11.)

Letter dated 25 August 1929 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC to the Hony. Joint Secretaries, Natal Indian Congress, states that AICC has received their letter dated 13 July 1929 and also a communication from its parent body, the South African Indian Congress. Informs them that AICC would be reconsidering all affiliations to the Indian National Congress. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, p. 49.)

Letter 25 August 1929 from the Under-Secretary, AICC, informs U.K. Oza that copies of the Note on East Africa have been sent to various gentlemen as desired by him. Mentions that it was not possible to send to some of them as their addresses are not known. States that the copies are also sent to Rajkot. Expresses doubt as to whether it will be possible for the Foreign Department of AICC to publish addresses' book on Kenya. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 9.)

Letter dated 25 August 1929 from the Under-Secretary to AICC informs U.K. Oza that the General Secretary of AICC was unable to send the copies containing the note on the "East African Problems" to various persons mentioned by the addressee as the copies were exhausted. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 3.)

Letter dated 29 August 1929 from the Under-Secretary of East African Indian National Congress to the Secretary, Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee informs him that the deputation will proceed from Delhi to Punjab. Requests him to arrange for a public meeting in Delhi at which the members of the deputation would address the public and to give good publicity to the meeting. Adds that the Secretary, Ishar Dass, would communicate directly on those issues. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, p. 7.)

Letter dated 2 September 1929 from the Secretary of the East African Indian National Congress delegation to the Secretary, AICC, communicates its programme in India. (AICC, File No.F.D.8/1929, p. 1.)

Letter dated 5 September 1929 from the Under-Secretary, AICC acknowledges the letter dated 9 August 1929, sent by the Joint Secretaries, South African Indian Congress and its enclosures. Informs them that the letter and its enclosures would be placed before Jawaharlal Nehru, the General Secretary, after his return to Allahabad at an early date. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/3157/1929, p. 23.)

Letter dated 12 September 1929 from S.R. Naidoo and E. Mall, Hony. Joint Secretaries of the South African Indian Congress to the General Secretary, AICC regrets that AICC has not received their letter dated 30 June 1929. Informs them that a copy of the letter giving the exact position of the South African Indian Federation has been enclosed. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, p. 5.)

Letter dated 19 September 1929 from E. Mall and S.R. Naidoo requests Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC to address all correspondence to Pietermaritzburg as their correspondence office has been shifted from Johannesburg to Pietermaritzburg. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, p. 15.)

Letter dated 1 October 1929 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC to the General Secretary of the South African Indian Congress informs him that AICC has modified its previous resolutions regarding the affiliation of the South African Indian Committees and has decided to affiliate the South African Indian

Congress directly. Indicates that 12 delegates, which the South African Indian Congress is authorised to return to the Indian National Congress, are to be considered members of the subject committee. Requests the addressee to send the annual affiliation fee of Rs. 300 at an early date. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/3424/1929, p. 22.)

Letter dated 3 October 1929 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC to the General Secretaries of the South African Indian Congress and the Secretaries of the Natal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Cape British Indian Council sends the text of the resolution passed at Lucknow on the question of affiliation of committees in South Africa. Informs them that the South African Indian Congress is recognised and adds that it is authorised to send 12 delegates to the Indian National Congress and pay an annual affiliation fee of Rs. 300. Suggests that the fee and 12 delegates should be distributed among the three constituent committees of the South African Indian Congress. (AICC, File No. F.D. 3439, 1929, pp. 17-18.)

Letter dated 15 October 1929 from the Under-Secretary, AICC to the General Secretaries, South African Indian Congress thanks them for their letter of the 12 September 1929. Hopes that the South African Indian Congress has received their previous letter intimating them the affiliation of South African Indian Congress with the Indian National Congress. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/3573/1929, p. 3.)

Seventeen resolutions dated 25 October 1929 adopted at the Emergency Conference of the South African Indian Federation held at Durban from 30 September to 3 October 1929 and sent to Jawaharlal Nehru, Secretary, AICC affirming their unswerving loyalty to the British Crown, as also to the Government of the Union of South Africa as the established authority. Record that the South African Indian Federation represents the South African Indian community and not the South African Indian Congress. Observes that "Emigration" or "Repatriation" is detrimental to the best interests of the Indian community. Condemns surreptitious entry by the citizens of other countries and praises the European Press. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, pp. 91-97.)

Letter dated 2 November 1929 from the Joint Secretaries, S.R. Naidoo and E. Mall, South African Indian Congress to Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC thanks him for having modified their previous resolutions and for having given a direct affiliation to

the South African Indian Congress. Notes the resolution passed by AICC with approval and satisfaction. (AICC, File No. F.D. 9/1929, p. 1.)

Undated "Note (1929) on the Indian Position in East Africa" submitted to the All India Congress Committee by U.K. Oza, Editor of *Democrat*, Nairobi describes, in detail, the status and position of people of Indian origin in North-East Africa. Outlines the harmonious mingling of Indians in the political, social and economic fields with the natives, long before North-East Africa became the protectorate of Great Britain. Alludes to the Indian attitudes, land policy, relations with Europeans and natives in the field of trade, commerce and industry. Devotes major part of the note to the various methods and ways in which the white government practises discrimination against African nationals and Indian residents in the areas of justice, education, medical facilities, public bodies, etc. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1929, pp. 49-69.)

Undated resolution (1929) of the Congress Working Committee gives in detail the status of the affiliated associations, members, annual fee required and number of members they can send to the Congress, etc. (AICC, File No. A-6/1929, p. 13.)

Letter dated 13 January 1930 from Jawaharlal Nehru to the General Secretary of East Africa Indian National Congress refers to the resolution adopted by the Lahore Congress. States that the resolution congratulates the Indians in East Africa and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who went to East Africa to take a national stand on that issue. Adds that the resolution holds that the problem cannot be solved in East Africa by communal electorates and discriminating franchise. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1930, p. 15.)

Letter dated 21 April 1930 from A.B. Patel, President of the local Indian Association of Mombasa and Kilindini informs the General Secretary, AICC about the Association's recent mass meeting, held on 20 April 1930 at the Capital Cinema Hall, protesting against the repressive measures of the Government of India. Congratulates Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress and other patriots for their sacrifices. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1930, p. 15.)

Letter dated 11 June 1930 from Ishar Dass, General Secretary, East African Indian National Congress to Motilal Nehru, Acting President, Indian National Congress informs him that the Indians of Mombasa have collected Rs. 500 for the relief of the families of the

Indian soldiers, who suffered due to their patriotism in Garhwal. Apprises him about the efforts made to collect more money. States that he would be undertaking a tour of the country during which funds will be collected. Refers to his previous letter containing information regarding the decision of some volunteers of the East African Indian National Congress to leave for India to join Civil Disobedience Movement. (AICC, File No. F. 47/1930, p. 15.)

Letter dated 17 June 1930 from the Secretary of the East African Indian National Congress to Motilal Nehru elaborates his earlier letter. Informs him that in view of the forthcoming announcement of Imperial East African policy by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the East African Indian National Congress proposes to call a special session at the end of July. Requests the addressee to name someone influential to chair the session, so that the Government might take note of the decisions of the session before announcing its East African policy. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1930, p. 9.)

Letter dated 24 June 1930 from Secretary, AICC to Seth Ambalal Sarabhai informs that the amount of Rs. 500 sent to the latter by the Hon. General Secretary, East African Indian National Congress, for the relief of the families of the Garhwali sufferers can be handed over to the Treasurer, AICC at 395, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay. (AICC, File No. F. 47/1930, p. 11.)

Letter dated 24 June 1930 from the Secretary, AICC to the General Secretary of East African Indian National Congress thanks him for donating Rs. 500 towards the relief of the families of the Garhwali sufferers. Informs him that he has requested Seth Ambalal Sarabhai, to whose address the amount was sent, to hand it over to the AICC Treasurer in Bombay. (AICC, File No. F. 47/1930, p. 13.)

Letter dated 26 June 1930 from the General Secretary, East African Indian National Congress to the Secretary, Indian National Congress requests him to circulate amongst all important bodies and the press, copies of the resolution regarding the Imperial Government's policy in East Africa on the question of Clove Unions and the National Administration. Encloses a copy of the resolution. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1930, p. 3.)

Letter dated 26 June 1930 from the Secretary of East African Indian National Congress to the Secretary, Indian National Congress encloses resolution passed by the East African Indian National Congress. Refers to the motive, policy, franchise, responsible government, constitutional changes in the Kenya Legislative Council, Kenya

Highlands and federation. Reaffirms the policy of paramountcy of native interests. Calls for abolishing restrictive measures of the government. Welcomes the decision to give responsible government and reasserts that the reservation of Kenya Highlands for Europeans be abolished. Refers to economic federation between Kenya and Uganda and fears that such a federation will lead to a kind of political federation. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1930, pp. 5-7.)

Letter dated 16 July 1930 from the Secretary, AICC to the Hony. General Secretary, the East African Indian National Congress informs him that he has received the letter dated 17 June 1930. Intimates that it is not possible to hand over the letter to the Acting President, Motilal Nehru, as he was away at Bombay, and also due to non-availability of government communication services. Mentions that after Motilal Nehru was sent to jail, the successor Acting President, Vallabhbhai J. Patel refused to make any recommendations regarding the question of a president for the special session of the East African Indian National Congress. Requests him to settle the question through the Congress Committee. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1930, p. 1.)

Undated letter (1930) from the Secretary, AICC to Hony. General Secretary, East African Indian National Congress requests him to remit the donation directly to the Treasurer, All India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund, Bombay, so that it can be used for the purpose of relieving the families of the Garhwal sufferers. (AICC, File No. F-47/1930, p. 3.)

Letter dated 19 March 1931 from members of the Indian community residing in Elizabethville, Belgian Congo to the General Secretary, AICC requests him to enrol them as members of the Indian National Congress, for which purpose they enclose a draft of £9 and ask for copies of Congress rules and regulations for enrolment of members and volunteers to the Congress as also the Congress bulletins, reports, badges, etc. Asks for the address of the Youth League of India. (AICC, File No. F.D. 11/1931, p. 13.)

Letter dated 30 April 1931 from Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, AICC to M.P. Naik of Chez "L's Association India" of Belgian Congo informs them that the Congress bulletins, reports, etc. would be sent to them very soon. Advises them to form a Congress Committee and then apply for affiliation. States that if the Belgian Congo wants the address of Youth League of India, the most prominent one is the Bombay Youth League. (AICC, File No. F.D.

11/1931, p. 9.)

Letter dated 2 May 1931 from the Hony. Secretary, the Indian Association, Tanganyika to the Hony. Secretary, Indian National Congress states that he is forwarding a copy of the memorandum presented by his Association to the Joint Parliamentary Committee on East Africa sitting in London. Hopes that it would be of some assistance in regard to the special problems of Indian-settlers in Tanganyika. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1931, p. 1.)

Letter dated 8 May 1931 from Jawaharlal Nehru to the Secretary, AICC requests him to send two of his own letters to the Belgian Congo Indian Association. Urges him to send the last bulletin of the Congress. Informs him that for badges he should contact the Hindustani Seva Dal, Hubli, Karnataka, India. (AICC, File No. F.D. 11/1931, p. 1.)

Letter dated 8 May 1931 from Jawaharlal Nehru to N.S. Hardikar, Secretary General, Hindustani Seva Dal, requests him to get in touch with the "Chez 'L' Association India" of the Belgian Congo and to send it constitution, etc. Urges him to send to the Association, the address of the All India Youth League. (AICC, File No. F.D. 11/1931, pp. 7-8.)

Letter dated 8 May 1931 from Jawaharlal Nehru to M.P. Naik of "Chez 'L' Association India", Belgian Congo informs him that their compatriots in Belgian Congo could not become direct members of the Indian Congress but they could form a branch of the Congress representing Belgian Congo and apply for affiliation, if it fulfils certain conditions. States that the addressee should send relevant information regarding the size of the Indian population in Belgian Congo, their professions and occupations, etc. (AICC, File No. F.D. 11/1931, pp. 3-5.)

Letter dated 1 June 1931 from S.B. Mehd, Hony. Secretary, the Transvaal Indian Congress to Jawaharlal Nehru seeks his help in building public opinion in support of the grievances of Indians in South Africa and requests him to ask the Congress delegates to the Round Table Conference to demand for more liberal treatment of Indians in South Africa and removal of degrading and differential legislation. (AICC, File No. A-6/1931, pp. 7-11.)

Letter dated 19 June 1931 from Taraknath Das to P.S. Joshi states that an investigation into the question of the Indians in South Africa is a must. Suggests, as a first requisite, to have a thorough and scholarly study of "Case of Indians in South Africa". (AICC, File No.

A-6/1931, p. 13.)

Letter dated 19 June 1931 from Taraknath Das to Jawaharlal Nehru states that the intelligent Indians in South Africa are expecting the addressee's cooperation in solving their problems. (AICC, File No. A-6/1931, p. 15.)

Letter dated 7 August 1931 from the Private Secretary of Ambalal Sarabhai to the Secretary, AICC informs him that he has received the cheque for Rs. 405 from the Secretary, Indian Association Gulu, Uganda, as a donation towards AICC, and encloses the cheque. Informs him that he has sent an official receipt for Rs. 405 to Ambalal Sarabhai. Adds that the amount was the donation given to Indian Association Gulu (Uganda) towards AICC and sent through Ambalal Sarabhai. (AICC, File No. F-8/1931, p. 11.)

Letter dated 19 October 1931 from S.B. Mehd to Joshi requests that the nationalist party throughout India, on a given day, should call protest meetings to voice the feeling of India against the South African Indians' treatment and to keep the question burning till the end of the Round Table Conference. (AICC, File No. A-6/1931, pp. 37-39.)

Letter dated 20 October 1931 from Jawaharlal Nehru to Taraknath Das agrees with the addressee that the British Government would not concede to appoint Indian politicians to any commission to investigate conditions in South Africa. Observes that the prominent Indian leaders are finding it very difficult to leave India at present since the political condition in India is very critical. (AICC, File No. A-6/1931, pp. 33-34.)

Letter dated 20 October 1931 from the Secretary of the Indian Association to the General Secretary, AICC informs him about their decision to contribute Rs. 2088.4 as in favour of the President, AICC to be used for furthering Indian independence movement. Encloses a cheque for the said amount. (AICC, File No. F-8/1931, p. 13.)

Letter dated 11 November 1931 from Jawaharlal Nehru to the Secretary, the Transvaal Indian Congress states that the struggle of Indians against the British would necessarily have its result in South Africa. (AICC, File No. A-6/1931, p. 35.)

Letter dated 14 November 1931 from the Secretary, AICC to Durga Das, Secretary, Indian Association, Tanganyika thanks him for having made the contribution of Rs. 2088.4 as towards AICC. Encloses the receipt for the amount. (AICC, File No. F-8/1931, p. 17.)

Undated memorandum (1931) submitted by D.K. Patel, Acting President, Indian Association, Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika narrates the history of Indian settlers in Mandated Territories of Tanganyika. Describes various forms of racial discrimination practised by the white government against the natives and Indian interests. Expresses Indian view on the scheme of Federation of Kenya and Uganda and the native policy of the Union Government. Requests the government to appoint committees to investigate the discrimination practised in public services like Customs, Police, Education, Railways, etc. against the interests of the Indian community. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1931, pp. 3-25.)

Undated letter (1931) from P.S. Joshi to the Indian National Congress requests them to protest against the inclusion of their representatives in the coming Indo-Union Conference. Adds that the Congress should come forward and denounce such a step and protect the rights of their Indian brethren, settled in South Africa. (AICC, File No. A-6/1931, pp. 1-5.)

Undated memorandum (1933) on the report by Rogers Gibb on the railway rates and finances in Kenya submitted by the Executive of the East African Indian National Congress demands that railway fares, as suggested by Gibbs in his report, be reduced. States that politics be kept away from railway policy, which should be considered purely on business considerations. Demands abolition of the post of the High Commissioner of Railways, which has politicised the railways. Agrees with the recommendations made by Gibbs for control and guidance of railway policy. (AICC, File No. 9/1933, pp. 14-16.)

Undated memorandum (1933) on the report of the Expenditure Advisory Committee, submitted by the Executive Committee of East African Indian National Congress, holds that the Expenditure Advisory Committee has failed in its task of making its reservations clear as regards the recommendations on the terms of services. Observes that the Executive Committee disagrees with the proposals on housing facilities for government officers. Agrees in principle on the issue of reorganisation of Provincial Committees. Makes its stand clear on issues raised in the recommendations, viz., the Coast Agency, Customs, Education, Medical, Defence, etc. (AICC, File No. 9/1933, pp. 11-20.)

Undated resolutions (1933) passed at the Indian Conference summoned by the Executive of the East African Indian National

Congress at Mombasa urges His Majesty's Government to implement the policies enunciated in the White Paper of 1930. Requests the authorities to establish responsible government in Kenya giving representation to all communities. Urges the government to find out ways and means for the establishment of the common electoral roll. Questions the ability of European elected members' experience and wisdom to control the finance by an unofficial majority in the Legislative Council, which should be constituted in such a manner that all sections get representation. Acknowledges help given by Indians. (AICC, File No. 9/1933, pp. 20-22.)

Undated report (1934) for the financial year 1933-34 by the Secretary of the East African Indian National Congress refers to the internal politics of the Congress. Alludes to the visit of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Kenya. Mentions that the Congress Executive has presented two memoranda for the consideration of the Secretary of State. Refers to the visit of Menon, who came as an Agent of the Government of India to inquire into the position arising out of certain legislation proposed in Zanzibar. Alludes to the decision of the Executive in holding this session and presenting various parts of the communications he had with the Indian Association, Nairobi. Mentions the financial position of the organisation for the year and lastly refers to various memoranda submitted during the year. (AICC, File No. 9/1934, pp. 2-9.)

Newsletter No. 11 dated 4 April 1935 of AICC records the proceedings of the discussion in the Assembly on the Indian position in Kenya. States that both the Europeans and the Government of India spoke with the same voice and were unanimous in their demand for justice. Observes that Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, outgoing Member of the Executive Council, spoke in the assembly on his work for the betterment of Indian settlers in East Africa and South Africa. Remarks that the task of improving the Indian situation in Africa is hopeless, as there is a conflict of interest between Asiatics and the English and states that since India is a part of Asia, the discrimination was extended to Indians as well. (AICC, File No. F.D. 2/1935, p. 211.)

Newsletter No. 14 dated 9 May 1935 of AICC records that the President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay voices the opinion of the Indian mercantile community that the India Bill of the Government could not inspire the trust and confidence of the merchants and traders of India in the light of the fact that the Chamber

has received innumerable complaints of ill-treatment and discrimination from their Indian brethren in South Africa, Kenya, Zanzibar, etc. (AICC, File No. F.D. 2/1935, p. 197.)

Petition dated 28 December 1935 by Ram Shanker Trivedi, President, Middlemen Association of Eastern Province and Elvendir, President, Native Young Buroga Association of Eastern Province requests Purshottam Thakurdas, Bombay to redress their grievances against the formation of ginning pools in Uganda. Explains that the cotton industry in Uganda has been developed by the mutual cooperation of natives as well as Indians and middlemen. Adds that by the formation of the ginning pools, the major section of the Indian community engaged in this industry would be hard hit. Urges the Congress to instruct their representative, C.P. Dalal, not to join such pools and thus save the industry from ruin. (AICC, File No. G.-46/1935, pp. 81-91.)

Letter dated 13 April 1936 from Jawaharlal Nehru, President, Indian National Congress to Robert O. Jordan reciprocates the good wishes of the Ethiopian Pacific Movement for their freedom struggle and their expression of solidarity with the Indians in their common fight against imperialism all over the world. States that Indians regard the struggle of the African peoples in Africa with much sympathy and that they realise that this struggle is only a part of the world-wide struggle for the freedom of the oppressed and the exploited. Observes that although India is a member of the League of Nations, it is really the British Government that profits by this method and though India has no say in the matter, it would be glad to strengthen ties with Ethiopia and other people all over the world, who are involved in similar struggle. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1936, pp. 15-17.)

Letter dated 13 April 1936 from Robert O. Jordan, President, Ethiopian Pacific Movement to Jawaharlal Nehru, President of Indian National Congress applauds the wonderful spirit of the Indian people in their struggle for freedom. Hopes that the coloured people of the western hemisphere, who are also suffering like their brethren in India under white rule, would soon be liberated. Requests the Indian people to protest against the Italian domination over Ethiopia, in the House of Commons and the League of Nations on behalf of the Ethiopians. Conveys their best wishes to M.K. Gandhi, leader of the Indian national movement (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1936, pp. 11-13.)

Letter dated 12 May 1936 from Jawaharlal Nehru to Robert O. Jordan, President of the Ethiopian Pacific Movement in the USA observes that the struggle of the Ethiopian people was a part of the struggle for the freedom of the oppressed and the exploited. Expresses the feelings of Indians for the African people in Africa and elsewhere. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1936, pp. 19-20.)

Letter dated 12 May 1936 from Robert O. Jordan, President of Ethiopian Pacific Movement, Inc. to Jawaharlal Nehru, President, Indian National Congress calls his attention to the problem of Ethiopia, the only independent part of Africa to be controlled by the blacks and to the attempts made by Italy to take over the country. Requests India to unite with the African people and the coloured people in the Western hemisphere to fight for one gigantic cause – the freedom and security of the entire dark race. Urges the Congress and other organisations to protest to the League of Nations and also to send pamphlets of the Congress regarding this work. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1936, p. 23.)

Letter dated 21 May 1936 from Head of Foreign Department, Indian National Congress informs Robert O. Jordan, President, Ethiopian Pacific Movement, Inc. that he is in entire agreement with Jordan, in regard to the fight against imperialist domination, whether in India or in Africa, as being essentially indivisible. Expresses happiness over maintenance of the closest contacts and cooperation with the freedom movements outside and paying particular attention to their brethren in America and Africa. Requests Jordan to send him literature on the history of their struggle when the Congress sends its Newsletter to the Ethiopian community. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1936, p. 25.)

Letter dated 8 June 1936 from Cedric Dover, England to Jawaharlal Nehru, President, Indian National Congress states that he is enclosing about hundred addresses of black individuals for the Congress' Negro sources as well as the names of important agencies, monthlies, weeklies and organisations. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1936, pp. 27-32.)

Letter dated 13 July 1936 from Ram Manohar Lohia, Indian National Congress to Cedric Dover thanks him for the addresses of various Negro agencies, monthlies, weeklies and of individuals. Regrets that even though the Peace Conference at Geneva does provide an excellent occasion for the propagation of their cause, it would not be possible for a prominent Indian leader to attend the

Conference. Regrets that a regular branch of the Congress in London could not be formed. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1936, p. 37.)

Letter dated 20 July 1936 from Head of the Foreign Department, Indian National Congress, to C.S. Johnson, Director, Department of Science, Tennessee, USA states that the Foreign Department of the Indian National Congress is actuated with the strong desire to establish close relations with all freedom-loving organisations, particularly those of the Negroes. Requests the addressee to send Negro publications, which he would be happy to give publicity to and help their cause as much as possible. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1936, p. 39.)

Letter dated 20 July 1936 from the Head of Foreign Department, Indian National Congress to George Padmore, London states that India attaches highest significance to the Negro fight for freedom, whether in Africa or in America. Observes that towards this end, they would like to keep the closest relations with them. Invites the opinion of the addressee on the Congress Newsletter and send suggestions for making it more useful for Negro comrades. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1936, p. 41.)

Letter dated 20 July 1936 from Head of Foreign Department, Indian National Congress, to L.E. Burghardt Du Bois, USA states that Indians would like to establish the closest relations with their Negro comrades of America. Informs him that he has sent the third and fourth issues of their Foreign Newsletter. Requests the addressee to send material in order to enlighten Indians of the experiences of African people in their fight for freedom and adds that India extends its fraternal support to the Negro cause by giving it as much publicity in India as possible. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1936, p. 43.)

Letter dated 4 August 1936 from the President, Associated Negro Press, to Dower states that their press would be glad to serve as a distributive agency for news items from India or elsewhere, affecting the coloured people and inter-racial activities. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1936, p. 51.)

Letter dated 5 August 1936 from George Padmore, President of Pan-African Federation to Ram Manohar Lohia, Secretary, Foreign Department, Indian National Congress, states that he is very glad to learn of the formation of a Foreign Department of the Congress. Expresses his happiness on learning that the Congress realises the absolute necessity for strengthening international contacts with anti-imperialist organisations, especially among Africans and other

subject races within the Empire. Informs Lohia that the aims of their Federation are fundamentally anti-imperialist in character and observes that they stand for complete self-determination. Thanks Lohia for Addis Ababa Day appeal organised in India. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1936, pp. 47-48.)

Letter dated 17 August 1936 from Dower to C.A. Barnet, President Associated Negro Press informs him that the Foreign Department of the Indian National Congress publishes two fortnightly bulletins—one giving Indian news and comments to friends and sympathisers abroad and the other presenting foreign information and viewpoints on India. Suggests that these two bulletins should be supplemented periodically by the exchange of special items like articles that may be outside the scope of their respective bulletins. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1936, p. 53.)

Letter dated 17 August 1936 from Dower to Ram Manohar Lohia, Secretary Department, Indian National Congress enclosed the letter from C.A. Barnet of Associated Negro Press, which is the leading Negro agency and communicates the suggestion of Barnet to include special items. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1936, p. 63.)

Letter dated 30 October 1936 from Ram Manohar Lohia, Secretary Foreign Department, Indian National Congress to George Padmore, Head of Pan-African Federation encloses an article which was printed in Indian leading dailies. Adds that the article is a token of Indian sympathy for the Negro cause and their desire to understand their problems and to line up with them in the world anti-imperialist struggle. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1936, p. 45.)

Undated note (1936) released by AICC on Indians in Zanzibar reports that the anti-Indian decrees, passed in 1934 in Zanzibar, have seriously affected the welfare of the Indian community. Observes that the Indian community's representations against these decrees had resulted in the setting up of the Agricultural Indebtedness Commission by the Government of Zanzibar. Adds that the report of the Commission has shown the mistakes of the decrees based on the Bestlett-Fast Report. Concludes that the Government of India is proposing to send a delegate to the British Government to press for the repeal of the unjust agricultural decrees of Zanzibar. (AICC, File No. G-36/1936, pp. 159-161.)

Undated Bulletin (1936) released on Indians overseas by AICC draws attention to a private bill in the Legislative Assembly to safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of Indians abroad.

States that it is especially intended to meet the situation arising in Zanzibar, Kenya, South Africa, etc. The Bill is called Overseas Indians Reciprocity Bill and adds that the objective of the Bill is to put disqualifications and disabilities by stages on nationals of countries, which impose disabilities on Indians. Observes that the Bill would be applicable to all countries of the world, including British Dominions and Colonies. (AICC, File No. F.D. G-46/1936, p. 147.)

Undated Note (1936) on the Indian situation in South Africa by AICC describes the position of the Indian community in South Africa. Refers to the various ways and methods by which the Union of South Africa had practised active discrimination against the Indian-settlers by depriving them of property rights, citizenship rights, negated their entry to the Councils and public bodies. Outlines the damage done by the Asiatic Land Tenure Act, licensing policy, etc. Presses for the intervention of the Government of India in this regard. (AICC, File No. F.D. G-46/1936, p. 147.)

Undated letter (1936) of greetings from the Secretary, Foreign Department, Indian National Congress, to 20 Negro individuals and agencies all over Africa and America conveys best wishes of the Congress. Informs them of the desire of the Congress to establish close relations with races and nations fighting against oppression and exploitation. Observes that the Congress attaches highest significance to the Negro front of anti-imperialism. States that the Foreign Department's function is to inform friends outside what was happening in India as also to learn of their experiences in the struggle for freedom. Expresses the desire to issue an Indian newsletter, which would incorporate the experiences of their comrades and anti-imperialists of other countries. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1936, p. 46.)

Note dated 22 January 1939 by N.J. Jeronimides for the British Council at Stanleyville, Belgian Congo furnishes information on the criminal conduct of certain officers of the Colony relating to the cases called "Vols d' OR". (AICC, File No. F.D. 47/1939, pp. 1-4.)

Translation of an article dated 27 February 1939 published in a Belgian paper criticises the Government for the situation in the Congo persecuting the Indian merchants established in Ruanda-Urundi. Refers to certain companies in the Congo and in Ruanda-Urundi who exploit stretches of rich mining regions and have raised an alarm-cry and demanded measures to get rid of the small merchants. (AICC, File No. F.D. 47/1939.)

Supplement dated 24 March 1939 Kampala to the Memorandum from the Indian Association Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika Territory to the Government of India submitted by G.C. Ismail, Counsel for the accused. (AICC, File No. F.D. 47/1939.)

Copy of a letter dated 28 March 1939 Kampala from Valji Jeena to the Indian Association describes how he has been harassed by the police and as a result suffered financial losses. (AICC, File No. F.D. 47/1939.)

Resolution dated 12 April 1939 passed at a mass meeting of Indians held under the auspices of the Indian Association, Dar-es-Salaam protests against the prosecution of Indians, unprecedented procedure adopted in search for evidence and corrupt methods adopted by the Belgian authorities in Ruanda-Urundi and Belgian Congo in relation to illicit gold trading against the Indians trading in those areas. (AICC, File No. F.D. 47/1939.)

Memorandum dated 15 April 1939 from the Indian Association, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika Territory to the Government of India states the position of Indians in the Belgian Mandated Territory of Ruanda-Urundi and Belgian Congo for action towards the release of Indian nationals detained in prison by the Belgian authorities on the charge of alleged illicit gold trading. (AICC, File No. F.D. 47/1939, pp. 18-48.)

Letter dated 27 April 1939 Nairobi from B.B. Pandya to the Secretary, Foreign Department, Indian National Congress expresses a desire to be a member of the Congress and asks for membership forms. (AICC, File No. F.D. 32/1938.)

Bombay Chronicle dated 2 May 1939 reports prosecution against 26 leading Indian merchants in Ruanda-Urundi (Belgian Mandated Territory) and memorandum prepared by the Indian Association Dar-es-Salaam in this connection. States that the real aim of the Belgian officials is to discourage Indian settlement by harassment under the cloak of police action and judicial enquiries. (AICC, File No. F.D. 47/1939.)

An article dated 6 May 1939 by a "Traveller" in the issue of *Tanganyika Herald* narrates the outrages committed by the Belgian authorities in Ruanda-Urundi. Relates an incident to show how Indians are suffering through the mistakes of the authorities. (AICC, File No. F.D. 47/1939.)

Letter dated 23 May 1939 from Darweshali Rashid Bhamani to Jawaharlal Nehru refers to addressee's letter, dated 6 February 1939,

to Shaukat Ali of Kampala and states that the writer has come to India on deputation to present the case of Belgian Congo Indians to the Government of India and the public and to obtain relief. Forwards cuttings from the Belgian Congo Press giving an idea of the terrible plight of Indians in Ruanda-Urundi. (AICC, File No. F.D. 47/1939.)

Letter dated 30 June 1939 (Newsletter No. 6), from Foreign Department of AICC reports, amongst other things, a resolution passed by AICC in respect of the position of Indians in South Africa. (AICC, File No. F.D. 31/1939.)

Statement dated 4 July 1939 issued from the Foreign Department, AICC on a letter received by it from Gulabchand Tarakchand, a member of the Indian Association, Addis Ababa, describing the iniquitous and humiliating conditions, which Indians are subjected to in Abyssinia and Italian East Africa. (AICC, File No. F.D. 31/1939, pp. 2-3.)

Letter dated Cape Coast (West Africa) 29 September 1939 from W. Esuman-Gwira Sekyl, Solicitor of the Supreme Court and Senior Vice-President of the Gold Coast Aborigines, Rights Protection Society to the Secretary, the Foreign Department, AICC requests supply of copies of booklets issued in connection with campaign against illiteracy in India. (AICC, File No. F.D. 8/1939.)

Letter dated 29 January 1940 from Dharam Yash Dev, Secretary, Indian Overseas Department, Indian National Congress to the President, East African Indian National Congress, Nairobi informs him that in connection with the race segregation legislation in South Africa, M.K. Gandhi has issued a statement to the local press and forwards a copy thereof for information and circulation amongst other members of the community. (AICC, File No. OS/17/40.)

Tanganyika Standard, editorial dated 12 February 1940 reports on the memorandum of the General Manager of Railways on his proposals for the organisation of transport traffic from Central Line to the Southern Highlands. (AICC, File Overseas No. 20/1940.)

Newsletter of the Foreign Department of AICC dated 15 February 1940 entitled *News from India* reports on M.K. Gandhi's warning to Dr. Malan and his South African Party for seeking to enforce segregation of Asiatics by law. Adds that if the statesmen of South Africa continue the attitude of race superiority, alliance between unequals would become an impossibility. (AICC, File No. F.D. 42/1939.)

Letter dated 28 February 1940 from Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi, Commissioner for Oaths to Dharam Yash Dev, Secretary, Indian Overseas Department, AICC, Allahabad observes that the newly formed Natal Indian Association has given an assurance to the Union Government that it will prevent their brethren from purchasing land in the European areas. States that Sir Rama Rao is solely responsible for their undertaking, which amounts to the acceptance of the principle of voluntary segregation. Informs him that the Natal Indian Congress repudiates the assurance on the grounds that (a) the question is *sub-judice* in view of the appointment of a judicial commission to inquire into the facts of the alleged penetration; (b) the Natal Indian Association has no right to speak on behalf of the Natal Indian community; (c) that the Natal Indian community is opposed to segregation in any form and adds that the Cape Town Agreement of 1926 is a vindication of this principle. (AICC, File No. OS-24/1940.)

Letter dated Ahmedabad 7 March 1940 from Makhani Singh, Member of the Executive Committee of the East African National Congress to Babu Rajendra Prasad, President, Indian National Congress informs him that he has been asked by S.G. Amin, General Secretary of the East African Indian National Congress, to meet him personally and acquaint him with facts about conditions of Indians in East Africa. Mentions the main problems facing the Indian community. (AICC, File No. OS/17/1940.)

Statement dated 8 March 1940 entitled "Penetration and Segregation" by Swami Bhawani Dayal, published by the Natal Indian Congress, Durban. (AICC, File No. OS-20/1940.)

Indian Views dated 19 April 1940 reports on the meeting of the Non-European United Front Conference held at the M.K. Gandhi Library on 7 April 1940 and the resolutions passed thereat urging the Government to provide means to assist employees. Repudiates the assurances of the Natal Indian Association, which restrict the residential rights of Indians. Opposes appointment of any commission by the Government to investigate the land and trading rights of Indians in Natal and the Transvaal. Deplores the action of the Agent in supporting the assurances given by Natal Indian Association. Provision of better educational facilities to non-European children. (AICC, Overseas Department, File No. 24/1940.)

Indian Views dated 26 April 1940 reports on the meetings of the Natal Indian Congress branch held at Ladysmith, Glencoe, Dendi

and Dennhausar rejecting the policy of cooperation with the Lawrence Committee, which aims at voluntary segregation of Indians. Instructs the central body of the Congress to take steps for presentation of the Indian case to the proposed Judicial Committee on the question of the alleged penetration of European areas by Indians. (AICC, File No. OS-24/1940.)

Supplement to *Indian Views* dated 26 April 1940 reports on a statement issued by Dharam Yash Dev, Secretary, Indian Overseas Department of AICC to the press in regard to what India thinks of 'Assurance'. Refers to the views expressed by Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi in his letter to Dharam Yash Dev with regard to (1) treatment meted out to Indian settlers by the Union Government; (2) Natal Indian Association's assurance on the subject of "penetration" into European Areas" and Sir Rama Rao, Agent for the Government of India, being responsible for the undertaking, which amounts to acceptance of the principle of voluntary segregation. Adds that the Union Government has announced the appointment of a judicial commission to inquire into the facts of the alleged penetration of Indians into predominantly European areas. (AICC, File Overseas 24/1940.)

Indian Views, editorial dated 26 April 1940 appeals to British patriotism in regard to the question of alleged Indian penetration, racial discrimination, etc. (AICC, File No. OS-24/1940.)

Letter dated Mombasa 26 April 1940 from A.H. Nur Mohamed, Hony. Secretary, the Indian Association, Mombasa to the Hony. General Secretary, Indian National Congress, Allahabad communicates the resolution passed by the citizens of Mombasa, at the meeting held under the auspices of the Indian Association, condoling the death of Deenbandhu C.F. Andrews. (AICC, File No. OS/17/1940.)

Letter dated 27 April 1940 Natal from Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi, Commissioner for Oaths to Dharam Yash Dev, Secretary, India Overseas Department of AICC, Allahabad refers to Dharam Yash Dev's statement published in *Indian Views*. Appreciates the stand taken by the Indian National Congress in the matter of the 'assurance' given by the Natal Indian Association and the mischievous propaganda carried on by the Association, against Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi, Shri Abdulla Ismail Kajee and the Natal Indian Congress, to justify their undertaking which amounts to voluntary segregation. Alludes to the *Indian Opinion* commenting that the procedure adopted to deal with the Indian question in South

Africa is against all democratic principles. Adds that the Minister of Interior (after his interviews with the leaders of Natal Indian Association) was not sure of the situation in regard to alleged penetration of Indians in to the so-called predominantly European areas and felt it necessary to appoint a judicial committee to inquire into the question. Observes that the letter written by Kajee to Sir Rama Rao, Agent of the Government of India in South Africa requests him to admit that he is wrong and amend his statement asking Indians to accept the principles of voluntary segregation. Adds that the "continued functioning of the Penetration Committee will result in the segregation of the Indian community". Remarks that the voluntary decision of Indians, individually to refrain from occupying properties in European areas, is different from the 'Assurance' of the Association and the results likely to follow from the work of Penetration Committee. (AICC, File No. OS/24/1940.)

Letter dated 1 May 1940 Dar-es-Salaam from U.K. Oza (till recently Editor, *Tanganyika Opinion*) to Dharam Yash Dev, Indian Overseas Department, AICC, Allahabad forwards an article entitled 'And Now Tanganyika' by the writer with a request to reproduce the same in *National Herald* and other nationalist newspapers. (AICC, File No. OS-20/1940.)

Letter dated 4 May 1940 Dar-es-Salaam from the President, Indian Association, Tanganyika Territory to the Secretary of Indian Overseas Department, AICC, Allahabad informs him that he is sending a copy of the Association's Memorandum to the Government of Tanganyika on the question of the proposed assumption of the control of transport in the Southern Highlands of the territory by the Tanganyika Railways. Adds that this business has been done by Indian transporters for a very long time but it is now being proposed to deprive them of their business. Requests that the Government of India should put pressure on the local authorities to drop the scheme. (AICC, File No. OS-20/1940.)

Letter dated 5 May 1940 Dar-es-Salaam from U.K. Oza to Dharam Yash Dev, Secretary, Indian Overseas Department, AICC informs him that he has asked the President, Indian Association to send the addressee a copy of their memorandum on Southern Highlands Transport and further requests him to interest Bhulabhai Desai to exert pressure on the Government of India. (AICC, File No. OS-20/1940.)

Natal Daily News dated 13 May 1940 reports the views of *The*

Statesman, an Indian newspaper, on the criticism that the formation of a joint committee of the Natal Indian Association and the Durban City Council for promoting better relations between Indians and Europeans amounts to Indians' acceptance of segregation. Refers to what Lawrence, Minister of the Interior, stated earlier, that the Government did not intend to enforce segregation. Adds that the Indian representative on the Joint Committee will be able to render useful service in tackling a problem of considerable dimensions. (AICC, File No. OS-24/1940.)

Letter dated Natal 16 May 1940 from Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi, Commissioner for Oaths to Dharam Yash Dev, Secretary, Overseas Department, AICC, Allahabad refers to a comment of *The Statesman* supporting the action of the Natal Indian Association, which virtually committed "our nation" to the principle of voluntary segregation. States that they are forced to accept the principle of segregation by the Government of India. (AICC, File No. OS-24/1940.)

Memorandum dated 27 August 1940 by the City Council of Durban to the chairman and the members of the commission of enquiry apprehending possible Indian penetration for trading or residential purposes into predominantly European areas in Natal and the Transvaal. (AICC, File No. OS-20/1940.)

Tanganyika Territory Immigration Ordinance Regulation dated 27 September 1940 declares that Kileondo shall no longer be a port of entry. (AICC, File No. OS-20/1940.)

Tanganyika Territory Immigration Ordinance Regulation dated 10 October 1940 at Dar-es-Salaam declares that Tarime shall be added to the schedule to the said Ordinance as a port of entry. (AICC, File No. OS-20/1940.)

Indian Views dated November 1940 carries an article entitled "Crime of Colour in South Africa" by Dharam Yash Dev, sent by him to Swami Bhawani Dayal for publication in *Indian Views*, relating to the treatment meted out to Indian tourists in Cape Town, typical of many other stories of racial discrimination. (AICC, File No. OS/17/1940.)

Undated letter (1940) from Dharam Yash Dev, Secretary, Indian Overseas Department, AICC to the Hony. Secretary, Indian Association, Dar-es-Salaam acknowledges receipt of their letters of 10 April and 4 May (1940) alongwith the Memorandum. States that they intend to issue a statement to the press about this and would

inform the latter, if and when there are any developments. (AICC, File No. OS-20/1940.)

Undated Letter (1940) from E.B. Scott, Town Clerk, to the chairman and members of the Commission of Enquiry apprehending possible Indian penetration for trading or residential purposes of predominantly European areas in Natal and the Transvaal in continuation of the Memorandum submitted earlier on 27 August 1940. Observes that the work of compiling facts and statistics, which it has been necessary to extract has been completed. Encloses various documents prepared in this connection. (AICC, File No. OS-17/1940.)

Undated article (1940), entitled "And Now—Tanganyika", by U.K. Oza speaks, among other things, about the Indian transport workers in the Southern Highlands of Tanganyika, a richly developed agricultural region, where the General Manager of the Tanganyika Railways investigated, in 1939, the possibility of the railway penetrating this area, controlling road transport and formulation of a scheme to eliminate the Indian workers. (AICC, File No. OS/20/1940.)

Undated letter (1940) from V.R. Boal, Editor, *Tanganyika Herald* to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad the President, Ramgarh Session of the Indian National Congress, writing as a representative of Indian public opinion in Tanganyika Territory, states that the East African Indian community is in danger of being wiped out as a result of anti-Indian policy, encouraged as it is by the British Colonial Government. Adds that sound and active help from the East African Indian National Congress is the only solution. (AICC, File No. OS/20/1940.)

Copy of a letter dated 22 December 1945 from Sohan Lal Wadhwa to the Editor, *Colonial Times* observes that the enslaved people of the world have failed to appreciate the war and peace aims of Britain. Adds that British deeds have been diametrically opposed to their profession. (AICC, File No. OS-3/42.)

Letter dated 22 February 1946 from AICC to the President, Sialkot District Congress Committee, Sialkot replies on behalf of Jawaharlal Nehru, whose sympathies are with Sohan Lal Wadhwa, who is being prosecuted in British East Africa for having expressed his mind freely in a letter to *Colonial Times*. Adds that the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference, at its session at Allahabad has already condemned the action of the colonial government. (AICC, File No. OS-3/1946, pp. 40-42.)

The Servants of India Society

Founded on 12 June 1905 at Poona by Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the Servants of India Society was a politico-social association. Its object was to train national missionaries for the service of India and to promote, by all constitutional means, the true interests of Indians. Gokhale stressed that public life must be spiritualised. The characteristic feature of the Society was its emphasis on the character of its members as it was designed as an order of monks, though there was no bar against the marriage of its members. When Gokhale passed away in 1915, V.S.S. Sastri succeeded the founder as the Senior Member.

During the first decade of its existence, the Society had only 10 ordinary members and 8 members under training. In 1910, a branch office was set up at Madras. In the following year, a branch each was started at Bombay and Nagpur. The fourth branch was set up at Allahabad in 1913.

One of the most important activities of the Society was to educate public opinion through the medium of newspapers and journals. The Society had its own press and it started its English organ *The Servants of India* in 1918. Besides politics, the Society took a good deal of interest in social, educational and economic activities.

When the Society was not in session, its members made propaganda for the Indian National Congress. They toured different parts of India to collect funds for M.K. Gandhi's Passive Resistance Campaign in South Africa. V.S.S. Sastri and H.N. Kunzru, members of the Society were included in the Moderates' Deputation, which went in 1919 to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee of Parliament. In 1921, Sastri was deputed to attend the Imperial Conference in London, S.G. Vaze, another member visited Kenya in 1923. Sastri himself was appointed India's Agent in South Africa in 1928.

The following papers of the Society have bearing on Africa:

A printed letter dated Durban, 14 October 1899 from M.K. Gandhi to the British Agent at Pretoria invites attention to the writer's earlier communication to the addressee on behalf of Indians in the Transvaal. Comments on the refusal of the Natal Government to afford relief to the Indian refugees from Johannesburg. Observes that the Government had passed certain rules under the

Immigration Restraint Act granting temporary permits to Indian visitors on payment of £10 and its suspension on request. Refers to the present difficulty and states that the rail communications between Johannesburg and Durban being cut off, the Indian refugees have to go to Delagoa Bay and then to Durban but the shipping companies refuse to take Indians, but on approaching the government, the shipping companies were ordered to bring the Indians. Trusts that the fellow feeling that has guided the Natal Government in its treatment of the Indians during the crisis will be continued. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Telegram dated Calcutta 26 January 1908 from Reuter to Gokhale states "Johannesburg 25, British Indians gaol 200, notice leave colony 120, warned appear magistrate 320, Chinese gaol 3, notice 38, those under notice probably all gaol, by 3 February many more arrests expected. Towns affected Johannesburg, Vereeniging, Krugersdorp, Roodepoort, Barbarton Germiston, Potchefstroom including all officials, British Indian Association, Parsees, Christians arrested. Imperilled Johannesburg alone. Natal rebellion many merchants cheerfully lost heavily, during war half Indian population preferred leave the Transvaal than register. Indians determined continue struggle bitter end." (SIS, File No. 5.)

Copy of a letter dated London 23 July 1909 from (M.K. Gandhi) to Gokhale states that Polak has been sent to India as a missionary to apprise the Indian leaders of the national importance of the struggle in Africa. Observes that they are endeavouring by private negotiations with General Smuts to arrive at a settlement but feel that nothing will come out of that and they will have to take public action. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Statement sent by M.K. Gandhi to Gokhale with his letter dated London 23 July 1909 mentions the sufferings of the British Indians in the Transvaal, who are unwilling to submit to the Registration Law. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Copy of a letter dated London 14 October 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Henry (H.S. Polak) informs him about a cable received by him from Johannesburg in regard to Smuts telling newspapers that he awaits Secretary of State's answer regarding his proposals. Comments on the cable and says, "It means that the question is being somewhat agitated in Johannesburg and that Smuts is no longer sanguine about smashing passive resistance. It shows, too, that if Lord Crewe made a supreme effort, he could bring about a settlement and adds that they can but fight on." (SIS, File No. 5.)

Letter dated London, 29 September 1911 from H.N. Kunzru to 'dear Sir' (G.K. Gokhale) states, amongst other things, that "the writer read, in Reuter's telegram from Durban in the *Daily News*, that the presidency had been offered to M.K. Gandhi and that he had accepted it . . . I am not inclined to place much reliance on it, as, I learn from Polak that the situation in South Africa is not such as to allow M.K. Gandhi to be away from it for two or three months". (SIS, File No. 12, pp. 1-4.)

Letter dated the Transvaal 3 November 1912 from M.K. Gandhi to Vaze states that Gokhale has been received in a royal style by Indians as well as Europeans. Encloses note from Gokhale observing that both he and M.K. Gandhi are hopeful that his (Gokhale's) mission may not prove altogether fruitless. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Telegram dated 21 June 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Gokhale informs him that the writer was going to the Transvaal to present a final letter to the Minister and, if the reply is satisfactory, no passive resistance will be started. States that the writer is not very hopeful and that failing settlement, passive resistance will be started in the beginning of July. Adds Polak can lead them and observes that funds must be raised in India to meet expenses of the writer's trip and family staying in Africa, estimated £1000 for one year, as it is impossible to raise these funds in Durban. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Telegram dated Durban 21 June 1913 from Reuter to Gokhale, National Liberal Club, London, states "Durban 21 June Gladstone assented bill which unreserved, royal assent commences August." (SIS, File No. 5)

Telegram dated Durban 29 July 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Gokhale states that "Industrial crisis blocks progress negotiations settlement." (SIS, File No. 5.)

Letter dated London 1 August 1913 from H.S.L. Polak to Deole about South African affairs. Reports that the Colonial Office has been recently bringing pressure to bear on the Union Ministry. Observes that everybody feels that it would be scandalous to cause a revival of passive resistance, when the points at issue have been so closely narrowed down without any loss to the Union Ministry as follows:

- (a) removal of the racial bar in the Free State;
- (b) maintenance of the present right of South African born Indians to enter the Cape province.
- (c) rights of domicile of the ex-indentured, £3 tax payers;

(d) recognition of monogamous marriages contracted in South Africa according to Hindu or Muslim rites and such marriages, if contracted in India, are to be recognised. Adds that negotiations between M.K. Gandhi and General Smuts are proceeding and hopes that resort to passive resistance may be avoided. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Telegram dated Johannesburg 21 October 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Gokhale informs him that nearly hundred persons bailed and nearly two thousand labourers' families in Natal collieries on strike. States that strikers will resume work, when Government promises repeal of £3 tax. Further observes that strike is likely to spread to other collieries and adds that European opinion increasingly favours repeal of tax and Unionist Party likely to pass official resolution to that effect. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Telegram dated Johannesburg 22 October 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Gokhale states "eleven women with babies sentenced three months hard labour, whilst speaking strikers New Castle". (SIS, File No. 5.)

Gokhale's statement to the Press with reference to General Smuts' statement to the press on 27 October 1913 that no promises had been given by him to Gokhale about the repeal of £3 tax. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Letter dated Allahabad 21 November 1913 from H.N. Kunzru to (Gokhale) writes about efforts being made by him to raise funds from various persons in India for Africa. Also refers to an article in *Leader* on the position of Indians in South Africa. (SIS, File No. 12.)

Copy of a telegram dated Phoenix 24 November 1913 from West to Gokhale observes "Last cablegram should read magistrate denies allegations and states Indians first attack managers and police. Adds that he has seen further affidavits possession Ritch regarding serious beating with Sjamboks, yesterday's position, Association leaders arrested, bailed, remanded weeks, Thambi Naidu reports police using heavy sticks; Laughton gives startling opinion regarding position tax payers and states whole indentures illegal. Ritch in Durban, advising leaders but staying temporarily. Thambi Naidu arrested, bail refused". (SIS, File No. 5.)

Statement dated Delhi 26 November 1913 by Gokhale on the arrest of West, Acting Editor, *Indian Opinion*, Durban states that it is the most severe blow to the Indian community of Natal. Adds that,

in view of the extreme intensity of feelings prevailing in this country, C.F. Andrews, the best known and most respected Englishman in India has been detailed to proceed to South Africa to report on the Indian situation. (SIS, File No. 5)

Letter dated 17 December 1913 from H.N. Kunzru to (G.K. Gokhale) refers to the statement sent by the writer in regard to the South African Indian Fund and observes that they have already remitted Rs. 37,000 and would like to pay another sum of Rs. 8,000 by December 22. (SIS, File No. 12.)

Copy of a telegram dated 19 December 1913 from the Viceroy to Gokhale suggests that the addressee should press the Indians in South Africa to appoint an influential advocate as their counsel. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Copy of a telegram dated Durban 19 December 1913 from West to Gokhale states that Commissioner Wylie was one of the prime movers of anti-Indian agitation in January 1897. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Copy of a telegram dated 21 December 1913 from the Viceroy to Gokhale advises him to do all he can to secure acceptance of the Commission by Indians in South Africa and their representation by a counsel. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Copy of a telegram dated Durban 21 December 1913 from Reuter to Gandhi, "Cable substance your interview, after Solomon's speech, fear boycotting inquiry will be grave mistake alienating sympathy government of India and many friends England. Engage best counsel and yourself Polak assist offering evidence. Inquiry does not concern genral grievances passive resisters but is most important opportunity offered producing evidence support cruelty shall be refused." Suggests drawing up protest against Esselen and Wylie, explaining fully their objections to both the persons and appearing under protest. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Telegram dated 23 December 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Gokhale, Poona states (1) "Been Maritzburg which at mass meeting endorsed yesterday's Durban resolutions impossible accept commission unless suggestion to commission release of prisoners accepted people earnest enthusiastic they will not listen advice acceptance commission except on above conditions" (2) sixteen pioneer passive resisters including Rustomjee four ladies discharged (3) "State prison treatment barbarous and cruel . . . native warders cruel, unwarrantly thrash passive resisters, Phoenix school student sixteen years roughly assaulted, Rustomjee, Manilal Gandhi, roughly

handled, insulted, called coolies, library books not issued, given inferior quality food, many went on hunger strike by way of protest, Rustomjee's statement grievances has created sensation, many passive resisters discharged but they are showing fixed determination to court re-arrest immediately." (SIS, File No. 5.)

Copy of a telegram dated Calcutta 23 December 1913 from Viceroy to Gokhale states that the attitude adopted by Indian leaders is likely to alienate sympathy of friends in India and South Africa and that only way out seems to be for M.K. Gandhi to announce that he and his friends will accept commission as at present constituted and engage counsel to prepare the case of Indians. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Copy of a telegram dated Calcutta 25 December 1913 from the Viceroy to Gokhale states "M.K. Gandhi answer Gokhale that Indians will withdraw from the impossible attitude that they have taken up, the writer will send a message urging community to appear before commission and also ask that no obstacle be placed in the way of collecting evidence." (SIS, File No. 5.)

Copy of a telegram dated 24 December 1913 from the Viceroy to Gokhale refers to the telegram from the Secretary of State and states that there is no prospect of demands formulated by M.K. Gandhi for reconstitution of commission and release of resisters being granted, if passive resistance is renewed. Adds that the Viceroy and the Secretary of State will not be able to intervene. Observes that acceptance of commission will place struggle on constitutional basis and if M.K. Gandhi persists, Robertson's mission would be fruitless. Hopes that the addressee will insist on M.K. Gandhi's accepting the commission. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Telegram dated Durban, 25 December 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to the Servants of India Society, Poona states that "Government's reply our letter received through rejecting demand addition commission it leaves opening negotiation have asked for private interview." (SIS, File No. 5.)

Copy of a telegram dated 27 December 1913 from the Viceroy to Gokhale states that the writer sees no chance of Union Government agreeing to the appointment of an additional member of the commission. Trusts that the addressee will not relax his efforts to obtain recognition of the Commission. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Copy of a telegram dated Allahabad 28 December 1913 from the Viceroy to Gokhale states that in view of M.K. Gandhi's promise, Sir

Benjamin Robertson will arrive in Durban on 11 January and the Secretary of State will arrange, with the Union Government, a short postponement of the meeting of the commission. Desires the addressee to inform M.K. Gandhi that, if he and the Indians commence passive resistance or resort to violence, Robertson will dissociate himself from them. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Statement dated December 1913 issued by Gokhale to the press in regard to position in South Africa. Observes that, according to a cable received from Natal Indian Association, Indians in South Africa are strongly against accepting the Commission of Enquiry but Gokhale has advised, in view of the recognition given to the Commission by the Government of India and the deputation of Benjamin Robertson, to investigate Indian grievances in South Africa. Adds that it would be a tactical mistake to boycott the Commission, as it would amount to foregoing an opportunity to state the Indian case before the world and alienate support in India and England. Refers to M.K. Gandhi's statement, wherein he says that he finds himself unable to act unless the Union Government modifies the constitution of the Commission, releases all passive resisters at present in gaol. Observes that he and others have been discharged unconditionally but knowing the anti-Asiatic feelings of two of the members of the Commission—Esselen and Colonel Wylie—towards Indians, it is impossible to expect fair play from the Commission. States that public meetings in South Africa urging appointment of Schreiner and Judge Innes to counterbalance Messrs Esselen and Wylie. Observes that M.K. Gandhi and other passive resisters are writing to the Ministry, insisting on the Indian community being consulted, at least informally, in matters vitally affecting it. Adds that indignation is intensified by the harrowing accounts of the prison treatment meted out to the prisoners and reiterating their stand that, unless the commission is made in some way more acceptable, renewal of passive resistance cannot be avoided. Assures nothing will be done till Benjamin Robertson arrives. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Cable dated 24 . . . (1913) from M.K. Gandhi to Gokhale refers to C.F. Andrews' visit to South Africa and states that general impression created by his mission has been favourable. Adds that "he spread a spirit of sympathy and love all around and has contributed much towards speedy settlement." (SIS, File No. 5.)

Telegram dated (1913) from Gokhale to the Viceroy about happenings in South Africa and requests the addressee to take a firm

stand and demand for a fair and impartial inquiry into allegations made by Indians—flogging and brutal treatment. Adds that the Inquiry Committee should include Unionist leaders like Chaplin and Duncan or independent men like Merriman and Schreiner. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Copy of a telegram dated (1913) from Weble, England to Gokhale states that "African conditions make settlement impossible in face strikes". Urges suspension to facilitate official action. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Copy of a telegram dated (1913) from Gokhale to Weble in reply to latter's telegram states that the writer can not accept responsibility of advising the Indian community to suspend strikes unless the Government of India assures him that definite action will follow. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Copy of a telegram dated Durban (1913) from Gokhale to Resisters informs them that he was sailing 7 March and adds that about Rs. 7000 were available for immediate remittance, if required. Wants to know the balance with M.K. Gandhi and estimated further expenditure, if settlement is effected. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Copy of a telegram dated Durban 22 (1913) from M.K. Gandhi, Kallenbach and Polak to Servants of India Society informs that they were discharged unconditionally on recommendation of Commission. Mentions that they addressed a joint letter to the Government, saying that they are unable to assist the Commission by evidence unless (a) community's right to be consulted in matters affecting them is recognised; (b) partisan character of the commission is counterbalanced by appointment of impartial persons like Schreiner, Appellate Judge Rose Innes; (c) 4000 passive resistance prisoners in ordinary and mine jails released; (d) scope of inquiry includes examination of all grievances and if government rejects their prayer they will seek re-arrest. Adds that people have been told to be ready to march on foot from Durban to Pretoria on starvation rations, expecting bullets. States that Indians are acting in perfect co-operation, discipline and determination. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Gokhale in his press communication (dated 1913) states that the telegrams received from the Indian Association, Natal recall the horrors of the days of slavery. Hopes that the Government of India will use every endeavour to move the imperial authorities to exert pressure on the Government of South Africa to halt the barbarous proceedings. Urges the Government of India to withdraw the

permission granted to railway companies in India to use South African coal as the mines from which it comes are where these horrible cruelties are being perpetrated on Indian strikers. Reaffirms that the struggle in South Africa will continue, despite incarceration of M.K. Gandhi and other passive resisters and the possible coercion of the strikers by imprisonment and flogging. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Copy of a telegram dated 2 January 1914 from Gokhale to Resister, Durban informs him about Robertson's departure and suggests a small deputation to meet him. Advises against demonstration. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Letter dated 16 February (1914) from H.N. Kunzru to (Gokhale) states, amongst other things, that they have about Rs. 5,000 to the credit of the South African Fund in Allahabad Bank, Allahabad. (SIS, File No. 12.)

Telegrams dated 19 February 1914 from M.K. Gandhi to Gokhale states that *Cape Times* reproduces Andrews' lecture fully with leading original telegram dated Cape Town 8 February 1914 from M.K. Gandhi to Servants of India Society. "Event settlement Fair. Balance will remain there. Propose returning India April, and will discuss disposal of balance on return". (SIS, File No. 5.)

Telegram dated Durban 28 February 1914 from (M.K. Gandhi) to Gokhale informs him that the balance there is nearly Rs. 18,000. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Letter dated Phoenix 26 June 1917 from A.H. West of *Indian Opinion* to V.S.S. Sastri, President of the Servants of India Society, Poona states that they (Rustomjee and West) would like to be supplied with men of character and ability from India for establishing a national school. Observes that it is better to train a few true patriots than produce a host of semi-educated slaves. Adds that Rustomjee is offering a large sum for establishing a school, which is to produce real Indians. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Letter dated Durban 29 June 1917 from officials of the Societies and prominent members of the Indian community of Durban, Natal, to the President and Members of the Servants of India Society, Poona submits some points in connection with the educational scheme put forward by Parsee Rustomjee of Durban. Emphasises the need for imparting higher and vernacular education to the Indian children in their country and requests the Servants of India Society to send four of their members for giving effect to the educational scheme as promised earlier by Gokhale during his visit to South

Africa. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Letter dated Durban 29 May 1927 from C.F. Andrews to Vaze states that the Indian community has not realised what sensational gains had been obtained. Observes that things have suffered the inevitable reaction after the generous mood has passed. Adds that it was just possible to get a vote in favour of the agreement from the Congress at Johannesburg but, since then, things have gone back and malcontents have been gaining the upper hand. Points out that Kenya is in an almost desperate condition. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Article by B.B. Pandya (from Kenya) published in *Leader* dated 18 September 1933 draws attention of the Government of India to the question affecting the political and economic interests of Indians in Kenya. Refers, in this connection, to: (1) developments in Kenya; (2) publication of report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee appointed to go into the question of the closer union of the three territories of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika (raised by Sir Edward Grigg, the leader of the agitation of the white-settlers); (3) disappointment over the report of the Hilton Young Commission; (4) appointment of Sir Samuel Wilson to examine the possibility of a settlement; (5) the decision of the settlers to withdraw their demands; (6) the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee considering the political union of East Africa premature and recommending some sort of economic coordination in the policies affecting essential services such as customs, railways, post and telegraphs; (7) appointment of Lord Moyne by the Colonial Office to enquire into the finances of Kenya, who recommended imposition of income tax, which was opposed by the Europeans and Indians and the decision of the Secretary of State against introduction of income tax and exploitation of this decision by the white-settlers for political purposes. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Second article by B.B. Pandya in the series "Indians in East Africa" published in *Leader* on 11 October 1933 refers to the 'White Settlers' taking advantage of favourable circumstances created by their success on the question of income tax, organise a conference of Europeans in Nairobi, pass resolutions defining the goal of the European colonists. Observes that the scheme involves an artificially and racially balanced legislature which would be unacceptable to the country. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Third article by B.B. Pandya in the series "Indians in East Africa" published in the *Leader* dated 12 1933 states that the Indians are alarmed at the prospect, if these powers are granted to the set-

tlers. Seeks the help of the Government of India to protect the Indians in Kenya and to see that their peace, progress and prosperity are not hampered. Adds that Indians economically are very weak. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Article entitled "Position of Indians in South Africa" published in *Leader* dated 30 June 1935 and 9 July 1935 by Dhaneer Brindaw, *The Hindu* correspondent in South Africa analyses the position of Indians in South Africa and gives a historical survey of the period 1910-1935 on the occasion of the celebration of the silver jubilee of the Union on May 31, 1935. (SIS, File No. 5.)

Hindustan Times dated 15 September 1935 reports on a question in the Legislative Assembly in regard to a British firm—Zanzibar Distilleries, Limited, registered in Zanzibar with the object of acquiring a licence from Zanzibar authorities to distil clove oil in the Protectorate. (SIS, File No. 4.)

Hindustan Times dated 15 September 1935 reports on speeches delivered by Mayor and others at a reception given to Sir Syed Raza Ali, Agent of the Government of India by Natal Indian Congress, Maritzburg Branch. Refers to (1) Councillor Mrs. A.E. Shirley's plea to the Agent for more help for European social workers to work amongst Indians; (2) Senator W.E. Thrash emphasises cooperation and friendship between the two races; (3) Reverend F. Oldreive (representing the Joint Indo-European Council) says that Indians should think more of their responsibilities than grievances; (4) Raza Ali's speech urging the South African Government to redeem their promise to treat the Indians in South Africa fairly and to prepare them for citizenship and advises the South Africans to become good South Africans. (SIS, File No. 4.)

Editorial in *Leader* dated 8 January 1937 comments on the report of the Agent-General for India in South Africa for the year 1935 surveying the position of the Indians in South Africa since 1926, when the Government of India and the Union of South Africa came to an agreement to provide for, amongst other things, the appointment of an Indian Agent to look after the interests of Indians in South Africa. States that for many years attempts have been made to impose further disabilities on Indians, notwithstanding the presence of the Agent-General. Refers to the report of the Transvaal Land Tenure Act Commission in 1935, Raza Ali's favourable comments on the report, passing of the Land Tenure Bill, etc. but no section of Indian public is satisfied with it. Adds that differences in the Indian

community are the greatest source of weakness of Indians abroad. (SIS Papers, Press Clippings, File No. 5.)

Statement of J.M. Hofmeyr, Acting Minister of the Interior to Reuter, reported in the press dated Cape Town, May 30, 1937 denies that the Government intended to appoint a commission to investigate the issue in regard to the employment of Europeans by Asiatics. Affirms that "the Governments' Asiatic Policy has, as its foundation, the Round Table Agreement with the Government of India negotiated by Dr. Malan in 1926". (SIS Papers, Press Clippings, File No. 4.)

Editorial in *Hindu* dated June 1937 comments on a report in *Zanzibar Voice* regarding the advisability of growing cloves in India and states that, if the idea catches in India, one should shudder to think of Zanzibar a decade hence. Remarks that the clove trade in Zanzibar is now the monopoly of the Clove Growers' Association. Points out that this is viewed by Indians with grave suspicion and refers to a suggestion by Binder, who recommended that a system of export licences be issued by the Government so that some chance might be given to the smaller exporters. Observes that the Zanzibar Indians, in a mass meeting, put on record that the monopoly would result in a large number of Indians being compelled to close their long-established trade dealings and alludes to the Debt Settlement Bill and the Land Alienation Bill. (SIS Papers, Press Clippings, File No. 4, p. 6.)

The Bombay Sentinel dated 4 June 1937 reports a statement issued by Mohamedally Allabux MLA, Secretary, All India Muslim Federation, Bombay to the press in connection with the Italian Government's treatment of Indian business houses in Abyssinia. Observes that the Italian Government puts restrictions in their way of disposing of their landed properties and industrial enterprises in Abyssinia. (SIS, Press Clippings, File No. 4.)

The Zanzibar Indian Association in their cable to the United Press observes that the Resident has announced the postponement of the bills to the next council meeting on 10 June 1937 as the Debt and Land Bills are being re-drafted. Adds that the monopoly endangers their existence and appeals to the Government of India to announce an embargo on cloves. (SIS Papers, Press Clippings, File No. 4.)

Kenya Daily Mail dated 27 June 1937 reports the speech by Captain McCarthy, a former judge of the Zanzibar Protectorate, who

condemns the clove policy of the Zanzibar Government. Remarks that "the Clove Monopoly Bill is too biased, too immoderate, and . . . too inflammatory to benefit anybody". (SIS Papers, Press Clippings, File No. 4.)

Kenya Daily Mail dated the 27 June 1937 in its editorial comments on the Zanzibar's clove policy and says that Indians were pioneers in the clove trade and that the prosperity of Zanzibar was the result of their industry and efforts. Observes that the Sultans of Zanzibar gave their full protection and encouragement and the British also assured them of the continuance of free and unrestricted trade in Zanzibar but the Government is now violating this assurance by the enactment of the Clove Bill. (SIS Papers, Press Clippings, File No. 4, p. 12.)

Leader dated 5 July 1937 comments on the Government of India's explanation, as issued to the press on 4 July 1937, that, as a result of their representation, the Zanzibar authorities have revised the Zanzibar Clove Bill and made necessary provision to safeguard Indian interests. Adds that Indian public opinion is not satisfied and that the leaders of the Zanzibar Indians should have been consulted by the Government of India before concluding the agreement with the Zanzibar Government. (SIS Papers, Press Clippings, File No. 4.)

Press report dated Simla 14 July justifies the stand taken by the Government of India and the concessions secured by them through diplomatic means. States that the Bill safeguards Indian interests through effective Indian representation at every stage in the Advisory Committee, in the Board of Management of the Clove Growers' Association and in the sub-committee for deciding all applications for licences to purchase. Emphasises the necessity for appointment of a suitable Agent on behalf of the Government of India in East Africa. (SIS Papers, Press Clippings, File No. 4.)

Statement issued by Hooseinbhoj Lalji on the position of Indians in Zanzibar, published in a Bombay newspaper dated 16 July 1937 refers to the Clove Growers' Association Bill and criticises the Indian Government and states that it is regretted that they should have negotiated with Zanzibar authorities over the head of the accredited leaders of the Indian community and came to an agreement, which is unjust and unacceptable to the community. (SIS Papers, Press Clippings, File No. 4.)

Associated Press reports on 16 July 1937 that the Indian community in Zanzibar has now been given an additional seat on the

Board of Management of the Clove Growers' Association. States that the amended Clove Bill passed the second and third readings. Refers to the speeches made in Zanzibar Parliament, in particular that of the Acting President re-affirming the assurances given regarding the automatic issue of licences to persons trading since 1933. Adds that no new Indian applicant would be refused a licence against the advice of the sub-committee. Says that there would be no arbitrary refusal of participation by merchants in export and assures that any aggrieved person who reports to the Board of Clove Growers' Association or the Government would obtain prompt investigation of the complaint. Adds that the Chamber of Commerce, which was predominantly Indian, had been invited to nominate for appointment to the Board two members expected to be Indians. (SIS Papers, Press Clippings, File No. 4.)

Statement by Tyab Ali, President of the Indian National Association, Zanzibar, reported by the Associated Press dated 17 July 1937, criticises the Government of India for entering into an agreement with the Zanzibar authorities without consulting the Zanzibar Indians. States that they have made an inglorious surrender of the vested interests of Zanzibar Indians. Adds that the Indians have decided to withdraw from the clove trade and to start passive resistance. (SIS Papers, Press Clippings, File No. 4.)

Editorial in *Leader* dated 23 July 1937 refers to the Indian Association of Zanzibar's disapproval of the agreement between the Government of India and the Government of Zanzibar with regard to the clove legislation and suggests an embargo on the import of Zanzibar cloves into India. (SIS Papers, Press Clippings, File No. 4.)

Education, Health and Lands Department, Government of India communiqué to the press dated 26 July (1937) elucidates, in view of misapprehension of points at issue, the principles involved in regard to the Zanzibar Clove Decrees and states that the Clove Growers' Association, consisting of five members, was established by the Zanzibar Government Decree in 1934 in order to protect the growers against the vagaries of the speculators market but this Association constituted a menace to the livelihood of a considerable number of Indians in Zanzibar and on the Government of India's protest, on behalf of the Indian community, the complexion of the Association was altered by adding two Indian members on the Board. Mentions the safeguards provided by way of having two Indian members nominated to the Board in consultation with the Chamber of

Commerce, which is predominantly an Indian body. An advisory committee has been established as recommended by Binder, two out of its six members to be Indian, enabling all Indians, who were permitted to purchase cloves in December 1933 to be automatically employed as purchasing agents under the Association, if they apply for licence and a sub-committee of the Clove Grower's Association Board, two members of whom are to be Indians, would deal with all new applications for appointment of Purchasing Agents, thus giving Indian community real representation. Refutes the criticism in regard to the position of Indian exporters. The communiqué invites attention to the recommendation of Binder that the fee for an export licence should be reduced so as to enable a small exporter to explore new markets. (SIS Papers, Press Clippings, File No. 4.)

Associated Press of India in a news item, dateline Bombay 27 July (1937), reports a resolution passed at a meeting of the Council of the Western India National Liberal Association. Urges the Government of India to place an embargo on cloves from Zanzibar and Pemlea as the concession to the Indian demand in the shape of the Indian representatives on the Board of Management of the Clove Growers' Association, on its Advisory Committee and the Licensing Committee, are illusory and sidetrack the grievances of the Indian community viz. (i) opposition to the monopoly of the Clove Growers' Association in the Clove trade and (ii) reducing the Indian trader in Zanzibar to the position of a mere agent of the Association. Supports the decision of the Council to boycott Clove Growers' Association in all phases of its activities so as to hasten its disintegration. Appreciates the resolve of the Bombay clove importers to stop imports of cloves from Zanzibar until the settlement of the dispute. (SIS Papers, Press Clippings, File No. 4.)

Leader dated 29 August 1937 reports that the resolutions passed at a mass meeting of Zanzibar Indians and under the presidentship of Mohamedali Ademjee Jafferbhoy reaffirm their decision to carry on the clove strike in protest against the Monopolist Clove Decree effective 1 August 1937. Regrets the statements of the Secretary of State for Colonies as these are based on incorrect information. Adds that the concessions offered do not eliminate the risk of Indian community's expropriation by the clove trade. (SIS Papers, Press Clippings, File No. 4.)

INDIVIDUAL PAPERS

Chagla, M.C. (1900 - 1981)

Born on 30 September 1900, Mohomedali Currim Chagla was educated at Bombay. Soon after taking his B.A. from Oxford, he was called to the Bar. He practised at Bombay and was Puisne Judge, Bombay High Court (1941-47); Chief Justice, Bombay High Court (1947-58); Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University (April-November 1947); Governor of Bombay (14 October to 10 December 1956); Ad-Hoc Judge, International Court of Justice, The Hague (1957); Leader, Indian Delegation to the Security Council (1964-65); Indian High Commissioner in London and Ambassador to Ireland (1961-65); Leader of Indian Delegation to the U.N. General Assembly, (1967); Minister for Education, Government of India (1963-66); Minister for External Affairs (1966-67). He passed away at Bombay on 9 February 1981.

The following private papers of Chagla have bearing on Africa:

Letter dated New Delhi 11 September 1946 from Jawaharlal Nehru, External Affairs Department, to Justice M.C. Chagla, Judge, High Court, Bombay thanks him for his acceptance of the invitation to go as a delegate to the U.N. General Assembly meeting. Observes that the meeting is important on three counts: (1) the South African Indian matter; (2) the question of trusteeship; and (3) the question of South Africa's application to absorb South-West Africa, which India opposes. (Chagla, File No. 36.)

The Times of India dated 26 October 1946 reports that USSR supports India in the U.N. Assembly on the complaint against the treatment of Indians in South Africa. Observes that M. Vyshinsky (Soviet Delegate) opposing General Smuts' argument pointed out that 'this question' represents a breach of agreement between South Africa and India concerning the fate of Indian nationals in South Africa. (Chagla, File No. 44.)

The Times of India dated 26 October 1946 reports the discussion between General Smuts and M.C. Chagla (supported by USSR) in the U.N. Assembly, on the complaint against treatment of Indian nationals in South Africa and also approval by the U.N. Steering Committee. Alludes to USA's proposal that a recommendation be made to the U.N. that the Indian complaint should go to both the Political

and Legal Committee. (Chagla, File No. 44.)

The Times of India dated 28 October 1946 reports that Justice Chagla, Member of India's Delegation to the General Assembly of the U.N. stated that India will oppose South Africa's request to annex South-West Africa, as it fears that the Government of South Africa will treat Indians in South-West Africa as it has treated them in South Africa. Alleges that the discrimination against Indians has reached a climax in the Union of South Africa's enactment of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Acts. (Chagla, File No. 44.)

The Times of India dated 27 November 1946 reports Justice Chagla's reply to the speech made by Smuts at U.N. Committee on the treatment of Indians in South Africa. Observes that South Africa has violated a solemn agreement arrived at between the Governments of the two countries. (Chagla, File No. 44.)

The Times of India dated 2 December 1946 reports the adoption by the Joint Political and Legal Committees of the U.N. General Assembly of a resolution backed by France and Mexico, asking India and South Africa to make further efforts, between themselves, to settle the dispute over the treatment of Indians in South Africa. (Chagla, File No. 44.)

The Times of India dated 10 December 1946 reports failure of South Africa's plea before the U.N. General Assembly for referring the dispute to the International Court. (Chagla, File No. 44.)

Letter dated Bombay 12 December 1946 from K.R. Bengeri, President Nationalist Party of India, to Chagla appreciates the stand taken by the latter at the U.N. against South Africa in sending the matter to the International Court. (Chagla, File No. 36.)

Blitz dated 14 December 1946 refers to Smuts running away by plane to London from the U.N., when he knew that his design and machinations, both on the colour issue and the gobbling up of South-West Africa, were going to be frustrated as "Smutsy Rout" at U.N. (Chagla, File No. 44.)

Blitz dated 14 December 1946 reports A.I. Meer, Secretary, Natal Indian Congress's reaction after the U.N. General Assembly adopted the French-Mexican resolution. Observes that the anti-Asiatics, who had earlier talked loudly of prohibiting Indians from travelling on aeroplanes and appealed to the European employers to employ African labour in preference to Indians, are not afraid to express their opinion. Adds that this appeal made by the Durban anti-

Indians has drawn a retort from T. Gumede — an African, that this preference of African employees over Indians will not make the Africans quiet. Remarks that colour bar in Smuts land has been condemned by the Rt. Reverend Wilfred Parker, the Bishop of Pretoria. (Chagla, File No. 44.)

Letter dated New Delhi 24/28 January 1947 from Jawaharlal Nehru, External Affairs Department, to Chagla, Judge, High Court Bombay, states that the U.N. General Assembly session was notable for the impressive victory of India in the discussion on the treatment of Indians in South Africa. (Chagla, File No. 36.)

Telegram dated 13 April 1947 from Dr. Naicker and Dr. Dadoo of South Africa to Chagla appreciates latter's advocacy of the South African Indians case at U.N. Assembly. (Chagla, File No. 44.)

Telegram dated Durban 25 December 1947 from Dr. Naicker, Natal Indian Congress to Justice Chagla informs him the Joint Passive Resistance Council is holding South African Indian Resistance Conference at Durban commencing 10 January 1948. Discussion final plans and execution new methods. Developing resistance struggle. Likely decision cross border into the Transvaal and Cape provinces. (Chagla, File No. 132.)

Natesan, G.A. (1873-1949)

Born on 24 August 1873 to a middle class Brahmin landed family of Ganapathy Ahraham, a village in the Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu, G.A. Natesan was educated at Kumbakonam and Tiruchirapalli and graduated from the Presidency College, Madras in 1897. Encouraged by the instantaneous popularity of his brother's press, he established a monthly journal called *Indian Politics* with a view to educating public opinion in the country and rallying British democracy to the cause of Indian freedom. He started in 1900 *The Indian Review*, which reflected the mind of the intellectuals on the various phases of Indians' struggle for independence. Attracted by the philosophy of the Moderates like G.K. Gokhale, he was a constitutionalist. He launched M.K. Gandhi in the public life of Madras, when he returned to India in 1915 with his South African fame. He parted company with M.K. Gandhi as Civil Disobedience and *Satyagraha* did not appeal to him. He was First General Secretary of the Indian Liberal Federation and later Permanent Secretary of the Madras Branch of the Liberal Party. With this mental make-up, he

edited *The Indian Review* from 1900 for about half a century and died as a grand old man on 10 January 1949 after dedicated service to the cause of awakening the intellectuals of the country to face the problems that surrounded them.

The following papers of Natesan relate to Africa:

Letter dated 11 April 1929 from S.L. Polak to G.A. Natesan refers to the insertion of the communal franchise in the new Fiji constitution and observes that this will be disastrous to their efforts in Kenya as the Kenya whites will say that the British Government and the Government of India have committed themselves to the principle of communal franchise. (Natesan, File II.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 10 October 1930 from K.V. Reddi, Agent of the Government of India in South Africa to Natesan states, amongst other things, that the situation in South Africa is very serious and causing him the greatest anxiety. Hopes that the Round Table Conference will produce some settlement satisfactory to all. (Natesan, File III.)

Statement issued by Sir Fazl-i-Husain to the representatives of the Imperial Citizenship Association draws attention to the points referred to by the Association viz., (1) introduction in the Union Assembly of the Transvaal Asiatic Tenure Amendment Bill spelling ruin to the Indian traders in that territory; (2) setting apart of certain areas for the residence or commercial activities of Indians, which were regarded as a stigma of racial inferiority by Indians; (3) the laws of the Transvaal have been restrictive in their application to Asiatics. Refers in this connection to the setting up of a Select Committee of the House of Assembly in February 1930 to enquire into the questions and proposed legislation as it might deem fit. States that J.D. Tyson has been appointed by the Government of India to make suitable representations to the Select Committee set up by the Union Government for safeguarding the interests of Indian population. Tells the Indian community that the Government of India has been making representations to the Union and pressing for the recognition of legitimate demands in regard to their economic interests in the Transvaal. (Natesan, File III.)

Letter dated New Delhi 12 November 1930 from Ram Chander, Department of Education, Health and Lands to Natesan forwards copy of the statement made by Sir Fazl-i-Husain to the Secretary of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, who had come to

discuss certain questions relating to Indians in South Africa and East Africa in regard to the introduction of the Transvaal Asiatic Tenure Amendment Bill in the Union Assembly and its repercussions, if passed. (Natesan, File III.)

Letter dated Cape Town 6 June 1933 from Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, Agent of the Government of India in South Africa to Natesan, refers amongst other things, to the opinion of Indians in South Africa regarding civil disobedience, economic boycott, etc. (Natesan, File II.)

Nehru, Jawaharlal (1889-1964)

Born on 14 November 1889 at Allahabad and educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, Jawaharlal Nehru was called to the Bar in 1912. In England, he took interest in Fabian Socialism. On return to India he married Kamla Kaul in 1916 and in the second year of their marriage was born Indira, their only child and the future Prime Minister of India. A decade after their marriage, Kamla fell ill and Jawaharlal took her to Venice for treatment in 1926 but she passed away at Lausanne. Jawaharlal attended the Oppressed Nationalities Conference at Brussels in 1927.

He had a meteoric rise in Indian politics, which he found more thrilling than the life at the Bar. Starting his public career in United Provinces, he was soon elevated to the presidency of the Indian National Congress in 1930. Thereafter, his position became so dominant that thrice he was chosen as Congress President and when India attained independence, he was elected its first Prime Minister, which office he held till his death on 27 May 1964. Included among his many publications are *Discovery of India*, *Glimpses of World History*, *Letters from a Father to His Daughter* and *A Bunch of Old Letters*.

The following papers of Jawaharlal Nehru relate to Africa:

Letter dated 13 February 1920 from Jawaharlal Nehru to Husseinbhai Suliman Virji, President of the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress acknowledges the receipt of addressee's letter along with copies of the resolutions adopted at the second session of the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress. States that on the return of Motilal Nehru, the addressee's letter and resolutions will be considered and steps taken to help their countrymen in East Africa.

Wishes success in their efforts to better the condition of Indians overseas. (Nehru, File 96.)

Speech of Jawaharlal Nehru delivered on 9 May 1936 on Abyssinia Day at Allahabad sympathises with Abyssinians and Indian brethren in their distress and bitter hour of defeat and humiliation. Expresses determination to combat imperialism in whatever shape or form it works and enumerates many lessons that one learns from this tragedy viz., (1) Imperialism and Fascism are fundamentally of the same nature and are bent upon the same exploitation of subject peoples; (2) the attitude of the Great Powers towards this Abyssinian problem shows duplicity and hypocrisy, especially that of England; (3) utter futility of the League of Nations, which looked on calmly while horrible methods of warfare were employed against the Abyssinians. Adds that poison gas and liquid fire tortured and killed women and children. Expresses his concern about the numerous peoples of the great continent of Africa, who have been stirred by the Abyssinian conflict and who will not long remain silent, exploited people. Observes that if 'We' think rightly and see world events together in proper perspective, 'We' are more likely to act rightly and work on the way to freedom. (Nehru, File 208.)

Letter dated 23 September 1938 from Jawaharlal Nehru to the Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Johannesburg thanks the addressee for an invitation to visit South Africa. States that he is not in a position to accept the invitation and regrets his inability to visit Johannesburg because the writer has been absent from India for too long a time and must go back as early as he can manage. (Nehru, File 97.)

Cable dated September-October 1938 from the Transvaal Indian Congress, Johannesburg to Jawaharlal Nehru invites him to Africa. States that the addressee's visit will prove of invaluable assistance to Indians in South Africa and afford him opportunity of studying their difficulties and assures him of warm welcome. (Nehru, File 97.)

Message dated 27 March 1939 from Jawaharlal Nehru to the members of Egypt's Wafd Party on their visit to India. States that they come to India as emblems of the spirit of nationalism and freedom from Egypt and observes that Indians, being themselves imbued by this spirit, find themselves completely in tune with a like sentiment in Egypt. Remarks that the peoples of India and Egypt have much in common, from the dawn of history, a common struggle for freedom against imperialism. States that while we believe in

national independence, we also believe in world cooperation between nations to ensure peace and freedom and world order. Observes that it is not to interfere in each other's internal affairs but to cooperate to each other's advantage and to the advantage of the larger international good. Points out that the first step in this direction would be to have full knowledge of each other and of the national movements. Hopes that the visit of the Egyptian delegation will result in laying the foundations for this mutual knowledge and exchange of information. Requests the delegation to convey to His Excellency Mustafa Nahas Pasha, to the Wafd Party and to the Egyptian people, the expression of full faith in comradeship and the solidarity of the Indian peoples in the realisation of the ideals set before them. Desires exchange of visits frequently in order to keep the contacts fresh. Trusts that the delegation will carry back with them pleasant and lasting memories of their visit to India. (Nehru, File 135.)

Message dated 5 June 1939 from Jawaharlal Nehru to the Indians in South Africa states that the Indian people of South Africa do not only want messages but they want something more. Observes that Indian merchants are being harassed and crushed and gradually being squeezed out and mentions several places like Mauritius, Jamaica, etc., where Indians have no position and are in a miserable condition. Remarks that Burma and Ceylon have turned against them and are pursuing an ill-conceived and narrow-minded policy which is sowing the seeds of bitterness between them and India. Adds that now in the Union of South Africa, an attempt is being made to segregate Indians. Informs them that political rights had been denied for long, now even human rights are being withheld. Observes that the sooner this empire ends, the better for humanity. States that every insult to Indians abroad is humiliation and sorrow for India. Observes that his best wishes are with them in every act of courage that they perform in honour of India and her dear name. Adds that it is never right to submit to evil and national humiliation and it must be resisted whatever be the consequences. Remarks that we would rather face extermination than submission. (Nehru, File 136.)

Letter dated 29 August 1940 from Jawaharlal Nehru to the President of Indian Congress, Durban states that Indians cannot accept any position of racial inferiority or segregation. Adds that they must demand full citizenship rights. (Nehru, File 98.)

Cable dated April 1942 from the Johannesburg Indian Congress

to Jawaharlal Nehru mentions the attitude of South Africa towards the war. Observes that the South African Union Government is making no positive effort to win support. Remarks that discriminatory legislation remains and adds that South Africa faces Fascist danger, both external and internal. Suggests best lines to adopt: training non-Europeans armed services and removing all restrictions hampering non-Europeans participation. Requests Nehru to send advice to prevent Indians being swayed by pro-Fascist elements. (Nehru, File 99.)

Letter dated April 1942 from Jawaharlal Nehru to the Johannesburg Indian Congress appreciates their difficulties and suggests to give cooperation consistently with Indian dignity. Adds that one must stand for full racial, political equality and freedom. (Nehru, File 99.)

Preface dated 12 March 1946 by Jawaharlal Nehru to a book *Egypt in 1945* mentions that a large number of people in India are greatly interested in political and other developments in Egypt and similarly many people in Egypt are interested in India. States that any attempt to overcome the barrier of ignorance of not knowing each other's country is most welcome. Remarks that one must prepare for the future of cooperation and comradeship by getting to know each other more and welcomes this book, which tells something about Egypt in 1945. (Nehru, File 119.)

Rao, P. Kodanda (1889-1975)

Born at Visakhapatnam on 25 December 1889, A.D. Pandurangi Kodanda Rao, was an eminent politician and writer. He took his M.A. from Presidency College, Madras and became Private Secretary to V.S.S. Sastri. He assisted M.K. Gandhi in his anti-untouchability campaign, edited the journal entitled *Servants of India* (1930-43) published in Poona. He was Carnegie Scholar, Yale University (1934-35) and a member, Senate, Academic Council and Executive Council of Nagpur University (1937-42). He was adviser to the Indian Delegation to Permanent Migration Committee of ILO, Montreal (1946) and Vice-President, Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi (1954-57). He was awarded the Watumull Memorial Prize for his political biography of V.S.S. Sastri. His other publications include *East Versus West*, *Denial of Contrast*, *Cultural Conflicts—Cause and Cure* and *Foreign Friends of India's Freedom*. He passed away at Bangalore on 25 July 1975.

The following papers of Kodanda Rao relate to Africa:

Act dated 1925 to validate certain procedures under the Wage Act, 1925. Bill to amend in certain respects the law relating to occupation of certain lands in the province of the Transvaal by the Asiatics and to provide for matters incidental thereto. Bill to amend the law relating to mines. (Rao, File 3.)

Letter dated c.1926 from P. Kodanda Rao to the Servants of India Society encloses an article "Our South African Letter" for publication, containing notes on (1) attitude of the South African party to the Cape Town Agreement; (2) white Africa being rent over the flag controversy; (3) increase in the number of applicants for repatriation since the regulations under the New Act came into operation; (4) *Natal Advertiser* and *Natal Witness* evincing interest in the affairs of India; (5) report of the Board of Trade and Industries regarding the possibilities of establishing an export trade to India of South African cheese and beef; (6) racial conflict; (7) Labour Party and driving them into the arms of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union — an organisation of the natives on trade union lines and the whites pressing the Government to take severe action against the natives. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Mombasa 4 April 1927 from Social Service League to the Managing Agents, M/s. MacKinnon Mackenzie and Co. in regard to their request to the British India Steam Navigation Company to fix the time table of mail steamers running between Bombay and Mombasa in such a way as to have connection with mail train for Uganda on the same day of the steamer's arrival in Mombasa. (Rao, File 4.)

Letter dated 25 April 1927 from British India Steam Navigation Co. to the Hony. Joint Secretary, Social Service League advises them to take up the matter with the Railway Board with a view to arranging the departure of the through trains so as to coincide with the arrival of the Company's steamers at Mombasa. (Rao, File 4.)

Copy of letter dated Durban 17 July 1927 (marked Secret) from V.S.S. Sastri to Sir Mohammed Habibullah forwards notes of writer's conversations with Patrick Duncan at Johannesburg, Dr. Malan in Pretoria and the Governor-General in Durban. Sends two extracts from Malan's speech in the House of Assembly in regard to (i) definition of domicile and (ii) position of the permanently-resident Indians in the three northern districts of Natal, with his

comments thereon. States that while in Durban, he will attend to the question of education and adds that the Governor-General has approved of his plan regarding the commission of inquiry into education. Remarks that he has got Sir Charles Smith, Chairman of the South African Party (SAP) interested in the subject. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Durban, 18 July 1927 from P. Kodanda Rao to Vaze refers to Indian reception to Sastri on 16 June and mentions Sastri's meeting with the editors of two dailies — *Mercury* (anti-Indian) and *Advertiser* (fair to Indians). Informs him that Mrs. Stanford of Adyar is in Durban and is organising a child welfare scheme for Indians. (Rao, File 1.)

Notes dated 19 July 1927 of conversation between Hollander and Sastri at Durban and Hollander's agreement to the idea of appointment of the Education Commission after some discussion. (Rao, File 1.)

Copy of letter dated 31 July 1927 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan expresses satisfaction over Sastri and Rao's relation with the 'Whites' and the Governments — Provincial and the Union. States that the Administrator of Natal has been able to persuade his Executive to consent to appoint the Education Commission. Refers to the earlier hostile attitude of the papers *Natal Mercury* and *Natal Advertiser*. Mentions various meetings of Indians and Europeans addressed by Sastri. Adds that the situation as between the Indians themselves is not improving. Observes that British Indian Association and the Colonial Born Indian Association have not joined the Congress. States that people like P.S. Aiyer are sending cables to India to discredit the Agreement. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated 1 August 1927 from C.F. Andrews to Sastri states that the victory is to be won in Natal by a long residence at Maritzburg with constant contact with Durban. Advises him to hold personal conversations with people instead of making speeches. Advises him not to wait for the merchants but start through Pather and should call on him. (Rao, File 1.)

Notes dated 2 August 1927 of conversation between Sir George Plowman with Sastri at Maritzburg on Indian education with regard to (1) Indian community showing self-help; (2) Sastri's proposal to bring out Indian teacher not European as the principal; (3) a woman teacher with experience of Indian children at the Kindergarten stage coming as assistant to the Indian expert; (4) personnel of the Commission and site for school in Durban. (Rao, File 1.)

Notes of conversation dated 3 August 1927 between Hugh Bryan and Sastri at Bryan's office, Maritzburg when Bryan's Sr. Inspector and Tyson were also present. Discussed the subject of education and arrived at the following definite ideas: (1) there should be two grades of teachers to be helped to go to other schools; (2) High School ought to be opened; (3) institution may be called High School or Normal School; (4) 8 rooms for classes, laboratory and a library for 40 inmates, playground, sanitary accommodation, etc. are to be provided. (Rao, File 1.)

Copy of a letter (incomplete) dated Durban 26 August 1927 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan refers to education funds being raised by Sastri for a first class High School and Training College building for Indians. Hopes to get the site from the Durban municipality and running expenses from the Natal Government. States that the Natal Government is against secondary education for Indians but Sastri believes in giving the Government an impressive exhibition of 'our own self effort'. Refers to Malan's formal letter to the Natal administration to appoint the Education Commission. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Durban 26 August 1927 from P. Kodanda Rao to the Servants of India Society encloses the South African letter. Writes about (1) the terms of reference of the Natal Indian Education Commission and the objections taken to the Executive constituting themselves into a commission; (2) arrival in South Africa of K.P. Kitchlu and Miss Gordon, the Indian experts to make their investigations; (3) Durban Town Council accepts, in principle, the grant of site for Training College and High School; (4) Sastri's visit to Native College at Fort Hare and prejudice amongst Indians against sending Indian students to Fort Hare; (5) Sastri's visit to East London and Port Elizabeth, two important towns in Cape Province and Sastri's appeal to the Europeans of the Cape Province not to let their traditional policy of equal rights for all civilised persons to be swamped by the narrower policies of other provinces; (6) resuscitation of the Natal Indian Association to spite the Natal Indian Congress and the South African Indian Congress passing resolutions against the Agreement, Fort Hare College and so forth; and (7) refers to a report in *Bulawayo Chronicle* about a meeting of the Golden Valley Branch of the Gatooma Farmers Association, at which a proposition was discussed to import Indian indentured labour into Rhodesia. (Rao, File 1.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban 28 August 1927 from V.S.S. Sastri to Sir Mohammed Habibullah states that he endeavoured to get the Transvaal British Indian Association back into the Congress but failed and this makes the matter of prosecution of false certificate holders more acute. Refers to (a) his discussion of this question with Venn, who feels that a register of false certificate holders is essential for effective detection; (b) scheme of educational institution, which according to Sastri is maturing, though slowly; (c) Messrs Mehd and Desai being treated as prohibited immigrants and Venn agrees to get them temporary permits for one year without licences to trade; (d) reply from Schmidt to Sastri's letter on the minor children's question. (Rao, File 1.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban 9 September 1927 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan reports (1) Sastri's unsuccessful efforts to bring about unity between the Transvaal and the Congress; (2) about Rs. 9,000 collected by Sastri for the Education Fund and Sastri's proposed tour of the districts of Natal to raise funds; (3) Sastri's meeting with Sir George Plowman, the Administrator of Natal and some of the Provincial Councillors; (4) Sastri's request to the Councillors to support the appointment of an Education Commission with wider terms of reference. Mentions that appointment of Commission has been decided upon and observes that the Executive is to constitute itself, with a couple of other members from the Provincial Council, as the Commission. States that the site for the combined Normal School and High School has to be obtained in Durban. Adds that a special public meeting of Europeans has been called by the Mayor of Durban, at the request of Councillor Kemp and the Archdeacon, to hear Sastri speak to the Europeans on "Empire Sentiments". (Rao, File 1.)

"*Our South African Letter*" dated 22 September 1927 sent by P. Kodanda Rao to *Servants of India* for publication writes about the announcement of the decision of the Natal Administration to appoint, in accordance with the Cape Town Agreement, a Commission to enquire into the condition of Indian education in Natal. Comments on the members constituting the Commission and states "this is an extraordinary method of impanelling a commission". Refers to (a) Sastri's tour in the Northern districts of Natal; (b) visit to General Botha's birth place near Grey Town; (c) prominent place given by the Bishop of Natal to Indian question, with reference to the betterment section of the Agreement, in his speech to the clergy

and the laity at the Diocesan Synod at Maritzburg; (d) South African Party discussing, among other things, Indian question; (e) two organisations viz., Social Service Committee to improve the sanitary conditions of the Indian community and the Child Welfare Association started by Sastri; (f) restrictions which Johannesburg Town Council is seeking to impose on Indians and coloured people in municipal trams; (g) complaints of unsympathetic attitude of Health Boards in the Durban area, the population of which is nearly two-thirds Indian; (h) colour prejudice in the Transvaal and Natal quoting instances. (Rao, File 1.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban 24 September 1927 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan informs him about the Education Fund being raised by Sastri for his scheme of a Training College and High School. Refers to (1) his schemes for a Joint Council of Europeans, Indians and Natives to study racial relations together, like University extension lectures for Indians in Durban and South Africa; (ii) Social Service Committee and the Child Welfare Society formed in Africa. Asks for reports and publications of Indian Social Service Organisation for information of 'local' workers in South Africa. Adds that their Transvaal friends are as intractable as ever and they propose to give an ultimatum to Sastri, when he visits Pretoria and to denounce him if he fails to give them satisfaction. (Rao, File 1.)

Copy of a letter dated Pretoria 9 October 1927 from P. Kodanda Rao to Vaze, forwards a copy of 'Our South African Letter' for publication in *Servants of India* and adds that the 'South African Letter' deals with (1) reaction of the press on the appointment of the Indian Education Commission; (2) Fraudulent entrants, Section 5 of the new act; (3) National Convention — new body organised by anti-Congress and anti-Agreement Indians in Natal to represent the whole Indian community in South Africa; (4) meeting of the Transvaal Indians, who are in favour of Agreement, and dissenters from the British Indian Association with Sastri and their keenness to rejoin the Congress; (5) Asiatic Boycott Organisation;. (6) Trade Licences; (7) Bishop Westcott's tour of South Africa and meeting people with a view to combating Miss Catherine Mayo's book, *Mother India*; (8) Natal Indian Congress giving evidence before the Natal Taxation Inquiry Committee; (9) the Transvaal situation — two deputations from Johannesburg waiting on Sastri to apprise him of their grievances, etc. (Rao, File 1.)

Article dated 22 October 1927 entitled "The South African

Liquor Bill and the Indians" sent for publication in *Servants of India* contains extracts from Assembly Proceedings to explain in detail how the Liquor Bill (published in the *Gazette Extraordinary* of the Union of South Africa on 24 September 1927) has caused uneasiness among Indians in South Africa and in India and goes against the grain of the Agreement. (Rao, File 1.)

Memorandum dated October 1927 (marked Confidential) by the Department of Interior on the subject of condonation of the illegal entry of Asiatics refers to two decisions in regard to this matter: (1) a general measure issued in 1915 and (2) a war measure issued in 1917 and confined to the Cape and Natal. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Ron-de-Bosch 3 November 1927 from Sastri to Sir Mohammed Habibullah refers to (1) Camey and Company's decision against reunion with the Congress; (2) settlement of the flag dispute being a cause of elation in political circles; (3) Sastri's interview with Dr. Mitchell, Secretary to Dr. Malan, in the Public Health Department, who is taking up the question of inquiry into Indian conditions of life in Durban and around as promised in the Agreement; (4) writer's meeting with Boycott in connection with the Liquor Bill and also with Kentride, who is supposed to be behind "Section 104" and who admits that it would throw Indians out of employment but did not change his justification as it seems to be the wish of the European community. (Rao, File 1.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban 5 November 1927 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan refers to Sastri's negotiations with the Durban municipality for a site chosen by him for the Indian Training College and High School. States that General Smuts, the leader of the South African Party is not yet completely reconciled to the Agreement and alludes to the despatch of 'South African Letter' to *Servants of India*. (Rao, File 1.)

Copy of a letter dated 5 November 1927 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan, informs him that Sastri is negotiating with the Durban municipality for a site chosen by him for the Indian Training College and High School. States that the site was meant for a municipal scheme for housing poor Europeans and, hence, the difficulty in securing the site. Adds that the "Mayor is well disposed towards us" and is trying to get 'us' the site and suggests that Sastri should meet the Municipal Council in person. (Rao, File 1.)

'South African Letter' dated 5 November 1927 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan refers to postponement of Tielman Roos's

Liquor Bill till February 1928. States that the British Indian Association has not yet met as a general body to consider the question of reaffiliation with the Congress. Observes that *Natal Mercury* is softening in its opposition to the Agreement. Mentions *Cape Times* comments on Sastri's speech and expresses doubts regarding Natal Administration doing "something substantial to end the scandalous neglect of Indian education". Alludes to the question of Trade Licences and remarks of the Agent's statement clearing certain doubts, which Indians had regarding the new Immigration Act. Admires the service rendered by Bishop Westcott in denouncing Miss Mayo's book *Mother India*. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Durban 15 November 1927 from V.S.S. Sastri to Sir Mohammad Habibullah informs him that he met the Town Council and inspected the site for the High School and Training College. Adds that some Councillors are anti-Asiatic and their leader is Acutt. Refers to (a) Education Commission and comments on its personnel; (b) attempts made to capture British Indian Association by the pro-Congress party; (c) Liquor Bill and expectation that Tielman Roos will not openly violate the spirit of the Cape Town Agreement in this behalf; (d) possibility of Dr. Malan's raking up the question of inquiry into the housing conditions of the Indians in and around Durban; and (e) writer's talk on this with Dr. Mitchell in the Health Department and his (writer's) suggestion to appoint an Indian to this committee of inquiry. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Durban 17 November 1927 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan states that the personnel of the East African Commission is very disappointing. Fears that the Indian Education Commission will have, as representatives of the Provincial Council, two anti-Asiatics. Adds that General Smuts is not prepared to "bless the Agreement". (Rao, File 1.)

'South African Letter' dated 17 November 1927 from P. Kodanda Rao to *Servants of India* deals with (1) Sastri's endeavours to provide facilities for training of teachers for primary school for Indians and to have a combined Training College and High School; (2) *Indian Education Commission*: detailed account of the position of Indian education. Adds that there is a strong feeling against providing educational and technical facilities for Indians; (3) *Springfield Estate*: One of the estates purchased earlier by the Durban municipality with the intention of forming a native and an Indian village in pursuance of its policy of segregation and tenanted by Indian vegetable

growers but now proposed to evict Indians and lease the estate to Messrs Chick Sugar Company; (4) *The Transvaal situation*: The pro-Congress party asks the Secretaries to call a general meeting to pass a vote of no confidence in the Secretaries and to rescind the resolution of May last seceding from the Congress; (5) *Liquor Bill*: A joint deputation of the Indian Congress, the Licensed Victuallers' Association consisting of European employees and Indian Hotel Employees' Association, waits on Sastri in connection with clause 104 of the Bill. The employers expressed satisfaction with the Indian waiters and Sastri's promise to get clause 104 dropped. (Rao, File 1.)

Copy of letter dated Durban 17 November 1927 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan expresses disappointment over the personnel of the Indian Royal Commission and of the East African Commission. States that it considerably weakens "our" hands in our struggle. Adds that Sastri is inclined to think that the Royal Commission should be boycotted. Fears that the Indian Education Commission in Natal will have as representatives of the Provincial Council, two anti-Asiatics which will not improve matters from "our point of view". (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated 30 November 1927 Cape Town from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan sends 'South African Letter' to *Servants of India* and refers to some malicious propaganda against Sastri by P.S. Aiyer, *Free Press* correspondent for Sastri's declining to interfere with regard to the Liquor Bill. States that decisions regarding the condonation of illegal entrants and the irreconcilable opposition from some of the Indians is likely to cause trouble. Mentions that Habib Motan writes an insulting letter to Sastri for having visited Fort Hare College for Natives. Charges Sastri with having reduced the Indians to the natives' level and adds that the Education Commission in Natal is very unsatisfactory. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Cape Town 3 December 1927 from V.S.S. Sastri to Sir Mohammad Habibullah refers to Sastri's visit to East London, Lovedale, Fort Hare and Port Elizabeth and meeting with Habib Motan, chairman of a non-official committee, which advises the Government in the management of primary schools. Alludes to the interview with Malan, discussing with him (1) the question of entry of wives and minor children of holders of fraudulent certificates, who might be permitted to continue staying in Africa under condonation; (2) Department of Interior's proposal to the effect that the children of educated entrants should not be allowed to acquire a domicile and

Sastri's protest; (3) the Ministry of Interior proposes to leave out of its scope all cases of date later than 5 July 1924; (4) Malan assured Sastri that he would discuss the subject with the Prime Minister; (5) several members of the Dutch Reformed Church earnestly interested themselves in the matter. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Durban 17 December 1927 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan forwards 'Our South African Letter' for publication in *Servants of India*. Requests him to send a copy of *Servants of India* to the Principal, South African Native College, Fort Hare, Alice, Cape Province, South Africa. (Rao, File 3.)

Copy of the permit form (dated 1927) issued by the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs, subject to conditions and requirements mentioned therein and to the provisions of the Immigrants Regulation Act, No. 22 of 1913, as amended by Act 37 of 1927 and the Regulations thereunder. (Rao, File 3.)

Letter dated Pietermaritzburg 14 January 1928 from V.S.S. Sastri to Sir Mohammad Habibullah informs him that Kimberley conference gave a form of assurance on the lines required by Schmidt and appointed a committee to negotiate details of the condonation. States that headquarters of the Congress have shifted to Johannesburg and adds that Kajee, Pathar and Godfrey have gone out of office and been replaced by P.K. Desai, Mal and Christopher. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated 10 February 1928 from S.G.V. Librarian to P. Kodanda Rao forwards a list of Union publications, which include the latest issue of annual department reports as also reports of Inquiry Committees on important subjects and certain acts. (Rao, File 2.)

Letter dated Cape Town 11 February 1928 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan expresses relief over the fact that Clause 104 of the Liquor Bill is off. Adds that Sastri saw Roos, who capitulated, may be because there was great opposition to the clause. Refers to the case of Dayabhai Patel, an illegal entrant in the Transvaal and Sastri's meeting with important Dutch people, the Editor of *Die Burger* and Kerkbode, who were against India earlier and have now become quite friendly. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Durban 11 March 1928 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan states that the Natal Executive do not take the Education Commission seriously. Refers to the differences of opinion between the Natal Executive and the Union Minister with regard to the

interpretation of the betterment clause of the Agreement. Adds that between the Indians, the Natal Executive and the Union Minister, they will make the task of Sastri and K.P. Kitchlu very difficult. (Rao, File 2).

'Our South African Letter' dated 24 March 1928 from P. Kodanda Rao reports on (1) the official announcement of the personnel of the Indian Education Commission; (2) Durban Beach Control Ordinance; (3) Johannesburg Tram Segregation; (4) the Transvaal Hawkers and Pedlars' Ordinance; (5) Durban Mayor and Indian employees; (6) Smuggling Indians; (7) site for Training College; (8) Dr. Malan on repatriation; and (9) Indians in Norwood. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Pietermaritzburg 22 April 1928 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan states that Sastri's visit to the Transvaal has been fruitful in as much as the Johannesburg Tramway Byelaw against which we complained has been withdrawn. Adds that the Education Commission has finished taking evidence. Refers to Acutt, one of the Education Commissioners, who at one time stood in the way of Rao and Sastri, gets the full site wanted by them for the Training College in Durban and has now been "Sastricised". (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Cape Town 16 May 1928 from D.F. Malan, Department of Interior, Union of South Africa to Sastri regarding the condonation scheme. Covers the four points: (1) 1914 line; (2) previous condonations; (3) registration of minor sons of the condonees; and (4) introducing amending legislation, if required. (Rao, File 3.)

Resolution dated 27 May 1928 passed at the Executive meeting of the South African Indian Congress held at Johannesburg seeks clarification from M.K. Gandhi with regard to illicit entrants in the Transvaal, who were in possession of registration certificates fraudulently obtained up to the year 1914. Requests the Agent and the Government of India to make further representation to the Union Government, if necessary. (Rao, File 3.)

Letter dated 16 June 1928 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan states that Schonken's General Dealers' Draft Ordinance has been dropped and that two Indian assessors have been appointed to the Indian Housing Committee, due to the pressure of Sastri on Dr. Malan. Adds that Sastri is undertaking a lecture programme on Indian topics to the universities of Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria in September-October. (Rao, File 1.)

Agenda dated 26 June 1928 of 50th Ordinary Meeting of the

Town Council of Johannesburg and Supplementary Report of the Works Committee on Street Trading Byelaws. (Rao, File 3.)

Supplementary Report dated 26 June 1928 of Works Committee of Town Council of Johannesburg containing Street Trading Byelaws recommends that the amendments to the Hawkers' and Pedlars' Byelaws detailed in the report be approved. (Rao, File 3.)

Letter dated Durban 30 June 1928 from Sastri to Sir Mohammad Habibullah writes about Dr. Loram, Acting Superintendent of Education's intrigues to upset Sastri's scheme regarding the staffing of Training College and High School. States that selection of teachers must be of the very best quality and refers to (1) K.P. Kitchlu's Memorandum which is being looked upon as a document of much value; and (2) judgements of the Supreme Court of the Union of South Africa in the case of Mehd and Daya Purshottam. States with regard to the case of Mehd that Minister of Interior will not have the power of limiting the status of exempted entrants while in regard to the other case, the Government has won and that the condonation scheme becomes necessary. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Durban 14 July 1928 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan reports that he attended at Lovedale, the Missionary Conference on Native Welfare. States that the missionaries were more zealous of their denominational separatism than the education of the natives. Gives a detailed account of Student Christian Conference, which included, for the first time, the Indian question on the agenda and an Indian and non-Christian were invited to address it. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated 29 July 1928 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan states that the 'Federation Crowd', who control *Indian Views* and *African Chronicle* have been abusing Sastri. Observes that the Cape Town Agreement and C.F. Andrews are held responsible for all grievances that Indians still suffer. Adds that the condonation scheme is giving trouble. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Durban 12 August 1928, from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan states that attacks on Sastri from certain sections of the Indian people are becoming more violent and abusive in language. Adds that Sastri is too big to be dispirited by their vile attacks and is carrying on bravely. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated 3 September 1928 from J.M. Hofmeyr, Administrator of the Transvaal to Sastri, Agent of the Government of India in South Africa informs the addressee how far they have got in

dealing with the matters arising out of K.P. Kitchlu's report with regard to (1) school accommodation; (2) control of schools; (3) language teaching; and (4) teaching staff. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated 6 September 1928 from Miss L.C. Teneysey, Travelling Secretary, Students Christian Association of South Africa to P. Kodanda Rao seeks his help on behalf of Miss Hamman, who is very keen to come in contact with Indian life in the Transvaal before she goes to India as a Transvaal delegate for the W.S.C.F. Committee meeting in December. (Rao, File 3.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 10 September from J.S. Pathar to Secretary to the Right Honourable V.S.S. Sastri forwards copy of opinion of Advocate P. Millin K.C. on the proposed Byelaws affecting the flower-sellers of Johannesburg by the municipality. Regrets inability to obtain details of the previous cases but was told by L.W. Ritch that the charge was for obstruction by exposing foods for sale and remaining longer than twenty minutes at one spot. (Rao, File 3.)

Letter dated 19 September 1928 from F. Alfred Hoernli, University of the Witwatersrand Johannesburg to P. Kodanda Rao states in regard to his suggestion that the feeling among his colleagues has been against broadcasting lectures given at the university. Thanks for the list of books on Indian philosophy and states that he would suggest the purchase of most of the books to his committee. (Rao, File 3.)

Letter dated 20 September 1928 from Edith B. Jones, university of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg to P. Kodanda Rao appreciates Sastri's address. Observes that it may be the beginning of a better attitude on the part of 'our' women, particularly towards Indian education here. Offers to help and adds where he may be of some use, when the question of 'Guide' work for Indian girls comes up, as it is sure to do when more of them are in better schools. (Rao, File 3.)

Letter dated Kimberley 21 September 1928 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan refers to Klerksdorp incident and states that apologies by Malan, Hertzog and the Union Government have been ample. Mentions that there is a strong feeling against the Indian traders and some people are opposed to the betterment policy and the condonation policy. Observes that *Cape Times* has included him in its list of reviewers and mentions some articles relating to India, reviewed by him. Adds that he has been invited by Mrs. Ethelreda Lewis, the authoress of *Aloysius Horn*, to dinner and to speak on caste system and trade unionism in India, and also to address a

group of friends in Johannesburg. Refers to two articles written by the writer. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Durban 22 September 1928 from T.S.V. Pather to P. Kodanda Rao states that he and his friends, Sorabjee, Kajee and Christopher are kept busy with condonation scheme and that the Government, as represented by Venn, is not acting up to the spirit of the scheme. Refers to restrictions on the major sons, who entered as minors and educated entrants being required to make provisional applications for condonation. Alludes to (1) the Government bringing in Section 104 of the Liquor Bill in another form and Section 102, Sub-Section 2(a) prohibits the employment of Asiatics in clubs and other places where liquor cannot be supplied to Asiatics and (2) Apprenticeship Act and white policy of the Government whereby the Inspector of Labour is not prepared to register the contracts of Indian boys with their masters and Indian masters told to employ white boys. (Rao, File 3.)

Letter dated 8 October 1928 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan of Servants of India Society describes Sastri and Kodanda Rao's visit to Bulawayo and Salisbury, where Sastri had a wonderful reception and met the Governor, Prime Minister, Cabinet Ministers and Colonial Secretary. Refers to the desire of Rhodesian Indians that the Indian Agent in the Union should look after Rhodesian Indian interests also. Adds that the Transvaal Government is taking action on K.P. Kitchlu's report. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Bakesburg 11 October 1928 from E.E.B. Hamman to P. Kodanda Rao thanks him for the interest taken by him to assist her and states that she has written to the Reverend Sigamoney to make arrangements for meeting local Indians and getting to know them better. Adds that she hopes to sail for Madras from Durban on 10 November to attend the Conference in India. (Rao, File 3.)

Letter dated Durban 18 October 1928 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan of Servants of India Society states that illness of Hugh Bryan, the permanent Superintendent of Education in Natal, has made it impossible for Sastri to meet him and undo the mischief that Dr. Loram had done. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 23 October 1928 from J. Young, Magistrate to R.P. Moonsami and I.M. Ramsay, Trocadero Restaurant, Johannesburg informs the latter that the exemption from prohibition, under Section 102(2) of the Liquor act of 1928, will not be renewed after that date (Rao, File 3.)

Letter dated 30 October 1928 from Alexander Kerr, Principal, South African Native College, Fort Hare, Cape Province to P. Kodanda Rao forwards an article on Yergam, one of the delegates to the Executive Conference of the World Students Christian Association to be held in India, from South Africa, whose activities seem to be in line with the ideals of the Servants of India Society. (Rao, File 3.)

Letter dated Johannesburg, 30 October 1928 from Bernard L.E. Sigamoney to P. Kodanda Rao informs him that the writer arranged a meeting of about 17 Indian ladies and six European ladies at his house to talk things over with Miss Hamman. States that C. Prakji told the writer that the Congress was not contesting elections and that the same old crew have been elected. Observes that a meeting of the Indo-European Council was held and the following gentlemen elected: Sastri (President), Professor Watt (Chairman), Thambi Naidu (Vice Chairman), J.D. Pheinalt Jones and Sigamoney (Secretaries), H. Kallenbach (Treasurer), P.K. Desai and I.I. Hayarle and Dr. L. Erasmus Ellis (Executive Members). Refers to and encloses (i) correspondence between the licensed Victuallers, Association and Minister regarding the Liquor Bill, Clause 102 and (ii) letter from the Labour Office to Waiters' Union wanting to know amongst other things why they have registered. Mentions Oswin Bul's inability to send any one from Natal to the Students Conference at Mysore. (Rao, File 3.)

Letter dated Cape Town 3 November 1928 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan states that the South African delegation to the Student Christian Federation meeting to be held in India in December. Adds that the three white people (Members of the Delegation) are all Dutch and it is of the utmost value that they be given opportunities to know and understand India sympathetically. Remarks that *Cape Times* has become quite friendly to the Indian cause and that *Times* came out with a severe attack on General Smuts for his attack on the Agreement and his reference to Sastri. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Cape Town 3 November 1928 from P. Kodanda Rao to Vaze requests him to send copies of his (Rao's) South African Labour Policy articles to his friends—Prof. Fred Clark, University of Cape Town, J.D.R. Jones, University of Johannesburg, C.W. Cousins, Secretary, Department of Labour, Pretoria and F.A.W. Lucas, Chairman, Wage Board, Pretoria. (Rao, File 2.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 5 November 1928 from Alice Duncan

to P. Kodanda Rao, states, amongst other things, that it seems like a nemesis that Hertzog shall have the same disloyalty in his cabinet that General Boha had from him years ago. (Rao, File 3.)

Letter dated Durban 20 November 1928 from Marguerite M. Kriet, General Secretary, Young Women's Christian Association of South Africa, Durban, Natal branch to P. Kodanda Rao states that after hearing about his address at the Port Elizabeth Students' Christian Association Conference, the thought came to her mind that he might be willing to address young women in their hostel and teachers and students among them should be made to recognise their duty towards the Indian people in South Africa. (Rao, File 3.)

Copy of letter dated Durban 14 December 1928 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan reports that Sastri delivered three lectures on Indian philosophy to appreciative audience in Durban. States that the local Young Women's Christian Association invited Rao to dinner and to lecture to the girls on Servants of India Society. Adds that the Secretary, a Dutch lady, consulted the girls first about inviting Rao and they unanimously approved of his lecturing. (Rao, File 1.)

Copy of a letter dated 28 December 1928 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan states that the Liquor Act trouble is causing great anxiety and observes that Sastri College has not commenced yet. Adds that House Committee Report has been submitted to Dr. Malan but not yet published. (Rao, File 1.)

Copy of a letter dated Johannesburg 19 January 1929 from V.S.S. Sastri to Sir Mohammad Habibullah refers to the farewell dinner the writer had with the Prime Minister and the latter's disapproval of Roos's attitude towards the Indian waiters. Hopes that when Parliament resumes, the Prime Minister will not be opposed to an amendment on their behalf. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 10 March 1929 from John Tyson to P. Kodanda Rao reports that Sir Kurma led the Congress "duputasie" to Havenga (the Acting "Roos") and Havenga is writing to the authorities in the Transvaal to the effect that it is not the intention of the Government that Indians, who at the commencement of the Act were actually working as wine-stewards and waiters, should lose their jobs through the operation of Section 102. Observes that the Cabinet's orders are to be respected by the autocrats of the Railway Board and the new Agent is to enjoy the same facilities as his predecessor. Adds that Sir Kurma has been very warmly welcomed

by the Government. (Rao, File 4.)

Copy of a letter dated 12 March 1929 from P. Kodanda Rao to Robertson refers to a misapprehension that seems to exist as to what Sastri said in his speech in Mombasa. Encloses a cutting from *Standard* and affirms that "Sastri took care to say that he was not advocating the adoption of the South African Indian policy in Kenya and suggests to Robertson a correction in his papers regarding what Sastri actually said. (Rao, File 1.)

Copy of a letter dated Mombasa 13 April 1929 from P. Kodanda Rao to Patwardhan reports the arrival of H.N Kunzru in Mombasa and states that his speech has created a favourable impression. Mentions that he attended the Congress session at Mombasa, which was a great success and drafted the memorandum on behalf of Indians for presenting to Sir Samuel Wilson. Refers to the campaign carried on by the *Democrat* of Nairobi against Sastri for making a statement in India that Indians in Kenya were inferior to Europeans in a moral, physical and political capacity. Suggests that Sastri should be censured in a mass meeting to be held. Adds that Oza moved a resolution, which was printed in a much watered down form in the *Democrat*. Alludes to a resolution of thanks to Sastri moved by Varma in the Congress. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Durban 21 April 1929 from John D. Tyson to P. Kodanda Rao states that the Johannesburg City Council has shelved the licence question till after the new Parliament meets. Refers to (1) prophecies as regards the prospects in the forthcoming elections; (2) Smuts is optimistic; (3) Hertzog and the remnant of the Creswellites will return with a majority; (4) K.V. Reddi's getting along better with Congress friends; and (5) Christopher continues to be difficult. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated London 25 April 1929 from S.L. Polak to P. Kodanda Rao states that he has received from Varma copies of resolutions passed by the Executive Committee of the Congress, prior to Hariji's arrival. Observes that they seem to be good, except that he should have advised maintaining the previous arrangements of nomination as a voluntary measure for enabling the Indians to have their say in the public bodies of Kenya. Refers to Sastri's appointment to the Royal Commission on Labour and his being available to go to East Africa. Blames Indians in Kenya for not insisting upon the Government of India delegating Sastri earlier, whilst he was on his way to India. (Rao, File 1.)

Newsletter No. 45 dated 29 April 1929 from Servants of India Society, Poona signed by A.V. Patwardhan, the Secretary carries the news about Sastri being requested by the Government of India to go to East Africa to watch the interests of Indians there and to help Sir Samuel Wilson, the Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in his inquiry for which he has been specially deputed by the Cabinet. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Nairobi 30 May 1929 from P. Kodanda Rao to Vaze, requests him to send a copy of *Servants of India* to L.W. Leech, who was the Editor of *Kenya Daily Mail* and is now Editor of the daily edition of the *Times of East Africa* to be started on 10 June. Adds that his paper is anti-convention of the Association and is in favour of common roll. (Rao, File 1.)

Copy of letter dated Nairobi 30 May 1929 from P. Kodanda Rao to A.V. Patwardhan informs him about Sastri's landing in Mombasa on 10th May and discussing Zanzibar affairs with a deputation from that country. Refers to the speech delivered at a lunch party given by A.M. Jeevanjee, which impressed Europeans and Indians in Mombasa. Alludes to his interview with Sir Samuel Wilson at Entebbe on 13th and his return to Nairobi after visiting Kampala and Jinja in Uganda. Comments on the hostile attitude of the Indians towards Sastri after Mombasa speech as they (Indians) believe that Sastri has weakened on the common roll and as a result the Indians did not care to do anything to get Sastri to meet the local Europeans. Adds that A.P. Best, a European Theosophist, has arranged such a meeting, which led to other engagements. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated Durban 2 June 1929 from J. Tyson to P. Kodanda Rao states, amongst other things, that Sir K.V. (Reddi) unfortunately has rather got across the Congresswallas. Adds that Sorabjee and Godfrey are friendly but still very suspicious. Fears that he will end up by alienating the Congress without getting others in at all and mentions in this connection, the case of Sastri College. States that the Union Government's subsidy to Natal (for Indian education) is expected to be £53,000 this year and the budget provision of £53,000 for the next year has also been passed for recurring expenditure and another £10,000 for capital expenditure but there has not been any provision for capital expenditure on Indian education for years. (Rao, File 1.)

Times of India in its column "South Africa Letter" dated 14 June 1929 reports that Dr. Malan's statement in the House of Assembly

to the effect that he would reintroduce the Asiatic Bill dealing with the Transvaal has caused consternation among Indian traders as the South Africa born Indians will be deprived of all facilities. Reports that a meeting convened in June by the colonial born Indians passed a resolution condemning the Asiatic Bill. (Rao, File 3.)

An interim statement dated 7 February 1930 concerns returned emigrants from South Africa by Bhawani Das Sanyasi—printed and published by Banarsidas Chaturvedi. (Rao, File 3.)

Select Committee Report dated 13 May 1930 on Asiatics in the Transvaal records that the Committee must have power to take evidence, call for papers and propose such legislation as it may deem fit. Mentions that it should consist of the Minister of Interior, Messrs Acutt, S.D. Dewet, Duncan, Reverend C.W.M. Dutoit, Messrs Eaton and Jooste, Sir Robert Kotze, Dr. Potgister, Major K. Rood and Mr. Swart. States that it deals with the following problems, viz., (1) the issue of trading licences to Asiatics in illegal occupation of stands; (2) position arising from areas such as springs . . . subsequent to the promulgation of Act No. 37 of 1919, in so far as it is intended to prohibit the ownership of fixed property in the Transvaal by Asiatics through companies in which they had a controlling interest. Recommends that (1) a period of five years commencing 1 May 1930 shall be fixed, within which all illegal business shall be disposed of; (2) the local authorities concerned shall, within 12 months after the promulgation of the legislation, assign suitable areas in which the Asiatics affected will be enabled to obtain trade facilities and ownership of fixed property; (3) necessary amending of legislation to provide adequate machinery to ensure enforcement of law and to prevent evasion of the said acts, etc. (Rao, File 3.)

The Union of South Africa *Government Gazette*, volume LXXX dated Cape Town 21 May 1930 contains (a) an act to provide for the ratification and carrying out the Customs Agreement entered into between the Government of the Union and the Governments of the Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia respectively; (b) Act to provide for the registration of women as voters and for their voting in the election as members of the House of Assembly and Provincial Councils, and for their capacity to be nominated, elected and to sit and vote as Senators, Members of the House of Assembly and Provincial Councils; (c) Acts to amplify the Riotous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendment Act 1914; (d) Acts to provide for power to suspend the working of the line of railway from Colesberg

Junction to Colesberg; (e) Bill to amend in certain respects, the law relating to occupation of certain land in the province of the Transvaal by Asiatics and to provide for matters incidental thereto, published in the *Union Gazette Extraordinary*. (Rao, File 3.)

Letter dated London 7 May 1931 from P. Kodanda Rao to Vaze observes that Shamsuddin wishes to go into the Council by nomination but Ishardas forced him out of it by setting up other candidates, so that election becomes inevitable. States that Ishardas holds the trump card and is likely to succeed. (Rao, File 2.)

Letter dated London 22 May 1931 from P. Kodanda Rao to Vaze writes about their (Sastri and Rao) meetings with John Cable, sometime the Editor of *Times of East Africa* and his (Cable's) suggestion that the Indian and European delegates from Kenya should hold a conference to explore possibilities of a compromise on a common roll. Adds that his suggestion is that the settlers should accept the common roll and Indians should give an undertaking that no further change in the constitution should be made without the consent of the majority of the unofficial members of the Kenya Legislative Council. (Rao, File 2.)

Letter dated London 4 June 1931 from P. Kodanda Rao to Vaze states, in regard to East African business, that Sastri is giving evidence on 12th. Adds that they are making a move to see if it will be possible to come to an agreement with the settlers' delegation on the common roll. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated London 11 June 1931 from P. Kodanda Rao to Vaze states that Sastri and Rao have been busy with the East African affair. Observes that they have met Phadke to ascertain if there were any divergences between the position of the Government of India and the Indians. Remarks that Indians are positively opposed to any form of closer union, while the Government have no objection. Informs him that if closer union is decided upon, Indians, while acquiescing in economic coordination, will oppose native policy through the High Commissioner. If a central authority was imposed, the Indian friends would give him an advisory council and not legislative. Adds that the representation of Indians on the Central Council should be equal to that of Europeans. Observes that native representation should be secured by the nomination of natives themselves or of officials. Mentions that Sastri is inclined to agree with Indian friends from Kenya. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated London 24 June 1931 from P. Kodanda Rao to Vaze

states that Sastri is the guest of honour at the League of Nations Union lunch. Adds that in a speech there he (Sastri) stressed the advantages of the common roll. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated London 2 July 1931 from P. Kodanda Rao to Vaze states, among other things, that the Indian delegates from Kenya are rather disappointed with their interview with Lord Passfield, who seems to have said that the common roll was a far-off goal not meant to be implemented so soon. (Rao, File 1.)

Letter dated London 5 November 1931 from P. Kodanda Rao to Vaze states that the East African Joint Committee report is out and refers to Sastri's interview given to *The Hindu*, which does not give a definite lead to the Indians in Kenya whether they should work for the communal franchise or keep up the boycott. Informs that Sastri's personal view, however, is that communal franchise should be worked under protest. Feels that "we might press for equality of seats in the legislature with the settlers—such an arrangement will make it easier for the Indians to work the communal roll". Adds that Sastri thinks there is no prospect of this request being acceded to. (Rao, File 2.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 9 January 1932 from P. Kodanda Rao to Vaze writes about arrangements to meet Sir Fazl-i-Husain and Bajpai and to meet the Transvaal Indians and Mrs. Naidu. Intimates writers' proposed departure for Cape Town on 9 January and observes that he has no idea how long the conference will last but it is said that, since the Union Parliament is to open on 27, the Union Government would be anxious to finish the conference before that day. (Rao, File 2.)

Letter dated Cape Town 22 January 1932 from P. Kodanda Rao to Vaze states that due to the illness of Sir Fazl-i-Husain, Sastri led the Indian delegation and observes that not much progress has been made in the Round Table Conference. Adds that the outlook is not bright. (Rao, File 2.)

Letter dated London 5 September 1932 from Polak to P. Kodanda Rao writes, amongst other things, about South Africa and observes "our fight must continue for the proper treatment of Indians in South Africa and the recognition of South Africa born Indians as a necessary, inevitable and useful part of the permanent South African population and must lay increasing stress upon the details of the original agreement". States that the Portuguese East African Government's decision seems to affect all foreign merchants

alike. (Rao, File 2.)

Letter dated London 11 October 1932 from Polak to P. Kodanda Rao states, amongst other things, that he does not "feel inclined to support the passive resistance movement in South Africa". Sympathises with the movement but thinks that as a practical measure this is not the occasion for it nor is there the necessary leadership. (Rao, File 2.)

Three letters dated 10, 18 and 27 August 1933 from S.K. Karve, Honorary General Secretary, East African Indian National Congress, Mombasa to Polak and copies endorsed to P. Kodanda Rao. Refer to Colonial Secretary, Mombasa's assurance to the Congress that it is not the intention of the British Government to depart from the findings of the Joint Parliamentary Committee in the matter of the constitution of East Africa. Mention the Congress decision to drop the idea of submitting a memorandum to the Secretary of State for Colonies. (Rao, File 2.)

Letter dated 19 September 1933 from Polak to Kodanda Rao states that the Agent has taken quite the right line and informs him that letters received by him from the East African Indian National Congress, Mombasa, indicate that for the time being there is no danger. (Rao, File 2.)

Letter dated Durban 31 July 1934 from Maharaj Singh, Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, states that slowly things are improving and informs that the social status of Indians has risen since Sastri's time and educational facilities have also improved. Observes that, for the first time in the history of the Union, Natal Provincial Administration has given a grant of £10,000 towards Indian education in Natal. Adds that there is still a good deal of anti-Asiatic feeling engendered by hostile competitors—Jews, politicians, etc. Refers to the Indian community in Natal being split over co-operation with colonization committee. Disagrees with the report of the committee. (Rao, File 2.)

Letter dated Yale University, New Haven, 23 September 1934 from P. Kodanda Rao to 'Dear Friend' alludes, amongst other things, to his meeting with Maz Yergen and Mrs. Alexander in America. States that Yergen is an American coloured man, who worked on behalf of the YMCA among Bantus or natives in South Africa in 1928 and the Student Christian Conference in Mysore in 1928 or early 1929. Observes that Mrs. Alexander, wife of Alexander of Cape Town, who has been Member of the South African Parlia-

ment and was known as the "Member of India" because he espoused the cause of Indians in his Assembly, reviews books for *Cape Times*. (Rao, File 2.)

Letter dated New Haven, Conn, 29 October 1934 from P. Kodanda Rao to 'Dear Friend' states, amongst other things, that he met another professor, whom Sastri and he knew in South Africa – Prof. Macmillan of the University of Johannesburg, who was responsible for the University inviting Sastri to deliver his first address to a University audience in South Africa. (Rao, File 2.) .

Sastri, V.S.S. (1869-1946)

Born in Valangaima, a village in the then Madras Province on 22 September 1869 to Brahmin parents, V.S. Srinivasa Sastri was educated at the Government College, Kumbakonam. He joined the Servants of India Society in 1907 and assisted G.K. Gokhale in his public work. He was Secretary of the Madras session of the Indian National Congress in 1908 and took a very active part in formulating the Lucknow Pact, between the Congress and the Muslim League. In 1918, he founded the *Servants of India* as the weekly organ of the Servants of India Society to voice the views of Indian liberals. In 1921, he was chosen as a delegate of the Government of India to the Imperial Conference, London and succeeded in securing the passage of his resolution that British subjects of Indian origin lawfully settled in the British Dominions, should not be denied political franchise. He was a member of the Indian Delegation to the Round Table Conference between India and South Africa in 1926, which resulted in the Cape Town Agreement, committing the South African Government to shelve its Class Areas Bill. Subsequently, he was appointed the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, for one year, to supervise the implementation of the Cape Town Agreement. Under unanimous pressure, he extended his stay by six months. In 1929, he was deputed to British East Africa to help local Indians present their case before the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies but his mission was sabotaged by the Colonial Secretary in London. He was a member of the Round Table Conference between India and England in 1930 and 1931 to evolve a new constitution for India. He passed away on 17 April 1946.

The following papers of Sastri pertain to Africa:

Copy of a letter dated London 21 July 1921 from V.S.S. Sastri to Vaze observes that "after the resolution was referred to a committee of Premiers of the Dominions and ourselves with Churchill at its head, we had a tremendous shock. The upshot of the resolution, if carried, would be that Indians would be left, as before, in South Africa minus the Cape". Adds that Montague has sent a stiff letter asking Churchill that Smuts should consent to drop the Natal Ordinance, to ameliorate 'our' condition and to keep the Mandated German South-West Africa from the operation of the discriminatory anti-Indian laws. Mentions that in the Transvaal and the Orange River Free State there is a fundamental law, which provides that the franchise and citizenship can only be granted to a white man and never to a black or coloured person. (Sastri, Correspondence, V-5.)

Telegram dated London 20 February 1923 from H.S.L. Polak to Sastri states, "Times telegram from Nairobi alleges Colonial Office instructed Governor Kenya State application agreed policy involves strengthening emigration law. Property, education tests general application. Understand India Office not formally committed but danger imminent. Consider proposed legislation breach spirit. Conference resolution disastrous Indian interest ignoring history involves virtual Indian exclusion. Move legislature". (Sastri, Correspondence, p. 15.)

Extracts from the resolution moved by Sastri in the Council of State on 5 March 1923 relates to the rights and status of Indians in Kenya and gives instances of white-settlers' rough handling of the natives of Kenya. Points out that the rights of Indian settlers are no less than those of white-settlers from the empire. States that the demands are moderate and humane. (Sastri, Writings, No. 23.)

Telegram from (Natal Indian) Congress, Nairobi dated 20 March 1923 to Sastri requests him to include Corbett on Indian delegation. (Sastri, Correspondence, No. 7.)

Letter from Honorary Secretaries, Natal Indian Congress, dated Durban 22 May 1923 to Sastri forwards a copy of the statement presented by a deputation of the Congress to the Minister of Interior in Cape Town and states that the interview was not encouraging. (Sastri, Correspondence, N-24).

The address given by Sastri at Whitefields to a Men's meeting on 27 May 1923 reproduced in Christmas Outlook, states that Indians in Kenya do not wish to dominate or impose their civilisation but want to see British justice meted out to all her citizens. (Sastri, Writings,

No. 24.)

Memorandum dated 8 August 1923 by Sastri on the question of Indians overseas in regard to Kenya controversy. (Sastri, Writings, No. 26.)

Letter dated 22 August 1923 from H.N. Kunzru to Sastri observes "we all want self-Government. . . . but we can find no new method of agitation which will take us quickly to the desired goal". Suggests propaganda in rural areas by means of leaflets, exclusion of colonials from all services, exclusion of South African coal from Indian ports and a resolution at the Liberal Federation that we do not care for the British empire. (Sastri, Correspondence, H-6.)

Letter dated 23 August 1923 from (H.N. Kunzru) to Sastri observes that an effort should be made to induce the press to act in regard to the Kenya affair. . . ." (Sastri, Correspondence, H-6.)

Letter dated 27 August 1923 from G.S. Bajpai to Sastri states, amongst other things, that the Kenya question is most vital from every point of view. Adds that the country's policy with respect to it must be settled after mature reflection. (Sastri, Correspondence, B-1.)

Letter dated 2 September 1923 from G.S. Bajpai to Sastri observes "Smuts is a strategist and knows when to carry war into the enemy's camp." Hopes this will open the eyes of those, whose faith in conciliation of the Kenya settlement hadn't been shaken. (Sastri, Correspondence, N-24.)

Letter dated 2 September 1923 from G.S. Bajpai to Sastri states "Smuts will probably raise the question of segregation at the Imperial Conference and will ask for a general declaration that segregation on racial or economic grounds is desirable." (Sastri, Correspondence, B-2.)

Letter dated Madras 4 November 1923 from Annie Besant to (Sastri) reiterates her stand on boycott issue and states that the promise to include Kenya in the Committee's proposal is no reason for retracting the boycott. Adds "if Bruce carries his Parliament with him, as he says he can, to remove all disabilities, then when he has done so, the boycott of those two dominions can be carried off. Observes that South African coal must be boycotted in any case. (Sastri, Correspondence, V-5.)

Telegram dated 23 January 1924 from C.M. Pareek, President Natal Indian League to Sastri states "Durban (22nd) directed mass meeting. Tender hearty thanks for invaluable services rendered. Our

nation, especially Indians Overseas community, threatened extinction by Class Areas' Bill". Requests strong support from Motherland. (Sastri, Correspondence, N-16.)

Letter dated Simla 24 September 1926 from J.W. Bhore, Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands, Government of India, to Sastri informs the latter that the conference between the representatives of the Union of South Africa and the Government of India to discuss the Indian problems in South Africa will be held about 14 December 1926. Wants Sastri's consent to serve as a member of the Indian deputation. (Sastri, Correspondence, B-31.)

Letter dated Bombay 5 November 1926 from C.F. Andrews to Sastri states, amongst other things, that the writer is going to England again, as the Kenya people want him specially to go and stop the immigration restrictions from being passed in London against Indians and on that subject he can give solid information, (Sastri, Correspondence, A-37.)

Letter dated Santiniketan 31 December 1926 from C.F. Andrews to Sastri writes about repatriation and states that the writer has a very bitter experience about these people, as they suffer when they come back. States that the Government of India is very negligent about these things. Adds that the writer feels a strong sympathy with the position of the colonial-born Indians in Natal on this point. Observes that what rejoices the writer's heart is the marvellous way in which the addressee has been able to get forward with the constructive part of the Agreement (Sastri, Correspondence, A-37.)

In diary dated 2 January 1927, Sastri writes that the writer pleaded for the formation of a South Africa-India League and Andrews seconded him. Adds that the League was formed and Sastri was received with marked courtesy. (Sastri, Diary-1927.)

Extract from a speech made by Dr. Malan in the House of Assembly on 9 May 1927 regarding immigration law and observes that it will affect the Indians who, as a class, are deemed under the law of 1913 to be prohibited immigrants. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Letter dated Simla 1 June 1927 from J.W. Bhore to Sastri forwards a copy of instructions framed by the Government of India for the guidance of the latter in South Africa during his tenure of office as Agent. Asks Sastri to endeavour to establish personal friendly relations with the Ministry and the senior Union officials to interpret the wishes of the Indian community in South Africa to the

Government in regard to administrative interests being more than individual interest and to try to bring a few prominent Indians into contact with the concerned officials of the Union Government; to watch carefully the arrangements made by the Government of the Union to give effect to their scheme of assisted emigration, policy of betterment of Indian community to create a wide circle of European friends, through whom Sastri may mould European opinion generally to view the Indian question with greater sympathy and watch the administration of Economic Laws—Industrial and Trade and in case of racial discrimination make suitable representations to the Union authorities. (Sastri, Correspondence, B-31.)

Extract from a speech made by O'Brien in the House of Assembly on 16 June 1927 deals with the appointment of Sastri as Agent-General to the Union. Observes that Sastri has not been quite tactful, as he talks of uplifting of the Indians in South Africa and that they mean to push on to the ultimate goal, when they shall obtain the franchise in South Africa. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Extract from a speech made by Dr. Malan in Parliament on 23 June 1927 reports in regards to immigration that the loss of domicile after three years absence from the Union will not be a hardship in the case of any European. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Notes of conversation between Patrick Duncan and Sastri dated Johannesburg 6 July 1927 report on the probability of the Government taking over Indian education. States that General Smuts is favourably inclined and Duncan approves of Sastri's idea of getting to know Europeans in Natal. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Notes of conversation between Hollander and Sastri dated 19 July 1927 reports on Hollander's explanation of the Union Constitution and Natal Administration's jurisdiction. Refers to the Provincial Council's hostile attitude towards Indians as also to the agreement and the appointment of the Education Commission. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban 21 July 1927 from Sastri to (Sir Muhammad Habibullah) refers to the writer's meeting with Sir George Plowman and discussion about the appointment of the Education Officer to assist in the inquiry. States that the 'Transvaal traders, influenced by Camy, are intransigent'. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Notes of post-lunch conversation at the Kings' House, Durban, on 22 July 1927 describe meeting between the Governor-General and the Administrator. Reports on Sir George Plowman's narrating

the history of the Indian question as also of the education question. Refers to Sastri's suggestion about the appointment of the Education Commission and the financial difficulties involved in the implementation of the education scheme. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Notes on the Natal Indian Congress (Stranger Branch) presenting a welcome address to Sastri, the first Agent-General of the Government of India in the Union of South Africa, on his first visit to the township of Stranger on 24 July 1927. (Sastri, Correspondence, N-15.)

Letter dated Salisbury, Rhodesia 26 July 1927 from C.T. Loram, Member of Native Affairs Commission to Sastri writes on behalf of F.P. Keppel and seeks an interview with Sastri. Adds that Dr. Keppel is the President of the Carnegie Corporation of the New York, travelling in the interest of their society. Seeks opportunities in Africa for the expenditure of their money. Observes that part of their funds be used for Indian education. (Sastri, Correspondence, L-18.)

Notes of conversation between sir George Plowman and Sastri at Maritzburg dated 3 August 1927 report on Indian Education, strength and chairmanship of the Commission and site for school, etc. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 6 August 1927 from C.T. Loram to Sastri observes that the Carnegie Corporation might easily be made interested in the educational position of Indians in Natal. Indicates aspects of education in which Dr. Keppel and Bertram seem to be interested in training institutions for teachers and institutions for the education of leaders. (Sastri, Correspondence, L-18.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban 14 August 1927 from Sastri to Sir Muhammad Habibullah informs the latter that the Administrator has obtained the consent of his Executive for the Commission. Adds that he proposes to confront the Provincial Council with a decisive proof of the self help of the Indian community in the shape of cheques to meet the cost of a combined Training College and High School. Refers to Camy in Johannesburg who, he fears, will succeed in preventing the re-union of the Transvaal with South African Indian Congress. (Sastri, File No. 6-A.)

Copy of a letter dated 15 August 1927 from Sir Muhammad Habibullah to Sastri comments on the extract from Malan's speech sent by Sastri and states that "the proposed definition of domicile would . . . not operate against a European who, having lost it by three years absence,, wished to return to the Union, an Asiatic, on

the other hand, would be affected as being a prohibited immigrant". Refers to the squabble between the Transvaal and the Natal Indians. (Sastri, Correspondence, M-9.)

Latter dated 21 August 1927 from C.T. Loram to Sastri suggests that any help or cooperation, which they may receive from the Carnegie Corporation be given to the proposed Indian College rather than to an industrial school or Boy Scout Movement. Hopes that the Commission proposed to be set up to investigate Indian Education will consider the possibility of putting Indian education under the control of his colleagues in Native Education in Natal and Training College under a Government Council. (Sastri, Correspondence, L-18.)

Copy of a letter dated 29 August 1927 from Sir Muhammad Habibullah to Sastri acknowledges receipt of addressee's letter of 31 July 1927 and states, amongst other things, that it is a pity that Camy and his like are still standing out of the Congress. Hopes that "they will before long see the wisdom of unity in a land where everybody's hand is against them". (Sastri, Correspondence, M-9.)

Copy of a letter dated Simla 12 September 1927 from Sir Muhammad Habibullah to Sastri states, amongst other things, that the addressee's conversion of the Government of Natal is a splendid personal triumph. Hopes that his efforts to induce the Indian community to subscribe £20,000 will meet with success. Refers to the refusal of the Minister of Interior to comply with India's request on the subject of minor children and observes that the local governments and the shipping companies in India have been warned not to let this class of children go. (Sastri, Correspondence, M-9.)

Copy of a letter dated 23 September 1927 from Sastri to Sir Muhammad Habibullah informs him about the appointment of the Education Commission and writer's intention to get a suitable site for the Training College. Adds that the leading Muslim merchants demand that the writer should obtain from Dr. Malan the immunity promised by the latter in respect of Section 5, without the writer asking them to reunite within the Congress. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Telegram dated Johannesburg 20 September 1927 from Coovadia to Hosencasim, Durban states "inform all your men particulars posting today". (Sastri, Correspondence C-.)

Letter dated Durban 25 September 1927 from Joint Honorary Treasurers South African Indian Congress, appeals to the Imperial Citizenship Association, Bombay for funds. Adds that C.F. Andrews,

who was in Africa from 1925 onwards, is fully acquainted with the financial affairs of the Congress. Gives also an account of the expenses incurred on Andrews' stay and states that the money is due from the Transvaal British Indian Association, which has seceded from the South African Indian Congress. (Sastri, Correspondence, S-53.)

Letter dated 26 September 1927 from J.M. Calinton, Bishop of Pretoria, to Sastri states that the writer has seen references in the papers to the fund being raised by Sastri for a High School for Indians at Durban and conveys his appreciation of the same. (Sastri, Correspondence, C-).

Copy of a letter dated 7 October 1927 from Sastri about his interview with the Governor-General, the Prime Minister and the Minister for the Interior. Intimates discussion of the question of grant of a site to Indian education scheme by the Town Council of Durban and disapproval by the press of the personnel of the Education Commission, reports his interview with two deputations from Johannesburg—the Patidars and the Executive of the B.I.A.S. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Letter dated Durban 17 October 1927 from W.S. Ch. [...] to P. Kodanda Rao states that the writer has been greatly impressed by the Servants of India Society's ideals and is attempting to impart into the South African Labour Party some of these ideals. Expresses fear that his efforts would be fruitless as the party to which he belongs is often used for personal advancement, either political or monetary. Observes that the writer has, however, placed on the agenda of the next national conference a resolution providing that members of the party who serve the state either in Parliament or Civil Service, shall be deemed to be servants of the party. Adds that the writer does not think that the ideals of the Labour Party can be improved upon, but to achieve its ideals the spirit of self sacrifice must be cultivated. (Sastri, Correspondence, Unidentified Letters.)

Letter dated Bombay 8 November 1927 from K. Natarajan to Sastri, Agent-General of the Government of India, Pretoria, South Africa, informs him about a sum of Rs. 30,000 paid by the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association to the Abdurrehman Deputation, when it came to India. States that this should not have been paid as the deputation had arranged their finances well before hand. (Sastri, Correspondence, N-20.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban 16 December 1927 from Sastri to Sir Muhammad Habibullah reports the progress made in regard to

the Indian Education Scheme and the appointment of a Board of Trustees—Sastri, E.M. Paruk and Sorabji Rustomjee to take charge of finances. Writes about revival of the Natal Indian Association, forthcoming meeting of the Congress in Johannesburg on 17 and the Congress stalwarts' intention to meet the Minister of Interior in regard to condonation scheme. Refers to Dr. Loram, Member of the Native Affairs Commission, who promotes the Technical Educational Scheme comprehending all non-Europeans. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Copy of a letter dated New Delhi 20 December 1927 from Sir Muhammad Habibullah to Sastri expresses hope that Durban Town Council will give him the site that he wants and that Kitchlu and Gordon will be able to induce the Commission to take a broad and sympathetic view of the requirements of the Indian community. Refers to the private and personal message sent by Habibullah to Malan about the Liquor Bill and non-committal reply from Malan. Public opinion in India trusts South African Indian Congress. Alludes to the split between Malan and Tielman Roos over the Flag Bill and says that the Government of India may have to resort to official channel of communication in regard to Liquor Bill—the proposed Section 104 of the Liquor Bill would be inconsistent with the spirit of the Cape Town Agreement (Sastri, Correspondence, M-9.)

Letter dated 29 December 1927 from F.P. Keppel, Carnegie Corporation, New York, to Sastri states that Loram being in touch with Sastri, Keppel would like to take advantage of Sastri's stay in Africa to work out some basis of cooperation. (Sastri, Correspondence, K-14.)

Copy of a letter dated 31 December 1927 from Sastri to Sir Muhammad Habibullah mentions his visit to Kimberley to attend the annual session of the Congress. States that the interview between Schmidt, Minister of the Interior, and Congress officials which, according to him, went off well. Adds that Carrim Agha, Robests and Company has started a Federation for the whole of the Union to supplant the SAIL. Makes observations on this body's opposition to the Cape Town agreement. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Diaries of Sastri, Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, for the years 1927-1929 contain a day to day record of his engagements, prominent Indians he met in their personal capacity or as members of delegations e.g., S.R. Naidoo, Secretary, Indian Association. Alludes to deputation of Social League consisting of

Phadke, Pandya, Patel, Indian members of the Social Service League, Indian Association Delegates—Virji, Bapat, Yousuf Ali, Tyab Ali, Khare and others. Government officials—Malan, Schmidt, the Minister of Interior, Hertzog, Leggate, the Colonial Secretary of Southern Rhodesia, deputation of Local European Chamber of Commerce, visit of C.F. Andrews, visits paid by Sastri to Government Girls Indian School in Ladysmith, opening of Hindu Gymkhana, correspondence with the Government of India or the Government of South Africa particularly in regard to the entry into South Africa of unaccompanied children of Indians, Sastri's interview with Muslim traders whom he met at a dinner at Moosa's house and his request for unity and support for education of Indians in South Africa, promise by Coovadia of Johannesburg to help unity, meeting attended by Sastri in the Gandhi Library with West in the Chair and enrolment of a few volunteers for sanitation work, Sastri's appeal for education fund and promise by Pareek and Khan to pay £500 each, etc. (Sastri, Diaries, 1927-1929.)

Copy of a letter dated New Delhi 2 January 1928 from Sir Muhammad Habibullah to Sastri comments on Habib Motan's letter condemning everyone celebrated in Indian history. Observes that Malan exhibited vigorous strictness in interpreting the Cape Town Agreement. Refers to entry of wives and minor children by fraudulent certificates. States that they are preparing for Venn's visit to India. (Sastri, Correspondence, M-9.)

Letter dated 2 January 1928 from D.F. Malan to Sastri observes that a personal interview between the addressee and the Prime Minister on the Liquor Bill Clause followed by other interviews will certainly have a good effect. Adds that he will prepare the ground by placing the contents of addressee's memo for consideration before the Cabinet. (Sastri, Correspondence, M-11.)

Letter dated 4 January 1928 from Lord Irwin, Governor-General of India to Sastri states that the addressee's mention in his letter about the Education Fund and his plan for a combined Training College and High School is most encouraging. Observes in regard to East African Commission that Ewbank and Maharaj Singh have been sent to assist the local Indians to put their case and adds that the Governor of Tanganyika is strongly opposed to the federation idea. (Sastri, Correspondence, I-9.)

Private and personal letter dated, Pretoria, 11 January 1928 from H. Gordon Watson, Administrator, Natal to Sastri informs the latter

that he has been appointed as successor to George Plowman and will now communicate with him. (Sastri, Correspondence, W-8.)

Letter dated Cape Town 13 January 1928 from B.K. Long of *The Cape Times* to Sastri thanks him for the memorandum about the Liquor Bill as affecting the Indian community. Observes that the clauses penalising Indians should be tackled sooner. Adds that he will have a leading article about it. (Sastri, Correspondence, L-16.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 13 January 1928 from L.R. Macleod of *Rand Daily Mail* to Sastri thanks him for sending the memorandum about the Liquor Bill and states that it is unjust and cannot be defended on moral grounds. Adds that the writer will have the matter dealt with in Monday's issue. Observes that the labour pressure upon the Government is very heavy. (Sastri, Correspondence, P-50.)

Letter dated Pretoria 13 January 1928 from Secretary, Department of the Interior, Union of South Africa to Sastri informs him that they are ready to proceed with the condonation scheme but must await the result of the interview with Dr. Malan for possible amendments. States that the writer has authorised the Principal Immigration Officer, Cape Town to automatically extend, for a month at a time pending further instructions, the temporary permits held by the men at Cape Town, who are awaiting final disposal. Adds that the writer has discussed with Schmidt, Sastri's tentative suggestion that all candidates for condonation should apply through Congress or one of its affiliated bodies and should leave the door open for all such Indians, who do not belong to any association to apply direct to the Department. States that the representatives of the "Federation" have applied for interview and refers to the work done by Mehd and Desai in seeking legal remedies. (Sastri, Correspondence, U-4.)

Copy of a letter dated New Delhi 16 January 1928 from Muhammad Habibullah to Sastri congratulates him on the way in which he has been able to 'squeeze money out of our compatriots in South Africa' for the educational scheme. Comments on George Plowman, who has retired and his successor, Gordon Watson. Hopes that he will take a broader view of the obligations of the Provincial Government towards the Indian community. Informs him that arrangements have been made for Venn's visit and adds in regard to the subject of Liquor Bill that "our case for the exclusion of Indians from the purview of the restricted provision of the Bill is unanswerable, whether we shall be able to induce the Union Government or rather Tielman Roos to take the same view it is impossible to say. . . ." Refers also to

the addressee making a beginning in the matter of breaking down bar against admitting Indians into Hotel Edward. (Sastri, Correspondence, M-9.)

Letter dated Durban 19 January 1928 from A.I. Kajeje, Honorary General Secretary, South African Indian Congress, to Sastri conveys resolution passed at the Eighth Session of the Congress at Kimberley on 2-5 January 1928 appreciating the services rendered by the addressee and appeals to him to prolong his stay for a further period. (Sastri, Correspondence, K-2.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 23 January 1928 from Hermann Kalenbach to Sastri informs him about the appointment of his firm as architects for the construction of a Super Cinema at Pretoria. (Sastri, Correspondence, K-14.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 23 January 1928 from S.B. Mehd to Sastri gives full particulars in regard to the case of Bena, wife of Dayabhai Kasanji Patel *alias* Keshave Prabhoo, seeking permission to proceed to Johannesburg. Adds that the matter is already under submission to the Minister for consideration and requests the addressee to help him. (Sastri, Correspondence, M-21.)

Copy of a letter dated Maritzburg 28 January 1928 from Sastri to Sir Muhammad Habibullah refers to the turn that Roos has given to Clause 104 of the Liquor Bill and the reaction in India. Alludes to the speeches of Dubeau and Alexander, quoting the Prime Minister's promise to be fair towards the Indian community and writer's proposed visit to Durban to settle matter in regard to the school site. Mentions how some Licensing Boards are reducing the number of licences before the licensing law is altered. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Letter dated Nairobi 28 January 1928 from (Kunwar) Maharaj Singh to K.P. Kitchlu, who forwarded it to Sastri for perusal, refers to the raising of funds by Sastri in South Africa for provision of a training college for Indian teachers. Informs him about Ewbank and his discussions with the Hilton Young Commission in respect of the Uganda Indians. States that the task before them (Ewharle and Maharaj Singh) and the local Indians is extremely difficult as the unofficial European element is very strong. Observes that facilities for Indian education in East Africa are inadequate. (Sastri, Correspondence, K-17.)

Telegram dated Peitermaritzburg 31 January 1928 from Dr. Malan to Sastri states, "Can meet you any time convenient to you Monday morning". (Sastri, Correspondence, M-11.)

Telegram dated Rondebosch 6 February 1928 from Kajee and Patlier to Sastri informs him about the reports received by them from hotels and boarding-houses in Natal and some districts of the Transvaal and the Cape in respect of Indians employed there, indicating the number of those born in South Africa or elsewhere and also the number of years of service put in by them. (Sastri, File No. 5.)

Telegram dated 8 February 1928 from Kajee to Sastri states "Congress and community anxious hear result your interview Roos also fate clause 104 . . ." (Sastri, File No. 5.)

Telegram dated Rondebosch 10 February 1928 from Pragji to Sastri informs him that Dayabhai is served with prohibition notice to cancel registration certificate under Section 5. Adds appeal noted. (Sastri, File No. 5.)

Letter dated 11 February 1928 from K.P. Kitchlu to Sastri about his visit to north and south coasts. States that he saw all the schools and had discussions with some representatives of the Teachers Association at Durban. Reports that the first meeting of the Executive called by the new administrator discussed the question of the Education Commission commencing its work, details of which are not known but according to the information available, it appears that the Executive wants the Union Government to give some kind of undertaking in regard to finance before the Commission begins its work. Expresses his view that the Commission should form a definite scheme and say clearly what "increased funds are required". (Sastri, Correspondence, K-17.)

Copy of a letter dated Rondebosch, Cape Province, 11 February 1928 from Sastri to Sir Muhammad Habibullah refers to Roos's statement in regard to the Cape Town Agreement and reports on attempts being made in the Transvaal to put into effect the restrictions arising out of Gold Laws, which have been allowed earlier to be evaded. Communicates his intention to meet the Administrator, Hofmyar in this connection. Comments on the licensing affair and observes that he may not arouse the opposition of the trading classes. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Natal Hotel Employees Union in their letter dated Durban 13 February 1928 to Sastri thanks him for elimination of clauses affecting them in Liquor Bill. (Sastri, Correspondence, 'N'.)

Telegram dated 14 February 1928 from Natal Hotel Employees Union, Vryheld Branch to Sastri thanks him for the trouble taken by him on their behalf (for the elimination of Clause 104 from

the Liquor Bill). (Sastri, File No. 5.)

Telegram dated 14 February 1928 from General Hertzog to Sastri refers to the points raised by the addressee in regard to Clause 104 of Liquor Bill and adds that they would like to assist as much as possible in placing the matter on satisfactory basis. Requests him to visit Cape Town to discuss the matter with the writer. (Sastri, File No. 5.)

Letter dated Durban 15 February 1928 from I.N.M. . . to Sastri states that Messrs Acutt and Gata are hopeless but K(Kajee) and P(Pather) are battling away hard as are Messrs Br. Williamson and Benson. Observes that this manoeuvring is absolutely anethema to the writer but it has to be done. Remarks that Waban's report was sound and it will carry the day. Adds that Kajee says that Indian Congress has already taken up the matter regarding Indian market and observes that whether the Government takes the licence fees or not, it is no guarantee that licences will be granted in all the cases. (Sastri, Correspondence, Unidentified letters.)

Letter dated Natal 15 February 1928 from H. Gordon Watson to Sastri informs him that the writer is going to Cape Town with the Executive Committee to discuss with certain members of the Cabinet the work of the Indian Education Committee as questions of policy are involved. (Sastri, Correspondence, W-8.)

Telegram dated 16 February 1928 from Kajee to Sastri states "Both fresh applications and draft conditions sale and lease come before Finance Committee. . . . Borough Engineers report very favourably. Feel I should stay here, attend this School Corporation matters Social Service League, Child Welfare both working satisfactorily SR prepares Licensing Memo" (Sastri, Correspondence, K-2.)

Telegram dated 17 February 1928 from Kajee to Sastri states "site matter discussed Finance Committee very favourably. Finally referred to Council in committee meeting next week.... Pather, Sorabjee, Christopher, Manilal left today for Johannesburg. Executive meeting Pather, Christopher Transvaal delegates leaving Johannesburg Express Sunday". (Sastri, Correspondence, K-2.)

Letter dated Durban 21 February 1928 from L.M. Mackenzie, Organising Secretary, South African National Council for Child Welfare to Sastri thanks him for the cheque for £10, which he has sent to Mrs. Simon, Secretary of the Durban Indian Child Welfare Society. (Sastri, Correspondence, S-54.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 22 February 1928 from the Reverend Bernard L.E. Sigamoney, Chairman Indian Boy Scout Association to Sastri informs him that they are forming a Scout Association and a Committee and have elected the addressee as their President. Encloses a list containing the names of the members. (Sastri, Correspondence, I-4.)

Telegram dated 24 February 1928 from A.I. Kajee to Sastri requests him to see Schmidt and endeavour to get sanction for Lockhart. States that the Council in Committee has agreed to further recommendation of Borough Engineer, which will provide not less than three acres. (Sastri, Correspondence, K-2.)

Copy of a letter dated Rondebosch, Cape Province, 24 February 1928 from Sastri to Sir Muhammad Habibullah, refers to the speech by Dr. Malan, who expresses himself gratified at the way in which the Indian community in South Africa has accepted the Cape Town Agreement. Informs him that the Congress deputation has been led by Christopher, Deputy President of the SAIC (South African Indian Congress). Encloses final draft list of the people who come under Section 5. Alludes to the question as to how far the Union Government are prepared to foot the Indian Education Bill. Forwards an extract from the report of the President and the Secretary of the Carnegie Corporation of New York for an education programme in Africa. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Copy of letter dated 26 February 1928 from M.K. Gandhi to Sastri implores him not to leave South Africa at the end of the year. (Sastri, Correspondence, G-2.)

Copy of a letter dated Pietermaritzburg 9 March 1928 from Sastri to Sir Muhammad Habibullah informs him that the Education Commission is going to sit on 2 April. Refers to the interview between the Union Ministers and the Natal Executive. Comments on its proceedings and informs him of the trouble in Johannesburg, owing to its Town Council confining Indian passengers to the front part of the upper deck in their tram-cars. Adds that the writer is taking up the matter with the Administrator. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Copy of a letter dated Maritzburg 23 March 1928 from Sastri to Habibullah refers to an ordinance against pedlars and hawkers in Johannesburg. Adds that the Mayor of Durban has advised the writer to begin building on two acres. Mentions Durban Beach Contract Ordinance. (Sastri, File. 6-A.)

Letter dated 3 April 1928 from Lord Irwin to Sastri mentions

that he has received a letter from Andrews, who had just been seeing Maharaj Singh on his return from Kenya and states that the situation there is improving. (Sastri, Correspondence, I-9.)

Copy of a letter dated Pietermaritzburg 6 April 1928 from Sastri to Habibullah informs him that Johannesburg tramway matter is still under negotiation. Makes his observations on the evidence before the Education Commission. Informs him of the deputation of Kitchlu and his Assistant, Miss Gordon on behalf of the Government of India to survey education in Natal. Alludes to condonation of illicit entrants and resistance on the part of the Department of Interior to the introduction of the ordinance ousting the jurisdiction of law courts of trading licences. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Copy of a letter dated Maritzburg (Natal) 20 April 1928 from the Transvaal raising difficulties against condonation, Education Inquiry Proceedings. Kitchlu's report is expected to be endorsed by the Commissioners. Observes that Dr. Malan is taking steps to appoint the Housing Committee as promised in the Cape Town Agreement. Suggests Association of Indians to deal with matters concerning their welfare. States that General Smuts approved of Rhodes' formula of "equal rights for all civilised peoples south of the Zambesi" at the conference of the African People's Organisation on 11 April 1928 at Cape Town. Encloses Hertzog's reply to the deputation and observes that he proposes to consult the coloured community before a bill is placed before the Parliament. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Copy of a letter dated Pretoria 7 May 1928 from Sastri to Habibullah about his tour programme in the Transvaal. Refers to Pargji Desai's cable to M.K. Gandhi exaggerating the defects of the condonation scheme and the writer's cable to put Gandhi right. Expresses satisfaction over the recommendations of the Select Committee on the Durban Beach Control Ordinance. Mentions proposed interview of certain members of Indian Education Commission with the Ministers. Bryan's favourable response to Kitchlu's memorandum regarding the terms and conditions on which teachers should be engaged. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Copy of a letter dated Simla 21 May 1928 from Habibullah to Sastri comments on the account given by Sastri in respect of condonation of illicit entry and attitude of the Education Commission in Natal and suggests that it should be pointed out to Malan that 'exercise of a little imaginative statesmanship' might go far in stabilising the rapprochement between the Union government and

the Indian community. Refers to the Housing Committee matter and Licensing Ordinance in the Transvaal and states that any modification of the ordinance will make the situation worse. Adds that Hertzog or Roos should be able to stop such an unfortunate development and alludes to Hertzog's promise to call a conference for the discussion of the coloured question. (Sastri, Correspondence, M-9.)

Copy of a letter dated Cape Town 31 May 1928 from Sastri to Pragji K. Desai, General Secretary, SAIC (South African Indian Congress), Johannesburg refers to M.K. Gandhi's cable to Sastri advising him to accept the condonation scheme as it is. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Copy of a letter dated Cape Town 1 June 1928 from Sastri to Habibullah reports further developments in the condonation matter. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Letter dated 2 June 1928 from Lord Irwin to Sastri comments on the report on the work of the Natal Provincial Committee on Indian Education. States "it seems to me a very remarkable event and the kind of thing that would have been inconceivable two or three years ago." (Sastri, Correspondence, I-9.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 16 June 1928 from Oswin Bull of Students' Christian Association of South Africa to Sastri states that they have asked Dr. Malan for a grant of money by the South African Government to enable some of their representatives to attend a meeting of the World Student Christian Federation in India. Requests Sastri to commend their case. (Sastri, Correspondence, S-66.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban 17 June 1928 from Sastri to Habibullah informs him that, in a public meeting held in Cape Town, he explained and recommended the condonation scheme. Writes about the speculation as to the question of writer's successor. Adds that the draft ordinance for depriving Indians of assistance of the courts in licensing matters, kept in abeyance due to the influence of Malan and the Prime Minister. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Copy of a letter dated Simla 18 June 1928 from Habibullah to Sastri states that Malan has been as conciliatory as he could be. Expresses a wish that the recommendations of the Natal Education Commission had been framed in a generous spirit and on a comprehensive scale. Appreciates the fact that Sastri could get the Provincial Government to earmark for Indian education the whole amount of the subsidy secured from their compatriots for the

purpose. Adds that no formal negotiations in regard to promoting trade between India and South Africa took place. Observes that it would be after Meek's return from South Africa that they would have the data for arriving at definite conclusion as to how India and Africa can be held together by ties of trade. (Sastri, Correspondence, M-9.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban 18 June 1928 from Sastri to Dr. Malan commends the request of the Students' Christian Association officials to Dr. Malan to make a grant of money from the Union Government to enable some students to attend the gathering of the Federation in India in December. (Sastri, Correspondence, M-11.)

Letter dated 23 June 1928 from Lord Irwin to Sastri states that he has spoken to Habibullah and Corbett about addressee's suggestion regarding establishment of a trade interest between South Africa and India. Adds that Meek's trade mission ought to help in improving their commercial relations. Refers to the housing committee at Durban and appreciates addressee's efforts to secure appointment of two Indians as assessors. (Sastri, Correspondence, I-9.)

Copy of a letter dated Simla 2 July 1928 from Habibullah to Sastri acknowledges receipt of his letter of 1 June and appreciates his managing the condonation scheme. Assures him of his support to any proposals for developing trade relations between India and South Africa. (Sastri, Correspondence, M-9.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 3 July 1928 from R.F. Alfred Hoernli, University of the Witwaterstrand to Sastri requests him to fix a date for giving a talk to the University Philosophical Society on Indian Philosophy. (Sastri, Correspondence, W-25.)

Letter dated 13 July 1928 from the Curator, Corporation of the Borough of Durban, to Sastri informs him that Durban would be pleased to accept a donation of a female elephant. (Sastri, Correspondence, D-16.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban (Natal) 14 July 1928 from Sastri to Habibullah writes about the unfavourable reaction of the 'Federationwallahs' in Natal to the condonation and comments thereon in the press. Refers to the further developments in the education scheme and the hostile attitude of the Acting Superintendent of Education. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban 28 July 1928 from Sastri to D.F. Malan, Minister of the Interior, Pretoria expresses disappointment about the personnel of the agency to inquire into the sanitary and housing conditions of the Indian community in South Africa.

Observes that it is not necessary to drop the Indian assessors altogether. (Sastri, Correspondence, M-11.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban 28 July 1928 from Sastri to Habibullah dwells upon the question of Housing Committee as proposed by Dr. Malan to conduct the enquiry. Observes that the provincial administration, however, is not keen to be intimately associated with it. States that the funds are set apart out of the provincial building loans for providing housing accommodation for the Indian community. Adds that condonation received a check due to the unresponsive attitude of Venn. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban 11 August 1928 from Sastri to Habibullah writes on condonation and states that people have begun to apply for their permits. Observes that the arrangements are made for laying the foundation stone for the new High School, and points out the feasibility of starting a Joint Council, having an equal number of the two communities on equal terms for the benefit of Indians etc. (Sastri, File, 6-A.)

Copy of a letter dated Simla 13 August 1928 from Habibullah to Sastri comments on Kitchlu's Transvaal report appreciating the work done by Sastri. Refers to the anti-Indian attitude of Dr. Loram and opposition to the condonation scheme in the Transvaal, Natal and the Cape. (Sastri, Correspondence, M-9.)

Telegram dated Simla 23 August 1928 from Habibullah to Sastri requests him to consider possibility of prolonging his stay till the end of 1929 for the following reasons—educational betterment just begun; housing improvement not even started; Assisted Emigration Scheme entered critical phase; negotiations to link India and South Africa by bonds of trade initiated but not completed; general election taking place next year and efforts may have to be made to keep Indian question from figuring in programme of rival parties. (Sastri, Correspondence, M-9.)

Letter dated 5 September 1928 from C.T. Loram to Sastri assures him that the interests of Indian education would be looked after by those who remain behind. Hopes to put before the Executive Committee a definite scheme for the improvement of the salaries of the teachers in aided schools. Encloses report of Lidgeton School as also a copy of his letter to persons working for a University of Natal. (Sastri, Correspondence, L-18.)

Letter dated 5 September 1928 from C.T. Loram to Sastri encloses a copy of his letter to the Secretary, Foundation Fund

Committee, which states that they should work towards the creation of a University of Natal with constituent colleges in Pietermaritzburg and Durban with the ultimate possibility of constituent colleges for Indians and natives. Suggests that funds should be raised for the purpose. (Sastri, Correspondence, L-18.)

Letter dated 5 September 1928 from C.T. Loram, Acting Superintendent of Education to Sastri, forwards a copy of the report of the Lidgetton Government Aided Indian School, published in extenso in the *Government Gazette*. (Sastri, Correspondence, L-18.)

Letter dated 6 September 1928 from Lord Irwin, Governor-General of India, to Sastri refers to the addressee's suggestion in regard to a visit of South African journalists to India. Observes that he would like to know how such an idea would be viewed by the Union Ministers. Adds that he, however, feels that it would be very useful. (Sastri, Correspondence, J-9.)

Letter dated Durban 7 September 1928 from Jas W. Godfrey, Solicitor, to Sastri states that he is seriously contemplating telling the people to refrain from accepting condonation because of the perfidy of the government. Requests the addressee to prolong his stay as neither the condonation scheme nor the education scheme are yet on a firm footing. (Sastri, Correspondence, G-11.)

Copy of a letter dated Johannesburg 7 September 1928 from Sastri to Habibullah reports that the condonation matter is in its final stage and hopes that the long-standing mess is cleared up. States that Dr. Malan is 'sleeping over' the Housing Committee affair and wants to meet the writer. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 11 September 1928 from R.F. Alfred Hoernli to Sastri thanks him on behalf of the Philosophical Society for his address. Informs him that the Society charged an entrance fee for Sastri's lecture and that the funds so realised would be devoted to the maintenance of the Philosophical Essay Prize and purchase of books. (Sastri, Correspondence, W-25.)

Letter dated 13 September 1928 from A.I. Kajee to Sastri requests him to prolong his stay in South Africa for one more year. (Sastri, Correspondence, K-2.)

Copy of a letter dated Kimberley 21 September 1928 from Sastri to Habibullah mentions cases of some Natal illicit and states that the people having domicile certificate since 1908 should be beyond the need of condonation. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Letter dated 18 September 1928 from Arthur Karney Bishop to

Sastri regrets Klerksdorp incident and appreciates the work done by him in South Africa. (Sastri, Correspondence, K-7.)

Letter dated 21 September 1928 from H.J. Lissack of Bonanza Mining and Development (Proprietary) Company Ltd. to Sastri appreciates his speech delivered in Johannesburg Town Hall and states "we in South Africa had firmly made up our mind, to turn the Indians out. . . . I now feel bound to say that South African viewpoint as regards your people is definitely wrong." (Sastri, Correspondence, L-13.)

Copy of a telegram dated 21 September 1928 from Viceroy (Lord Irwin to the Agent (Sastri) refers to the incident, which took place on 15 September at Klerksdorp and to the assurance given by the Union Government to bring the perpetrators of the outrage to justice. (Sastri, Correspondence, I-9.)

Copy of a telegram dated Kimberley 22 September 1928 from Sastri to Viceroy, Simla, states the incident caused by small and insignificant minority. . . . Adds that he has received innumerable expressions of regret and sympathy from high and low in South Africa and the result will be only to strengthen the friendly relations between South Africa and India. (Sastri, Correspondence, I-9.)

Letter dated Phoenix 1 October 1928 from Manilal M. Gandhi to Sastri states that the writer has no influence with Sorabjee. Observes that he has been trying to dissuade the committee members from making any demonstration but it has been decided, fearing that if the addressee leaves without seeing the college work complete, it is bound to die. (Sastri, Correspondence, G-3.)

Copy of a letter dated Johannesburg 6 October 1928 from Sastri to Habibullah writes about his visit to Rhodesia and the speeches made by him in Salisbury and Bulawayo having created an extraordinary impression. Observes that condonation has been obtained in the Transvaal and alludes to the Klerksdorp incident and the trouble caused to Indian waiters in the Transvaal by a clause in the Liquor Act. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Letter dated 7 October 1928 from the Editor, *Zanzibar Voice* to Sastri regrets the attack on Sastri from a 'rough element' in South Africa. (Sastri, Correspondence, Z-2.)

Copy of letter dated Durban 17 October 1928 from Sastri to Habibullah describes the Housing Committee as having 'shrunk into a departmental visit'. Refers to reaction of the local administration and the Congress and adds that the sale of municipal land under

restrictive conditions in the agreement is causing offence to the local administration. Comments on a letter from Tyson and refers to *Mercury's* attempt to egg the Government on to deport those illicit entrants, who have not sought condonation. Informs him of the new order requiring holders of trading licences to produce certificates and the unfriendly attitude of Venn to the Congress representatives. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Letter dated 23 October from R.F. Alfred Hoernli to Sastri asks if he could publish his lecture on Indian philosophy in the *British Journal of Philosophical Studies*. (Sastri, Correspondence, W-25.)

Copy of a letter dated Cape Town 1 November 1928 from Sastri to Habibullah gives an account of the proceedings of the Housing Enquiry Committee. Refers to a letter received by him from the Prime Minister and states that Smuts has always used the agreement to discredit the Ministry. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Letter dated Pretoria 1 November 1928 from Henry B. Renaldson, Governor-General's Office to Sastri informs him about a letter received by him from Lord Athlone regretting the occurrence of Klerksdorp incident and what happened to Sastri there. (Sastri, Correspondence, R-38.)

Letter dated Cape Town 12 November 1928 from Valentine Fischer congratulates Sastri on his 'inspiring and thought-making address'. (Sastri, Correspondence, F-3.)

Letter dated 14 November 1928 from G.S. Bajpai to Sastri states that at a meeting of the Standing Emigration Committee on 23 September 1928, Kunzru proposed that, in order to enable the people of South Africa to understand India and her culture, a collection of suitable books should be presented by the Government of India to one or two universities in South Africa. Refers to addressee's earlier suggestion that qualified lecturers should be sent to lecture before European audiences in South Africa on subjects relating to Indian history, literature and asks which suggestion the addressee prefers. (Sastri, Correspondence, B-1.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban 1 December 1928 from Sastri to Habibullah informs that the writer is engaged in delivering lectures on philosophy and literature in Durban. Adds that the Provincial Executives are anxious to settle the question of staffing the new Indian College at Durban. Refers to the appointment of some Indian 'grantees'—correspondent of an aided school. Informs him that Indian trade unions are planning to hold a joint conference. (Sastri,

File 6-A.)

Extract from *The Natal Mercury* of 6 December 1928 reports a gift made by Sastri of about hundred books dealing with Indian philosophy and Indian art including a complete set of Tagore and Bain to the Library Group. (Sastri, Writings, 32.)

Letter dated 7 December 1928 from Marguerite M. Kriet, General Secretary, Young Women's Christian Association of South Africa, Durban branch to Sastri appreciates his work in South Africa and states that it has not only helped and inspired the people of his own race but also rendered great service to the European community by removing the barrier of ignorance and invoking deep interest in the Indian community. (Sastri, Correspondence, Y-3.)

Letter dated Nairobi 13 December 1928 from A.P. Bist to Sastri about his meeting Das, Honorary Secretary of the Congress in Kenya to ascertain their programme for the addressee during his stay in Nairobi. States that they do not propose any set programme but to allow things to arrange themselves and observes that the Congress has been unfortunate in its choice of a Secretary, who appears to be an extremist imbued with communist tendencies. Adds that Varma, the President is keen on Sastri's visit and hopes the Congress to sit soon after the publication as the Hilton Young Commission Report which is expected about the middle of January and may coincide with Sastri's visit. Forwards a "manifesto" on behalf of Das. (Sastri, Correspondence, B-23.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban 15 December 1928 from Sastri to Habibullah states that Indian trade unions are being formed in several occupations--tinsmiths, metal workers, laundrymen, tobacco-workers. Observes that this is causing a flutter in the ranks of white labour and the Government is at its wits' end for a stable solution. Comments on South African politics. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban 16 December 1928 from Sastri to Bajpai states that the writer has already given 138 books to the Library Group of Durban and as a gesture, this is sufficient and as such he would prefer the suggestion about sending lecturers to South Africa from India. (Sastri, Correspondence, B-1.)

Copy of a letter dated 17 December 1928 from Sastri to Colonel F.H.P. Creswell, Minister of Defence, Union of South Africa refers to the Liquor Act and states that the eighty Indians threatened with loss of employment are natives of South Africa. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Letter dated Durban 17 December 1928 from Marguerite M.

Kriet to Sastri forwards a cheque from a few Young Women's Christian Association friends towards the proposed Indian Training College. (Sastri, Correspondence, Y-3.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban, 17 December 1928 from Sastri to Dr. D.F. Malan, Minister of the Interior refers to the Liquor Act and states that eighty Indians affected are all natives of South Africa. Adds that they have done nothing to be deprived of their livelihood. Requests Malan to avert this calamity. (Sastri, Correspondence, M-11.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban 17 December 1928 from Sastri to General J.B. Hertzog refers to the elimination of Section 104 of the Liquor Bill and the throwing of 80 South African-born Indians out of employment. States that "the canons of legislation require that during the transition existing interests should be safeguarded". (Sastri, Correspondence, H-16.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 20 December 1928 from J.M. Watt, Chairman, Johannesburg, Indo-European Council, University of the Witwaterstrand to Sastri informs him about their decision to organise a suitable deputation to the Minister in regard to the question of re-employment of Indian waiters but that the Secretary of the Minister is of the view that sending of the deputation is useless and has asked for a digest of the situation for raising the matter during the next session of the Parliament. (Sastri, Correspondence, W-25.)

Copy of a letter dated Cape Town 28 December 1928 from Sastri to Habibullah refers to his having farewell lunch with Malan and Beyers and the latter's promise to support Corbett's proposals regarding trade delegation and Trade Commissionership (from Africa). Observes that the Liquor Act has thrown out some Indians in the Transvaal and Natal. Adds that the writer is trying to persuade Roos but has not been successful. (Sastri, File 6-A.)

Letter dated 28 December 1928 from Ramsden Balmforth of Free Protestant (Unitarian Church), Cape Town to Sastri states that the addressee's lectures and addresses have helped to bring to many South Africans a deeper comprehension and understanding of Hindu thought and life than they had before and so will help the growth of a wider sympathy between the two peoples. Adds that the South African Peace Society is reprinting a portion of his Sunday evening address at the City Hall. (Sastri, Correspondence, B-6.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 29 December 1928 from D.M. Watt thanks Sastri for forwarding a copy of Roos' letter on the Indian

waiter question. Adds that Advocate H.B. Papenfus, MLA is taking interest in the matter and, may be, he can accomplish something. (Sastri, Correspondence, W-25.)

Letter dated Salisbury 11 January 1929 from C.H. Desai, Secretary, the Hindoo Society to Sastri thanks him on behalf of Rhodesian Indian Community for his visit to Rhodesia and sends photographs of the foundation stone laying ceremony of the school at Salisbury. (Sastri, Correspondence, H-20.)

Letter dated 11 January 1929 from James Henderson to Sastri states that the addressee has accomplished altogether prominent service not only for the non-Europeans but for all the races in South Africa. (Sastri, Correspondence, H-12.)

Letter dated 15 January 1929 from the Town Clerk, Corporation of the Borough of Durban to Sastri expresses a desire to consult him about the form of the letter of thanks which should be sent on behalf of the Town Council with reference to the gift of the baby elephant. (Sastri, Correspondence, D-16.)

Letter dated 15 January 1929 from A.W. Roberts of Native Affairs Commission, Pretoria to Sastri states that it is a great thing for a people to have an outstanding man of their own race to plead their cause, defend their rights, urge their claims and hopes that young and patriotic natives would endeavour to do the same work for their own fellows. (Sastri, Correspondence, R-47.)

Copy of a letter dated Durban 20 January 1929 from Sastri to Gordon Watson states that the Government of India would be pleased to know that the additional sum of £9000 has been spent on Indian education. Suggests publication of important details as the Indian Community would be delighted to know that the new liberal policy is bearing fruit. (Sastri, Correspondence, W-8.)

Letter dated Cape Town 21 January 1929 from C.F. Schmidt thanks Sastri for the fine spirit in which he conducted all discussions with the department on the many thorny subjects they had to deal with. (Sastri, Correspondence, S-29.)

Letter dated Durban 26 January 1929 from H.L. Buzzard, Chartered Accountant (Mayor in 1927) to Sastri appreciates the work done by him and states that the Agreement will be honoured by South Africa and the result eventually will be a better understanding between the two peoples". (Sastri, Correspondence, B-55.)

Letter dated Dar-es-Salaam 2 February 1929 from A.J. Siggins Editor and Proprietor, *The Settler* to Sastri states that he looks upon

his paper as a means of reaching the public — white-settlers of Africa, people in Europe and America, converting them to the policy of toleration. Adds that he wants the Indian community to give him the strength to fight against the well organised forces of the Federationists and 'White' Party by subscribing to his paper. (Sastri, Correspondence, S-38.)

Telegram dated Dar-es-Salaam 3 February 1929 from the President Indian Association to Sastri welcomes him to Dar-es-Salaam and requests to know the subject of the addressee's speech. (Sastri, Correspondence, I-3.)

Letter dated Cape Town 7 February 1929 from K.V. Reddi to Sastri reports progress made in the construction of the Sastri College building, Reddi's discussion with Malan and General Hertzog about the problems of 78 waiters out of employment in the Transvaal and the licence renewals in and around Johannesburg. Adds that Dr. Malan has agreed to receive the Congress deputation on the 15th in regard to licence renewals, introduction of Native-Bills on the 11th for being considered by joint sitting of the two Houses. Observes that the Parliament would be dissolved in April and the country will be in throes of a general election. (Sastri, Correspondence, R-40.)

Letter dated New York 7 February 1929 from C.F. Andrews to Sastri asks if he should go to South Africa after his visit to British Guiana is over. States that the East African Commission report is important and proposes going to East Africa to study the whole situation in the light of the report giving reasons for the suggestion— firstly Viceroy would like it and secondly, General Hertzog appears likely to come back into power with a mandate to put into practice a vigorous white policy, which may disturb not only the native Bantu interests but also the India situation. Thirdly, that new trouble has arisen in the Transvaal and that he would like to support K.V. Reddi. Adds that he has written to Natal leaders asking for their opinion. (Sastri, Correspondence, A-37.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 11 February 1929 from S.R. Naidoo and E.M. Mall, Joint Honorary Secretaries, South African Indian Congress to Sastri forwards a copy of the resolution passed at the Ninth Session of the Congress, held at Durban 24–28 January 1929 on matters affecting repatriation of Indians to India. Requests him to inform them after due inquiry of the condition of repatriates in India whether the Government of India affording any help for their

welfare. (Sastri, Correspondence, S-53.)

Telegram dated 16 February 1929 from Edlando to Sastri states that Reddi proposes hold banquet on 21 instant to commemorate anniversary of Cape Town Agreement and would be glad to receive message from Sastri to be read over at the function. (Sastri, Correspondence, E-2.)

Letter dated Mombasa 17 February 1929 from P. Kodanda Rao to Sastri states that the addressee's speech in Mombasa caused some unnecessary alarm among certain nervous Indians lest the whites here might seek to adopt the policy of unquestioned white domination here as in South Africa. Observes that Isar Das supported the Hilton Young Report generally but he, however, insisted that the Indians should continue their boycott even of municipalities, till the common franchise was granted. (Sastri, Correspondence, R-27.)

Letter dated Cape Town 21 February 1929 from K.V. Reddi to Sastri reports that Havenga agreed to receive the Congress Deputation on 22nd and the Minister of the Interior will receive the Deputation on the 23rd. Observes that the Native Parliamentary Representation Bill and the Coloured Persons Rights Bill were read for the first time at a joint sitting of the two Houses on the 11th and the second reading was over too. Adds that these Bills cannot be passed as the two-third majority is not forthcoming. Remarks that some of the questions suggested themselves to him on reading these Bills in regard to franchise. Mentions the names of prominent guests who attended the banquet held in commemoration of the Cape Town Agreement and include the names of General Hertzog, Malan, Col. Creswell, Havenga, Boydell, Sampson, Drumman Chaplin, Duncan and others. (Sastri, Correspondence, R-40.)

Letter dated 26 February 1929 from G.S. Rajadhyaksha, Acting Secretary to the Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay, to Sastri forwards a copy each of a resolution passed at a meeting of the Council on 20 February 1929 and the speech made by R.G. Pradhan commending the resolution. Expressed appreciation of the services rendered by Sastri as India's Agent in South Africa in promoting good feeling and understanding between the two countries. Refers to the controversial questions subsisting between South Africa and India, prior to the deputation presided over by Habibullah to South Africa and signing of Cape Town Agreement before addressee's appointment as Agent-General. (Sastri, Correspondence, L-8.)

Telegram dated Nairobi 7 March 1929 from Congress to Sastri states "kindly arrange Honourable Kunzru preside eight session congress Mombasa twenty ninth instant. Must sail Bombay Karagala thirteenth. Will pay expenses. Would much appreciate immediate reply affirmative". (Sastri, Correspondence, M-32.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 10 March 1929 from K.V. Reddi to Sastri informs him about the eighty waiters and barmen, who were turned out of employment by the operation of the Liquor Act of 1928. Adds that the Acting Minister intends to convey to the magistrate in the Transvaal that it is not the Government policy to prevent the employment of Asiatics, who were actually employed as waiters at the time when the Act came into force. Points out that licensing certificates problem has not advanced much further than he stated in his earlier letter. Adds that the Native Bills had to be thrown out because the Government could not secure the two-thirds majority. Remarks that it is generally believed that only six or seven Labourites would be returned for the 18 places, which they are now occupying". (Sastri, Correspondence, R-40.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 23 March 1929 from K.V. Reddi to Sastri reports further developments in regard to the Licensing problems. (Sastri, Correspondence, R-40.)

Letter dated Durban 23 March 1929 from A.H. Moosa to Sastri informs him that Rao is staying back to investigate affairs in Kenya. States that Kurma has been away at the Cape and the Transvaal. Adds that College buildings are progressing and Sorabjee is contemplating a scheme of retrieving the old Congress funds to complete the College buildings. (Sastri, Correspondence, M-38.)

Letter dated S.S. 'Karoo,' 3 April 1929 from P. Kodanda Rao to Sastri writes about the first Tanganyika Indian Conference he attended in April at Dar-es-Salaam. States that very little was done in preparation for it and adds that the barrister, Ghose and others requested K. Rao to take the chair. Suggests that a strong and imposing delegation should visit Dar-es-Salaam, when Wilson arrives and if no agreement is reached, the delegation must go to England. Remarks that he tried to arrange a European public meeting for Kunzru but the Secretary of the Convention of Associations, however, agreed to bring about a private meeting of leading Europeans to confer with Kunzru. Comments "the Indians here are more under the extremist press than in India". (Sastri, Correspondence, R-27.)

Letter dated 4 April 1929 from S.R. Naidoo forwards a copy of a letter dated Cape Town 1 March 1929 from C.S. Schmidt, Secretary for the Interior, the Department of Interior to the Secretaries, South African Indian Congress. Observes in regard to the resolutions passed at the Ninth Session of the South African Indian Congress, that the administration of the Licensing Laws does not fall under the Department of the Interior. States that the Congress statement that in the Cape Town Agreement, the Government "undertook to revise the existing licensing laws in the several provinces" is not in accordance with fact. Quotes the actual words in the Agreement and gives his interpretation. Comments on the resolutions regarding immigration, repatriation, land question in the Transvaal and Immigration Laws. Observes "there are matters on which the Europeans in the country hold such very pronounced views that no government would attempt, for considerable time to come, to make any change in the legislation in the direction indicated in the resolutions." Mentions the concession made by the Union Government to the Indian community by withdrawing the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill. Adds that if the questions are to be interpreted as a desire on the part of the Congress to re-open these questions then there is grave risk that this may cause counter agitation among the Europeans and may lead to the termination of the Cape Town Agreement. (Sastri, Correspondence, S-53.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 4 April 1929 from S.R. Naidoo, Joint Honorary Secretary, South African Indian Congress to Sastri states, amongst other things, that they are having an Executive Meeting in Johannesburg on 7 instant. Adds that when they met Dr. Malan, they urged very strongly on the question of licences. Forwards a copy of an important letter received from the Interior Department and requests Sastri to convey his views upon the interpretation put by the Secretary on the licensing clause in the Cape Town Agreement. (Sastri, Correspondence, S-53.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 6 April 1929 from K.V. Reddi to Sastri states that the problem of Trade Licences has not further advanced as the Johannesburg City Council and its General Purposes Committee are putting off the matter. Observes that South Africa is in the throes of "dirtiest" election ever fought. Adds that the two Indian schools at Pretoria have been amalgamated into one and gives details in regard to changes made in the school curriculum in other words Kitchlu's report has been duly followed. (Sastri,

Correspondence, R-40.)

Telegram dated 8 April 1929 from G.S. Bajpai to Sastri states "Telegram Eastern Africa Congress to Kunzru think he should go but departure 27 instead of 13 preferable. Delay would permit preparation for task". (Sastri, Correspondence, B-1.)

Copy of speech delivered by Sastri in Pudukottah on 8 April 1929 refers to his activities in South Africa viz., education of the Indian community, condonation scheme, delivering lectures on Indian civilisation and literature in order to change the fundamental attitude of the white community towards Indians. (Sastri, Writings, No. 36.)

Letter dated 17 April 1929 from Kandasamy Tandree of the Kenya Fresh Provision Supply Company to Sastri informs that P.K. Rao has been busy with the opening of the Eastern Africa National Indian Congress. (Sastri, Correspondence, K-13.)

Letter dated Mombasa 17 April 1929 from Hari (H.N. Kunzru) to Sastri refers to E.A.I.N.C. Nairobi, inviting him to preside over its next session. Adds that a special session of the Congress is to be held within two months of the announcement of the decision of H.M. Government on the question of communal franchise. States that Nairobi people were hostile in a mild way to the writer and also wild at the failure of Verma to carry out his promises. Refers to his talks with the elected European members, Harvey, the Editor of *Times of East Africa* and the Managing Director of the E.A.S. and states that the talks were friendly but led to nothing. Adds that the Europeans are prejudiced and remarks that he may be elected as member of the deputation which will wait on Wilson. (Sastri, Correspondence, H-6.)

Letter dated 9 June 1929 from Vice-President, Indian School Committee to Sastri seeks clarification in regard to a discussion the latter had with Morris, the Acting Director of Education Uganda, on Educational Cess. Adds that the latter being in favour of some local tax for education in the towns in which grant-in-aid school exists. Wants to know if the opinion is given in private capacity or official. (Sastri, Correspondence, J-6.)

Letter dated Durban 14 June 1929 from K.V. Reddi to Sastri informs about the election results and states that the nationalists being in majority will continue in office. (Sastri, Correspondence, R-4.)

Letter dated 16 July 1929 from R. . . . Hamilton to Sastri states, "reports of your visit to Kenya are by no means satisfying and tend to

confirm that it was a mistake to send out Wilson on such a flying visit with unknown instructions". (Sastri, Correspondence, H-4.)

Letter dated Cape Town 20 August 1929 from K.V. Reddi, to Sastri states that he met Dr. Malan and has been told that Malan would instruct the Johannesburg Municipality to stay its hand and that he would himself move a resolution in the Assembly in January 1930 asking for a Joint Committee of the two Houses to go into the whole question of Indian licences in the Transvaal. Adds that Sastri college would be opened in February. (Sastri, Correspondence, R-40.)

Telegram from S.R. Naidoo dated Maritzburg, 27 October 1930 to Sastri requests him to inform the latter of the efforts made to persuade Union Government withdraw Bill. (Sastri, Correspondence, M-3.)

Telegram dated Mombasa 15 June 1931 from President, Indian Association to Sastri informs him that "the Government presently contemplate legislation stifle motor transport by imposing prohibitive licence fees. Reason stated unfair competition with Railway which obliged maintain high tariff imported goods in order carry settlers produce undue cost. If motor competition continues Railway must reduce tariff imported and raise tariff produce which detrimental white farmer interests. Transport diverted by Motors constitutes minutest fraction total railway losses which due uneconomic working top bottom and unwarranted. Branch lines many Indians invested capital. Motor transport providing employment hundreds Indians natives, benefit secured traders upcountry stations cheaper. Motor transported goods enables consumers mostly natives obtain necessities life cheaper. Proposed ordinance inequitable, unjust", requests Sastri to intervene. (Sastri, Correspondence, I-3.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 3 June 1932 from S.B. Mehd to Sastri informs the latter that the Union Government has passed the Emigration Act and the Provincial Government has passed the Licensing Control Ordinance. Adds that both these acts have been passed before notifying the public and are aimed against Indians. Adds that without him the cause of the Indians will suffer at the forthcoming Round Table Conference in South Africa. (Sastri, Correspondence, M-21.)

Letter dated Durban 19 May 1938 from A.C. Halgate, Librarian, Sastri College, Durban informs Sastri that they have been able to

add to the 300 books supplied by the Education Department. States that they have very few books on Indian art, culture and thought and asks the addressee to help them in this direction. (Sastri, Correspondence, S-12.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 28 March 1946 from S. Scblesin(?) to Sastri states that "the seed sown here has borne fruit and a number of our people are at the universities now while enthusiasm for education is growing in the community generally. Adds that the people seem happier, live better, seem to have lost that terrible look of depression which was theirs years ago. . . ." (Sastri, Correspondence, S-28.)

CHAPTER 3

SABARMATI ASHRAM ASHRAM ROAD, AHMEDABAD

When M.K. Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in 1915, he chose Ahmedabad as a centre for his constructive work. On 25 May 1915, he started his Satyagraha Ashram in a rented house at Kochrab, a suburb of Ahmedabad. Soon afterwards he succeeded in acquiring 36 acres of land for constructing his Ashram on the bank of river Sabarmati. In 1917 he started building up the Ashram with the help of a band of devoted followers and eleven years later, its name was changed to Harijan Ashram so as to focus attention on the welfare of the untouchables. It was from this Ashram that he launched his Salt *Satyagraha* taking a pledge not to return to the Ashram till India won freedom. Subsequently all the inmates of the Ashram plunged into *Satyagraha* against British imperialism.

When Gandhi fell a victim to an assassin's bullet in 1948, the bereaved nation set up the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust. This Trust has been entrusted with the management of the Ashram. It is open to public between 9-00 and 17-00 hours on all working days.

Gandhi, M.K. (1869-1948)

Born on 2 October 1869 at Porbandar in Gujarat, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi passed his matriculation examination in 1887 and in the following year he left for England to study law. In 1891, he was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn and soon afterwards returned to India.

In April 1893, he was called to Natal to plead the case of Seth

Abdulla, an Indian merchant. After an amicable settlement of his client's case, he decided to return home in April 1894 but when news appeared about proposed legislation against Asian immigrants, he promptly decided to stay on and defend his people. The proposals were for disfranchisement, physical segregation, annulment of traditional Indian marriages and imposition of a poll-tax.

The struggle in South Africa lasted for a decade during which a continuous constitutional agitation was carried on through public meetings, the press and depositions before the local and imperial Governments. In order not to embarrass the Government, he suspended the movement during the Boer War (1899-1902) and the Zulu Rebellion (1906), when he helped in organising a voluntary ambulance service. As constitutional and legal methods did not prove sufficient for redress of the Indian grievances, he eventually led a peaceful march into the Transvaal in defiance of the restrictions imposed. He was accompanied by 2037 men, 129 women and 57 children. The *satyagrahis* were subjected to severe punishment. A *satyagrahi* camp, known as the Tolstoy Farm, was established at Lawley, 21 miles from Johannesburg on 30 May 1910 in order to shelter the *satyagrahis*. Eventually on 30 June 1914, the Government yielded and a settlement was arrived at.

After having successfully tested the efficacy of *satyagraha* and passive resistance, he sailed back to India in 1915. With the help of his companions of the African Phoenix, he established the Satyagraha Ashram in Ahmedabad. Between 1915 and 1917, he was arrested twice, observed two fasts and launched five *satyagraha* campaigns. Between 1920 and 1929, he undertook four fasts and launched three *satyagrahas*. Between 1930 and 1940, he undertook four fast and was imprisoned thrice. Between 1941 and 1946, he launched individual *satyagraha* and the Quit India Movement. He was imprisoned but released to participate in negotiations with the Cabinet Mission (1946), which paved the way for India's independence on 15 August 1947. He was assassinated by a Hindu fanatic on 30 January 1948.

The following papers in this collection pertain to Africa:

Constitution of the Natal Indian Congress (established on 22nd August 1894) gives the names of the President (Abdoolah Hajee Adam), Vice-Presidents, Honorary Secretary (M.K. Gandhi), Members of the Congress Committee and also the conditions

governing the membership, objects of the Congress, rules amended or cancelled by the Committee and ratified by the Congress and rules passed by the Congress. (Gandhi, 141.)

Letter dated 21 July 1895 from M.K. Gandhi to the British Agent, Pretoria, on behalf of the Indian community in Johannesburg, draws attention to Law 3 of 1885 and its amendments. Lodges protest against the orders of the Transvaal Government to remove Indians to locations and submits that, if the town population must be partly or wholly removed to a location, another site will become necessary. States that the Town Council, with the approval of the Transvaal Government, have adopted certain regulations regarding locations, which go beyond the scope of Law 3 of 1885. Observes that any scheme for the removal of the Indians should give them the same proprietary rights in the locations as are granted to the other communities in town. Adds that the name be changed from "Coolie Location" to "Indian Location". (Gandhi, 3245.)

Petition dated Pretoria (Pre-5 May 1895) signed by Abdulla Haji Adam and others, residing in Natal, to the Speaker and Members of the Legislative Assembly, Natal states that the Immigration Law Amendment Bill providing for re-indenture and imposition of a tax in default of re-indenture is unjust, uncalled for and in direct opposition to the fundamental principles upon which the British constitution is based. Adds that it is one-sided arrangement showing every consideration to the employer, giving practically nothing to the employee and prays, therefore, that the Assembly will not consider forwarding that portion of the Bill contemplating re-indenture and imposition of a tax in default of re-indenture. (Gandhi, 434.)

Petition dated Durban, (Pre-26 June 1895) from Abdulla Haji Adam and several other Indians in Natal to the President and Members of the Legislative Council, submits, with regard to the Indian Immigration Law Amendment Bill, that the Clauses in the Bill are different from the practice prevalent in the British colonies. Protests that it is not in accordance with the principle of justice to make a man pay heavily for being allowed to remain free in the Colony. (Gandhi, 435.)

Memorial dated Durban, 11 August 1895 from Abdul Karim Hajee Adam and other Indians in Natal to Lord Elgin, Viceroy and Governor-General of India states that they have noticed with regret

that the latter is disposed to sanction the principle of compulsory re-indenture or compulsory return. Implores him not to sanction any of the clauses objected to. States that if the Colony does not want Indians, without the arrangement objected to being sanctioned, he may stop future immigration to Natal. (Gandhi, 432.)

Letter dated 23 October 1895 from H.O. Arnald Foster to the Secretary, British Indian Defence Committee, Johannesburg states that he regards the action of the Boers, with regard to the British Indian subjects in the Transvaal, as a gross indignity likely to raise serious questions far outside the limits of the Boer state. (Gandhi, 584.)

Memorial (dated . . . 1895) from Indians residing in the Colony of Natal to Joseph Chamberlain, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, London, protests against the Indian Immigration Law Amendment Bill. Adds that if the Colony cannot put up with the Indians, all future immigration to Natal should be stopped. Hopes that Her Majesty's Government would disallow the Immigration Amendment Bill. (Gandhi, 433.)

Memorial dated Durban 11 March 1896 signed by Abdul Karim Adam and other members of the Indian community, to Joseph Chamberlain, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies submits that Indians be allowed to purchase land in Zululand freely. Urges that a notification calling upon the authorities in South Africa to ensure equality of treatment of the Indian subjects with all the British subjects be issued. Observes that the British authorities may also order alteration or amendment of the Eshave (Zululand) and Nondweni Township Regulation. (Gandhi, 394, 3620.)

Memorial dated Durban 27 April 1896 signed by Abdul Karim Hajee Adam and others to the Speaker and Members of the Legislative Assembly of Natal in Parliament assembled at Pietermaritzburg states that the Franchise Law Amendment Bill repeals and replaces the Act 25 of 1894 intending to disfranchise Indians in the Colony. Observes that the fear of the Indian vote swamping the Europeans is imaginary. Prays that before assenting to any bill restrictive of the Indian vote or introducing any colour distinctions, they should institute an inquiry into the real state of affairs to show that it is necessary to place on the voters roll, the resident Indians in the Colony possessing a legal property qualification. (Gandhi, 980.)

Letter dated Durban 14 May 1896 from M.K. Gandhi, Honorary

Secretary, Natal Indian Congress to the Prime Minister, Pietermaritzburg refutes the addressee's statements on the second reading of Franchise Bill about the Natal Indian Congress being a secret body. States that when the Natal Indian Congress was actually constituted, its formation was notified in the *Witness*. Adds that the annual report and a list of members, rules, etc., have been commented upon by the press and by M.K. Gandhi in his capacity as Honorary Secretary to the Congress (Gandhi, 981.)

Letter dated Durban 18 May 1896 from M.K. Gandhi, Honorary Secretary, Natal Indian Congress to C. Bird, Principal Under-Secretary, Colonial Office, Pietermaritzburg, informs him that the Congress meetings are held with open doors and are open to the press and the public and certain European gentlemen were also invited and asked as per the Congress rules to become Vice-Presidents, although they declined to accept. (Gandhi, 983.)

Memorial dated Durban 22 May 1896 of the British Indian subjects residing in the Colony of Natal signed by Abdul Karim Haji Adam to Joseph Chamberlain, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, London, reproduces the text of the Franchise Law Amendment Bill and submits that the Bill is worse than the Act it repeals. Observes that no legislation restrictive of the Indian franchise in Natal is necessary. States that the Bill is likely to give rise to litigation between Europeans and others. Hopes and prays that the Royal Assent to the bill will be withheld and an enquiry ordered to ascertain whether there actually exists any danger about the European vote being swamped by the Indian. (Gandhi, 979-83.)

Notes dated 1896 by M.K. Gandhi on the grievances of the British Indians in South Africa, giving a brief constitutional background of Natal, the Cape Colony, Zululand, the Transvaal South African Republic or the Chartered Territories and the Orange Free State. (Gandhi, 145.)

Telegram (dated Durban 28 January 1897) from Indians to (1) Incas (telegraphic address of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress in London), (2) Sir William Hunter and (3) Bhownaggee narrates the treatment meted out to passengers on board two Indian steamers on arrival at Durban to prevent them from landing. Adds that the Government is not heeding and is negotiating with the home Government to secure anti-Indian legislation. (Gandhi, 883.)

Petition dated Durban 29 January 1897 from the Indian

community to Sir William Hunter narrates the circumstances culminating in a demonstration by about 5000 Durban men opposing the landing of passengers on board two ships, 'Courland' and 'Naderi'. (Gandhi, 1967.)

Letter dated Durban 6 February 1897 from M.K. Gandhi to the clergymen of Durban states that the Indian Famine Fund was opened by the Mayor of Durban and draws attention to the writer's letter in the *Mercury* of 3 instant about the sufferings of Indians due to famine in India. Remarks that appeals to the audiences for funds from the pulpit will go a long way towards getting help from the public in South Africa on behalf of the suffering millions in India. (Gandhi, 3643.)

Letter dated Durban 24 March 1897 from the Indian community to R.C. Alexander, Superintendent, Borough Office appreciates the excellent manner in which the police saved the life of M.K. Gandhi on 13 January 1897. (Gandhi, 2149.)

Letter dated Durban 24 March 1897 from the members of the Indian community to Mrs. Alexander, Durban forwards a gold watch as a token of their appreciation of the way in which she defended M.K. Gandhi at risk to herself. (Gandhi, 2150.)

Letter dated Durban 27 March 1897 from M.K. Gandhi to a number of prominent public men in England: (1) forwards a copy of the memorial dated 15 March 1897 sent by the Indian community to Chamberlain dealing with the position of Indians in Natal, mentioning therein some of the legal disabilities the Indians labour under in the Colony, viz., (a) Indian not allowed to be out after 9 P.M. if he cannot show a pass saying that he is a free Indian; (b) the Government High Schools are closed against Indians; (2) encloses a statement of legislation proposed to be passed by the local Parliament (a) empowering the Governor to refuse to allow any person coming from an infected port to land in the Colony; (b) empowering Town Boards and Town Councils to refuse or grant trading licences at their discretion; (c) requiring immigrants to fulfil certain conditions viz., having property worth £25, applicable to Indians or Asiatics only, establishing "pass" system to protect free Indians, making Indians as "hewers of wood and drawers of water", etc.; (3) requests public men in England to extend support to Indians' cause. (Gandhi, 2159.)

Letter dated Durban 2 April 1897 to public men in India forwards copies of the memorial dated 15 March 1897 sent to

Chamberlain and informs them that the community has subscribed over £1130 to the Indian Famine Fund. (Gandhi, 2210.)

Letter dated Durban 7 May 1897 from Dada Abdoola and Co., on behalf of the Indian community to Sir Francis W. Maclean, Chairman of the Central Famine Relief Committee, Calcutta, informs him about the collection amounting to £1535-1-9 made for the famine fund for the relief of the public in India from all parts of the Colony of Natal and in some cases even from outside Natal. (Gandhi, 2317.)

Circular telegram dated 9 June 1897 from Indians in Durban to (1) Joseph Chamberlain, (2) Sir William Hunter, Incas, (3) T. Bhownaggee, London states that 'Indian Bills mentioned last Memorial Gazetted Acts . . . humbly requests deferring consideration, memorial preparing.' (Gandhi, 2381.)

Letter dated Durban 2 July 1897 from Abdul Karim Adam to Walter Francis Hely-Hutchinson, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Colony of Natal, requests that the enclosed petition on behalf of the Indian community in regard to the Immigration Restriction, Dealers Licences, Quarantine and Indian Protection Acts be forwarded to the Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies with such remarks as it may be considered fit to make. (Gandhi, 2429.)

Petition dated 2 July from Abdul Karim Adam and others of the Indian community in Natal to Chamberlain, Principal Secretary of State for Colonies forwards (a) copies of four Indian bills passed by the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council of Natal and gazetted as Acts—the Quarantine Bill, the Immigration Restrictions Bill, the Trade Licences Bill with powers to arrest; (b) copy of a petition to the Legislative Assembly to show that restrictive legislation is not warranted by the circumstances; (c) extracts from the newspapers showing how the Immigration Restriction Act and other acts are viewed by the press; (d) comments of the press on the Prime Minister, who found it difficult to justify the Licences Bill and, in conclusion, an appeal to the addressee that the above Bill be disallowed. (Gandhi, 2430-35.)

Letter dated Durban 10 July 1897 from M.K. Gandhi to public men in India and England draws attention to the Indian petition to Chamberlain regarding the anti-Indian acts of the Natal Parliament and states that, by these acts, the Natal Government is persecuting Indians and wants to have Indians under indenture and not as free

men. Requests the Home government and the Government of India to stop indentured emigration to Natal. (Gandhi, 2448.)

Letter dated 18 September 1897 drafted by M.K. Gandhi and signed by Cassim Mohammad Jeewa and other influential persons in England and India comments on the address by Chamberlain to the Colonial Premiers, who attended the Prime Minister's Conference in London, in regard to the immigration of Indians into Natal. States that he has given up the Indian cause and yielded to the anti-Asiatic clamour of the different colonies. Adds that these methods of restricting free Indian immigration are unfair and requests them to bestir themselves with renewed vigour. (Gandhi, 2509.)

Statement of account dated 25 March 1898 indicates the expenses incurred by M.K. Gandhi for the Natal Indian Congress on 31 December. (Gandhi, 2723.)

Notes dated 4 April 1898 prepared by M.K. Gandhi on the evidence required in the test case, Tayob Hajee Khan Muhammad vs Dr. Leyds, which proves that Tayob Hajee Khan Muhammad is subject of the Queen of Great Britain and that he has been established and carrying on business as a merchant in Pretoria since 1893, has obeyed the laws of the land, is not an Arab or Mohammedan subject of the Turkish Empire or a Malay and is not a coolie in any sense of the term. Draws attention in this connection to Walter Wraff's dissertation on the expression "coolie". (Gandhi, 3704.)

Legal notes (dated prior to 4 April 1898) prepared by M.K. Gandhi for the Counsel, who represented Tayob Hajee Khan Mohammed in the test case in regard to Clause I of Act 3 of 1885, amended in 1886. Points out that the Indians, to whom an attempt is being made to apply the law, do not come under it. (Gandhi, 3705.)

Circular letter dated Durban 15 September 1898 (in Gujarati) announces meeting of the Congress scheduled to be held on 16 September 1898 to deal with Congress reports, accounts, etc. (Gandhi, 2807.)

Cable dated Durban 3 November 1898 from Mahomed Cassim Camroodeen and Co., to P.M. Burg, Colonial Secretary, states that rules published in the *Gazette* regarding visitors and embarkation passes have created dissatisfaction among Indians. Adds that memorial to His Excellency is being prepared and requests, on behalf of the Indian community, to suspend rules in the meanwhile. (Gandhi, 2845.)

Petition dated Durban 31 December 1898 from Mahomed

Cassim Camroodeen and Co., and others, on behalf of Indians in Natal, to Joseph Chamberlain, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies regarding: (1) the manner in which the Dealer's Licences Act was being operated in violation of the rights of Indians. States that judicial interpretation has been given against the Indians in the Colony. Adds that the Privy Council's verdict that from the decisions of Town Councils or Town Boards, there is no appeal to the Supreme Court of the Colony, has paralysed the Indian traders; (2) working of the Immigration Restriction Act and rules passed by the Government requiring Indians to pay a fee of £1 for not being able to pass the tests are causing vexation; (3) mentions cases of some traders of standing holding property, who have been refused licences, for instance—Somnath Maharaj, Mohomed Majam and Co., Hasam Mahomed, Dada Osman. Requests that Indians be treated on a footing of equality and that the Government of the Colony be advised to amend the Act so as to render the recurrence of injustice impossible and if this is not possible, the Colony should not be allowed to use Indian labour. (Gandhi, 2894-2903.)

Brief prepared by M.K. Gandhi for Counsel's opinion with regard to amending the law relating to licences to wholesale and retail dealers under Act 18 of 1897. (Gandhi, 2904.)

Letter dated Durban 21 January 1899 from M.K. Gandhi to the press and public men in India forwards a copy of the memorial sent to Chamberlain regarding grievances of the Indians against the licensing authorities in Natal, intending to deprive Indians of their acquired rights and states that nothing short of prohibition of indentured immigration to Natal will meet the cause unless the Natal Government is induced to amend the Licensing Law. (Gandhi, 2949.)

Memorial dated Durban 27 January 1899 from Mahomed Cassim Camroodeen and Co. and others representing the Indians residing in Natal to Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India draws his attention to the memorial addressed to Chamberlain, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, with reference to the Dealers Licences Act passed in 1897 by the Natal legislature and states that the Act constitutes a real and tangible grievance, in as much as it tells seriously upon the acquired rights of the Indians. Observes that the operation of the Act is contrary to the assurance given by Escombe, who carried the Act through. Mentions that Town Councils or Local Boards have interfered with the existing

licences. Prays for either amendment of the Act or suspension of indentured labour to the Colony. Urges the active and effective intervention of the Indian Government. (Gandhi, 2955.)

Telegram dated Durban 30 June 1899 from M.K. Gandhi to the Colonial Secretary, Pietermaritzburg, seeks to know whether the Government intend taking out from the Absentee Landlords Bill clause affecting Indians by implication as otherwise Indians intend promoting petition. (Gandhi, 3214.)

Telegram dated 9 September 1899 from M.K. Gandhi to the Colonial Secretary, Pietermaritzburg states that urgent relief is necessary and submits that there can be no harm in letting Indians in, as suggested. Adds that relaxation after hostilities may be too late. (Gandhi, 3288.)

Circular letter dated Durban 16 September 1899 from M.K. Gandhi to the Colonial Secretary forwards a copy of the communication sent by him to the British Agent at Pretoria, on behalf of British Indians in the Transvaal, stating how the Transvaal Government has gone beyond the Law 3 of 1885 in sanctioning regulations of the Johannesburg Town Council established in terms of law for removing Indians to locations, which is a ground for intervention. (Gandhi, 3295a.)

Letter dated Durban 14 October 1899 from M.K. Gandhi to some select persons forwards a copy of writer's letter to the British Agent dated 21 July 1899 containing his bitter comments on the refusal of the Natal Government to afford relief to the Indian refugees from Johannesburg. (Gandhi, 3299.)

Letter dated (Durban) 13 November 1899 from M.K. Gandhi to William Palmer, Treasurer of the Durban Women's Patriotic League regarding some ladies, who raised funds to support the families during active service. Expresses a desire to know the names of the Indian ladies who went to collect funds. (Gandhi, 3332.)

Letter dated Durban 24 November 1899 from M.K. Gandhi to William Palmer, Treasurer Durban Women's Patriotic League (a local organisation for supplying medical comforts to the wounded soldiers and volunteers). Forwards cheques representing contributions to the fund by the Indian merchants and storekeepers of Durban. (Gandhi, 3325-3326.)

Note dated 17 November 1899 by M.K. Gandhi invites contributions for the Durban Women's Patriotic League Fund, giving also a list of the contributors and the amount subscribed.

(Gandhi, 3326.)

Letter dated Durban (prior to 1 December 1899) from M.K. Gandhi to Bishop Bayness of Natal, states in regard to Dr. Booth's joining the Indian Ambulance Corps, that he is indispensable to the Corps and that his knowledge of medicine is of the greatest value to them. Hopes that the addressee will permit Dr. Booth to accompany them as their medical adviser. (Gandhi, 3372b.)

Cable dated 2 December 1899 from M.K. Gandhi to the Colonial Secretary, Pietermaritzburg states that the Protector of Immigrants saw the writer with reference to Indians for hospitals. Adds that most of those, who have offered services would be prepared to go but would like to know the nature of work, when they should start, etc. (Gandhi, 3332.)

Cable dated 4 December 1899 from M.K. Gandhi to the Colonial Secretary, Maritzburg informs him that after his interview with the Protector, he has notified the volunteers. Observes that the Government seems to require services and as such, they should hold themselves in readiness pending further instructions from the Colonial Secretary. Adds that they are eager to render what service they can without pay and have also been taking lessons in hospital work. Expresses disappointment that the Government would not accept them as they require labourers. (Gandhi, 3333.)

Telegram dated (Durban) 11 December 1899 from Booth to M.K. Gandhi states that he will wait upon him the next morning at nine. (Gandhi, 3339.)

Letter dated 27 December 1899 from M.K. Gandhi to P.F. Clearance, Public Works Department, Pietermaritzburg, gives an account of the expenses incurred by him on recruiting bearers. Furnishes memo of expenses authorised by the Superintendent, Indian Ambulance Corps. Encloses a statement in respect of paid carriers brought up by M.K. Gandhi. (Gandhi, 3356-57 and 3359.)

Telegram dated Durban (prior to 7 January 1900) from M.K. Gandhi to Col. Gallway, P.M.O., Headquarters, Natal, informs him that 500 free Indians are ready to do ambulance work, as before, until the War is over. Adds that they have registered their names and that Dr. Booth will act as Medical Officer as well as Superintendent, if called upon to do so. (Gandhi, 3372c, No. 2.)

Circular letter dated Durban 10 March 1900 from M.K. Gandhi, Honorary Secretary, Natal Indian Congress, announces a meeting of the Indian residents in the Colony to be held in the Congress Hall on

14 March to adopt congratulatory resolutions with reference to success of the British arms and relief of the beleaguered towns of Ladysmith and Kimberley. (Gandhi, 3404.)

Circular letter dated Durban 11 April 1900 from M.K. Gandhi encloses a copy of the monthly report of the Indian hospital opened on 14 September 1898 with the subscriptions from the Durban Indians. Appreciates the services rendered by Dr. Booth, Dr. Lilian Robinson and Dr. Clara Robinson. Adds that more funds are required for continuing the hospital and requests for funds. (Gandhi, 3725.)

Telegram dated Durban 9 February 1901 from M.K. Gandhi to Tayob Hajee Khan Muhammad asks him for information on behalf of the Central Committee about Johannesburg and Pretoria Indian storekeepers, the value of their assets and also the addressee's estimate thereof. (Gandhi, 3777.)

Telegram dated (Durban) 25 March 1901 from M.K. Gandhi to the Private Secretary to the High Commissioner, Johannesburg, states that some British Indians who are in Pretoria and Johannesburg have received notice to remove to locations and that anti-Indian laws are being strictly enforced. Invites attention to the admissions of Her Majesty's Government that such laws are objectionable. Points out that the laws were never under the regime enforced as they now are and prays for relief pending final settlement. (Gandhi, 3792.)

Telegram dated Durban 25 March 1901 from M.K. Gandhi to Parwana (Code address of the Permit Secretary to the High Commissioner at Capetown) informs that meetings of refugees have nominated Abdul Gani of Mahomed Cassim Camroodeen and Co., M.S. Kavadia, Johannesburg, Hajee Habib Hajee Dada, Pretoria, Abdul Rahman, Potchefstroom, as the persons who should be allowed permits in view of large interests at stake, but if one is to be permitted then Abdul Gani is to be the first. (Gandhi, 3793.)

Circular letter dated Durban 20 April 1901 from Mahomed Cassim and others to select friends of India in England apprises them of the position of British Indians in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony to enable them to move the British authorities in the matter and states that the whole of anti-Indian legislation in the Transvaal being enforced, were not enforced under the old regime as strictly as it now is. Observes that protests against such legislation made by the then British Agent as well as the Secretary of

State for Colonies had much to do with the laxity of republican officials. Encloses abstract of laws of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State affecting British Indians and appeals for help to be free from the grievous burden. (Gandhi, 3814-15.)

Circular letter dated 27 April 1901 from (M.K. Gandhi) to the same parties to whom the cablegram of 20 April 1901 was sent states that the number of Europeans receiving permits to go to the Transvaal is increasing but not granted for the Indian refugees despite representations to Lord Roberts, High Commissioner. Hopes some relief would be granted. (Gandhi, 3817.)

Petition dated Johannesburg 9 May 1901 from British Indians in Johannesburg to the Military Governor, Johannesburg apprises him of a notice in the Johannesburg *Gazette*. States that an office has been opened to deal with Indian immigration. Adds that no notice, however, has appeared regarding the changing of passes of the subjects of the foreign countries and making discrimination. (Gandhi, 3822-3.)

Telegram dated 21 May 1901 from M.K. Gandhi to "Permits", Johannesburg submits more names for permits, that is—M.S. Coovadia, I.M. Karolia, Johannesburg, Abdur Rahman, Potchefstroom. Adds that these may be considered as refugees 'Natal' not 'Durban'. (Gandhi, 3827.)

Letter dated Durban 21 May 1901 from M.K. Gandhi to H.T. Ommanney, Permit Office, Johannesburg furnishes four names for Natal selected by the Indian Refugees Committees. Adds that he has wired for two names from Cape Town. (Gandhi, 3829.)

Letter dated Durban 1 June 1901 from M.K. Gandhi to British Committee of the Indian National Congress comments on the news in the press about Caine's question on the permits for return of Indian refugees to the Transvaal and Chamberlain's reply that the anti-Indian laws of the late South African Republic will remain in force until modified. States that the writer is disappointed as the unsympathetic reply from the Colonial Secretary encourages further opposition to the Indians. (Gandhi, 3837.)

Letter dated Durban 22 June 1901 from M.K. Gandhi to Mancherji appreciates the work being done by the latter in England for the sufferers in South Africa. Hopes that their friends in London, taking advantage of Milner's presence, may be able to accomplish something in London. (Gandhi, 3853.)

Telegram dated Durban 26 July 1901 from M.K. Gandhi to the

Colonial Secretary, Pietermaritzburg enquires whether clauses of Corporations Bill objected to by Indians have passed committee and if not whether Government proposes taking any action. (Gandhi, 3866.)

Letter dated Durban 17 September 1901 from M.K. Gandhi to William Cooley, Towns Clerk, Durban thanks him for his letter to the Indian Vigilance Committee. Appreciates the measures taken for the prevention of plague and assures him that the Committee will cooperate with the Town Council in future also, if necessary in the interests of the health of the Borough. (Gandhi, 3910.)

Statement dated Durban 2 October 1901 by M.K. Gandhi for Council's opinion in regard to Act 18 of 1897 regulating and controlling issue of licences to wholesale and retail dealers. (Gandhi, 3915.)

Resolution passed by the Natal Indian Congress on 15 October 1901 accepts resignation of M.K. Gandhi and records its deep sense of gratitude for the invaluable services rendered by him since his arrival 8 years back. (Gandhi, 3930.)

Photocopy of a letter dated 18 October 1901 from M.K. Gandhi to Rustomjee, Honorary Secretary, Address Committee, Durban regarding handing over of the gifts of jewellery, received by him from time to time, to African Banking Corporation for delivering to the Natal Indian Congress to form a part of an emergency fund to be utilized only when Congress has no other funds to fall back upon. (Gandhi, 3922-3.)

Letter dated Rajkot 26 March 1902 from M.K. Gandhi to W.S. Caine states that he has prepared a statement giving an up-to-date position of the British Indians in South Africa. (Gandhi, 3945.)

Notes dated Rajkot 27 March 1902 by M.K. Gandhi on the position of Indians in South Africa, Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony as also regarding Chamberlain's reply to questions in Parliament that he does not propose to make representation to the Natal Government with reference to its anti-Indian legislation, creating a bad feeling amongst Indians; (2) the Immigration Restriction Act and the Dealers' Licences Act, the chief measures prejudicial to the British Indians; (3) Natal Governments passing the bye-laws under Civil Service Act preventing Indians from entering Natal Civil Service, harass the Indian settlers; (4) situation in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony critical as Indians cannot own land or trade except in

locations, they are required to hold travelling or other passes and cannot enter in Orange River Colony except as domestic servants and no distinction being made between the British Indians and Zulus. (Gandhi, 3946.)

Letter dated Rajkot 31 March 1902 from M.K. Gandhi to Khan and Nazar refers, amongst other things, to the death of Cecil Rhodes, the uncrowned King of South Africa. (Gandhi, 3949.)

Letter dated Rajkot 30 March 1902 from M.K. Gandhi to M.M. Bhowmagree, London informs him about a resolution, passed at a meeting of the Congress at its Calcutta session, sympathising with British Indians in Africa in their struggle for existence and trusts that the Viceroy would be pleased to secure for the settlers in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, a just and equitable adjustment. (Gandhi, 3947.)

Notes dated Rajkot 6 May 1902 by M.K. Gandhi on the Indian question in Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony give (1) the historical background of the Indian settlers—(a) indentured labourers, (b) free Indian settlers, (c) indentured Indians after becoming free, elected to remain in the Colony; (2) legislation against Indians viz., (a) Immigration Restriction Act, (b) The Dealers' Licences Act, giving absolute power to the licensing officers appointed thereunder to refuse or grant trading; (c) bye-laws passed by the Natal Civil Service Board regulating admission of candidates for that examination; (d) Indians not allowed to own land in the Transvaal or live except in locations, required to take out passes and other disabilities being continued even after the country passed under British occupation. Adds that these disabilities are more serious in Orange River Colony, where Indians have no rights at all. Observes that Chamberlain, Principal Secretary of State for Colonies is trying to modify the old legislation only in so far as it is acceptable to the two Colonies. Suggests that the *modus operandi* on the part of the Indian publicists should be that the Indian press keep the matter constantly before the public and the government. (Gandhi, 3936.)

Letter dated Rajkot 18 May 1902 from M.K. Gandhi to Mancherji regarding an attempt by the Natal Government to impose further disabilities on the Indian settlers there. (Gandhi, 3971.)

Letter dated Pretoria 2 January 1903 from Tayob Hajee Khan Mahomed to the Colonial Secretary states that the British Indian

community in the Transvaal wish to lay before Chamberlain its views on the legal disabilities it is labouring under in the Colony, as well as in the Orange River Colony. Seeks permission for M.K. Gandhi to accompany the deputation. (Gandhi, 4023.)

Petition dated January 1903 from Indian community in Natal to Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India with regard to a Commission from Natal to induce the Government of India to sanction the compulsory return of the indentured Indians, who go to Natal after the expiry of their indentures. Adds that the Colony is to discontinue this practice and requests the addressee to advise labour if the Colony is not prepared to grant the indentured Indians the elementary rights of British citizenship (Gandhi, 4031.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 1 December 1903 from M.K. Gandhi to the Honorary Secretaries, Indian National Congress, Madras forwards copies of statement presented by the Indian community to Chamberlain, giving an idea of the legal disabilities in Natal till 1902 and the memorial submitted to the local assembly protesting against the passing of the Immigration Bill. Requests that early and earnest efforts be made to secure relief. (Gandhi, 4106.)

A cutting from *Daily Graphic* dated 15 August 1904 reports that M. Bhownaggee, in an interview with a representative of the *Daily Graphic*, has said that under the British rule, Indians are being actually treated worse than they were under Boer rule. (Gandhi, 4201.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 17 April 1905 from M.K. Gandhi to Chhaganlal Gandhi regarding arrangements for publishing *Indian Opinion*. States that the Hindi and Tamil columns in *Indian Opinion* can be increased only if there are more Hindi and Tamil subscribers. (Gandhi, 4232.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 19 April 1905 from M.K. Gandhi to Chhaganlal advises him to discuss Hindi matters with Kitchen. Acknowledges receipt of certain books. (Gandhi, 4233.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 13 May 1905 from M.K. Gandhi to Annie Besant seeks her advice for reprinting of her *Bhagwat Gita* and inclusion of her portrait therein for circulation in South Africa (Gandhi, 4238.)

Petition dated Johannesburg 8 October 1906 from Abdool Gani, Chairman, British Indian Association, to the Earl of Elgin, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies states that restrictions as to the transfer of leases to and residence of Asiatics in Vrededrop are

unjust. Requests stay of Vrededrop Stands Ordinance of 1906 pending representation. (Gandhi, 4384.)

Letter dated London 22 October 1906 from M.K Gandhi and H.O. Ally, members of the Transvaal British Indian deputation to the Editor of *The Times* seeks to correct certain misstatements made by *The Times* correspondent in regard to the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance. States that there has been no impersonation and that the existing registration certificates held by the British Indians prevent impersonation. Observes that the Asiatics have already full title to residence. Statement that the Asiatics will be absolved from the registration fee is preposterous, as they have already paid either to the Boer Government or to the British. Answers charge of Asiatic influence in South Africa and asserts that the vast majority of the British Indians are in possession of lawful permits and certificates. (Gandhi, 4385.)

An unsigned draft letter dated (London) 24 October 1906 from M.K Gandhi to F. Mackarness, M.P. informs the latter that H.O. Ally and M.K. Gandhi have been appointed by the British Indian Association in the Transvaal to apprise the British Government in regard to the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance passed by the Transvaal Legislative Council. Requests an interview with him. (Gandhi, 4386.)

Letter dated 25 October 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to Private Secretary to Lord Elgin seeks an appointment for deputation. (Gandhi, 4386.)

Letter dated 25 October 1906 from (M.K. Gandhi) to Muncherjee Bhownaggee informs him that Sir George Birdwood will lead the deputation, if he approved. (Gandhi, 4399.)

Letter dated London 26 October 1906 from M.K Gandhi to H.S.L. Polak states that Sir George Birdwood, supported by Muncherjee, Henry Cotton and others is to introduce the deputation from Africa to Lord Elgin. Adds that they propose having a strong committee in England, which is devoted to the affairs of British Indians in South Africa. (Gandhi, 4406.)

Letter dated London 30 October 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to Lord Reay states that he has come together with H.O. Ally from the Transvaal as a deputation, appointed to wait upon Lord Elgin and Lord Morley in connection with the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, passed by the Legislative Council of the Transvaal and that Naoroji, Sir Charles Dilke, Muncherjee, Sir George Birdwood,

Sir Henry Cotton, Ameer Ali and a few others are to introduce the deputation to Elgin. Requests him to join the delegation. (Gandhi, 4423.)

A draft letter dated London 30 October 1906 to Elgin, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies forwards a copy of a petition from the British Indian Association of the Transvaal regarding the Vrededrop Stands Ordinance of 1906 passed by the Legislative Council. States that the Ordinance, if sanctioned, will prevent British Indians even from holding leases of landed property, which they have hitherto been allowed to hold under Law 3 of 1885. Requests him to advise His Majesty to disallow the Ordinance. Adds that the commission of enquiry, as suggested by Muncherjee to his predecessor, is very necessary for the protection of British Indians in the Transvaal. (Gandhi, 4427/2.)

Letter dated 30 October 1906 from Dadabhai Naoroji to John Morley, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India, forwards a copy of the petition regarding the Vrededrop Stands Ordinance of 1906 of the Transvaal Legislative Council. Hopes that the latter will place the case of the British Indians before the Colonial Office and secure protection for them. (Gandhi, 4428.)

Circular letter dated 31 October 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to Sir Charles Dilke, Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Lepel Griffin, Sir Henry Cotton, Ameer Ali, Sir George Birdwood requests them to attend the Colonial Office on 8 November to meet Lord Elgin and informs them that Sir Lepel Griffin has consented to head the deputation. (Gandhi, 4429.)

Letter dated London 2 November 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to the Private Secretary to Lord Elgin, as member of the Transvaal Indian deputation and also as authorised by the Natal Indian Congress to wait on Lord Elgin in connection with the local disabilities of British Indians in Natal informs him about the bill to be introduced by Ralph Tatham, a new member of the Legislative Assembly, Natal limiting the trade licences to those who are on the parliamentary voters roll and requests short interview to apprise him of Natal matters. (Gandhi, 4461.)

Letter dated 5 November 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to the Private Secretary to the Earl of Elgin, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies encloses a complete list of the members of the deputation to wait on Lord Elgin on 8 November 1906. (Gandhi, 4495-6.)

Letter dated 6 November 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to J.D. Rees

requests him to attend a meeting of the Liberal, Nationalist and Labour Members of the Parliament. Forwards copies of précis of Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, 1906. (Gandhi, 4497.)

Proceedings of a deputation to the Earl of Elgin on behalf of British Indian subjects in South Africa dated 8 November 1906 consisting of Lord Stanley of Alderley, H.O. Ally, M.K. Gandhi, Sir Lepel Griffin, J.D. Rees, Sir George Birdwood, Sir Henry Cotton, Dadabhai Naoroji, M. Bhownagree, Ameer Ali, Harold Cox, and Thornton. (Gandhi, 4512.)

Letter dated London 8 November 1906 from M.K. Gandhi and H.O. Ally to Sir Richard Solomon (friend of the coloured people) requests him to put in a word about appointing a commission of enquiry to remove all doubts and misapprehensions that exist, since inaccurate information has been placed before Lord Elgin. (Gandhi, 4521.)

Letter dated 9 November 1906 from M.K. Gandhi and H.O. Ally to the Private Secretary to John Morley, Secretary of State for India seeks an interview and refers to their meeting with Lord Elgin under the leadership of Sir Lepel Griffin alongwith other gentlemen in connection with the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance passed by the Legislative Council of the Transvaal. (Gandhi, 4531.)

Letter dated London 12 November 1906 from M.K. Gandhi and H.O. Ally to the Editor, *The Times* takes exception to the opinion expressed in the leading articles of *The Times* of 10 November 1906 on the British Indian question in the colonies. States that a commission should be appointed to go into the question and observes that the Ordinance alters the status of British Indians and compels them to carry registration certificates. Adds that there is no unauthorised influence on a wholesale scale and that the present machinery is absolutely effective to check unauthorised entry. (Gandhi, 4543.)

Draft latter dated 13 November 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to the Editor, *The Times* states that it is imperative that the Imperial Government should send a commission to the Transvaal to enquire into the whole position. Adds that it would be reasonable to withhold royal sanction for the Ordinance in question. (Gandhi, 4552.)

Letter dated London 13 November 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to Lord Stanley informs him that Morley will receive a deputation with reference to Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance of the Transvaal

and enquiring if he would join the deputation. (Gandhi, 4557.)

Letter dated 16 November 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to W.I. Stead requests him to use his influence with the Boer leaders in the Transvaal and to apprise them of distinction between British Indians and the Kaffir races in South Africa. (Gandhi, 4584.)

Letter dated 18 November 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to J. Bennett of *Times of India* informs him that the writer has been authorised by the British Indian community in South Africa to form a committee in London called 'South Africa British Indian Vigilance Committee' for securing fair treatment to British Indians in South Africa. Adds that Sir W. Wedderburn, Sir Lepel Griffin, Sir Henry Cotton, J.D. Rees, Dadabhai Naorji, M.M. Bhownaggee and other sympathisers have consented to join the committee. (Gandhi, 4575.)

Letter dated 20 November 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to the Private Secretary to John Morley, Principal Secretary of State for India encloses a list of members of the deputation, who will accompany the writer and Ally to wait on Lord Morley on 22 November 1906. (Gandhi, 4595.)

Letter dated London 24 November 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to Lord Reay forwards a copy of the draft constitution of the South Africa British Indian Committee giving the names of those persons who have agreed to become its members and requests the latter to accept the presidency of the Committee. Informs him that a short conference of the members is proposed to be held that day. (Gandhi, 4638.)

Letter dated London 24 November 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to the Private Secretary to Morley states, with reference to the Royal Commission, that what the delegates have requested is a committee consisting of independent and impartial men to enquire into the charges made against the Indian community, which have been used as reasons for passing the Ordinance. Observes that either the veto should be exercised or royal sanction suspended pending results of investigation by the committee. Adds that full protection of colonial sentiment be given to the British Indians in the Transvaal, (Gandhi, 4640.)

Circular letter dated London 26 November 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to the Members of the South Africa British Indians Committee informs them about a conference to be held and requests Muncherji to accept the chairmanship of the sub-committee. (Gandhi, 4654.)

Letter dated 27 November 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to the Private Secretary to Winston Churchill forwards a statement containing their objections to the Vrededorp Stands Ordinance and views of the British Indian community on the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance. (Gandhi, 4653.)

Letter dated...1906 from M.K. Gandhi on behalf of the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty, the Emperor of China, London to Sir Edward Gray, Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, forwards a copy of a petition received from the free Chinese subjects in the Transvaal in connection with their grievances in that Colony with reference to the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance and trusts that the latter will secure proper treatment for the Chinese subjects in the Transvaal. (Gandhi, 4441.)

Notes dated (...1906) by M.K. Gandhi entitled "Objections to the Vrededorp Stands Ordinance". (Gandhi, 4636.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 12 May 1908 from M.K. Gandhi to General J.C. Smuts, Colonial Office refers to a telegram received by him from Chamney announcing that all Asiatics entering the Colony after 9 May should register under the Transvaal Asiatics Registration Act and requests Smuts that the misunderstanding of compromise be clarified. (Gandhi, 4811.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 14 May 1908 from M.K. Gandhi to E.F.C. Lane states that the period of three months in 'compromise' letter was never intended to apply to Asiatics returning to the Colony or otherwise possessing right of re-entry. Hopes that Smuts will accept voluntary registration of new arrivals and repeal Act. (Gandhi, 4813.)

Letter dated May 14, 1908 from M.K. Gandhi to Cartwright states that his services as a mediator might again be required. (Gandhi, 4814.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 21 May 1908 from M.K. Gandhi to General Smuts asks for public announcement of repeal of the Transvaal Asiatics Registration Act. (Gandhi, 4816.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 6 June 1908 from M.K. Gandhi to Cartwright asks him to persuade the progressives not to obstruct repeal of the Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act. (Gandhi, 4823 (a).)

Letter dated Johannesburg 13 June 1908 from M.K. Gandhi to General J.C. Smuts, Pretoria refers to his interview with him covering discussions and writer's pleading that any amendment of

the Transvaal Immigrants Restriction Act should protect right of prewar refugees, refugees permitted under the Peace Preservation Ordinance and rights of would-be educated immigrants should not be jeopardised by compromise. (Gandhi, 4827 (a).)

Telegram dated Pretoria 22 June 1908 from M.K. Gandhi to Chhaganlal, Johannesburg states interview unsatisfactory, immigration amendment drastic, rejects education test, old Dutch, certificates, call meeting evening get affidavits, Essop Mian signed. (Gandhi, 4829.)

Letter dated (Johannesburg) 11 July 1908 from M.K. Gandhi to A. Cartwright, Johannesburg forwards draft questions on Asiatic Registration Act framed by the writer and seeks elucidation of Smuts' offer from Cartwright—whether the voluntary registration certificates will be legalised under the Act? (Gandhi, 4835-36.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 20 July 1908 from M.K. Gandhi to A. Cartwright, Pretoria informs him that prosecutions have started. Adds that Sorabji sentenced to one month's imprisonment for non-submission to the Asiatic Act. (Gandhi, 4846.)

Letter dated 21 July 1908 from M.K. Gandhi to A. Cartwright informs him about the arrest of Imam Abdul Cader, Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society, T. Naidoo and a few others for hawking without licences. (Gandhi, 4853.)

Letter dated 27 July 1908 from M.K. Gandhi to A. Cartwright comments on the Asiatic Voluntary Registration Bill states that it will not be accepted by the Indian community as it is a "fraudulent bill", which equated voluntary registrants with those who had submitted to the Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act and did not provide for three categories of persons viz., holders of three Dutch certificates, pre-war refugees and holders of Peace Preservation Ordinance permits. (Gandhi, 4842.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 5 August 1908 from M.K. Gandhi to W.M. Hosken, House of Assembly, Pretoria informs him about the arrest of 13 Indian merchants at Standerton for trading without licences as they declined to give thumb impression under the Asiatic Act. Details improper diet given to Indian prisoners and hardships of Indians in the Transvaal jails and wants to know if the latter could bring about a reform. (Gandhi, 4854.)

Letter dated 5 August 1908 from M.K. Gandhi to Cartwright forwards a copy of a letter to Hosken and states that the latter could move editorially and give the Transvaal press a lead. (Gandhi, 4855.)

Letter dated 14 August 1908 from M.K. Gandhi to General Smuts apprises him of the number of Indians in Johannesburg and Standerton jails and the Indian community's proposal to burn registration certificates. Appeals to him once more to respect compromise, accept his amendment of Immigrants Restriction Act or to meet Indian leaders with a view to settlement, failing which certificates would be burnt on the following Sunday. (Gandhi, 4857.)

Telegram dated (Durban) 2 October 1908 from Nicely (Natal Indian Congress) signed by M.K. Gandhi to Colonial Secretary, P.M. Burg (Pietermaritzburg) informs him about the arrival of some British Indians per *Governor* and refused embarkation passes by Immigration Officer. Requests that passengers be issued passes. (Gandhi, 4889.)

Letter dated (London) 21 July 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Lord Ampthill expresses gratefulness for his offer to give his attention to the British Indian question in the Transvaal and other parts of South Africa (Gandhi, 4953.)

Letter dated 24 July 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to the Under Secretary of State states that he and his colleague would like to apprise his Lordship of the position of British Indians in the Transvaal, arising from the voluntary suffering that they are undergoing for the past two years and six months and their having moved the Transvaal Government to repeal the Asiatic Registration Act of 1907 and to respect the status of educated Indians desiring to enter the Transvaal in the manner similar to that in the Cape of Good Hope and other British colonies. Seeks friendly intervention. (Gandhi, 4958.)

Letter dated 26 July 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Lord Ampthill informs him that he and Habib had a private interview with Lord Morley, who has agreed to discuss the Indian question with Smuts. (Gandhi, 4960.)

Letter dated 26 July 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Private Secretary to Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India states that the British Indians in the Transvaal also feel aggrieved about the prohibition to hold landed property and riding on trams, apart from restrictions on immigration of educated Indians. (Gandhi, 4961.)

Letter dated (London) 4 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Lord Ampthill repudiates categorically that the Transvaal passive resistance movement is 'fomented' or financed from India nor has it any thing to do with the extremist movement in India. (Gandhi,

4976.)

Letter dated 5 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Lord Ampthill replies to the allegation that the question of educated Indians is a new question and adds that it was not necessary to mention earlier because repeal of Act 2 of 1907, on condition of voluntary registration being gone through, would have automatically re-instated British Indians possessing educational qualifications. (Gandhi, 4980.)

Letter dated (London) 6 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Lord Ampthill forwards a copy of statement incorporating suggestions made by Ampthill. (Gandhi, 4982.)

Letter dated 7 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Justice Ameer Ali appreciates the continuation of the Transvaal question negotiations and seeks suggestions on behalf of the Natal Delegation, including Abdul Cadir as one of the delegates. (Gandhi, 4987.)

Letter dated (London) 9 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Lord Ampthill forwards proofs of Doke's book: *M.K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa*. (Gandhi, 4989.)

Letter dated (London) 9 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Lord Ampthill discusses the question of entry and submits an amendment to Immigrant Restriction Act, authorising the Governor to limit the number of immigrants of any nationality, for forwarding to General Smuts and finding out from him if he would accept the amendment. (Gandhi, 4990.)

Letter dated (London) 10 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Lord Ampthill informs him of the writer's and Hajee Habib's interview with Lord Crewe and the latter's saying that amendment to the Immigrants (Restriction) Act suggested by the writer is very reasonable. (Gandhi, 4996.)

Cable dated (London) 10 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Polak, Bombay states, "We proposed general amendment authorising Governor make regulations fixing limit and nationality just satisfies Oath . . ." (Gandhi, 4999.)

Letter dated (London) 11 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Lord Ampthill refers to Immigration Amendment Act suggested by the writer and states that it does not "Involve a sacrifice of any essential principle". (Gandhi, 5000.)

Letter dated (London) 11 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to the Private Secretary to Lord Crewe informs him about a hundred

British Indians presumably passive resisters likely to be deported to India and seeks Lord Crewe's intervention to such deportations during negotiations at least. (Gandhi, 5002.)

Letter dated (London) 13 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to H.S.L. Polak replies to the latter's suggestion that Dowd Mohomed should go to India and states that Dowd Mohomed's place is in the Transvaal at the present time." (Gandhi, 5007.)

Letter dated (London) 16 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe forwards Mahomed Khan's complaint of ill-treatment of Indian passive resisters in the Transvaal prisons, the insufficiency and unsuitability of food and adds that Indian prisoners are classed with native prisoners. (Gandhi, 5015.)

Letter dated (London) 16 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Lord Amthill observes that inquiry about the death of the Indian Magappen shows that the allegations made as to bad treatment have been proved. (Gandhi, 5016.)

Cable dated (London) 16 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to H.S.L. Polak states 'Dowd's place Transvaal, amendment includes general education test and power governor make regulation restricting number, nationality test'. (Gandhi, 5018.)

Letter dated 20 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to H.S.L. Polak informs him that the writer would be meeting Schreiner the next day. Comments on Natal delegates' meeting with Bottomley and Col. Seeley—"nothing will come out of these interviews as they will get justice by demanding it at the point of the passive resistance bayonet." (Gandhi, 5019.)

Letter dated (London) 23 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Dr. Abdur Rahman hopes that he is able to continue the work in South Africa—internal reform and therefore, passive resistance. (Gandhi, 5021.)

Letter dated (London) 24 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Lord Amthill forwards a copy of letter sent to Lord Crewe and states that deportations are becoming more and more serious and unreasonable. (Gandhi, 5026.)

Cable dated (London) 25 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to H.S.L. Polak suggests 'pice fund' in aid of passive resistance struggle. (Gandhi, 5029.)

Letter dated 30 August 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Ameer Ali states that General Smuts in an interview with Reuter has stated that "vast majority of Transvaal Indians are sick to death of the agitation

carried on by some of their extreme representatives. . . . I think it will be possible to find a solution to the vexed question. . . ." Adds that Abdul Cadir and friends of Natal invite people in London to ask the Viceroy to suspend Indian Immigration to Natal unless relief is granted. (Gandhi, 5035.)

Letter dated 31 August 1909 from Ampthill to M.K. Gandhi states that he has met Crewe in connection with the Indian question in the Transvaal. Adds that his general attitude is more sympathetic than it has been before. Suggests that the addressee should clarify to Lord Crewe position in regard to "Right". (Gandhi, 5036.)

Letter dated 1 September 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Lord Ampthill states that Smuts' proposal does not satisfy the Indian requirement. On the contrary, it accentuates the racial insult. Adds that it will not be possible for the writer to recede from the position in regard to the question of "Right". (Gandhi, 5037.)

Cable dated London 2 September 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to H.S.L. Polak states that it appears Smuts will grant permanent permits, limited number but not of right, still negotiating. . . ." (Gandhi, 5039.)

Letter dated (London) 2 September 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe seeks clarification of Smuts' interview with Reuter indicating settlement of Asiatic Question. (Gandhi, 5041.)

Letter dated (London) 2 September 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Lord Ampthill welcomes the Crusade implied in fresh arrests of Indians and Chinese in the Transvaal. (Gandhi, 5044.)

Letter dated 3 September 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to H.S.L. Polak states that General Smuts apparently wants to repeal the Act and to give permanent certificates of residence to a limited number of educated Indians and does not want to recognise the right of entry. Expresses writer's feelings that he would rather be in jail in the Transvaal than carry on useless agitation in England. (Gandhi, 5049.)

Letter dated 10 September 1909 from M.K. Gandhi to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe repudiates General Smuts' statement to Reuter that majority of the Transvaal Indians have submitted to the Law (Registration Act) and states that the information received from the Transvaal proves that the strength of British Indian opposition still remains unabated. (Gandhi, 5060.)

Letter dated Johannesburg, 2 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to R. Gregorowski, (lawyer of Johannesburg) states that Immigrants Restriction Bill (1911) is baffling and seeks his opinion on interpretation thereof. (Gandhi, 5223.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 2 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to H.S.L. Polak forwards his analysis of the Bill. States that while it satisfies the Transvaal people, it deprives the Cape and the Natal Indians a great deal. Observes that the Natal Indians should seek clarification about the meaning of the bill in respect of the wives and minor children and also the rights of domicile. Forwards a draft telegram to be sent to General Smuts by the Natal Indian Congress for the purpose. (Gandhi, 5218.)

Letter dated 2 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Ritch states that from the theoretical stand point, the Immigrants' Restriction Bill is admirable since it recognises the Indian languages along with the languages of Europe, but the practical effect, so far as the Cape and Natal Asiatics are concerned is, in his opinion, disastrous. (Gandhi, 5219.)

Copy of a telegram dated Johannesburg 2 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Adam Hajee Gool Mahomed, President Cape British Indian Union informs him of (1) Ritch's expected arrival; (2) publication of Immigration Bill which is bad for the Cape and Natal and hence the necessity for strenuous opposition. (Gandhi, 5220.)

Letter dated (Johannesburg) 2 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Ernest F.C. Lane, Private Secretary to General Smuts refers to the Immigrants Restriction Bill published in the *Government Gazette Extraordinary* dated 25 and seeks clarification about the Clause regarding the education test—whether under Section I of the new Bill, Asiatics, who might pass the education test, can enter and remain in the Transvaal without being liable to take out registration under Act 36 of 1908. Requests to know under what clause of the Bill the wives of registered Asiatics are protected. (Gandhi, 5222.)

A telegram dated Johannesburg 3 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Private Secretary to General Smuts seeks clarification as to whether the educated Asiatics, who may pass education test will be able to enter the Transvaal without being liable to take out Registration under Act 36 of 1908. (Gandhi, 5224.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 4 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to E.F.C. Lane requests that the new Bill should be so amended in the Committee as to make the assurance given in regard to the Asiatics,

who pass the education test not being subject to the Registration Act No 36 of 1908 of the Transvaal absolutely clear. Seeks legal protection for wives and minor children of the registered Asiatics. (Gandhi, 5227.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 4 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to L.W. Ritch informs him of the wire sent by the writer to General Smuts seeks clarification as to whether Section I of Immigrants Restriction Bill just introduced contemplates Asiatics, who pass the education test will be able to enter the Transvaal without being liable to take out registration under Act 36 of 1908. States that the reply to the wire seems to be satisfactory but they should not be satisfied with the assurance and should watch the progress of the Bill so far as the points affecting passive resisters are concerned. (Gandhi, 5231.)

Letter dated 6 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to L.W. Ritch inquires whether in case Smuts does not yield as to the amendment of the Bill in order to make good the meaning he attaches to it and asks whether the writer's presence is necessary in Cape Town? (Gandhi, 5239.)

Telegram dated Johannesburg 7 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Abdul Cadir states that the writer has not accepted anything and adds that he has advised the Cape and Natal to offer opposition. Observes that if legal equality is granted and Act 1907 repealed, passive resistance in the Transvaal must cease. (Gandhi, 5241.)

Telegram dated Johannesburg 7 March 1911 from Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association, to Ritch states that the Association authorises him to act in respect of Immigration Bill before the Union Parliament for interviewing ministers, officials and members of Parliament so far as the Transvaal is concerned. (Gandhi, 5242.)

Letter dated 7 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to F.F. Doke sets forth following demands essential for stopping the passive resistance: (1) repeal of Asiatic Act No 2 of 1907 and legal equality of educated Asiatics as to immigration reduced in practice to the entry into the Transvaal of at least six highly educated Asiatics per year; (2) the Bill to be so amended as to exempt educated Asiatics, who may enter under the education test from the operation of the Registration Act; (3) protection to be given to the wives and minor children of non-prohibited immigrants. (Gandhi, 5244.)

Telegram dated Johannesburg 8 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi

to L.W. Ritch advises him to seek interview with Smuts regarding the Transvaal and Natal without loosing any time. (Gandhi, 5249.)

Letter dated 8 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to H.S.L. Polak states the legal position in regard to Section 7 of the Bill. (Gandhi, 5256.)

Telegram dated Johannesburg 8 March 1911 from Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior informs him that L.W. Ritch, Secretary, South Africa British Indian Society to interview General Smuts and represent the Transvaal Indian community regarding Immigration Bill. (Gandhi, 5257.)

Letter dated 8 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to L.W. Ritch emphasises that they have to secure, if possible, the necessary amendments in order to make the position certain and remove ambiguity in the Bill. Adds that they have got to work for the Cape and the Natal Indians, whether they have found or not. (Gandhi, 5254.)

Telegram dated Johannesburg 9 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to L.W. Ritch informs him of Smuts' declining to recognise Ritch as representative of the Transvaal Indian community. (Gandhi, 5260.)

Telegram dated Johannesburg 9 March 1911 from the British Indian Association to the Private Secretary to the Minister of Interior and L.W. Ritch explains reason for appointing Ritch as representative because he is at Cape Town and represents the Transvaal Indians. Adds that Ritch, himself a South African, enjoys confidence of the Indian community and requests the General to reconsider his decision and receive Ritch. (Gandhi, 5261.)

Letter dated 9 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Polak states that the Cape community are united at last. Requests him to remind Omar that the writer wants the Church Street property lease. (Gandhi, 5264.)

Telegram dated 11 March 1911 from Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association to Members of Parliament expresses hope that the new Immigration Bill will be so amended as to cover objections raised by the British Indian Association. (Gandhi, 5276.)

Telegram dated Johannesburg 11 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to (1) Natesan, Madras; (2) Gokhale, Calcutta, and (3) the Transvaal Indian Association states that the new bill is satisfactory in principle because it recognises legal equality and would end passive resistance, if amended to exempt educated Indians from operation of

Registration Act and to protect minor children and adds that its effect in Natal and the Cape, however, is adverse as it curtails rights of lawful residents. (Gandhi, 5279.)

Letter dated (Johannesburg) 11 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Ritch about the Transvaal Indians' petition to the Transvaal members of the Union Assembly, which the writer hopes will be circulated to the press. Also refers to a wire from Cape Town in *Daily Mail* and adds that General Smuts has placed on the table, printed correspondence between the Imperial Government and the Union Government. (Gandhi, 5280.)

Petition dated Johannesburg 16 March 1911 from Ahmed Mahomed Cachalia, Chairman of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal to the Speaker and the Members of the Legislative Assembly of the Union of South Africa, Cape Town submits that the Immigration Bill published in the *Gazette* on 25 February to consolidate and amend the laws in force in the various provinces of the Union, relating to restrictions upon immigration thereto, is ambiguous in several essential particulars in as much as: (a) it does not permit of the residence in the Transvaal of educated Indians, who might pass the education test in view of the Asiatic Registration Act 36 of 1908; (b) there is no provision in the said Bill for protecting the wives and minor children of registered Asiatics, which protection has been so far enjoyed by them under the Act 15 of 1907 of the Transvaal; (2) requests the Honourable House to amend the Bill in the desired direction. (Gandhi, 5273.)

Letter dated 16 March 1911 from Ernest F.C. Lane, Private Secretary to the Minister of Interior, the Union of South Africa, Cape Town to M.K. Gandhi, Johannesburg confirms that chapter 23 of the Orange Free State Laws would not be cancelled. Adds that an amendment will be moved exempting the educated Indian immigrants from registration under the Transvaal Act No 36 of 1908 and would in effect have full power to reside and to travel in the Cape Colony, Natal and the Transvaal but will not be able to reside in Orange Free State. (Gandhi, 5300.)

Telegram dated 16 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Polak informs him that a wire received from Ritch intimates that petitions have been presented to the Parliament by Patric Duncan, Sir David Hunter, J.W. Jagger, Members of the Parliament from the Transvaal, Natal, Cape Colony respectively and that all consider the prayer to be just. (Gandhi, 5296.)

Letter dated 16 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to L.W. Ritch suggests that the latter should scan every amendment that may be moved in the committee and see that general Smuts does not create a colour bar by moving the amendment subjecting those who may enter under the education test, to the Registration Act of the Transvaal. Adds that amendment should be to the effect that such men should not be subject to the Registration Laws of any Province.

Letter dated Johannesburg 16 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to the Editor, *Pretoria News* states that, if the new bill admits Asiatics who pass the education test into the Union without being subjected to Asiatic Registration laws and that it does not take away the rights of wives and minor children of those registered to enter the Transvaal, passive resistance must cease. Adds that passive resistance cannot be continued by the Transvaal Asiatics in respect of the disabilities proposed to be imposed on Indians in the Cape and in Natal. Mentions that the number of Indians serving indentures is 23,000 and not 15,000. (Gandhi, 5301.)

Telegram dated Johannesburg 17 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to the Private Secretary to General Smuts states that General Smuts' proposed amendment to Immigration Bill will create a colour bar in the Union Immigration Law, insulting Indians of high culture. Points out that conciliation of passive resisters requires protection to wives and children and entire absence of colour bar. Urges that, in case Free State members do not tolerate any educated Asiatics within State boundary, the Bill should not be passed and the Transvaal situation be dealt with by amending registration. (Gandhi, 5309.)

Telegram dated Johannesburg 18 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to L.W. Ritch states that the fight against colour bar cannot close if educated Asiatics are not exempted Free State law. Hopes that the Cape and Natal Asiatics will join hands and advises passive resisters to continue struggle. (Gandhi, 5311.)

Telegram dated Johannesburg 20 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to the Private Secretary to General Smuts refers to relief under new Immigration Bill and states that no submission has been made for repeal of Chapter 33. Adds that Natal Indian Congress, in a telegram to Private Secretary to the Minister of Interior, opposed amendment to new Bill imposing racial bar against entry into Orange Free State of Asiatics admitted into Union under education test. (Gandhi, 5326.)

Letter dated 20 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to E.F.C. Lane, Private Secretary to the Minister for Interior submits for General

Smuts' consideration, that just as educated Indian immigrants will under the amendment he proposes to move, be free from registration under the Transvaal Act No 36 of 1908, so may such immigrants be free from the sections of Chapter 33 of the Orange Free State Constitution regarding registration. Points out that the proposed amendment exempting the educated Indian immigrants from registration under the Transvaal Act No 36 of 1908 may mean that an educated Indian may not be free from operation of Act No 36 of 1908 entirely but that he will simply not be required to register. Adds that, according to the advocates of long standing in the Transvaal and Natal, the wives and minor children of Asiatic residents will not be able to join them, as before, because they will be treated as prohibited immigrants, unless they can satisfy the education test. Observes that if it is intended not to debar the wives and minor children, an exemption clause of a general nature should be added to the bill and hopes that the General will grant them relief. (Gandhi, 5327.)

Telegram dated Johannesburg 22 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to L.W. Ritch informs him about a telegram received from Smuts to the effect that he will favourably consider the question of women and children. Adds that Smuts is regarding writer's attitude on Free State question as unfair. (Gandhi, 5339.)

Telegram dated 24 March 1911 from Private Secretary to Minister of Interior to M.K. Gandhi informs him that there would be "no colour or racial bar of any kind whatsoever, appearing in Immigration Bill or any amendment which the Government intend to move." (Gandhi, 5350.)

Telegram dated Johannesburg 24 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Private Secretary to the Minister of Interior states that racial bar would certainly be created, if educated Asiatic immigrants, upon entering Orange Free State, are confronted with Asiatic Registration Laws. (Gandhi, 5351.)

Telegram dated Cape Town 24 March 1911 from General Smuts to Hosken regrets latter's action in approving Indian stand and states that he has proposed to exempt educated Indians from Registration under the Transvaal Act and the Indians now demand that the writer should also exempt them from the Orange Free State law, on pain of passive resistance movement being continued. (Gandhi, 5353.)

Telegram dated 24 March 1911 from Hosken to General Smuts states that Indian community has asked not so much for permanent

residential rights for educated Asiatics as for removal of colour bar. Adds that in regard to Free State, they only claim fulfilment of positive commitment by the Prime Minister in his despatch dated 20 December 1910. (Gandhi, 5357.)

Letter dated 27 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Miss Sonia Schlesim, who looked after M.K. Gandhi's Johannesburg office, gives the purport of his conversation with General Smuts. (Gandhi, 5376.)

Telegram dated Cape Town 27 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Johannesburg office says that his interview with Smuts is fair and further interview is probable. (Gandhi, 5372.)

Photocopy of a letter dated Cape Town 29 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to E.F.C. Lane states that amendments to the Immigration Bill proposed to be made by General Smuts in regard to domicile, marriage and parental relationship requiring evidence to be furnished to immigration officer, "may open the door to favouritism, corruption and bribery". (Gandhi, 5385.)

Telegram dated Cape Town 1 April 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Johannesburg office says that members of the Union Parliament from Orange Free State were considering the African Indian's demand that the six educated Asiatics, allowed every year to enter the Colony under Gandhi-Smuts correspondence would have free domiciliary rights in Free State, denied to them by the proposed Union Immigrants Restriction Bill. (Gandhi, 5397.)

Report dated 23 March 1911 (partly in M.K. Gandhi's hand) on a meeting of the European Committee of Sympathisers in Johannesburg held under the presidency of Hosken. Reports passing of a resolution approving M.K. Gandhi's contention. Urges the Government to accept the proposed solution and points out that the Minister of Interior has raised a new point regarding Free State in conflict with Prime Minister's despatch dated 20 December 1910, whereby it was proposed by the Government to allow the entry of a limited number of educated Indians, who will, after such entry, possess permanent residential rights in any province of the Union. (Gandhi, 5396.)

Telegram dated Johannesburg 23 March 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to L.W. Ritch informs him that Hosken, Cartwright, Doke, Phillips, Howard Perry, Hadden and Pollock Dallow attended European Committee meeting and passed a resolution entirely approving writer's contention regarding Free State and urges the Government

to accept solution proposed by the writer. (Gandhi, 5396c.)

Telegram dated Cape Town 3 April 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Johannesburg office states that a meeting held the previous day passed seven resolutions foreshadowing passive resistance, failure removal racial bar, supporting the Transvaal, honouring Ritch and so on. (Gandhi, 5406.)

Telegram dated 5 April 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Johannesburg office states that the Secretary has asked for alternative proposal in writing, which is, "amendment Transvaal law." (Gandhi, 5411.)

Letter dated Cape Town 5 April 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to L.W. Ritch informs of a message received from J.C. Smuts asking the writer to write down his two proposals. (Gandhi, 5417.)

Letter dated 5 April 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to L.W. Ritch informs him about his having met Dr. Hewart, the Opposition Whip and Bisset and intends to meet other members of the Parliament. Feels that if the Bill (Union Immigrants Restriction Bill) comes up at all, General Smuts, in view of Botha's despatch to Lord Crewe, will not be able to bring it in without the amendment, the Indian community is asking for. Expresses concern over the Gold Laws. (Gandhi, 5419.)

Letter dated Cape Town 6 April 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to L.W. Ritch states that he has met Farrar (Chairman, East Rand Proprietary Mines), and Chaplin (a member of the House of Assembly of the Progressive Party, who sympathised with Indians), who agree that the Free State contention must be granted. (Gandhi, 5423.)

Letter dated Cape Town 7 April 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to L.W. Ritch informs him of his discussions with Lane, who is sanguine about the second alternative of his proposals becoming law. (Gandhi, 5428.)

Letter dated Cape Town 7 April 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to E.F.C. Lane gives in writing his alternative proposals for ending the Transvaal struggle viz., either amendment of Union Immigrants Restriction Bill to exempt educated immigrants from operation of the Transvaal Registration Law and Clauses 1 to 6 of Orange Free State constitution and protection of existing rights, especially of wives and minors or dropping of Union Immigrants Registration Bill and amendment of the Transvaal Immigrants Restriction Act 15 of 1907, repealing the Transvaal Act 2 of 1907 except (a) registration of minors lawfully resident in the Transvaal (b) education clause of Act 15 of 1907 to be repealed for making the test more severe. Suggests

that the second alternative is simplest as it will close passive resistance and meet with approval of the Indian community. (Gandhi, 5434.)

Letter dated Cape Town 8 April 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to L.W. Ritch states that he will ask Nooroodeen (a Cape Town Konkani leader) about Konkanis, who did not cooperate with the Indian Political Association, to intervene. Forwards Botha's amendment that no provision of Chapter 33 of the Laws of Orange Free State province would be bound to amend the Transvaal Act. Discusses the possibility of the writer visiting London and his suggestion that he be accompanied by Cachalia before the Imperial Conference begins. (Gandhi, 5437.)

Letter dated Cape Town 8 April 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Ernest F.C. Lane seeks confirmation from the latter that Asiatics in any one year will be allowed to pass the test and enter the Union or the Transvaal, whichever of his two proposals is accepted. (Gandhi, 5440.)

Letter dated Cape Town 11 April 1911 from Ernest F.C. Lane to M.K. Gandhi regrets, on behalf of Smuts, his inability to give any information regarding the Bill, as the matter is still under consideration before it is again brought before the Parliament. (Gandhi, 5451.)

Telegram dated Cape Town 15 April 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Johannesburg office saying that talks about passing general Bill have been revived and that Free State may consent. (Gandhi, 5465.)

Abstract of an interview between J.C. Smuts and M.K. Gandhi on 19 April 1911. Smuts tells M.K. Gandhi that the latter's suggestion can not be carried out and as such he would pass his Bill but may not be able to do so during the current session. (Gandhi, 5476.)

Letter dated (Cape Town) 19 April 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to General Smuts states that if the question is not settled during the present session, the passive resisters may not remain totally inactive. (Gandhi, 5477.)

Letter dated (Cape Town) 20 April 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Ernest F.C. Lane conveys the unwillingness on the part of the Congress, the (British Indian) Association and the Cape Indian leaders to cease passive resistance unless the Transvaal issue is settled in the present session. Hopes that the writer's alternative solution will be acted upon. (Gandhi, 5489.)

Letter dated Cape Town 21 April 1911 from Ernest F.C. Lane to M.K. Gandhi, writing on behalf of General Smuts, regrets the Government's inability to proceed with immigration legislation during the current session and adds that it would deliberate over a settlement during the recess, meanwhile Indians should stop passive resistance. (Gandhi, 5491.)

Letter dated Cape Town 22 April 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Ernest F.C. Lane states that passive resistance can be suspended provided Smuts gives an assurance to the effect that: (a) Legislation will be passed next session repealing Act 2 of 1907, subject to reservation of rights of minor children; (b) restoring legal equality as to the immigration of Asiatics into the Transvaal and maintaining existing rights; (c) passive resisters should be entitled to registration; (d) educated passive resisters in the Transvaal should be allowed to remain in the Transvaal as educated immigrants in anticipation of the forthcoming elections and their number should not to exceed six. (Gandhi, 5496.)

Telegram dated Johannesburg 26 April 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Kallenbach states that the meeting will be held the next day at Hamidia Hall. Adds that presence of Naidoo, Sodha (Ratanji Mulji Sodha, an educated *Satyagrahi* who suffered imprisonment during 1908, 1909 and 1910), S.B. Mehd, Pragji Khandhubhai Desai, is absolutely necessary. (Gandhi, 5509.)

Letter dated Pretoria 19 May 1911 from the Minister of Interior to M.K. Gandhi informs that three categories of Asiatics can apply for registration by 31 December 1911; (a) passive resisters with valid claims to registration but deported under the Transvaal Act 2 of 1907 or Act of 1908; (b) Asiatics not deported but left South Africa owing to passive resistance and have valid claims to registration provided both of the above categories do not exceed 30; (c) 180 Indians and Chinese in South Africa who were refused regularisation under the voluntary system. Adds that seven educated Indians now in the Transvaal and named by the addressee will receive temporary authorisation to remain in the Transvaal pending alteration in the law, when permanent documents will be issued to them. (Gandhi, 5533.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 19 May 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to the Minister of Interior states that the said 180 Asiatic passive resisters mentioned in his letter dated 4 include also those who never were able to apply under the voluntary system or any of the Asiatic

laws construing absence of any disclaimer to terms of provisional settlement as set forth in the writer's letter dated 29 as endorsement thereof. (Gandhi, 5534.)

Telegram dated Pretoria 20 May 1911 from Secretary for Interior to M.K. Gandhi informs him that 180 Asiatics include those who, at present reside in South Africa but failed to apply for registration in time, on grounds of three years pre-war residence in the Transvaal. States that existing rights of individuals will not be affected by any law intended to be general and uniform for the whole Union. Adds that well-known, educated, registered Asiatics need not give finger thumb impressions for taking out licences. (Gandhi, 5536.)

Letter dated 25 May 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to the Registrar of Asiatics, Pretoria, forwards lists of Chinese entitled to make applications for registration and holders of Peace Preservation permits. Submits names of three Muslims viz., Kajee Kalumia Dadamia, Ismail Essop and Rasool Sarfudeen and requests to know when they will be able to apply for certificates. (Gandhi, 5541.)

Letter dated 21 August 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to the Registrar of Asiatics, Pretoria, forwards revised, though not yet final, lists of those Indians, who are covered by the settlement. (Gandhi, 5558.)

Letter dated 7 December 1911 from M.K. Gandhi to Ernest F.C. Lane states that if general legislation cannot be passed, the Transvaal Immigration Act should be amended along the lines suggested by the writer in Cape Town. (Gandhi, 5559.)

Diary of M.K. Gandhi dated 15 January 1912 containing names of persons to whom he wrote each day and of those who visited him at Tolstoy Farm, his own visits to Johannesburg on Phoenix and entries of daily receipts and disbursements, etc. (Gandhi, 8220.)

Telegram dated 30 January 1912 from M.K. Gandhi to the Private Secretary to the Minister of Interior, comments on the Union Immigrants Restriction Bill after its first reading. States that: (a) Sections 5, 7, 25 disturb the legal position as they, (1) make final, officers' decision regarding rights, domicile, wives and children, (2) make education test for Indians entering the Cape or Natal from the Transvaal stiffer, (3) make uncertain, rights of Natal Indians to receive permanent certificates; (b) Section 28 seems to make educated immigrants entering Orange Free State difficult. (Gandhi, 5619.)

Telegram dated January 1912 from Secretary for Interior to M.K. Gandhi upholds Sections 5, 7, 25 and 28 of the Bill. (Gandhi, 5619.)

Telegram dated 3 February 1912 from M.K. Gandhi to the British Indian Union, Cape Town, asks them to pass resolutions protesting against Sections 5, 7, 25 and 28 of the Bill vesting power in Immigration Officers to determine the domiciliary rights of wives and children, new education test for provincial migration, new test for overseas immigration and Free State section requiring declarations from educated immigrants. Suggests their meeting advocate, Alexander. (Gandhi, 5612.)

Telegram dated 7 February 1912 from Secretary for the Interior to M.K. Gandhi states that the Bill nowhere excludes appeal to law courts and observes that system of domicile certificates all over the Union is quite impossible. Adds that Section 8 of the Bill regarding sworn declaration required in Orange Free State is being considered. Hopes that the addressee will use his influence with his compatriots to accept the Bill (Gandhi, 5619.)

Letter dated 15 February 1912 from M.K. Gandhi to Ernest F.C. Lane refers to Immigration Bill, Clause 5 and observes that if the interpretation is that jurisdiction of 'courts' is not ousted, it will be entirely satisfactory. Adds that against clause 7, passive resisters have no complaint and observes that the declaration under Section 8 of Chapter 33 of the Orange Free State constitution not being necessary will have solved the difficulty. Mentions that he would take legal opinion in respect of the Union Immigrants Restriction Bill (1912) in matter of appeal to courts. (Gandhi, 5625.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 15 February 1912 from M.K. Gandhi to Gregorowski, Pretoria, forwards a statement for his opinion on certain provisions of the new Bill. (Gandhi, 5626-27.)

Telegram dated 15 February 1912 from M.K. Gandhi to Ernest F.C. Lane informs him about Counsel's opinion on the Bill to the effect that (a) Union Immigrants Restriction Bill ousts the jurisdiction of the lower courts, thus curtailing the legal rights of the Transvaal Indians; (b) proof of domicile will be required of the Transvaal Indians before they can bring their wives and children; (c) educated Asiatic immigrants would be liable to make declarations required by Section 8 of Chapter 33 of the Orange Free State constitution. Trusts that these defects would be remedied. (Gandhi, 5634.)

Letter dated 11 April 1912 from M.K. Gandhi to Ernest F.C. Lane invites attention to a remark of acting Secretary for Interior and hopes that this would not mean exclusion of educated persons

from the Orange Free State. (Gandhi, 5646.)

Letter dated Cape Town 14 May 1912 from Ernest F.C. Lane to M.K. Gandhi forwards a copy of the new draft sub-section 2 of Section 28 of the Immigration Bill in regard to the declaration required of educated Asiatic immigrants in Orange Free State. Adds that the Minister also intends to settle the question of domicile. (Gandhi, 5650-1.)

Letter dated 21 May 1912 from M.K. Gandhi to Ernest F.C. Lane expresses satisfaction that General Smuts' Government was willing to settle the difficulty about declaration in Orange Free State and about the domicile rights under Union Immigrants Restriction Bill, 1912. (Gandhi, 5053.)

Letter dated 21 May 1912 from M.K. Gandhi to Ernest F.C. Lane comments on the Bill and states that it leaves the question of interprovincial immigration in an unsatisfactory state. Hopes that the measure will be amended to leave the rights of the Asiatics residing in other provinces to enter Natal and the Cape in *status quo ante*. (Gandhi, 5654.)

Telegram dated 25 June 1912 from M.K. Gandhi to the Minister of Interior, Pretoria, enquires about Government's intentions regarding the Bill and future working of the provisional settlement in view of prorogation of Parliament. (Gandhi, 5656.)

Letter dated 17 July 1912 from M.K. Gandhi to the Minister of Interior states that the writer understands that the provisional settlement is to continue pending passage of satisfactory legislation and, therefore, a certain number of educated Asiatics will be admitted for the year. Adds that he will submit names of educated Asiatics for entry into the province on confirmation. (Gandhi, 5663.)

Letter dated 22 July 1912 from M.K. Gandhi to Secretary for the Interior requests that R.M. Sodha be issued trading licence without being asked to produce registration certificate. (Gandhi, 5697.)

Letter dated (Phoenix) 1 April 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to the Minister of Interior states that Justice Scarle's decision that every Indian marriage, which is not registered before a Marriage Officer or not performed in accordance with Christian rites, is invalid and a statement by the Immigration Officer in Natal that no minor children of domiciled Indians would be admitted unless they or their parents produce certificates of birth, have created consternation amongst Indians. Submits, therefore, that the new Immigration Bill

be so formed as to restore the position before Justice Scarle's decision. (Gandhi, 5747.)

Letter dated 4 April 1913 from E.M. Gorges, Secretary for the Interior, Union of South Africa to M.K. Gandhi states that, in regard to the question of issue of permits to British Indians for entering Transvaal, there was no agreement to the effect that all six were to be nominated by the addressee. Adds that in order to meet the requirements of each section of the community, it has been decided to increase the number of permits from six to ten. Observes that the new Immigration Bill, being published this week, will not exempt any person from the provisions of Section 4. (Gandhi, 5750.)

Telegram dated 9 April 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Minister of Interior states that the Bill is open to serious objections as Section 3 takes away Supreme Court's jurisdiction. Observes that Section 4 takes away the rights of educated Indians, who previously entered the Cape or Natal and also prohibits entry into the Free State despite education test, restricts rights possessed by the Natal Indians and the Cape Indians, to re-enter at any port. Adds that Section 5 restricts the legal effect of the Transvaal Registration Certificates. (Gandhi, 5752.)

Letter dated Phoenix 9 April 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to E.F.C. Lane points out that the Bill is open to objections and adds that Scarle's judgment shakes the existence of Indian society in South Africa to its foundation. Observes that if the objections are not met a revival of struggle is a certainty. (Gandhi, 5754.)

Telegram dated 9 April 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to British Indian Association states that the Bill is unacceptable and hopes that all are ready to fight. (Gandhi, 5759.)

Letter dated Phoenix 11 April 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to the Secretary for the Interior thanks him for accepting two names from among the educated entrants and submits that the names of such entrants up to six for the Transvaal, suggested by him in his representative capacity, should be accepted by the Government. Adds that the educated entrants should be able to enter or settle in any province of the Union, subject to the local disabilities not connected with immigration. (Gandhi, 5762.)

Letter dated 11 April 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to the Registrar of Asiatics seeks confirmation regarding the proof required by the latter in respect of wives and minor children. (Gandhi, 5764.)

Telegram dated 15 April 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to the Minister

of Interior asks for retention of Natal Immigration Act and protection to wives and minor children of educated Indians and regrets that reference to passive resistance has been interpreted as threat. (Gandhi, 5766.)

Letter dated 15 April 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to the Secretary for Interior states that issue raised by Scarle's judgement be effectively dealt with by amending the marriage laws of the Union, legalising the marriage celebrated according to the rites. (Gandhi, 5768.)

Letter dated 16 April 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Drummond Chaplin refers to Scarle's judgement invalidating all Indian marriages. Hopes that the Bill is passed with such alterations as may be necessary to meet the vital objections raised on behalf of the Indian community. (Gandhi, 5770.)

Telegram dated 16 April 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Kalrey informs about the second reading of the Immigrants Restriction Bill in the Parliament. (Gandhi, 5787.)

Cable dated 27 April 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Lord Ampthill points out the following objections to the Bill: (a) contravenes settlement; (b) disturbs existing rights; (c) imposes disabilities; (d) replaces Supreme Court jurisdiction by creation of Boards of annually removable members; (e) takes away rights of educated Indians to enter Cape or Natal from the Transvaal; (f) contemplates prohibition of entry into Free State of new educated immigrants; (g) restricts present right of entry through any port to one port; (h) deprives Natal Indians of long residence, of rights of domicile; (i) makes the Transvaal Indians, who may absent themselves from their respective provinces for a period longer than three years, into 'prohibited Immigrants'; (j) deprives South Africa born Indians of the rights to enter Cape; (k) recent judgement invalidates Indian marriages not solemnised according to Christian rites or before marriage officials, thus reducing many wives to the status of concubines and adds that if the Bill is not amended in all these particulars passive resistance will certainly be revived. (Gandhi, 5774.)

Letter dated 19 May 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Secretary for Interior states that revival of passive resistance is no threat but a certainty should the Government fail to carry out promise of relief. (Gandhi, 5755.)

Telegram dated 24 May 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Drummond

Chaplin, Patrick Duncan, Sir David Hunter, Theo Schreiner, Merriman, Morris Alexander, Parliament House, Cape Town, states that official amendments to the Bill do not meet the requirements viz., (a) legal recognition of non-Christian Indian marriages celebrated in India or South Africa; (b) protection of rights to enter Cape of Indians born in South Africa under Section 4 Sub-section 'F' of Cape Act 30 of 1906; (c) Free State difficulty over theoretical right. (Gandhi, 5784.)

Telegram, dated 24 May 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Marshall Campbell states that the amendment does not meet the case and that it will grant no relief unless registration clause is taken out. (Gandhi, 5786.)

Telegrams dated 24 May 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Marshall Campbell and Drummond Chaplin and others state that the official amendments to the Bill do not meet the case. (Gandhi, 5786.)

Telegram dated 27 May 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Patrick Duncan states that amendment accepted by Minister not sufficient as it contemplates registration in addition to celebration of marriage according to religious rites. (Gandhi, 5792.)

Telegram dated 27 May 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Minister of Interior states that the Transvaal Marriage Law recognises European marriages celebrated outside South Africa and similar provision can meet Indian case. Submits that passive resistance is a certainty if questions included in provisional settlement are left unsolved. (Gandhi, 5793.)

Telegram dated 27 May 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Minister of Interior states that amendment after the Transvaal Section quoted in his wire of previous day would meet the case. Invites reference to the writer's letter in specially maintaining existing rights and General Smuts reply of the same date. States that there should be no legal, racial discrimination against Indians as to immigration regarding Free State claim. (Gandhi, 5795.)

Telegram dated 27 May 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Sir David Hunter states that amendment accepted (is) not enough as it contemplates registration and adds that registration clause is totally unnecessary. (Gandhi, 5796.)

Telegram dated 27 May 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Senators Schreiner and Marshall Campbell states that the Immigration Bill before them fails to carry out provisional settlement of 1911 between General Smuts and the Indian community, as it takes away the right

of the South Africa-born Indians to enter the Cape. Observes that it does not solve the marriage difficulty and does not protect Natal Indians rights to return on proof of three years residence in Natal and racial bar not removed as Indians are required to make declaration not required from others. (Gandhi, 5805.)

Telegram dated 29 May 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Morris Alexander, an advocate and Senator Schreiner states that registration of marriage in India is superfluous and entry of undesirable Indian women is very remote. Adds that so far there has been no case of such Indian women having entered South Africa. (Gandhi, 5802-5803.)

Telegram dated 30 May 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Minister of Interior points out that amendments so far carried out do not settle the outstanding question that marriage amendment requiring registration is useless and adds that the problem of South African born Indians could have been met by amendment of the Transvaal Immigration Law and that the Government, if they wish to carry out the terms of the settlement, can only bring in a measure consistent with its terms. (Gandhi, 5807.)

Telegram dated post-5 June 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to the Minister of Interior and several members of Parliament states that removal of £3 tax from Indian women only will shock all Indians, as they were made to believe during Gokhale's visit that it would be removed from men and women alike. (Gandhi, 5809.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 28 June 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Private Secretary to the Minister of the Interior, Pretoria, points out that the Immigrants Registration Act fails to carry out the provincial settlement of 1911 in at least 4 particulars: (1) according to the term domicile, indentured Indians arriving after the Immigration Law Amendment Act of 1885 appear to become prohibited immigrants; (2) the descendants of this class, although born in South Africa, will be unable to enter Cape Province; (3) women married in South Africa going to India will not be on the same footing on their return as those married in India; (4) Free State difficulty seems to remain as before. Expresses readiness for negotiations to avoid passive resistance. (Gandhi, 5811.)

Letter dated (4) July 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to E.M. Gorges, Secretary for Interior informs him of Subrayen case in regard to the indentured Indians, who are paying £3 tax. (Gandhi, 5823.)

Letter dated post-July 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to the Registrar

of Asiatics, Pretoria requests extension of permit to Mahamed E. Bhayat without any deposit of £10 (Gandhi, 5848.)

Letter dated 10 August 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Immigration Officer, Pretoria seeks confirmation about an Indian named Purshotam Mavji, who, whilst on his way to India, was deprived of his registration certificate, obtained by him in terms of Act 36 of 1908. (Gandhi, 5854.)

Letter dated 11 September 1913 from Chairman, Zoroastrian Anjuman, Durban, drafted by M.K. Gandhi to Secretary for the Interior objects to the regulations under Immigrants Act. (Gandhi, 5858.)

Letter in Gujarati dated 2 October 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Maganlal Gandhi states that women, too, have gone on fast. Adds that Kallenbach and 12 women have left for Maritzburg to court arrest. (Gandhi, 5901.)

Letter dated 23 October 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to the Minister of Interior informs him of the sudden deportation of a British Indian, Abdool Fazula Khan, to India and trusts that steps will be taken to prevent a repetition of the incident. (Gandhi, 5904.)

Letter dated New Castle 24 October 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Maganlal informs him of a move in New Castle to lead a march of 2000 men into the Transvaal and adds that Mehd is in the Transvaal, Pragji at Volksrust and Manilal have been arrested. (Gandhi, 5906.)

Letter dated Bloemfontein Gool 14 December 1913 from M.K. Gandhi to Miss Devi (West) enquires about the people in Phoenix and gives instructions as to the diet and the books to be read by them and maintenance of accounts, etc. (Gandhi, 5913.)

Letter dated Pretoria 21 January 1913 from E.M. Gorges, Secretary for the Interior to M.K. Gandhi replies on behalf of the Minister and states that it is not proposed to make any alteration in the personnel of the Commission appointed to enquire into the Indian strike in Natal. Repudiates charges of harsh or improper action against the passive resisters and strikers. Expresses Government's anxiety that recommendations, which the Commission may make, should be received at a sufficiently early date to enable proposals to be submitted to Parliament during the forthcoming session. States in regard to release of bona fide passive resisters that the Department of Justice has already taken steps for the release of the prisoners. (Gandhi, 5926.)

Cable dated Johannesburg 22 January 1914 from M.K. Gandhi to

G.K. Gokhale informs him that the provisional agreement has been arrived at between the writer and Smuts, in the presence of Andrew and that the Government has accepted the principle of consultation with Indians and giving them fullest opportunities. Adds that passive resistance has been suspended on receiving assurance that the proposed legislation will be passed during the forthcoming session. (Gandhi, 5929).

Notes dated 2 February 1914 by M.K. Gandhi expresses his views on marriage question and states that Muslim and Hindu monogamous marriages shall be legalised by an amendment of the Immigration Law or by a special statute. (Gandhi, 5930.)

Letter dated Cape Town 4 March 1914 from M.K. Gandhi to Sir Benjamin Robertson states the manner in which relief can be granted in regard to specific grievances viz., Immigration, Dealers' Licences, the Transvaal Gold Laws, education, future admissions, etc. Adds that all these points are covered by Clause 5 of the passive resistance declaration. (Gandhi, 5945.)

Letter dated 6 March 1914 from M.K. Gandhi to Sir Benjamin Robertson states that the Supreme Court has, by revising the decision of the lower court, declared the children of *de facto* monogamous unions as illegitimate and prohibited immigration of such children who have, therefore, to be protected under the proposed settlement. (Gandhi, 5954.)

In his observations on Solomon Commission report dated Cape Town 17 March 1914, M.K. Gandhi states that (1) reference to the Transvaal Gold Law has been omitted; (2) South Africa-born Indians cannot be kept out of the Cape, unless the economic clause is applied to them by special instructions to the Immigration Officers; (3) obscurity in the Commission's report on the following marriage points (a) plural wives of domiciled Indians with their minor children, whether they have previously entered South Africa or not, should be admitted; (b) Indians should not be prohibited from celebrating plural unions though these would not be legalised. (Gandhi, 5977.)

Letter dated Natal 27 March 1914 from M.K. Gandhi to Mahatma Munshiram refers to the work done by the addressee's pupils at Gurukul for the passive resisters. (Gandhi, 2204.)

Letter dated 1 April 1914 from M.K. Gandhi to Gokhale informs the latter that Indian registration will not be undertaken before the re-opening of Union Parliament on 22 April (Gandhi, 3775.)

Letter dated 8 April 1914 from M.K. Gandhi to E.F.C. Lane urges that past *de facto* monogamous marriages, celebrated according to Indian religious customs, should be legalised and, in future also, such marriages should be recognised as legal. Adds that deduction of £3 tax from indentured Indians' wages be stopped, at least pending the report of the Commission. Observes that since the Commission has strongly recommended repeal of £3 tax, the official concerned will be advised not to insist upon this deduction. (Gandhi, 5957.)

Letter dated Phoenix, Natal 8 April 1914 from M.K. Gandhi to Gorges asks to be told why permanent certificates are not being issued in exchange for the temporary certificates to the educated Indians allowed to settle in the Transvaal under the terms of the provisional settlement of 1913. (Gandhi, 5958.)

Telegram dated Phoenix on or after 7 May 1914 from M.K. Gandhi to Minister of Interior requests favourable reply on his wire regarding photographs of Indian wives. Adds that members community getting agitated. Requests him to instruct the officer to extend temporary passes. (Gandhi, 5974.)

Letter dated 5 June 1914 from M.K. Gandhi to Gokhale states that the Indian Bill has passed through the first stage and is quite satisfactory. (Gandhi, 2248.)

Notes dated (pre-27 June 1914) by M.K. Gandhi contains the following points for discussion with the Minister for Interior: (1) Indians born in South Africa to enter the Cape, the Free State; (2) marriages may be admitted and assurances that wives would be admitted if they are the only wives in South Africa, evidence regarding wives; (3) the year's entries in the Transvaal, Cape and Natal, etc. (Gandhi, 5973.)

Letter dated Cape Town 27 June 1914 from M.K. Gandhi to E.M. Gorges states, amongst other things, that the writer has been thinking of Gold Law discussion. Emphasises the need for protection of the vested rights of those trading and residing in gold areas. Hopes that General Smuts will consider it favourably. (Gandhi, 5996.)

Letter dated Cape Town 30 June 1914 from M.K. Gandhi to Gorges states that passing of the Indians Relief Bill finally closes the passive resistance struggle, which commenced in September 1906. Adds, however, that the Indian community is dissatisfied as trade licence laws of different provinces, the Transvaal Gold Law, the Transvaal Township Act, the Transvaal Law 3 of 1885 have not been

altered so as to give them full rights of residence, trade and ownership of land. Observes that inter-provincial immigration is not permitted and adds that these matters will also require further consideration some day and Europeans will see the justice and the necessity of Indians being granted the rights. (Gandhi, 5999.)

Letter dated Natal 7 July 1914 from M.K. Gandhi to E.M. Gorges defines "Vester Rights" as the right of an Indian and his successors to live and trade in the township, in which he was living and trading, no matter how often he shifts his residence or business from place to place in the same township. Refers, in this connection, to Harcourt's answer in the House of Commons on 27 June 1911 and De-Villier's note in a White Paper, published in London March 1912. (Gandhi, 6003.)

Letter dated Ahmedabad June 1915 from M.K. Gandhi to Petit sends an account of income and expenditure up to 31 January 1915 in connection with the Passive Resistance Movement in South Africa and states that the actual courting of imprisonment has ceased but the struggle itself is going on. Traces the history of the movement since 1906 till the time of settlement. (Gandhi, 6211.)

CHAPTER 4

NATIONAL GANDHI MUSEUM RAJGHAT, NEW DELHI - 110 002

Soon after the tragic assassination of M.K. Gandhi on 30 January 1948, the Government of India and the people at large decided to raise funds in order to perpetuate his memory. Consequently, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi (Gandhi Memorial Fund) came into existence as a Trust. The Provisional Committee of the Nidhi decided at its meeting held on 7 December 1948 to establish and maintain a few Gandhi Smarak Sanghralayas (Gandhi Memorial Museums) in selected places in the country and a small office was set up in Bombay in 1951. The office shifted to Delhi and the Central Gandhi Smarak Sanghralaya started functioning at 2 Man Singh Road, New Delhi. It moved to the present building soon after it was formally inaugurated on 30 January 1961 by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the then President of India.

The Gandhi Smarak Sanghralaya is managed by its Samiti (Board), which is an autonomous agency registered under the Societies Registration Act. (XXI) of 1860. The Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya has now been named as Rashtriya Gandhi Sangrahalaya or National Gandhi Museum. The Museum has a picture gallery, library, audio-visual unit and a collection of private papers of Gandhi. The original papers are on temporary loan with the National Archives of India but their photo copies and lists are available with the Museum.

The papers bearing on Africa in this collection span the period from 1892 to 1915 and comprise his correspondence and two large volumes of press-cuttings, which he brought with him from Africa in 1915. These pre-cuttings constitute an integral part of his private

papers created and accumulated by him during his stay in South Africa. As a matter of fact, Gandhi himself was a journalist, who dexterously used journalism as the most potent instrument for moulding public opinion in favour of his struggle in South Africa. With this object in view, he started in 1904, *Indian Opinion*, which played a vital role in awakening Indians in South Africa. It reached its readers on Sundays and was read in groups. It indeed became a strong organ of Gandhi's political struggle.

Besides his own newspaper Gandhi used the instrument of the press solely to reach the people and to propagate his ideas. When Gandhi launched his *Satyagraha* in 1907, he frequently used the columns of the press for advocating the Indian cause in South Africa. Apart from *Indian Opinion*, his writings can be seen in a host of newspapers including *Rand Daily Mail*, *The Star*, *The Transvaal Leader*, *The Advocate of India*, *Daily Telegraph*, *The Englishman*, *Natal Mercury*, *The Times*, *The Natal Advertiser*, *The Outlook*, *Sporting Star*. Gandhi carefully preserved press-cuttings of not only his own writings but also those which concerned his *Satyagraha* in South Africa.

Gandhi, M.K. (1869-1948)

(For biographical sketch, see Chapter 3 *supra*)

Some specimens of his correspondence and the press-cuttings kept by him and having bearing on Africa are given below:

Letter dated Durban 7 December 1892 from Haji Mahomed Hajee Dada and Co; to Dadabhai Naoroji informs him of a verbal notice received by Indians in the Transvaal that they must all move into locations by 1 January. Adds that from that date, no licence will be granted to Indians to trade. Requests the addressee to take up the matter with the Secretary of State. (Gandhi, 2318.)

Letter dated 14 July 1894 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji informs the latter of the progress of the movement against the Franchise Law Amendment Bill. Adds that the Bill passed the 3rd reading but it can become law only after the Governor signifies that Her Majesty does not wish to disallow it. (Gandhi, 2251.)

Letter dated 27 July 1894 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji informs him of a petition sent to the Home Government. Refers to a report from Escombe, the Attorney-General giving

reason for passing the Bill as preventing the Asiatics from controlling the Government of the natives. Adds that the real reason, however, is to put the Indians under such disabilities that it may not be worth their while to stay in the colony and wanting (Indians) to return to India after their term of indenture. Observes that Indian traders are earning a respectable living and the Bill, if it becomes law, would be a blow to Indian enterprise. (Gandhi, 2252.)

Letter dated Durban 25 January 1895 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji invites reference to reports in the press that the Franchise Bill has been disallowed by Her Majesty and seeks confirmation on the point. (Gandhi, 2253.)

Letter dated 20 August 1895 from Dadabhai Naoroji to Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, apprises him of a deputation of representatives of Indians to make a representation to the latter in regard to the policy pursued towards Indians in South Africa and requests him to receive them. (Gandhi, 2324.)

Letter dated 30 August 1895 from Dadabhai Naoroji to the Editor, *The Times* informs the latter that the deputation, which waited on Joseph Chamberlain for apprising him of grievances of the British Indians in South Africa consisted of Messrs Bannerji, Harideo, Roy, Nair, Ghani Meerza, Bhownaggee and Naoroji, (Gandhi, 2299(1).)

Letter dated Durban 7 March 1896 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji states that the Governor of Zululand has refused to grant the request of the memorialists regarding Nondeveni. Adds that he is preparing a memorial for the Government on the subject. (Gandhi, 2254).

Letter dated Durban 7 March 1896 from M.K. Gandhi to Sir William Wedderburn, Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, London refers to Franchise Bill replacing the Act of 1894 and states that the Government proposes to introduce the same during the next session of the Legislative Assembly of Natal. (Gandhi, 2280.)

Letter dated 18 September 1897 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji forwards a copy of a letter from the Indian community with reference to Chamberlain's address to the Colonial Premiers. States that Chamberlain's address has caused surprise amongst Europeans as well as Indians and hopes that the addressee will exert his influence to bring about changes in the Immigration Act.

(Gandhi, 2255.)

Letter dated Durban, 18 September 1897 from M.K. Gandhi to Sir William Wedderburn forwards a letter addressed to Wedderburn by the Indian community of Natal as well as a newspaper-cutting bearing on the subject and hopes that he will be able to exert his influence to bring about changes in the Natal Act. (Gandhi, 2281.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 30 March 1903 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji states that the position there is just the same though the police, after the representation from the people, are not enforcing the regulation about footpaths strictly. (Gandhi, 2256.)

The Times dated 11 May 1903 reproduces a telegram from the British Indians in the Transvaal regarding a public meeting of Indians in the Transvaal held on 6 passing a resolution protesting against the enforcement of the anti-Indian laws of the late Republic restricting Indians to Bazaars and requests for repeal thereof. (Gandhi, 2299(2).)

Letter dated Johannesburg 31 May 1903 from M.K. Gandhi to (Dadabhai Naoroji) forwards a statement in regard to magisterial proceedings, which took place during Chamberlain's stay in South Africa and that Indians in Johannesburg are in utter confusion and terror. (Gandhi, 2257.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 23 November 1903 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji suggests that the addressee should seek personal interviews with Broderick or Lyttelton for discussing the question regarding the rights of the present holders of licences. Refers also to reports in *Indian Opinion* in regard to the proposed sites for Bazaars and states that it is out of question, for those who are trading outside locations to move there. Adds that if sufficient pressure is exercised by the Colonial Office and the India Office, the poor men will get justice. (Gandhi, 2258.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 30 November 1903 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji mentions a letter received from the Government proposing to ask the Legislative Council to amend the Bazaar Notice to the effect that all those who were trading on the outbreak of war, with or without licences, will have their right to trade outside Bazaars or Locations respectively. (Gandhi, 2259.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 5 September 1904 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji states that matters with reference to the Indian question have reached a crisis. Refers to the proposals of the British Indian Association and observes that these are moderates. Explains

further and remarks that (1) the point as to the educational test has been yielded; (2) the right of review by the Supreme Court on the question of licences and the ownership of land is absolutely essential. Adds that any licensing Act should leave untouched the existing licences and the right to trade freely to those who were trading before the war. Observes that, as to new licences, the Government or the municipal authorities may have the discretion. Adds that if these proposals are accepted, the appointment of a commission would be unnecessary. (Gandhi, 2260.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 19 September 1904 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji states that Lyttelton has laid stress on the question of the sites for Indian Bazaars but these sites according to the writer are unfit for trade. Observes that compulsory segregation should be avoided and the people may be induced to take up sites by setting apart Bazaars in suitable localities. Refers to the Cape Administration's Proclamation prohibiting entry of Indians into the Transkei Territories without permits and states that this is a fresh restriction and the territories mentioned are the dependencies of the Cape. (Gandhi, 2261.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 26 September 1904 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji observes that Government's contention that they do not propose to introduce legislation along the lines laid down in the latest representation submitted by the British Indian Association, shows that the government not only intend to restrict future Indian immigration and to regulate the issue of licences to new applicants but also to establish the principle of legislation applicable to British Indians as such. (Gandhi, 2262.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 31 October 1904 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji refers to his correspondence with Dr. Porter, showing how the plague broke out and the work done by the Indians to ward off the calamity and adds that, "but for the criminal neglect of the Johannesburg municipality, the outbreak would never have occurred." (Gandhi, 2263.)

Letter dated 10 April 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to the Earl of Elgin, Secretary of State for Colonies forwards a copy of *Indian Opinion* of 10 March containing a protest to the Natal Government by Natal Indian Congress on imposition of prohibitive fees for certificates granted under the Immigration Restriction Act. (Gandhi, 2305.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 11 March 1905 from M.K. Gandhi to

Dadabhai Naoroji introduces L.W. Ritch of Johannesburg, who holds very decided pro-Indian views and has studied the Indian question in South Africa. (Gandhi, 2266.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 20 March 1905 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji states that a reactionary policy is being followed throughout South Africa regarding the British Indians and apprises him that (a) Cape authorities trying to introduce a general Dealer's Licences Bill; (b) Natal publishing a Firearms Bill in the *Gazette*, which insults British Indians; and (c) the Orange River Colony imposing disabilities upon Indians through bye-laws. (Gandhi, 2267.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 25 March 1905 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji expresses his inability to give financial help to the *South African Bulletin* as the funds have been exhausted in carrying on the fight locally. (Gandhi, 2268.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 10 April 1905 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji refutes Lyttelton's statement and says that the position of Indians in South Africa has, instead of improving, become worse than before war. States that several bills having anti-Indian tendency are being introduced in Natal and Orange River Colony is tightening its grip on the coloured people. Urges the addressee to protect the interests of the British Indians, who look upon him for relief. (Gandhi, 2269.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 26 February 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji suggests that a deputation should wait on British Ministers on behalf of South African Indians. (Gandhi, 2270.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 19 March 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji draws his attention to *Indian Opinion* of 10 March containing a protest by the Natal Indian Congress against imposition of prohibitive fees for certificates and passes granted under the Immigration Restriction Act and adds that the imposition is unjust. (Gandhi, 2271.)

Letter dated Durban 8 June 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji informs him about the Government's accepting the offer of the Indian community to form an Indian Stretcher-Bearers Corps. (Gandhi, 2273.)

Letter dated Durban 30 June 1906 from Polak to Dadabhai Naoroji sends *Indian Opinion*, containing correspondence of Lord Elgin and the Governor of Natal on Municipal Corporations Consolidation Bill. Refers to the decision of the Municipalities Association that no alteration should be made in the definition of coloured

people. Points out that Lord Elgin omits reference to the clause of the Bill disenfranchising all those who are not in possession of parliamentary franchise and adds that some of the Municipalities, in making invidious distinctions between British Indians and Europeans, are causing a grave injustice to the British Indian community in Natal. (Gandhi, 2312, 2316.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 30 July 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to Sir William Wedderburn seeks latter's opinion on deputation's usefulness for placing the British Indian position personally before the authorities. (Gandhi, 2284.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 6 August 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji refers to a statement made by Duncan, Colonial Secretary in the Legislative Assembly regarding legislation proposed to be introduced requiring Indians in the Colony to be registered for the third time. Points out that the hardships of the Transvaal Indians under this proposed re-registration and suggests that the latter should interview Secretaries of State for India and Colonies. (Gandhi, 2275.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 13 August 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to Dadabhai Naoroji points out the need for equitable legislation by the Imperial Government concerning the Transvaal. (Gandhi, 2276.)

Letter dated Johannesburg 22 October 1906 from H.S.L. Polak to Dadabhai Naoroji apprises him of Ralph Tatham's introducing a bill into the Natal House for amending the Licensing Laws of the Colony, whereby no licence shall be granted to any person, except Europeans whose name is not on the Parliamentary Voters' Roll or entitled to be therein, thus dealing a death blow to the Indian traders. (Gandhi, 2310.)

Final form of representation dated London 3 November 1906 drafted by M.K. Gandhi on behalf of George V. Godfrey, Joseph Royeypen Ias, W. Godfrey, A.H. Gool, S. Ruthnum Pather, British Indian students from South Africa to the Earl of Elgin, Principal Secretary of State, states that as a result of the Peace Preservation Ordinance of the Transvaal, the declaration made by Lord Selborne to the White Leaguers of the Transvaal and the present Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, they would be unable to go to the Transvaal as they are not pre-war residents of the Transvaal and would be required to submit to registration, produce a permit to any policeman, who may demand to see it, called upon to furnish means of identification at the time of taking out the passes and give imprints of

fingers. (Gandhi, 2307.)

Madras Letter dated 10 November 1906 reports the success of the Indian deputation from South Africa and the sympathetic hearing received by them from Lord Elgin and Liberal members of the House of Commons presided over by Sir Henry Cotton. Condemns the attitude of white population towards Asians. Reports that the Vrededorp Stands Ordinance to which royal assent has been denied, does not recognise basic civil rights of the Asians. Illustrates the various clauses and sections of the discriminatory Bill. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 4.)

Letter in *Rand Daily Mail* dated 13 November 1906 from the Editor, *Indian Opinion*, protests against the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance and the Compulsory Registration Ordinance making it obligatory for every Indian, irrespective of age, to be registered. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 2.)

Letter dated London 16 November 1906 from M.K. Gandhi and H.O. Ally to Dadabhai Naoroji informs the latter of their being authorised by the British Indian community in South Africa to form a South Africa British Indian Vigilance Committee. (Gandhi, 2277.)

The Times of India dated 20 November 1906 reports the numbers and distribution of British Indian population in the Transvaal in view of the special interest created by the steps being taken to secure for these immigrants more equitable treatment. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 22.)

Rand Daily Mail dated 29 November 1906 reports the departure of Griffin as the Chairman and Ritch as General Secretary and mentions the number of members of the Committee. Alludes to M.K. Gandhi's statement that he was not antagonistic to the Colony of the Transvaal but was opposed to the discriminatory Ordinance. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 15.)

Article in *Indian Daily Telegraph* dated 2 December 1906 appreciates the treatment of British Indians in South Africa on the eve of the Transvaal election, which would have direct bearing on South Africa and states that no fair treatment can be expected. Gives account of population statistics of Indians in South Africa. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 21.)

Letter dated *R.M.S. Briton* 3 December 1906 from M.K. Gandhi to G.K. Gokhale conveys Sir Muncherji's suggestion that there should be in India, a separate 'South Africa British Indian Committee in the same manner as in London.' Adds that in order to have

such a committee, some local men having accurate knowledge of the position of South Africa are required. (Gandhi, 2246.)

Daily News dated 4 December 1906 reports the main manifesto of Het Volk to the Transvaal and sets out the objects and principles as contained in the draft programme to be ratified in the Het Volk Congress on 5 December 1906. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 11.)

'London Letter' in *Western Mercury* dated 4 December 1906 suggests that if a compromise is not reached, the Education Bill should be dropped. Expresses approval for withholding of the Transvaal Ordinance informing readers that a body of influential persons, including members of the House and Sir Brampton Gurdon, who led a deputation to the Premier in this regard, have all held this Ordinance to be very humiliating and have protested against it. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 3.)

Morning Advertiser dated 4 December 1906 reports Indian community's expression of gratefulness towards Imperial Government and others who helped them, especially Lord Elgin, regarding the shelving of the Asiatic Ordinance. Refers to adverse comments as appeared in *Transvaal Leader*, *Rand Mail* and *Star*, which describe the decision as unfortunate and an irritant to white community. Mentions united protest by Het Volk, Nationalist and progressive parties, who want no reservation to be made for the Asiatics and refers to Lord Selborne's cable to Lord Elgin for the purpose. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 3.)

Bristol Times dated 4 December 1906 reports the partial success of the British Indian deputation in being able to repress the discriminatory Ordinance of the Transvaal Government. Adds that the Ordinance has severely impaired the activities of British Indian traders. Self-government would be conferred on the colony within six months. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 2.)

Transvaal Ordinance dated 4 December 1906 reports that the Indian resident's spokesmen, M.K. Gandhi and H.O. Ally do not ask for the right of immigration to be free from restriction but claim certain elementary civil rights, like right to own land and to trade, in other words they (Indian residents) are agreeable to accept restrictive legislation like those in force in Natal, Cape Colony. Observes that the intensive colonial feeling generated is inherent in young democracies, where all kinds of prejudices of race and colour are primarily motivated by economic consideration. Adds that according

to L.M. James, who has protested against racial discrimination and has argued that our trade interests depend on good-will among people. Remarks that cases contrary to which may be illustrated by the efficient boycott of American merchandise. Adds that the case of fellow Indian subjects is much more stronger for they are very much integrated in our way of life and have become a part of our government, are great merchants and bankers and are likely to be adversely affected, when they learn that their fellow countrymen in a British colony are racially discriminated and are subjected to indignities. Observes that this grievance, particularly among the uneducated Indians, is likely to do more damage than the seditious talk of the Indian leaders, who talk of overthrowing our dominion, for they know that the Imperial Government could protect their fellow-countrymen from such indignities but wouldn't because British interest is involved. Adds that this kind of reasoning is much more serious and our statesmen should watch and check against it while there is still time. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 1.)

New Age dated 6 December 1906 reports that one of the achievements of the late Tory Government was the redressal of the treatment meted out to British Indians in the Transvaal. Adds that under Boer Government the Indians had many restrictions. Mentions also the denouncements of Chamberlain and Lord Lansdowne regarding the discriminatory treatment towards British Indians. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 4.)

Article in *India* dated 7 December 1906 comments on the public feelings on the question of rights of non-European races in the Transvaal. Mentions statistical figures of Indians in various African colonies including Natal, the Transvaal, Cape of Good Hope, Orange River Colony. Compares the Indian population with Europeans in these colonies. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 29.)

Letter dated 7 December 1906 from L.W. Ritch, Secretary, South Africa British Indian Committee to Dadabhai Naoroji forwards a copy of a letter from Sir M.M. Bhownaggee to Sir Lepel Griffin, who headed the deputation to Lord Elgin and Morley. States that the Transvaal Ordinance of September 1906 against the British Indians will not be proceeded with, as a result of the mission of the delegates—M.K. Gandhi and H.O. Ally—sent by the British Indians to London. (Gandhi, 2319.)

Article in *Bombay Gazette* dated 8 December 1906 states that the Government cannot protect Indians within its own colonies and is

causing great damage in India. Adds that Muslims, in particular, are more concerned and want that the Imperial Government should appoint Royal Commission to look into the grievances of Indians throughout South Africa. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 21.)

Spectator dated 8 December 1906 reports the announcement of Churchill in the House of Commons that the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance has been withdrawn. Adds that Indian residents are entitled to certain elementary civil rights. Invites the Transvaal's to legislate under its new constitution on the matter. Favours the introduction into the draft constitution reservation in favour of Indian residents. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 2.)

Article in *The Tribune* dated 8 December 1906 regarding self-government in South Africa compares the ethnic configuration of white population with non-white of the Transvaal and Orange Colony. Discusses the problems that may arise if self-government was given to the Colony. Informs readers of different views of the Liberal Party and Churchill on the question of the constitution that the Colony should have. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 7.)

Editorial of *Indian Spectator* dated 8 December 1906 states that the Transvaal Ordinance is the direct outcome of racial bigotry of the whites. Adds that the real motive of this humiliating Ordinance is that the whites fear economic competition from Indians and the trade jealousies of the whites have in sheer desperation driven them to such a measure. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 19.)

Indian Spectator dated 8 December 1906 reports the denial of Royal Assent to the Transvaal Ordinance due to the representation of Indian deputation. Alludes to President Roosevelt with regard to his sympathetic attitude towards Indians. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 25.)

Editorial of *Madras* dated 12 December 1906 quotes an article in *Pioneer* regarding demand made by Lord Curzon's government with respect to the supply of Indian labour and discusses the various conditions, chief being that licences should be given to all Indian traders under the government of South African Republic. Mentions Lord Lansdowne's observations made in 1899, regarding his disapproval of the treatment meted out to Indians in the Transvaal. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 25.)

Morning Leader dated 13 December 1906 reports a speech of Asquith in the House of Commons regarding the new Transvaal Government advocating that the Ordinance should not become an

act of the new Government. Discusses the merits and demerits of the new constitution and adds that the worst feature of the constitution is the nominated Second Chamber. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 6.)

Editorial of *Pall Mall Gazette* dated 13 December 1906 discusses the three basic problems – land settlement, status of non-white races and Chinese labour. Describes the powers of the Governor with regard to the making of any law concerning non-Europeans and mentions reservation of labourers in the Colony and its possible effect on the mines. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 8.)

Article in *Bombay Gazette* dated 18 December 1906 entitled 'Another Point of View' discusses India's close association with South Africa and adds that this closeness was due to the presence of Indian labourers in the Colony and gives explanation for this feeling of closeness. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 25.)

Article in *Birmingham Daily Post* dated 18 December 1906 questions the validity of the move for granting responsible government to Orange River Colony. Discusses the dangers of such a move by comparing the Transvaal, which has overwhelming British White population and the Orange River Colony being predominantly Boer. Informs of the proceedings of the British Government on the payment towards the cost of war by the Colony. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 7.)

South Africa dated December 1906 reports text of a lecture delivered by L.W. Ritch at Caxton Hall, Westminster on 'The Burden of the British Indian in South Africa', dealing with demographic statistics of Indians in South Africa as well as law in the Transvaal. Reports also the speech by A.G. Wise (formerly from Ceylon), in which he discusses the topic of Indentured Labour in British Guiana and mentions a protest of a Chinese merchant of Singapore, in which he refutes the claim that coolies on the Rand are immoral as alleged by radical politicians. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 25.)

Pall Mall Gazette dated 9 January 1907 reports the views of L.W. Ritch, Secretary of the newly founded South-African British Indian Association with regard to the functions of the Association. Mentions the appeal of the Association to the Imperial Government with regard to the Vrededorp Stands Ordinance. States the objections of the British Indian Community to the Stands Ordinance, and mentions the effect of the Natal Franchise Bill on the Indians. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 30.)

Financial Times dated 16 January 1907 reports about a meeting of E.W. Tarry and Co. Ltd., and mentions the Indian economic pursuits in gardening, tea and coffee plantation. Advocates making black labour compulsory and mentions the financial balance-sheet of the Company. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 32.)

Daily Express dated January 1907 reports Lord Elgin's decision to withhold the sanction to the Asiatic Ordinance passed by the Transvaal Legislature, as against the advice of Lord Selborne. States that the white community fears that trade, agriculture as well as other professions would pass into the hands of the Asiatics. Mentions the requirement of registration of all Asiatics and alludes to the British Indians opposition to the Ordinance. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 35.)

The Times of India dated 10 February 1907 reports formation of the Transvaal Indian Co-operative Association Ltd., a fruit merchants' trading body, informs readers that all shareholders are Indian fruit-hawkers, aiming to gain control of the Indian fruit business. Mentions the electioneering campaign and points out that more votes can be gained by denouncing Asian Question. Informs of the general policy of completely closing the Colony to further Asiatic immigration. Reports also the address presented to M.K. Gandhi and H.O. Ally by Anjuman-i-Islam (Muslim Association) Durban expressing appreciation of their services mentioning Ralph Tatham's charge of sedition of Indians. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 42.)

The Times dated 20 February 1907 reports proceedings in the House of Commons wherein Rees (Montgomery Borough) asked a question regarding the preference of the colonialist to remain under the English law rather than under the Indian Penal Code and records Churchill's (Manchester, N.W.) answer. Expresses inability of the Secretary of State to comply with the desire of the Colonialist Association of the British East Africa Protectorate with regards to the subject. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 37.)

Article entitled 'Are Indians Aliens' published in *North Mail* dated February 1907 disapproves the declaration of the High Commissioner which regards Indians as aliens. Questions the sensibility of this attitude and argues that the genesis of the matter is to be found in the Asiatic Amendment Ordinance. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 36.)

Editorial bearing heading 'The South African Problem, and Divine Rights of the White' in *Bombay Gazette* dated 9 March 1907

criticising the denial of rights to British Indians and attributing this anti-Indian feeling to the selfish interests of the colonies. Mentions that the mother country will not be of much help in solving the problem. Condemns the whiteman's hypocritical posture with regards to Asiatic traders and market gardeners. Comments on an article by Mrs. St. Clair Stobart, who claims that the white races were born to rule over others. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings Vol. I, p. 52.)

Letter to the Editor by 'A British Colonialist' in *Outlook* dated 10 March 1907 refutes the impression that the conditions of British Indians were better under the Boer regime and mentions the law promulgated by the Boer Government, wherein the Indians were restricted to 'Bazars', (a place set aside for trading). Argues that British Indians are harmful to the interests of European trade. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings Vol. I, p. 44.)

Article in *Globe* dated 14 March 1907 speculates on the possible policy, which the new Transvaal Government may adopt with regard to mining labour question. Discusses the consequence and effect on Dutch farmers of the fall in value of the agricultural produce. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 42.)

The Times dated 16 March 1907 reports the disallowance of 1,000 free Indians to depart to Portuguese West Africa to work on railway construction by the Natal Government, pending consent of Imperial Government. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 40.)

Letter to the Editor by H.S.L. Polak (Editor — *Indian Opinion*) in *Madras Times* dated 19 March 1907 discusses racial discrimination as encountered by Indians while travelling in tram-cars. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 42.)

Manchester Daily Mail dated 23 March 1907 reports the controversy regarding the passing of the Asiatic Ordinance by the Transvaal Government which it passed as a Bill. Mentions that Lord Selborne has withheld his consent and the whole matter is again referred back to England. Discusses likely consequences, which may follow in the event of the Imperial Government once again disallowing the Ordinance. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 45.)

Letter to the Editor by L.W. Ritch in *Morning Post* dated 30 March 1907 refutes Richard Jebb's contention that the British-Indian problem is the legacy of the Imperial policy. Mentions Sir George Napier's (Governor Cape Colony 1843) views regarding the settlement of British Indians as British citizens and enjoining to them full rights as entitled to a British subject. Discusses, in detail,

the plight of British Indians in the light of Richard Jebb's article on British-Indians of South Africa. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 47.)

Article in *Madras Standard* dated March 1907 ridicules Indian hypocritical stand regarding British Indian treatment in African colonies, while in India vast masses were considered untouchables. Advocates solving of the problem and discusses the political situation in the context of social reforms in the pre-British period. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 49.)

The Times of India dated 13 April 1907 reports interview with the Prime Minister of Natal, who is reported to have said that Indian labourers be repatriated at the expense of their employers at the end of their contract. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 61.)

Letter dated 23 April 1907 from L.W. Ritch to (Dadabhai Naoroji) forwards a proposal submitted by the British Indian community as an alternative to the Registration Bill. (Gandhi, 2320.)

The Daily Telegraph dated 24 April 1907 reports the text of the suggested compromise put forward by L.W. Ritch at a mass meeting in Johannesburg on 11 March to provide an alternative to the measures proposed in the Registration Bill. Mentions that Indians were not against re-registration as against formalities like furnishing of finger prints for identification. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 65.)

Editorial of *The Times of India* dated 27 April 1907 comments that the strategy adopted by friends of India in getting the Transvaal Ordinance rejected or modified was faulty as they, instead of concentrating on General Botha, were appealing to Morley and Lord Elgin, both of whom being of no use in the matter. Advises converting local opinion in Indian favour and bringing General Botha round their point of view. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 60.)

The Times of India dated 27 April 1907 reports Churchill's statement in the House of Commons regarding communication between Lord Elgin and the Transvaal authorities with reference to the payment of compensation to British Indians deprived of their stands at Vrededorp. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 70.)

Cork Constitution dated 30 April 1907 reports sympathetic reception granted to a British Indian deputation including among others Sir M. Bhowndaggree, Sir Raymond West, Sir John Jardine and Sir Charles Schwann. Mentions Lord Ampthill and General Botha's

views and assurance given to the Indian deputation regarding disabilities faced by Indians in the Transvaal. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 56.)

Letter to the Editor by L.W. Ritch in *Outlook* dated 30 April 1907 refutes the views of the 'Colonialist' and defends the virtues of Indians. Illustrates by stating that, contrary to the belief, Natal's title of Garden Colony of South Africa is primarily because of hard labours of Indians. Points out that three million British Indians are being penalised simply in the interest of a microscopic white trading community. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 57.)

Yorkshire Daily Post dated 1 May 1907 speculates that favourable results may take place with regard to the Indian disabilities in the Transvaal by the favourable attitude shown by both General Botha and Morley (Secretary of State for India). Mentions that Morley is in favour of granting concessions to educated and skilled Indians. States that the Colonial Office will influence modification of the drastic methods of registration provided for in the Ordinance. Adds that respectable Indians may be relieved of the humiliating practice of vigilance, etc. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 56.)

The Times dated 1 May 1907 reports on a deputation consisting, among others, of Sir Henry Cotton, Sir Charles Dilke and Herbert Roberts, who waited upon Morley in his private room at the House of Commons to urge that the Registration Bill was discriminatory to Indians. Alludes to Morley's assurance to do all in his power to remedy the inequality complained of (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 56.)

Star dated 3 May 1907 reports the announcement that the King has been advised to allow the Asiatic Registration Ordinance and thereby save conflict between the Mother Country and the new 'daughter state'. Speculates that the Ordinance, when set in motion would disprove the apprehensions of the Indian community. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 65.)

Madras Times dated 6 May 1907 reports a protest meeting of citizens of India in South African Colonies. Gives the full text of the speech of the Chairman, N. Subba Rao and mentions that a resolution was moved by G. Subramania Aiyar, which said that no inhabitant of the colonies who refused to treat Indians on basis of equality would be allowed to serve in civil and military service nor would he be allowed to acquire land. Adds that Babu Bepin Chandra

supported the proposition and gives full text of the speech made by Pal and the resolution unanimously carried. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 69.)

Letter by L.W. Ritch in *Outlook* dated 29 May 1907 contends that the allegation that Indian traders are parasites is very misplaced. Mentions that Indian traders have been able to keep the prices of necessary commodities low. Argues that Indians in the Colony are there by virtue of their right as subjects of British Empire. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 72.)

Daily News dated 30 May 1907 advocates the need of sharing the Empire with its subjects irrespective of race and accepts inability of the Home Government in withholding the Transvaal Ordinance, which was passed by the Transvaal Parliament. Hopes that the measures of the Ordinance would be made as less severe as possible to the Indians. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 61.)

Article in *Yorkshire Daily Observer* dated 30 May 1907 appreciates Lord Amphill's endeavours to safeguard Indian interests and points out that the Act was directed against illegal immigrants. Warns that regulation objected to by Lord Amphill can be used in India to aggravate conditions of unrest prevalent there. Intimates the danger of subversion of the minority European class by the Asiatics in the Colony and discusses the role of the British Government towards colonies like India and Egypt. (Gandhi, Press Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 61.)

Star dated 31 May 1907 reports the German Colonial Congress' recognition of Indian traders' valuable role in the economic life of German East Africa and that they cannot be expelled without injury to the Colony and diplomatic difficulties with Britain. Speaks of *Daily Graphic's* contrast of this attitude to the anti-Indian legislation in the Transvaal and Natal and casts a severe reflection not only on the imperial patriotism but also on the economic intelligence of the Colonists. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 77.)

Star dated May 1907 advocates abolition of the Jury System in Natal, where Whites and Blacks are concerned and claims that justice is not possible due to racial bias. Elucidates the point by an illustration of a legal case involving a native by name of Mtonga, subjected to discriminatory justice (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 65.)

Article in *Daily Mail* dated 4 June 1907 details the evolution of East coast of Africa, like Mombasa, Durban and Lourenço Marques and compares these places as being Eastern in atmosphere and like

a second India across the Indian Ocean. Recounts the failure of various European and American attempts to inhabit Delagoa Bay, which was considered the plague spot of Africa. Mentions that the Indians nurtured these places and made a success of it and gives details of the developments made especially in Delagoa Bay. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 74.)

The Times dated 6 June 1907 reports that the system of fingerprint identification is not limited only to the Police Department, but all native soldiers are subjected to it as are army widows. Says that thumb print is widely used by illiterate natives and that the practice is adopted by almost all government departments. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 65.)

Articles bearing a heading 'Future of South Africa' in *Standard* dated 13 June 1907 discusses the political implications in the Colonies due to the growing power of the coloured voters, especially in Cape Colony and the future of whiteman in South Africa. Mentions that white population was declining. Speculates on the effect of this on the white artisans and on the white community as a whole and points out the growing hold of Indians on all trading activities. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 76.)

Letter to the Editor of *Standard* by L.W. Ritch, refutes the views expressed in the article bearing the heading 'Future of South Africa', published in *Standard* dated 17 June 1907. Argues that Indian population in Cape Colony was only 5 per cent to that of Europeans. Refutes the charges that coloured competition in the Colony has grown so as to squeeze out the Europeans. Shows tabulated figures that Europeans exceed Indians in all professions and states that Indians in Colonies are either dock labourers or agricultural labourers. Gives example of Delagoa Bay, where Indian and European population is on equal footing as being commercially prosperous, without there being any danger of White extinction. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 36.)

The Times dated 22 June 1907 reports L.W. Ritch's views that the primary objection of the British Indian community to the registration lies in its having been made compulsory. Adds that Indians interpret this Act as a prelude to further humiliation and observes that Indian community is willing once more to re-register themselves, even though in 1904, at the instance of Lord Milner, the whole Asiatic community voluntarily re-registered itself, despite the fact that they

had already complied with the requirements of registration under the Boer Law 3 of 1885. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 75.)

Letter to the Editor by a British colonist in *Outlook* dated 29 June 1907 mentions that the Boer regime was equally racist and discriminatory to the Asiatics and cites examples to elucidate his contention. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 82.)

Star dated 30 June 1907 reports despatch of a list of grievances faced by the Indians in the Transvaal by Ritch, Secretary, South African British Indian Committee and mentions that grievances centered around the question of immigration, holding of property, Vrededorp Stands Ordinance, registration, the franchise, the by-laws and classification of Indians with Negroes with regards to trams and railways. Mentions that the document also contains suggested remedy. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 66.)

Letter to the Editor by M.K. Gandhi in *Star* 30 June 1907 appeals to the colonists to arrive at a reasonable compromise and to save British Indians from being branded as untrustworthy and feloniously wicked. Suggests further course of action, which can be taken to lessen the Indian humiliation. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 76.)

Rand Daily Mail dated 1 July 1907 advocates that British Indians should accept the Law (of fingerprint registration) and rejects the contention that it is undignified and humiliating. Mentions that passive resistance movement against the Law may have had great impact if the Act would have been imposed all over the Colony simultaneously but the Government has shown foresight by implementing it district by district. States that Pretoria, which has been selected as the first trial centre, is the weakest link in the Indian organisation and here the protest would be mildest. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 83.)

Letter to the Editor by M.K. Gandhi in *Star* dated 5 July 1907 protests against the Immigration Act and enumerates the various disabilities heaped upon the Indians because of this Act. Illustrates his argument against the Act by citing various sections of the Act. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 83.)

Article by L.W. Ritch, bearing heading 'British-Indians in the Transvaal' in *John Bull Overseas* dated 15 July 1907 deals with British responsibilities towards protecting fellow subjects, the British Indians. Refers to British pledges and, in the context, quotes Sir George Napier's proclamation on the occasion of annexation of Natal (1843). Discusses the happenings in the colonies against the

British Indians and mentions laws imposing disabilities on Indians before the Boer War and after. Includes the latest enactment and points out that Indian community is ready to face a committee of enquiry to investigate the charges of illegal immigrants. Entreats fellow British citizens to shed their hypocritical stand towards Indians. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 131.)

Letter by A.F.C. Beg in *The Star* dated 29 July 1907 deplores the method adopted by the Government, wherein application for registration of British Indians is received at the private residence and at night after office hours. Mentions that the procedure is contrary to the rules prescribed and is derogatory both to the Government and the British Indians. Refutes the charge of the Government that pickets put up by Indians are responsible for the method adopted by the Government. Also mentions that one of the causes of war with Boers was the ill-treatment of British Indians. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 103.)

Article bearing heading 'Indian Mutiny in the Transvaal' in *Daily Despatch* dated 1 August 1907 deals with the Indian reaction against the Registration Act. Mentions statistical data of Indian residents in the Transvaal and Natal and adds that they are well organised and oppose the Act as one man. Enumerates the disabilities faced by the Indians and claims further that the Botha Government could face problems in the event of passive resistance gaining momentum. Mentions the formation of Vigilance Committee in London. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 87.)

African World dated 3 August 1907 reports that 31 July was the last date for Asians to get registered. Mentions that 1,600 Asians are likely to be deported due to their resistance against the Registration Law. Adds that efforts are being made to induce Government to accept Indian offer of voluntary registration. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 87.)

Birmingham Daily Gazette dated 8 August 1907 reports H.O. Ally's non-acceptance of the Asiatic Registration Act and his decision to leave the Transvaal with his family. Adds that out of 100 Pietersburg Indian residents, 85 have refused to accept the Act due to the degrading conditions of registration. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 87.)

Nottingham Daily Guardian dated 13 August 1907 reports M.K. Gandhi's involvement in organising resistance against the Transvaal Registration Act. Adds that Indians are openly defying the law and

that only 70 have registered themselves in Pretoria. Mentions that the situation is delicate and adds that Indian merchants have cancelled overseas orders and reduced their stocks in view of their likely prosecution for non-compliance with the Law. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 91.)

Editorial of *Daily Record* and *Daily Mail* dated 4 September 1907 critically comments on the attitude of the Imperial Government in not putting things right, even though vested with the power to veto any proposal of the Colonial administration. Mentions specifically two issues, namely the adverse affect on the fisheries in Newfoundland, due to concession granted to United States and secondly, in not being able to remove the objections of the British-Indians in the Transvaal with regards to registration law. Mentions that the discriminatory treatment of British Indians will be detrimental to British interests in India. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 106.)

Letter by L.W. Ritch in *The Times* dated 9 September 1907 discusses Vedantic philosophy, doctrine of Karma and caste system and castigates colonists' hypocrisy of not treating Indians in a just manner. Alleges that the British have gone back on their pledges and have subjected the Indians to the same disabilities against which they waged war on the previous regime of Boers. Speculates the effects of this prejudice and petty trade jealousy on India perpetuated by the British. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 111.)

Letter by F. Winterbottom in *The Times* dated 13 September 1907 quotes Essop Mia's (Chairman, British Indian Association) statement regarding the method of protest adopted to oppose the Registration Bill. Appeals to the British sense of fair play and justice to help Indians in their fight against the enforcement of the unjust Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 112.)

Editorial of *The Spectator* dated 14 September 1907 bearing the heading 'The Collusion of the Colours' deals with the mutual interdependence of white capital with dark labour. Claims that white labour cannot tolerate dark (Asiatic) competition. Observes in detail other aspects with regard to the problem. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 115.)

Star dated 25 September 1907 reports the text of the correspondence between Essop Ismail Mia, (Chairman, British-Indian Association) and the Prime Minister, Pretoria wherein mention is made of the grounds of objection to the Registration Act. Adds that

the fact of finger-impressions is not the primary reason for the opposition to the Act. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 124.)

The Daily Telegraph dated 26 October 1907 reports meeting of Muslims in England to protest against the laws passed by the Transvaal Government with regard to Muslims and British Indians in general. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 126.)

Article in *Yorkshire Daily Observer* dated 29 October 1907 bearing heading 'South African Politics' mentions that the idea of a common nationality for the whole of South Africa is gaining currency. Analyses in detail the political atmosphere on the eve of elections in Cape Colony, and Orange River Colony, (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 127.)

Manchester Despatch dated 31 October 1907 reports that Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman (Prime Minister of England) is being requested to receive a deputation of the British Indian Committee. Mentions that 15,000 Indians of the Transvaal have refused to get themselves registered. Gives other statistical data about the Indian residents in South African colonies and mentions that General Smuts has made it clear that Asiatics are unwanted in the Colony. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 126.)

Financial World dated 9 November 1907 reports share market trends and other financial activities of the colony including position of native labour and municipal elections. Mentions the effect the Gold Law, still in offing, will have on companies. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 137.)

Letter by C.Y.M. Ro in *Outlook* dated 12 November 1907 criticises the views of 'an old colonist' and describes them as trash. Deals with the loan applied by the Botha government and mentions that after the war very few Boers have been employed in railways in the Transvaal. Asserts that the financial distress the British now find themselves in, is because of mismanagement of mines of the colony. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 166.)

Article in *John Bull Overseas* dated 15 November 1907 bearing the heading 'The British Indian as British Subject', cautions that the ill-treatment of British-Indians in the Transvaal could lead to a 'mutiny' like that of the 1857 in India. Agrees with the British Indian point of view that they should be treated as British subjects. Warns that British short-sightedness in the matter could end in a disaster for the British Empire. (Gandhi, Press Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 140.)

The Daily News dated 16 November 1907 reports passing of an

Ordinance by the Legislative Council of Mombasa, known as the 'Ostrich Ordinance', disqualifying all Indians from engaging in the Ostrich industry, irrespective of the fact that 3/4 of the land-owners and traders in the Protectorate are Indians. Adds that this adverse treatment of Indians would have an adverse reaction in India. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 138.)

India dated 22 November 1907 reports the text in full of the speech of the Chairman, Ameer Ali, of the meeting convened by Muslims to protest against the laws passed by the Transvaal Government in respect of Muslims and British Indians in general. Gives the text of the resolution moved by Masihuddin Ahmad regarding the disabilities imposed upon the British Indians lawfully resident in the Transvaal under the Asiatic Law Amendment Act. Mentions the English point of view presented by Mrs. Meredith and those of L.W. Ritch (Secretary, South African British Indian Committee). (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 143.)

The Times dated 28 November 1907 reports main passages of the address of Lord Ampthill on British Imperialism, wherein he said that Imperialism is the natural development of patriotism and was a moving force of every great nation. Mentions the policy of Imperial preference and the relationship between the Mother Country, British Colonies and the great Indian dependency. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 145.)

Letter to the Editor from Sir W. Wedderburn in *Daily News* dated 29 November 1907 denounces the Transvaal Registration Act. Adds that Indians agree to all just demands which are not against their interests and dignity. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 149.)

Editorial of *South Africa* 30 November 1907 bearing the heading, 'Civilization and Native' discusses how far European civilization has been beneficial to the South African Natives. Refers to a correspondent's views regarding crime-free lives of the tribes and adds that educated natives do not have dignity of labour but rather mimic the customs of the whites. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 153.)

Letter by W.H. Hovendon in *Transvaal Weekly* 30 November 1907 stresses that Indian labour is a necessity for Natal coffee and tea plantations and mentions advantages of Indian labour. Points out that the problem of influx of Indians cannot be solved by intimidation and insults. (Gandhi, Press Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 180.)

Morning Post dated 2 December 1907 reports the comments

made by *Deutsche Tages Zeitung*, the organ of German Agrarian Party, on the results of elections in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony and adds that, though sympathetic towards Boers, they still consider them a source of danger to the German colonies. (Gandhi, press-Cuttings, Vol. I, 153.)

Article in *Financier and Bullionist* dated 3 December 1907 entitled 'Rand Economics' deals with increased efficiency of white and coloured labour in the Transvaal with regard to the Transvaal mining industry. Gives the text of statement by Fred Hellman (Consulting Engineer of the East Rand Proprietary Mines) made to the Transvaal Mine Industry Commission. Discusses the cause and effect of mechanical devices on white labour. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 152.)

The Times dated 8 December 1907 reports the speech of Lord Selborne at Benoni on the native problem, wherein he states that until the whole South Africa realised its responsibility of collectively dealing with the natives, no permanent solution regarding the matter was possible. Appeals to the people that they should treat natives as their fellow subjects and ensure elementary principles of justice. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 159.)

The Daily Telegraph dated 9 December 1907 reports various developments in the Zululand crisis with regard to mobilization of troops and their movements. Mentions causes for the mobilization. (Gandhi, Press Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 167.)

The Nottingham Guardian dated 9 December 1907 reports meeting of the Nottingham Young Unionists' Association. Adds that a discussion on the 'Alien Question' was debated and gives the viewpoint of A. Parker, who started the discussion. He stated that the Empire created by Englishmen is for the exclusive use of Englishmen alone. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 161.)

Letter by L.W. Ritch in *Glasgow News* dated 23 December 1907 refutes the charges of the correspondent of *Afrikander*, that the Indian coolie was the root cause of Zululand crisis. Asserts that no Indian was killed during the native rebellion and that Indians had even offered military services. Elaborates his contention in favour of Indians and absolves them of any responsibility of the Zululand trouble. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 178.)

Letter by an Afrikander in *Glasgow News* dated 25 December 1907 deals with Zululand danger and its relationship with Asiatics. Claims that even though planters favour Indian coolies for their

cheap labour, they adversely affect the white. Accuses Indian merchants of unequal competition with whites and points out that the failure of Indians to pay £3 a year and the consequent imposition of poll-tax was the indirect cause of Zulu trouble. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 173.)

Letter by Samuel Lee in *Globe* 31 December 1907 claims that British Indians, being loyal subjects of the crown, have full right to live within the British Empire and adds that to deny this makes them an alien people. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 221.)

Editorial of *The Daily Chronicle* dated 1 January 1908 entitled 'A New Year's Problem' reviews the question of Asiatic immigration in the British dominions. Contends that British Empire consists of several self-governing states, who are free to frame their own rules and refutes that there has been any inconsistency in British Government's policy with regard to the matter. Advocates that the secretariat to the Imperial Government should consider the whole question. Urges it to adopt some policy, which helps in harmonising conflicting interests. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 227.)

Manchester Courier dated 2 January 1908 reports Government's firmness in adhering to the policy laid down and informs readers of a mass meeting of Indians at Pretoria where it was declared that, under the old Boer rule Indians received much more protection than under British rule. Mentions the speech delivered by the Chairman, who enumerated the hardships being faced by Indians in the colony and adds that a unanimous resolution condemning the Imperial Government for sanctioning the Immigration Act and for surrendering its rights and duty of protecting the interest of weaker and unrepresented sections of the British subjects was passed. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 233.)

Editorial of *Westminster Gazette* dated 2 January 1908 entitled 'Here There and Everywhere: Indians in Natal' points out that Indian indentured labour was brought to Natal in 1860 to work on sugar plantations and adds that after termination of their contract most of them stayed back and eventually emerged as an economic threat to the European traders. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 240.)

Report in *Liverpool Daily Post & Mercury* dated 2 January 1908 states that M.K. Gandhi and H.O. Ally were the leaders of the Transvaal Indian's resistance of the new Registration Act but, if these leaders were in India, they would have been bitterly opposed

to each other, one being Hindu and the other Muslim. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, 269.)

Daily Chronicle dated 2 January 1908 reports mass meeting of Indians in Johannesburg in protest at the action of government. Mentions the viewpoint of an Englishman that if Indians were allowed to remain in the Colony, Englishmen would be reduced to the state of beggars. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 243.)

Western Daily Press dated 2 January 1908 reports a mass meeting held by 2000 Indians, who claimed that when the Transvaal was under a foreign flag, Indians had been treated as British subjects but now they hardly knew they were British subjects. Observes that they were pleased to receive the cooperation of Chinese residents. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 270.)

South Wales Daily News dated 3 January 1908 reports that the Asiatic movement, offensively known as 'Yellow Peril', presents to white civilisation a problem of tremendous difficulty. States that according to Richard, a way will, if possible, be found of amending the regulations as to remove the objections entertained by the Indians but the larger question, that of Asiatics, remains. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 278.)

The Standard dated 4 January 1908 reports that in London Committee of 40 members has been formed with 12 branches in South Africa with the following objects:

- (i) to assist the colonial government in establishing a combined agency in London to the advantage of colonial development and to that of British manufacturers and workers, thereby aiding the consolidation of the Empire;
- (ii) to bring about federation of the South African colonies;
- (iii) to assist all South Africans desirous of owning farms, manufacturing and mining centres and generally befriending them while in this country;
- (iv) to advise persons with moderate capital of the value of land in South Africa for the purpose of ostrich farming, wine producing, etc.;
- (v) to encourage the farmers of South Africa to increase their production and that the new organisation begins its work and promises to render great service both to British trade and to the cause of Imperial development in South Africa. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 296.)

Dundee Advertiser dated 4 January 1908 reports that in Natal coolies are capturing most of the small retail trade and undersell the European merchants. Adds that there are 100,918 Asiatics in Natal at present and bulk of them belong to the coolie class but a certain number, superior to the class of coolies, have pushed their way in Natal as shopkeepers and traders. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 299.)

Northern Echo dated 10 January 1908 reports that Lord Amphill knows his subject very well and he is aware of the highly sensitive pride of the British Indians and appreciates the indignity of the present test that is being imposed upon them. Mentions Harold Cox's statement on the Africa problem that he had put forward. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 341.)

Article in *The Daily News* dated 10 January 1908 by R.C. Hawkins discusses in detail the whole question of British Indians in the Transvaal. Mentions the views of Keir Hardie, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Selborne. Discusses at a great length the exclusion of Chinese from the Transvaal. States that now after being saved from the 'Yellow Peril', they are doing their best with the 'Black Peril'. (Gandhi Papers, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 342.)

A small note in *The Daily Express* dated 10 January 1908 states that M.K. Gandhi and five other British Indians were today sentenced to two months imprisonment without hard labour for refusing to register according to the new law. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 346.)

Note in *Evening Standard* dated 11 January 1908 mentions a mass meeting held by 1500 Indians at Durban to protest against the oppressive enforcement of the Transvaal Law. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 347.)

Report in *Daily Mirror* dated 11 January 1908 regarding the warning to M.K. Gandhi and other Indians to appear before the court. Adds that he was taken in custody and a great portion of Indian community marched in procession through the streets carrying black flags. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 348.)

Report in *Aberdeen Journal* dated 11 January 1908 discusses in detail imprisonment of M.K. Gandhi, who said that he was a greater offender than the other accused and, as such, asked for heaviest punishment to be imposed on him. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 350.)

The Oxford Times dated 11 January 1908 reports that M.K.

Gandhi denies that there is organised immigration of Indians into the Transvaal and suggests that a High Court judge should inquire into this matter. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 351.)

South Africa dated 11 January 1908 reports a number of cablegrams regarding (a) M.K. Gandhi's suggestion on compromise; (b) Natal Indian Congress' telegram to Lord Amthill; (c) meeting of Trade and Labour Council; (d) arrest of M.K. Gandhi and others. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 357.)

Article in *Daily Chronicle* dated January 1908 claims that the fingerprint system resented by Indians is, in fact, an ancient custom in Asia and cites examples from Japan, China and even India. Mentions that it was adopted as a means of identifying parties in the transfer of land in Bengal. Refers to research conducted on the system by Francis Galton and adds that the system has since then been adopted by the Government and Post Office in India. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. I, p. 266.)

Letter in *The Times of India* dated 19 December 1908 by the Secretary of the South Africa British Indian Committee to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies reports that the Indians, who were sentenced, including M.K. Gandhi, were working in the Market Square at road-making. Adds that he was seen in prison clothes with a pickaxe along with Kaffir gang. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 15.)

Financier and Bullionist dated 31 December 1908 reports that Ratan Tata, the well known Indian millionaire, has given a sum of Rs. 25,000 to M.K. Gandhi to enable the Indians to continue their struggle against the operation of the Asiatics Registration Act. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 6.)

Article in *London Opinion* dated 9 January 1909 dealing with illegal marriage of a white woman with black man. Observes that before this evil reaches any larger proportions, Asiatics must be put in their proper positions. Adds that they should not be allowed to communicate with or go through any form of marriage with white women. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 16.)

The Daily Chronicle dated 23 January 1909 reports that Cachalia, Chairman of the British Indian Association, is closing his establishment owing to the Government's determination to ruin Indian merchants who decline to register. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 27.)

South Africa dated 30 January 1909 refers to several Indians, who were charged at Johannesburg with refusing to show certificates and were fined £50 or three months hard labour. Adds that this is the heaviest sentence so far imposed for this offence. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 33.)

The Standard dated 27 February 1909 reports that M.K. Gandhi has been fined £50 at Volksrust. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 50.)

The Times of India dated 27 February 1909 reports a meeting held by the citizens of Benares strongly resenting the continued ill-treatment of the Indians in the Transvaal. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 52.)

Article in *The Staffordshire Sentinel* dated 2 July 1909 on the 'Growing Asiatic Hostility to Western Control'. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 84.)

Morning Post dated 9 July 1909 reports that three Indian delegates of the Natal Indian Congress and Messrs Bayat & Badat, the leading merchants, have left to join Abdul Cader, the President of the Congress, who is already in England and adds that their object is to secure proper status under the Union. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 85.)

Nottingham Guardian dated 12 July 1909 discusses in detail the delegates arrival at Southampton to lodge their protest against the unjust and unprecedented introduction of the colour bar in the Union Constitution and the deprivation of the rights granted by Queen Victoria. Adds that M.K. Gandhi and three other Indians also presented their case. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 85.)

The Daily Telegraph 19 July 1909 reports General Botha's views on the arrival of the delegates at Southampton, making it clear that the South African problem will be solved in South Africa by the South Africans and can never be settled from England. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 90.)

Labour Leader dated 27 August 1909 reports passing of South Africa Bill through both the Houses of Parliament without amendment. Adds that the Mother of Parliaments has sanctioned establishment of a South African legislature from which every man of colour and every native South African is barred. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 93.)

The Birmingham Post dated 19 October 1909 reports the deputation's appeal to India addressed by Abdul Cader, A.M.

Bhayal, H.M. Badat and M.C. Anglia. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 97.)

The Morning Leader dated 8 November 1909, reports a large protest meeting by all sections of community—Indians, Chinese, Burmese, etc. and urges immediate Imperial intervention to remove racial indignity. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 97.)

Labour Leader dated 19 November 1909 reports that M.K. Gandhi is organizing a house-to-house campaign in London with a view to the repeal of the Act penalising British Indians in the Transvaal for non-registration. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 108.)

Message in *Bengalee* dated 26 November 1909 by M.K. Gandhi to the people of London that "the struggle is for the rights of British citizenship, for the national honour of India". (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 118.)

Manchester Dispatch dated 27 November 1909 reports that the agitation in favour of freedom for British Indians in South Africa, particularly in the Transvaal is being vigorously revived in London and adds that a meeting is being held to voice the demand for equal rights with Europeans. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 110.)

The Morning Post dated 3 December 1909 reports the arrival of M.K. Gandhi and Habib in South Africa and adds that the report of the Committee to inquire into the question of Indian emigration to the Crown colonies has been delayed. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 121.)

The Daily News dated 4 December 1909 reports that in respect of the Dealers Licences Act, an amendment has been passed by the Natal Parliament granting the right of appeal to the Supreme Court. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 122.)

Bengalee dated 8 December 1909 reports a ladies' meeting held at City Hall to express sympathy with the suffering of British Indian men and women in the Transvaal and adds that H.S.L. Polak addressed the meeting. A resolution was adopted with a view to awakening interest in the cause of the Transvaal Indians and to give every aid in their struggle. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 124.)

The Liverpool Daily Courier dated 30 December 1909 reports that the Indian National Congress meeting at Lahore adopted a resolution urging the Government of India to prohibit the recruitment of Indentured Indian Labour and declares that the policy of depriving Asiatic-subjects of the rights of British citizenship while enforcing the opposite policy of the "open door" in Asia was fraught with grave

mischief to the Empire. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 137.)

The Standard dated 30 December 1909 reports that at a meeting of the Indian National Congress when Banerjee appealed for funds a stream of bank notes, sovereigns, rupees and jewellery poured on to the platform and adds that ladies tore off their gold bangles and ear-rings. A total of nearly Rs. 15000 was cabled to M.K. Gandhi. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 137.)

The Leader dated 31 December 1909 announces the subscription by ladies of Bombay Presidency to the Transvaal Indian Relief Fund. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 139.)

The Leader dated December 1909 reports the meeting held at the mosque of Fordsburg on the occasion of the return of M.K. Gandhi and Habib from England to the Transvaal and adds that the whole situation of the deputation in London was discussed and resolutions were adopted. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 128.)

Indian Daily News dated December 1909 reports a message sent by Madan Mohan Malaviya to M.K. Gandhi urging continuance of the struggle in the Transvaal and adds that he also sent telegrams to General Botha, urging him to remove racial disqualifications from the Transvaal Legislation to prevent further sufferings and to allay public feelings in this regard. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 140.)

Morning Leader dated 2 March 1910 reports a cablegram received by the South Africa British Indian Committee from the Secretary of the Transvaal British Indian Association regarding the allegations of hardships in South African gaols. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 142.)

Wellington Evening Post dated 5 March 1910 reports a letter written by the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League regarding the treatment of Indian Muslims who, as passive resisters, are undergoing or have undergone imprisonment in the Transvaal. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol II, p. 142.)

Article in *The Rand Daily Mail* dated 9 March 1910 entitled "The Curse of Natal" shows how the employment of coloured labour saps the independence and the confidence of the white community. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 143.)

Article in *Labour Leader* dated 12 March 1910 by J.J. Dake entitled "M.K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa" sketches his character together with the episodes in his life. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 143.)

The Times of India dated 24 August 1910 reports meeting at Victoria Hall, Madras presided over by S. Subramania Iyer. Mrs. Beasant was among the speakers and the resolutions passed included the appreciation of patriotic self-sacrifice employed by the Transvaal Indians during their long and difficult struggle to secure civil emancipation and for the honour and good name of India. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 172.)

The Morning Post dated 12 September 1910 reports a telegram sent to King George V by the Indian South Africa League of Madras praying for his intervention. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 176.)

The Times dated 18 October 1910 reports an appeal by the All India Muslim League regarding 'certain disabilities imposed of late upon Indians in British East Africa'. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 190.)

The Times dated 25 October 1910 reports that British Indians, who were not allowed at Cape Town, have returned to Durban and adds that the Maharaja of Mysore has given a donation to the Transvaal Indian Fund. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 193.)

The Morning Post dated 5 January 1911 reports that the sugar and tea planters of Natal are protesting against the cessation of Indian coolie labour. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 210.)

The Times dated 5 January 1911 reports that the question affecting the status of the 1,20,000 Indians now in Natal, of whom only 25,000 are indentured, will still present formidable difficulties and adds that these and the kindred questions affecting the Transvaal are likely to be viewed more calmly when once Indian immigration into South Africa has finally ceased. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 210.)

South Africa dated 4 February 1911 discusses the possibilities of employing Kaffirs on the sugar estates in place of Indians and reports Sir Liege Hulett's views on this subject. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 214.)

The Morning Post dated 9 March 1911 refers to Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree's view on the new Immigration Law in South Africa and adds that he is of the opinion that the objectionable clauses making race distinction as against British Indians are removed and the intended legislation seems unobjectionable and fair. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 215.)

The Sunday Times dated 12 March 1911 reports a meeting of Indians protesting deeply against the proposed Immigration Bill announced by General Botha. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 215.)

Daily News dated 24 May 1911 reports that the Transvaal Asiatic trouble has been provisionally settled and M.K. Gandhi in an interview said that the settlement contemplated the introduction in the next session of legislation repealing the Asiatic Act of 1907 and restoring equality as regards immigration. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 226.)

Article in *The Manchester Guardian* dated 14 October 1911 on "The Blacks and Whites in Natal", discusses in detail the colour problem in Natal. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 251.)

West London Observer dated 20 October 1911 reports that the late Queen made a solemn promise to the Indian native to give him equal rights and privileges with all other people in the British Empire, yet in South Africa the Indians are not only denied a citizen's privileges but a serious attempt is being made to prevent his immigration altogether. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 253.)

Pall Mall Gazette dated 10 November 1911 reports that 40 Indians, who have returned to Madras from Natal were questioned regarding their treatment but no complaints were received and adds that the emigrants had brought back savings over Rs. 4,000. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 254.)

Article in *The Morning Post* dated 16 November 1911 regarding a book called *Black and White in South-East Africa*, which attempts to find a solution to the biggest problem which now confronts South Africa. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 254.)

Article in *Jewish Chronicle* dated 22 February 1912 on race differentiation points out that an interesting debate in the House of Lords took place upon the question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 259.)

Article in *India* dated 5 April 1912 entitled "Indians in British East-Africa" states that A.M. Jeevanjee has published a most useful summary of the grievances of British Indians in the Crown Colony of British East Africa. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 260.)

Article in *Market Mail* dated 6 January 1912 gives a summary of the present position in South Africa and adds that it needs serious efforts for a practical settlement scheme. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 263.)

Star dated 15 June 1912 reports a debate on the motion for the second reading of the Immigration Restriction Bill. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, pp. 264-265.)

Bombay Gazette dated 26 June 1912 reports that the Immigration Bill has not yet been passed and adds a report on an interview with H.S.L. Polak on this subject. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 266.)

Financier and Bullionist dated 31 July 1912 reports that Dr. Solf, the German Colonial Secretary, denies the statement made by him that the importation of Asiatics into German South-West Africa is imminent. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 289.)

South Africa dated 14 September 1912 reports that the municipality, by virtue of a law passed in 1908, has called upon all whites holding freehold stands at Vrededorp to eject their coloured tenants. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 273.)

Daily Citizen dated 11 October 1912 reports that the sugar growers of Natal are finding it difficult to secure labour now, because of the restrictions on Indian immigration and observes that the Labour party realises that the restriction on the importation of Indian labour was necessary for the safety of the races, whose homes are in the vicinity. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 276.)

Daily Graphic dated 24 October 1912 reports that the speech delivered at Capetwon by Gokhale gives fair reason to hope that the difficult problem created by Indian Immigration to South Africa is on the way to settlement. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 278.)

South Africa dated 26 October 1912 reports Gokhale's arrival at Capetown and observes that M.K. Gandhi stated that he hopes it would effect a better understanding between the Europeans and the Indians. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 278.)

The Morning Advertiser dated 2 November 1912 refers to Gokhale's speech and suggestions made at Johannesburg. Reviews the position of Indians. He detailed three European points of view — firstly the fear of the European element being swamped; secondly the fear that political institutions might be affected, if the country was thrown open to Indians and thirdly, the apprehension of trade competition. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 281.)

Article in *Standard* dated 30 November 1912 dealing with subjects like Gokhale in the Transvaal and states that his visit was a triumphal progress and mentions his frank and dignified speeches. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 287.)

The Morning Post dated 16 December 1912 reports Gokhale's speech sketching out the situation of Indians in the Transvaal which had become worse and concludes that the Union Ministry had promised most favourable consideration of the problem. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 288.)

Daily Chronicle dated 17 December 1912 reports General Botha's resignation and the cause thereof. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 289.)

Westminster Gazette dated 28 December 1912 reports that Gokhale put forward few grievances that could be redressed and adds that it was the clear duty of Indians to support and encourage their countrymen in South Africa. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 293.)

Westminster Gazette dated 3 January 1913 emphasises the determination of the Labour Party to maintain white ideals and standards, but was in favour of not obstructing but rather helping coloured persons to aspire to white standards. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 293.)

Article in *The Times* dated 8 January 1913 discusses Gokhale's visit to South Africa, which seems to be of a permanent value to all the peoples and the governments concerned in solving the difficult problem of Indian emigration to the Union. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 295.)

The Globe dated 28 May 1913 reports the boycott of Indian traders in the Boksburg district, which is beginning to have some impact on the Transvaal province and may extend to the whole Union, making South Africa an unprofitable hunting-ground for the Asiatics. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 299.)

Morning Post dated 28 May 1913 reports Parliament's passing, without a division, the second reading of the Immigration Restriction Bill, designed to settle the question of Asiatic immigration. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 300.)

The Times dated 13 June 1913 reports that in the Union House, the Immigration Bill passed the third reading with an amendment permitting the wife of a monogamous marriage to enter South Africa. (Gandhi, Press-Cuttings, Vol. II, p. 304.)

Finding Aids

1. Razi Ahmed, *National Gandhi Museum* (New Delhi, 1986).
2. Accession Registers.

Part II
GOVERNMENTAL ARCHIVES

CHAPTER 5

ANDHRA PRADESH STATE ARCHIVES UPPAL ROAD, TARNAKA, HYDERABAD-500067

The State of Andhra, in South India, was formed in 1953 from the Telugu-speaking districts of the late province of Madras. Three years later, the erstwhile princely State of Hyderabad, ruled by the Nizam, was divided into Telengana, Maharashtra and Karnataka according to the languages spoken. The Telugu-speaking Telengana area was added to the State of Andhra to form the new enlarged Andhra Pradesh with the city of Hyderabad as its capital.

History: As a province of the Mughal empire, the Deccan was administered by the Nizam or Governor, who was a *de facto* ruler responsible for the entire civil and military administration of the province. Justice was administered according to local custom and *Shariat* or Muslim law. As the administrative apparatus became outmoded, the then *Diwan* or Prime Minister, Sir Salar Jang I (1853-83), created the secretariat offices under the charge of secretaries. The *Sadrul Maham* supervised the offices under him. In 1864, the Board of Revenue was established and two decades later the Nizam created a Council of State consisting of seven members in addition to the *Madarul Maham* or Prime Minister. The Nizam himself presided over the Council. Since this Council did not function effectively, it was abolished in 1887. Six years later, a new body called the Cabinet Council was created to impart efficiency into the Executive and a Legislative Council was formed for framing laws. The Executive Council consisted of *Sadr* or President and four Ministers. The Cabinet Council paved the way for *Babul Hukumat*

or Executive Council established in 1919. At the Head of this Council was *Sadr-i Azam* or President, who replaced the *Madarul Moham* or Prime Minister. He was assisted by about half a dozen members called *Sadr-i Maham*, each holding a portfolio with subordinate offices attached. *Babul Hukumat* continued to function until the accession of Hyderabad State to the Indian Union in 1948.

Archives Administration: The *Daftar-i Diwani* and *Daftar-i Mal* formerly dealt with all matters pertaining to the civil and military administration of the six *subas* or provinces of the Deccan. When the administration of Hyderabad State was reorganised during the time of Sir Salar Jung I (1853-83), these two offices were gradually divested of their executive powers and were left with the functions of record keeping. Retaining its original name the *Daftar-i Diwani* was converted into a State Record Office in 1894, and it gradually acquired records of subsidiary defunct agencies. In 1950, its name was changed to Central Record Office and with the establishment of Andhra Pradesh, the records of the State of Andhra were transferred to the Central Record Office in 1957. The name of this office was changed to Andhra Pradesh State Archives in 1962.

Access: All non-confidential records more than forty years old are accessible for research. The Director is competent to allow access to confidential records more than forty years old to *bona fide* research scholars. Confidential records less than forty years old can be made available to *bona fide* research scholars with the special permission of the State Government.

All Ordinary and Corresponding Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission, post-graduate research workers, who produce a certificate from the Vice-chancellor, a Professor or Reader of a recognised Indian University or Research Institute are accepted as *bona fide* research scholars. Foreign scholars are required to produce an introduction from their respective Embassy or Legation in India. Alternatively, they are required to satisfy the State Government about their *bona fides*. Every person wishing to consult the records is required to apply in writing on a prescribed form to the Director of State Archives.

The Research Room is open on all working days between 10.30 and 17.00 hours.

Daftar-i Peshkari or Private Secretary's Office

This office came into existence in 1806, when Maharaja Chandulal became *Peshkar* or sort of deputy to the *Diwan* or Prime Minister. This office transacted the official correspondence of the Prime Minister. The *Peshkar* exercised equal powers with the *Diwan* during the office of Munirul Mulk (1808-32). On the death of Munirul Mulk, Chandulal exercised full powers as *Diwan cum Peshkar*. On the resignation of Chandulal in 1843, the office of *Peshkari* lay dormant for about a decade. A decade later, the *Peshkari* was conferred on Raja Narainder Bahadur, who combined in himself the powers of *Madarul Maham* or Prime Minister and *Peshkar*. When Sir Salar Jung I (1853-83) became *Madarul-Maham* or Prime Minister, Raja Narainder Bahadur's personal influence was curtailed and his *Peshkari* relegated to an understandably lower position. Raja Narainder Bahadur was succeeded by Maharaja Sir Kishan Prasad as *Peshkar* but, on the latter's death in 1940 the office was abolished and records of *Peshkari* were amalgamated with that of the *Daftari-i Diwani wa Mal*, now called the Andhra Pradesh State Archives.

The records of this *Daftar* comprise drafts of the *sanads*, *ahkam qaulnamajat* and registers. They deal with award of *Jagir*, *Inam* and other categories of grants. The following illustrative papers of this office relate to Africa:

Letter from W. Tweedie, British Resident at Hyderabad to Sir Salar Jung, Prime Minister forwards copy of a letter dated 13 September, 1872 from Captain S.S. Jacob of Ram Niwas Garden, Jaipur intimating the introduction in his garden of *Habsh* (Abyssinian) grapes. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 13, List 1, S. No. 13, File No. R/C7 of 1872.)

Letter dated 7 April 1879 from Nuthmall Goverdhandass Sowcar (*Sahukar*) of Hyderabad City to Major Gough, Private Secretary to the Nizam's Minister encloses certified copy of a bond for Rs. 20,000, executed by Captain Ahmad Abdullah, Commanding Officer of the African Cavalry Guards of the Nizam's Forces. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 13, List 2, S. No. 36, File No. H8/g 47 of 1879.)

Letter dated 19 September 1882 from the Resident at Hyderabad to Sir Salar Jung, Prime Minister regarding the salute fired by the Nizam's Artillery Forces, in honour of the success of the British

Arms in Egypt. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 30, List 1, S. No. 153, File No. C3/C10 of 1883.)

Letter dated 2 February 1889 from the Secretary, Miscellaneous Department of the Nizam's Government to Borbes of the Residency at Hyderabad furnishes the names of the three *Sidis* (Abyssinians) viz., Ahmad bin Ubaid, Miftah bin Mubarak and Abbas bin Said, who were deported to Bombay on the orders of Akbar Jung, City Kotwal of Hyderabad. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 16, List 1, S. No. 5, File No. H11/el of 1889, p. 2.)

Letter dated 22 September 1890 from the Vice-President, Dairatul Marif, Hyderabad, to the Private Secretary to the Nizam's Prime Minister suggests to acquire copies of rare manuscripts of the works of Imam Mouhammad, a disciple of Imam Abu Hanifa, from the Library of Khedeve of Egypt. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 9, List 2, S. No. 5, File No. L6/a 29 of 1890.)

Letter dated 1 December 1899 from the Resident at Hyderabad to Nawab Imadud Doulah forwards copy of a letter of Sir Ernest Burning from Cairo regarding the copies of eight manuscripts from the Khedive's Library at Cairo. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 9, List 2, S. No. 5, File No. L6/a29 of 1890.)

Letter dated 18 December 1892 from Husain Ataullah, Assistant Political and Financial Secretary to Major Gough, Private Secretary's Office of the Nizam's Government regarding deputaion of Nawab Akbar Jung to Abyninnia. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 7, List 1, S. No. 170, File No. P2/f6 of 1892.)

Letter dated 8 August 1898 from the Resident at Hyderabad to Nawab Sir Viqarul Umara, Prime Minister regarding, Arabi Pasha, the Egyptian leader in exile in Ceylon. Enquires about the offer of employment to Ibrahim, son of Ahmad Arabi Pasha in Hyderabad state. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment List 2, S. No. 93, File No. L6/a 88 of 1898.)

Letter dated 18 April 1899 from the acting Turkish Consul-General at Bombay to Nawab Viqarul Umara, the Prime Minister of Hyderabad State introduces the bearer of the letter, Izzetola Mohammed Sharif Bey, son of Marshal Ali Raza Pasha and proprietor of the Newspaper *El-Beried*, Cairo on his arrival at Hyderabad. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 38, List 3, S. No. 119, File No. Ts/bl of 1899.)

Letter dated 7 August 1899 from the Resident at Hyderabad to Nawab Sir Viqarul Umara, Prime Minister enquires about the

arrival of one Muhammad Sharif from Egypt, his meetings with the nobility at Hyderabad and his stay as a state guest and presentation of a gift of Rs. 6000 by the Nizam on his departure. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 38, List 3, S. No. 119, File No. T2/bl of 1899.)

Letter dated 26 October 1899 from the Resident at Hyderabad to Nawab Viqarul Umara, Prime Minister, regarding Dr. Edington's method of exterminating locusts in South Africa by means of a fungus disease. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 13, List 1, S. No. 562, File No. RI/C. 13 of 1899.)

Letter dated 25 December 1899 from the Resident at Hyderabad to Nawab Viqarul Umara, Prime Minister, regarding requisition of 2000 horses by the Imperial Government from the Government of India for service in South Africa. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 11, List 2, S. No. 425, File No. K2/a 13 of 1899.)

Letter dated 31 December 1899 from the Financial Secretary to the Private Secretary forwards applications from Lt. R.C.L. Carry, Garrison Riding Master and Lt. Sidney Edwards, Second in command 1st Regiment of the Nizam's Regular Troops, for employment in the Transvaal war. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 30, List 3, S. No. 67, File No. L5/e4 of 1899.)

Letter dated 28 January 1900 in Urdu from Ali Abdullah of the Office of the Superintendent, Stud and Experiment Farms, Nizam's Government to the Private Secretary regarding volunteers selected for Lumsden's Horse for service in South Africa and furnishing of the horses for them. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 11, List 2, S. No. 319, File No. K7pg/41 of 1900.)

Later dated 7 February 1900 from the Residency at Hyderabad to Nawab Sir Viqarul Umara, Prime Minister, informs him that Lieutenant R.C.L. Carry and Lieutenant Sidney Edwards should apply for admission into Colonel Lumsden's Horse to serve in the Transvaal war. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 30, List 3, S. No. 67, File No. L5.e4 of 1899.)

Farman (royal decree) dated 10 February 1900 in Urdu from the Nizam to his Prime Minister enquires about certain points regarding Veterinary Surgeon, Gerald Farel's application to join the forces in South Africa. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 11, List 2, S. No. 318, File No. K7/g40 of 1900.)

Letter dated 9 June 1900 from the Residency at Hyderabad to Nawab Viqarul Umara, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, forwards a

copy of the Residency's notification regarding the declaration of a holiday on 11 June 1900 on the occupation of Pretoria by the British forces in the war in South Africa. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 20, List 1, S.No. 187, File No. C2/e of 1900.)

Letter dated 2 June 1902 in Urdu from Wolseley Haig of the Residency at Hyderabad to Maharaja Kishan Parshad about the end of the war and proclamation of peace in South Africa. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 20, List 1, S. No. 227, File No. C2/a52 of 1902.)

Letter dated 5 February 1903 from the Residency at Hyderabad to Peshkar Maharaja Sir Kishan Parshad appreciates excellent conduct of the men of Hyderabad Imperial Service Troops in South Africa viz., *Dafedar* Imam Khan and *Sawar* Farrier Venkatswamy in the corps of General Beatson. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 11, List 2, S. No. 425, File No. K2/a13 of 1899.)

Letter dated 10 December 1903 from the Private Secretary to the Secretary, Financial Department, draws attention to the payment of Rs. 500 for the purchase of the South African lioness for the Public Garden at Hyderabad. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 38, List 4, S. No. 94, File No. L3/a37 of 1903.)

Letter dated 9 March 1906 in Urdu from the Residency at Hyderabad to the Private Secretary forwards a copy of letter of the Consulate-General of France at Calcutta regarding the repatriation of Ahmad bin Ali of Tunis, who exiled himself alongwith the Sultan of Tunis, came to India and took employment under Hyderabad and Tonk States. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 9, List 2, S. No. 398, File No. L6/a402 of 1906.)

Farman dated 15 December 1913 in Urdu from the Nizam of Hyderabad addressed to the Private Secretary to the Prime Minister orders payment of a subscription of Rs. 5000 to the Secretary, South African Indian League and rejects the application of Sir Jamshedji for strengthening the political movement of Indians in South Africa. (Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 79, List 2, S. No. 762, File No. 25/1332H.)

Sadaratul Aliya or Ecclesiastical Department

Inherited from the Mughal administration, this department came into existence in the days of Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah I (1824-48). It continued to exist up to the death of Sir Salar Jung I (1853-83). The

latter's son, Sir Salar Jung II abolished the post of *Sadrus Sudur* and placed religious and ecclesiastical matters under *Mahkama-i Umur-i Mazhabi*, the Department of Religious Affairs. Thereafter, it functioned under the Miscellaneous Department, Judicial and Public Affairs Department. It was under the last Nizam that *Sadaratul Aliya* was revived as an independent department under a separate *Muinul Maham* or Minister, who also acted as *Sadrus Sudur*. During the re-organisation of the Cabinet Council, the designation of *Muinul Moham* was changed to that of *Sadrul Maham*.

Its function till 1948 related to the appointment and control of religious functionaries viz. *Qazis* or Judges, *Muftis* or ecclesiastical officers and *Muhtasibs* or public censors. It also dealt with registration of marriages, arrangement of Hajj pilgrimage, checking of weights and measures, fixing grain rates, etc. Records of this Department comprise *sanads* (documents), *fatwas* (religious decrees), *siyahas* (marriage certificates), files, etc. The *sanads* are in Persian, while *fatwas* and files of proceedings are in Urdu.

The following illustrative record of this Department pertains to Africa:

Faman dated 15 August 1920 in Urdu from the Nizam of Hyderabad to the *Sadrus Sudur* asks for verification of cigarettes manufactured in Egypt before banning their sale. (Sadaratul Aliya, Instalment 78, List 5, S. No. 63, File No. 7/6-1329-F.)

Military Secretary's Office

Of all the Indian princely states, Hyderabad maintained the largest army. It consisted of Irregular Troops, Regular Troops, the Golcohalah Brigade, the Imperial Service Troops, the Nizam Mahboob Regiment and volunteers. The Irregular Troops were originally raised in the times of Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah I (1824-48) and comprised Arabs, Rohillas, Sikhs, Rathors, Afghans and Rajputs. These were maintained and controlled by feudatories and *jagirdars*. The Regular Troops came into existence in 1858 as a sequel to the attack made on the British Residency in Hyderabad in 1857, when most of the contingent troops had gone to British India and the Residency had to make strenuous efforts to defend itself from the attack. Subsequently, for the conduct of business connected with the Regular Troops, came into existence the Office of the

Military Secretary in 1864. The Military Secretary was under the Military Minister during the period of the Cabinet Council (1893-1919). In 1919, the Cabinet Council was replaced by the Executive Council, which had a Military Member who controlled the Military Secretariat. This position continued till the accession of Hyderabad State to the Indian Union in 1948.

The records of this office consist of files, fly-leaves, registers in Persian, Urdu and English. They deal with appointments, dismissals, promotions, sanction of allowances, etc. Following illustrative records of this office have bearing on Africa:

The Secretary, Defence Department of the Nizam's Government received correspondence from Government of India, through the Resident at Hyderabad regarding the victory of the British Army in North Africa, especially Tunisia in 1943. (Defence Secretary's Office, Instalment 59, List 11, S. No. 598, File No. 1498/1943.)

The Secretary, Defence Department, Nizam Government, received instruction on 11 September 1943 from the Government of India regarding resumption of trade with Algeria, Tunisia, French Morocco, etc. (Defence Department, Instalment 59, List II, S. No. 356, File No. 1666/1352F.)

Political Secretary's Office

The Political Department of the erstwhile Hyderabad State was the offspring of the *Daftar-i Mulki*, which was established in 1846. This *daftar* served the purpose of a liaison office between the different departments and the Prime Minister's Office. It corresponded with the British Government through the Resident at Hyderabad. It also issued orders regarding appointment, dismissal, suspension, and transfer of state officials. However, from 1885 the *Daftari Mulki* ceased to communicate with the British Resident as these functions were taken over by the newly created Political and Finance Department. In 1892, the Finance Department was established as a separate unit and the political affairs and correspondence were transferred to the Private Secretary's Office, which continued till 1947.

The records of this office comprise *farmans*, mostly in Persian and also files and registers either in English or Urdu. These files deal with various subjects such as correspondence with the

Residency, extradition of criminals, diplomatic and international visits, passports etc.

The following illustrative records of this office relate to Africa:

Letter dated 14 February 1913 from the Residency at Hyderabad to Nawab Salar Jung II, Prime Minister states that the French Captain Aymard is visiting Hyderabad to study the system of utilising Muslims in the army and Civil Services of the Indian Government and native states with a view to its application to French Africa. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 60, List 7, S. No. 59, File No. L10/C7 of 1913.)

Undated letter in Urdu from the Residency at Hyderabad requests enquiries to be conducted regarding the relatives of some patients, who are at present confined in the Union Mental Hospital in South Africa and are to be repatriated to India. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 7, S. No. 1730, File No. L6/a 1501 of 1913.)

Letter dated 6 January 1914 in Urdu from Ahmad Husain, *Peshi*-Secretary to Faridun Jung, Political Secretary forwards copies of letter each from Lord Kitchener, British Agent at Cairo and Prince Yusuf Kamal Pasha (a cousin of the Khedive of Egypt) regarding the latter's visit to Hyderabad and arrangements for tiger shooting. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 7, List 4, S. No. 181, File No. C7/a22 of 1913.)

Letter dated 6 April 1914 from Ahmad Husain, *Peshi*-Secretary, to the Political Secretary, Faridun Jung, informs him that the Nizam proposes to invite Prince Yusuf Kamal Pasha to a breakfast at King Kothi on 12 April 1914. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 7, List 4, S. No. 181, File No. C7/a22 of 1913.)

Letter dated 23 April 1914 from Huges Gough, Camp Incharge at Madanapalli to Faridun Jung, informs him about the intention of the Prince to visit Ellora on 27 instant. Adds that not a single tiger has yet been killed though a dozen animals have been shot. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 7, List 4, S. No. 181, File No. G7/a22 of 1913.)

Farman dated 10 January 1914 in Urdu from the Nizam orders Salar Jung, Prime Minister, to send a letter to Prince Yusuf Kamal Pasha to postpone his visit till April, which is suitable for hunting. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 7, List 4, S. No. 181, File No. C7/a22 of 1913.)

Letter dated 20 December 1915 from the Residency at

Hyderabad to Faridun Jung, Assistant Minister, Political Department forwards for information a copy of the telegram from the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry, regarding the necessity for providing intending emigrants to British East Africa with passports and deposit of Rs. 50 for repatriation, if necessary. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 2, List 2, S. No. 261, File No. C1/C. 449 of 1915.)

Letter dated 20 December 1919 from the Home Secretary to the Secretary, Political Department forwards a declaration from Agha Baba Husain Shustri and his servant for a passport to visit Zanzibar etc. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 24, List 5, S. No. 125, File No. C1/C506 of 1919.)

Letter dated 20 June 1922 from the Residency at Hyderabad to Nawab Nizam Jung, *Sadrul Maham*, Political Department forwards copy of a letter from Hyderabad Railway Police regarding the arrival of an African Negro named Khamis bin Husain at Hyderabad. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 36, List 3, File No. Hill/d242 of 1922.)

Letter dated 31 August 1922 from the Political Secretary Nizam's Government to Major Wilson of the Residency at Hyderabad informs that the African Negro named Khamis bin Hussain has been employed in the Regiment of the African Cavalry Guards. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 36, List 3, S. No. 93, File No. Hill/d242 of 1922.)

Farman dated 25 March 1926 from the Nizam seeks advice of his Council of Ministers on the letter of Shaikh Ahmad Sharif al-Sanyusi alkhatabi Al Husaini Al-Idrisi of Tripoli requesting assistance in the holy war against the ruler of his country. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 17, List. 3, S. No. 128, File No. N6/b174 of 1926.)

Letter dated 5 July 1927 in Urdu from the Secretary, *Babul Hukumat* to the Secretary, Political Department requests Government accommodation for the visiting Egyptian poet, Mohammed Fahmi al-Misri. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 38, List 3, S. No. 438, File No. T2/b114 of 1927.)

Letter dated 5 September 1932 in Urdu from the Residency at Hyderabad to Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung *Sadrul Maham*, Political Department Nizam's Government thanking him for the facilities extended to Sayyid Abdul Karim Husaini on deputation to Cairo for designing *Naskh* work with type blocks in the Egyptian national press. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 28, List 1, S. No. 260,

File No. P2/f28 of 1931.)

Undated letter in Urdu from the Residency at Hyderabad regarding the request made by R.K. Narain for facilities of travel in Egypt and Sudan to study irrigation resources in those countries. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 9, List 2, S. No. 773, File No. L6/a2457 of 1932.)

Farman dated 18 May 1933 from the Nizam of Hyderabad grants a life pension of Prince Umar Hilimi, son of Abdur Rashid Khamis, residing in exile in Alexandria. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 41, List 12, S. No. 112, File No. N4/b72 of 1933.)

Letter dated 10 February 1934 in Urdu from the Secretary of the Nizam's *Peshi* Office to the Secretary, Political Department informs him about the sanction of Rs. 500 by the Nizam to Sayyid Ahmad al Sanusi of Tripoli for the passage fare to his country. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 17 List 2, S. No. 422, File No., N6/b495 of 1932.)

Joint appeal dated 6 May 1934 from Muhammad K. Turaif of Liberia, Muhammad Daye Toure of French Guinea and Abdul Qadir Mohyeddin of Sierra Leone addressed to Sir Akbar Hydari, Finance Minister of the Nizam's Government for a grant towards an orphanage building in Sierra Leone. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 17, List 2, S. No. 262, File No. N5/C21 of 1934.)

Application dated 14 May 1934 from Abdul Qadir Mohyeddin, Caretaker of the Mussalman Orphanage in Sierra Leone to Sir Akbar Hydari, Minister to the Nizam, for a charitable grant towards the construction of a building serving the Republic of Liberia, French Guinea and Sierra Leone. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 17, List 2, S. No. 262, File No. 5/C21 of 1934.)

Petition dated 22 November 1934 from Muhammad K. Turaif, Muhammad Daye Toure and Abdul Qadir Mohyeddin, Muslim leaders of Liberia, French Guinea and Sierra Leone addressed to Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung regarding a grant for the Mussalman Orphanage at Hanga Street BO Sierra Leone. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 22, List 3, S. No. 222, File No. L5/a306 of 1934.)

Letter dated 1 January 1935 from the Incharge Office, Nepean House, Bombay (Nizam's Guest House) to Sir Akbar Hydari intimates the arrival by S.S. "Conte Rosso" at Bombay of the Sherif of Morocco, Moulay Mustafa El-Raisuns and his programme to visit Hyderabad city. Encloses his newspaper photograph with Mr. and Miss Jinnah. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 89, List I, S.

No. 945, File No. L10/C293 of 1935.)

Letter dated 8 January 1935 from Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung of the Political Department to J.H. Thompson, Secretary to the Resident at Hyderabad regarding the complaint made by the Sherif of Morocco on his arrival at Hyderabad about the absence of an official reception. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 89, List 1, S. No. 945, File No. L. 10/C293 of 1935.)

Letter dated 30 January 1935 from J.H. Thompson of the Residency at Hyderabad to Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung, Political Member of the Nizam's Government informs him that the individual who styles himself as the Sherif of Morocco is reported to be an imposter from Tangier. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 89, List 1, S. No. 945, File No. L 10/C293 of 1935.)

Letter dated 2 April 1935 from the Secretary to the Resident at Hyderabad to Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung, *Sadrul Maham*, Political Department forwards a copy of the letter from the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands regarding the admission of Indian students to the Egyptian University. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 36, List 5, S. No. 34, File No. 01/e108 of 1935.)

Letter dated 13 May 1935 from J.H. Thompson of the Residency at Hyderabad to Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung, Political Member, Nizam's Executive Council forwards for information a note of the Intelligence Bureau of the Government of India giving full particulars about "The Prince" Moulay Mohammed Saad el dine el Jilloni el Idrisi el Hassani of Morocco. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 89, List 1, S. No. 945, File No. L-10/C293 of 1935.)

Letter dated 7 December 1935 from the Secretary to the Resident at Hyderabad to Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung, *Sadrul Maham*, Political Department, forwards for information a copy of a letter from the British Consul at Addis Ababa, Abyssinia, regarding the legalisation of writs and other documents intended for use in that country. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 39, List 3, S. No. 253, File No. C3/b38 of 1935.)

Letter dated 25 February 1936 from the Residency at Hyderabad to Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung, *Sadrul Maham*, Political Department forwards for information a copy of the letter from the Government of India, Department of Commerce regarding the Empire Exhibition to be held in Johannesburg South Africa in 1936-37. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 36, List 7, S. No. 110, File No. I 1/d74

of 1936.)

Letter dated 8 December 1936 from J.H. Thompson of the Residency at Hyderabad to Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung, Political Member, Nizam's Executive Council informs him about the intending visit of an Egyptian delegation from the Al-Azhar University comprising Shaikh Ibrahim el Jabali, Shaikh Abdul Wahhab Ennajjar, Shaikh Majd el Adawy Muhammad, Effendi Habib Ahmad Muh and Effendi Salehuddin Ennajjar. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 89, List 2, Sl. No. 236, File No. L 10/C420 of 1936.)

Letter dated 14 March 1937 from the Secretary, Commerce and Industries Department, to the Secretary, Political Department regarding supply of information to Dr. R.S. Maclenahan, American University, Cairo, Egypt in respect of paper-making as a cottage industry in Hyderabad State. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 30, List 4, S. No. 433, File No. L6/a2730 of 1937.)

Farman dated 30 June 1938 from the Nizam of Hyderabad accepting the suggestion of the Secretary, Political Department to offer a copy each of the Holy Quran, published by the Government Press of the Nizam's State, as a gift to the Nawab of Bhopal and the Government of Egypt. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 30, List 1, S. No. 38, File No. C2/b81 of 1938.)

Letter dated 8 August 1939 from the Residency at Hyderabad to Sir Akbar Hydari, President, Nizam's Executive Council regarding the Personal Ticket and Identity Card of Muhammad Kamal Hamdi, an Egyptian subject under surveillance, for transmitting information to the Consul-General of Egypt at Bombay. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 30, List 4, S. No. 615, File No. L6/a2915 of 1939.)

Letter dated 13 January 1941 from the Residency Office at Hyderabad to K.M. Ansari, Political Secretary, Nizam's Government enquires about the possibility of obtaining a collection of used postage stamps of the Hyderabad State required for Leslie Blackwell, a South African M.P. and a philatelist, who fought for Indians there. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 36, List 4, S. No. 119, File No. M1/g92 of 1941.)

Letter dated 22 May 1941 in Urdu from the Commissioner of City Police, Nawab Rahmat Yar Jung, to the Incharge Officer, *Toshak Khana* states that on enquiry from Sayyid Ahmad Barima, al Sanusi of Tripoli it was found that he is not willing to return to his homeland (due to World War II). (Political Secretary's Office,

Instalment 17, List 2, S. No. 422, File No. N6/b 495 of 1941.)

Letter dated 8 April 1943 from Samad Yar Jung, Nizam's Government Palace Guest House, New Delhi to K.M. Ansari, Secretary, Political Department, Nizam's Government on the enquiry regarding an epistle said to have been addressed by the Prophet Muhammad to his contemporary, the Negus of Abyssinia. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 30, List 4, Sl. No. 872, File No. L6/a 3230 of 1943.)

Letter dated 21 April 1943 from Sir Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan, President, Nizam's Executive Council to Sir Arthur Lothian, Resident at Hyderabad seeks assistance from the British Government in examining the authenticity and acquisition of an epistle said to have been addressed by the Prophet of Islam to his contemporary, the Negus of Abyssinia. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 30, List 4, S. No. 772, File No. L6/a3230 of 1943.)

Letter dated 27 June 1943 in Urdu from the Defence Secretary to the Secretary, Home Department of the Nizam's Government regarding the Tunisian Medal, struck to commemorate the victory in the North African campaign to be furnished to Capt. David H. Roberts of the Royal Air Force. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 30, List 1, S. No. 254, File No. C4/C92 of 1943.)

Letter dated 30 June 1943 from the Secretary to the Resident at Hyderabad to Nawab Sir Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan, President Nizam's Executive Council forwards for information a press communique of the Government of India, Commerce Department regarding the cargo of the French steamship "Jean Laborde", which has been offloaded at Casablanca and Pointe Noir, French North and Equatorial Africa, in emergency. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 37, List 1, S. No. 1089, File No. A1/C4 of 1943.)

Letter dated 24 September 1943 from the Residency at Hyderabad to Nawab Sir Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan, President, Nizam's Executive Council furnishes the result of the enquiry regarding the epistle said to have been addressed by the Prophet of Islam to his contemporary, the Negus of Abyssinia. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 30, List 4, S. No. 872, File No. L6/a 3230 of 1943.)

Letter dated 24 February 1944 from the Residency at Hyderabad to Nawab Sir Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan, President, Nizam's Executive Council regarding the whereabouts of Shaikh Said

Shahawy Abdel Razak, an Egyptian national. (Political Secretary's Office, Instalment 30, List 4, S. No. 962, File No. L6/a3254 of 1944.)

Babul Hukumat or Executive Council

When Sir Salar Jung I (1853-83) became Prime Minister, he reorganised the administration on the Western pattern as existing in British India. He was responsible for introducing a form of constitutional monarchy. He set up the *Babul Hukumat* or Executive Council. Subsequently, when it was dissolved in 1893, a Cabinet Council was established to assist the Prime Minister. In 1919, the Executive Council was revived for the better administration of the State. The *Babul Hukumat*, headed by *Sadr-i Azam* or President, continued up to 1948.

The records of the Council consist of *Farmans* of the Nizam and files mostly in Urdu. They deal with proceedings and minutes of the Council, policy matters, appointments, service regulations, relations with British India and cases relating to *Jagirdars*.

The following illustrative records of this Council relate to Africa:

Farman dated 15 June 1920 in Urdu from the Nizam of Hyderabad addressed to the Finance Department orders a family pension of Rs. 3 per month to the deceased Sergeant Said bin Abdullah of *Risala-i Hubush* (African Cavalry). (Sadr-i Azam, Babul Hukumat, Instalment 78, List 5, S. No. 678, File No. 46/1338 H.)

Farman dated 8 July 1920 in Urdu from the Nizam of Hyderabad addressed to *Sadrus-Sudur, Umur-i Mazhabi* Department (Ecclesiastical Department) regrets his inability to finance a passage to Egypt for Ahmad Shakir of Cairo, Egypt. (Umur-i-Mazhabi of Sadr-i-Azam Babul Hukumat, Instalment 78, List 5, S. No. 462, File No. 18-4-1338 Hijri.)

Farman dated 21 July 1927 in Urdu from the Nizam of Hyderabad addressed to *Sadr-i Azam*, Babul Hukumat, grants Rs. 2,000 to Muhammad Fahimi, a visiting poet from Egypt and promises to meet him, if possible. (Sadr-i Azam, Babul Hukumat, Peshi Office, Instalment 82, List 2, S. No. 105, File No. 8/5/1336 Fasli.)

Farman dated 26 June 1927 in Urdu from the Nizam of Hyderabad addressed to the Secretary, Education Department sanctions a scholarship to Qari Sayyid Abdul Karim Husain, who

was deputed to Egypt for training in *Naskh* printing but who also studied at Al-Azhar University Cairo and some other Islamic disciplines. (Sadr-i-Azam, Babul Hukumat, Home Department, Instalment 82, List 1, S. No. 394, File No. 2/1/1335 F.)

Farman dated 5 February 1928 in Urdu from the Nizam of Hyderabad addressed to the Secretary, Political Department directs him to consult the Government of India, through the Residency at Hyderabad, for grant of a life pension to Sayyid Ahmad Sharif al Sanusi, the renowned leader of the Sanusi movement and a great fighter of the war at Tripoli (Sadr-i-Azam, Babul Hukumat, Political Office, Instalment 82, List 3, S. No. 5, File No. 2/3/1337 Fasli.)

Farman dated 13 June 1936 in Urdu from the Nizam of Hyderabad addressed to the Secretary, Education Department orders a loan of Rs. 70 only to Qari Sayyid Abdul Karim Husain, studying in Egypt. (Sadr-i Azam, Babul Hukumat, Home Department, Instalment 82, List 1, S. No. 394, File No. 2/2/1335 Fasli.)

Letter dated 22 August 1936 from the Resident at Hyderabad to Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung, Political Department informs him about a visit to Hyderabad of a good-will delegation of the Government of the Union of South Africa comprising two Ministers, five members of Parliament and four high officials of the Government of the Union of South Africa and some of their family members, visiting India on the invitation of the Government of India from 19 September 1936. (Sadr-i Azam, Babul Hukumat, Political, Instalment 85, List 2, S. No. 25, File No. 13/4/1345 Fasli.)

Nim Sarkari (Demi official) *Farman* dated 23 August 1936 in Urdu from the Nizam of Hyderabad addressed to Sayyid Muhammad Mahdi, Secretary, *Babul Hukumat* orders proper arrangements to be made for the stay of the good-will delegation from the Government of the Union of South Africa. (Sadr-i Azam, Babul Hukumat, Political, Instalment 85, List 2, S. No. 25, File No. 13/4/1345 F.)

Letter dated 16 September 1936 from Hasan Nawaz Jung, Secretary, Political Department to S.M. Mahdi, Secretary, Executive Council, Nizam's Government forwards a copy of the programme, list of hosts and courtesy ranks assigned to the leader and the members of the South African delegation. (Sadr-i Azam, Babul Hukumat, Political, Instalment 85, List 2, S. No. 25, File No. 13/4/1345 F.)

Letter dated 23 September 1936 from J.M. Hofmeyr, Minister of

Letter dated 23 September 1936 from J.M. Hofmeyr, Minister of the Interior and leader of the South African good-will delegation to Maharaja Kishan Parshad, President of the Nizam's Executive Council thanks him for the hospitality extended to the delegation. (Babul Hukumat, Political, Instalment 85, List 2, S. No. 25, File No. 13/4/1345 F.)

Letter dated 23 September 1936 from General J.C.J. Kemp, Minister of Lands and member of the South African delegation to Maharaja Kishan Parshad thanks him for the hospitality extended to him. (Babul Hukumat, Political, Instalment 85, List 2, S. No. 25, File No. 13/4/1345 F.)

Letter dated 25 September 1936 from P.F. Kincaid, Commissioner for Asiatic Affairs and member of South African delegation to Maharaja Kishan Parshad, thanks him for the hospitality extended to him. (Babul Hukumat, Political, Instalment 85, List 2, S. No. 25, File No. 13/4/1345 F.)

Letter dated Simla 20 December 1936 from Saleh Hydari of the Department of Education, Health and Lands, Government of India to Maharaja Kishan Parshad thanks him for the arrangements made for the South African delegation. (Sadr-i Azam, Political, Babul Hukumat, Instalment 85, List 2, S. No. 25, File No. 13/4/1345 F.)

Nimsarkari farman dated 4 February 1941 in Urdu from the Nizam of Hyderabad to Hyder Nawaz Jung, President, Nizam's Executive Council agrees to celebrate the day of rejoicing on the downfall of Italian empire in Abyssinia and other north-eastern Muslim countries of Africa. (Sadr-i Azam, Babul Hukumat, Political, Instalment 85, List 3, S. No. 120, File No. 3/8/1347 F.)

Letter dated 24 March 1945 in Urdu from *Sadarul Maham*, Education Department and the Chairman of the Dairatul Maarif (Oriental Academy) to Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan, President, Nizam's Executive Council forwards a *qasida* (ode) composed by Shaikh Muhammad Ibrahim Bayumi of Jamai Azhar, Egypt, presented before the Nizam of Hyderabad. (Sadr-i Azam, Babul Hukumat, Peshi Department, Instalment 88, List 7, S. No. 233, File No. 3/2/1354 Fasli.)

Political and Private Secretary's Office

In 1884 was established the Political and Finance Department. Eight years later, the Finance Department was separated and

political matters and correspondence were transferred to the Private Secretary's Office, which was designated Political and Private Secretary's Office. This Office continued till 1947.

The records of the department consist largely of files, registers, and *farmans*. The *farmans* are mostly in Persian but the correspondence is either in English or Urdu.

The following illustrative records of this office relate to Africa:

Letter dated 9 March from W. Haig of the Residency at Hyderabad to Maharaja Kishan Parshad, *Peshkar* forwards for his information a copy of a resolution of the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry regarding a bill passed by the Parliament of the Cape Colony to repeal the Immigration Act of 1902. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 35, List 8, S. No. 386, File No. H8/d141 of 1907.)

Letter dated 21 September 1908 from the Residency at Hyderabad to the Minister, Nizam's Political Department, forwards an application of Hajji Umar Harun for monetary assistance from the Nizam's Government for the purchase of land for a school and mosque at Cape Town, South Africa. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 9, List 2, S. No. 575, File No. L6/ a 501 of 1908.)

Letter dated 26 June 1909 from the First Assistant Resident at Hyderabad to Maharaja Sir Kishan Parshad, *Peshkar* forwards a copy of a letter from Government of India regarding the measures to be adopted to prevent importation into India of sleeping sickness from Uganda and other parts of Africa. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 17, List 8, S. No. 62, File No. J2/b60 of 1909.)

Letter dated 27 July 1909 from the Residency at Hyderabad to the Political and Private Secretary's Office forwards notification of the Government of India prohibiting export of all kinds of animals from India to Natal. (Political and Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 9, List 2, S. No. 591, File No. L6/a 551 of 1909.)

Letter dated 25 May 1912 from Ahmad Husain, *Peshi* Secretary of the Nizam, to Faridun Jung, Secretary to the Minister forwards the reports received from the Welcome Tropical Research Institute and Laboratories, Khartoum, Sudan. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 9, List 2, S. No. 737, File No. L1/C27 of 1912.)

Letter dated 7 August 1912 from R.I.R. Glancy, Financial Advisor, Nizam's Government to Nawab Faridun Jung, Assistant Minister, Political Department refers to the appeal from H.S.L.

Polak regarding funds for the South African League and observes that the subscription should not be utilised for any political purpose or organisation. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 11, List 1, S. No. 385, File No. N5/b117 of 1912.)

Farman dated 4 November 1912 in Urdu from the Nizam of Hyderabad addressed to Salar Jung, Prime Minister orders payment of second instalment of the subscription, amounting to Rs. 2500, towards the funds of the South African League for charitable and not for political purposes. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 11, List 1, S. No. 385, File No. N5/b117 of 1912.)

Letter dated 20 January 1913 from H.S.L. Polak, Editor, *Indian Opinion*, Phoenix, Natal to Nawab Faridun Jung, Assistant Minister, Political Department requests the Nizam's Government for the donation of Rs. 2,500 towards the Transvaal Indian Relief Fund and promises that it will be spent on the welfare of the Indian community and for non-political purposes. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 11, List 1, S. No. 385, File No. N 5/b 117 of 1913.)

Letter dated 10 November 1913 from Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy, Chairman, South African Committee to Nawab Faridun Jung, Assistant Minister, Political Department seeks cooperation and aid for collecting funds for strengthening the political organisation of the Indian community. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 11, List 1, S. No. 385, File No. N5/b117 of 1913.)

Letter dated 3 December 1913 from R.I.R. Glancy, Assistant Minister of Finance to the Agent, Bank of Bengal, Hyderabad requests remittance to the Indian Bank Ltd., Madras to the credit of Indian South African League, Madras of a donation of Rs. 5000 for the Relief Fund for the distressed Indians in the Transvaal. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 11, List 1, S. No. 385, File No. N5/b 117 of 1912.)

Letter dated 24 March 1914 from the Resident at Hyderabad to Nawab Salar Jung, Prime Minister forwards a copy of letter of the Government of India, Commerce Department regarding a Colonial Exhibition to be held at Dar-es-Salaam in August 1914 in connection with the opening of the Tanganyika Railway. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 17, List 10, S. No. 105, File No. L1/d 53 of 1914.)

Letter dated 22 May 1914 from the First Assistant Resident at Hyderabad to Nawab Salar Jung, Prime Minister of the Nizam's

Government seeks clarification regarding direct correspondence by the Director of Public Instruction in Hyderabad State with the Egyptian Minister of Education in respect of admission of teachers in the Nasiria Training College, Cairo. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 24, List 4, S. No. 265, File No. L6/a 75 of 1914.)

Letter dated 28 September 1914 from the Residency at Hyderabad to Nawab Salar Jung II, Nizam's Prime Minister, forwards a copy of the resolution of the Government of India, Commerce and Industries Department regarding the permission granted to the wives and minor children of the emigrants in South Africa for residence (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 9, List 2, S. No. 2481, File No. L6/a 788 of 1930.)

Letter dated 23 December 1914 in Urdu from the Resident at Hyderabad to Faridun Jung, Assistant Minister, Political Department informs the Nizam's Government about the announcement of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in respect of placing of Egypt under the protection of the King Emperor of the British Empire and termination of the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey over that country. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 22, List 6, S. No. 72, File No. C3/e2 of 1914.)

Letter dated 17 January 1915 from the Resident at Hyderabad to Faridun Jung, Political Secretary forwards copy of a letter of Miline Cheetham of the High Commissioner's Office at Cairo, Egypt regarding fumigation of Egyptian cotton seed with the object of destroying the Pink Boll worm which it may contain. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 13, List 1, S. No. 906, File No. R5/c 10 of 1915.)

Letter dated 29 February 1916 from the Division Officer, Nizam's Regular Forces, to Nawab Sir Faridun Jung, Political and Private Secretary regarding the passage fare of Rs. 780 for Major Khusro Jung proceeding to the war front in Egypt by P. & O.S.S. "Sardinia". (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 30, List 1, S. No. 175, File No. C3/a10 of 1916.)

Letter dated Nagpur 5 July 1916 from Miss Beck of the National Indian Association, 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, London to Sayyid Husain Bilgrami, Political and Private Secretary's Office intimates her arrival at Hyderabad. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 38, List 3, S. No. 336, File No. T2/b68 of 1916.)

Undated letter in Urdu from the Residency at Hyderabad forwards notification of the Commerce and Industries Department, Government of India prohibiting Indian emigrants from entering British East Africa. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 9, List 2, S. No. 985, File No. L6/a895 of 1916.)

Letter dated 16 January 1917 from the Military Secretary forwards to Major Muhammad Azmatullah, Officer Commanding Ist Hyderabad Imperial Service Lancers, the insignia of The Order of the Nile conferred on him by the King of Egypt. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 11, List No. 2, S. No. 1219, File No. K3/l40 of 1917.)

Farman dated 18 November 1917 in Urdu from the Nizam to the Political and Private Secretary mentions the receipt of a telegram from the Political Secretary, Government of India regarding the excellent work done by the Imperial Service Troops from Hyderabad in the battle of Gaza. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 30, List 1, S. No. 182, File No. C3/a6 of Volume II of 1917.)

Letter dated 5 July 1919 in Urdu from the Residency at Hyderabad forwards a report on the natives of South West Africa and their treatment at the hands of Germany. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 9, List 2, S. No. 1188, File No. L1/C45 of 1918.)

Letter dated 26 August 1919 from the First Assistant Resident at Hyderabad to Sir Faridun Jung, Assistant Minister, Political Department forwards the passport of Muhammed Zahirud Din Ahmad, proceeding to Egypt for studies. (Political & Private Secretary's Office, Instalment 24, List 5, S. No. 196, File No. C1/C 491 of 1919.)

Constitutional Affairs Secretariat

The External Relations Committee formed in 1929 was authorised to deal with: (a) all constitutional issues arising from the Round Table Conference pending their final settlement; (b) all matters dealing with the Chamber of Princes and (c) such other matters as the Political Member considered it advisable to refer to the Committee for consultation. Six years later, on the unanimous proposal of the Executive Council, the Nizam created the Secretariat for Constitutional Affairs. The immediate functions of the

Secretariat were (a) to deal with all important questions relating to the Instrument of Accession; (b) to watch the trend of legislation in British India having a federal bearing; (c) to offer co-ordination with the State Department in general and the Committee of Ministers in particular; (d) to give correct information, whenever desirable, on important matters and (e) to perform all other duties, which formerly fell within the purview of the External Relations Committee. The Information Bureau was also placed under the new Secretariat. In 1947, the Constitutional Affairs Secretariat was designated Foreign Secretariat and continued to exist till the accession of Hyderabad State to the Indian Union in 1948.

The records of the Secretariat consist of *Farmans* and files in Urdu and English. The following illustrative records of this Secretariat deal with Africa:

Letter dated 24 October 1940 from Das Ram Bagai of Dera, Ismail Khan to the Minister, Constitutional Affairs, Nizam's Government sends, for distribution in schools, 190 copies of a book—*Ek Habshi Ghulam Ki Sarguzasht* ('Story of an Abyssinian Slave'), being a translation into Urdu of *Up From Slavery*, a book by Booker T. Washington, a Negro. (Constitutional Affairs Secretariat, Instalment 47, List 10, S. No. 984, File No. 22 Misc. of 1940.)

Letter dated 8 August 1943 from the Political Secretary, Nizam's Government, to the Secretary Constitutional Affairs Department regarding the celebrations on the downfall of the Italian Empire in Abyssinia, Tunisia and other North and East African countries. (Constitutional Affairs Secretariat, Instalment 47, List 10, S. No. 1098, File No. 89/50 F of 1941.)

Note dated 31 December 1945 from James Brunyate, Constitutional Advisor to the Nizam's Government to Nawab Ali Yawar Jung, Secretary Constitutional Affairs Department recommends the Egyptian Treaty of 22 December 1936 between the King of England and the King of Egypt and the Sudanese Condominium as a model for Berar and the Northern Circars. (Constitutional Affairs Secretariat, Instalment 70, List 7, S. No. 2, File No. 110/1355F of 1945.)

Finding Aids

1. M.V.S. Prasada Rao, *Archival Organization and Record Management in the State of Andhra Pradesh: Volume 1*

(Hyderabad, 1980).

2. Transfer List^s and File Registers of Departmental Offices concerned.

CHAPTER 6

STATE ARCHIVES, UTTAR PRADESH MAHANAGAR EXTENSION, LUCKNOW

History: The old Bengal Presidency was divided in 1833 into two parts, one of which became the Presidency of Agra and three years later was styled the North West Province and placed under a Lieutenant-Governor. In 1877, the two provinces of the North West Province and Oudh (Avadh) were placed under one administrator designated as the Lieutenant Governor of the North West Province and Chief Commissioner of Oudh. The name was changed to United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in 1902 and the Lieutenant-Governor became Governor in 1929. Fourteen years later, the name was shortened to United Provinces and in 1950, it was restyled Uttar Pradesh, which is one of the biggest states of the Indian Union.

Archives Administration: In 1943, the Government of the United Provinces decided to set up a record office but it was not until two years later that the Central Record Office was established at Allahabad with a Keeper of Records as officer in charge. In 1956, the Central Record Office was styled State Archives of Uttar Pradesh and the Keeper of Records was designated Director of Archives. Originally under the Director of Education, it was placed under the administrative control of the Cultural Affairs and Scientific Research Department in 1952. The headquarters of the State Archives were subsequently shifted to Lucknow, the state capital, and the Allahabad Office was designated as a Regional Office.

Holdings: The nucleus of the holdings are the archives formerly kept in the office of the Board of Revenue. These related to the North West Province (1807-1858) and to Oudh (1858-1890). To

these were added records of the merging princely states and those of the Secretariat. Records up to 1855 were written into volumes and the originals destroyed. From 1855 until 1874 abstracts of proceedings were entered into volumes and the originals preserved in weekly and monthly bundles. From 1874 until 1933, proceedings were classified (1) as 'A' and printed *in extenso*, (2) as 'B' and printed as abstracts with the originals preserved in the subject files and (3) as 'C' and destroyed after routine weeding. After 1933, printing ceased and the records were kept in subject files. All the pre-1857 records of the Secretariat perished in a fire with the exception of 15 volumes which are available. Among the post 1857 records are found several volumes of "Selections from Vernacular Newspapers."

Access: Applications in prescribed form for permission to consult records should be addressed to the Director, State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Mahanagar Extension, Lucknow. All non-current thirty years old records are open for consultation. Special permission is required for consulting records less than thirty years old. Excerpts taken by research scholars are scrutinised by the State Archives before they are released to them. The Research Room is open on all working days except on certain public holidays. The hours of admission are from 10.00 hours to 17.00 hours on all days except Sundays, second Saturdays and on other holidays. There are photocopying, transcription and search facilities requiring payment of fee.

Of the "Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers", the following illustrative records pertain to Africa:

Riazul Akhbar dated 1 September 1899 observes that outbreak of hostilities in the Transvaal now appears to be inevitable. Adds that the Transvaal is no match for England but the former seems to have support of some other powers. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 32, p. 468.)

The Oudh Akhbar dated 19 September 1899 reports the military preparations of England against the Transvaal and observes that President Kruger is an obstinate man and is being secretly incited by Germany and France. Adds that England's war with the Boers will be costly and as such will tax the resources of the British Empire. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 32, p. 499.)

Al-Bashir dated 18 September 1899 reports that France, Germany and Russia have joined hands against England and adds that

these powers have united to dislodge England from Egypt. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 32, pp. 512-13.)

The Oudh Punch dated 28 September 1899 publishes a cartoon depicting two fighting cocks (marked the Transvaal and England) engaged in a fierce contest while a bear (marked Russia) quietly sits aside on his haunches with its arms folded on his breast and remarking "You may fight, friends! I for the present sit with folded arms." (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 32, p. 540.)

Hindustan dated 11 October 1899 reports the prompt despatch of 2732 British, 1061 Indian soldiers and 3,266 transport animals from India to South Africa. Adds that India is ready to supply grain and fodder and mentions that the Maharaja of Cooch Bihar has offered his services to the British during the Boer War. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 32, p. 557.)

Al-Bashir dated 16 October 1899 reports the ultimatum sent by President Kruger and mentions the movement of Boer troops. Observes that John Bull should depart from the policy of *laissez faire* and administer a sound thrashing to the Boers. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 32, p. 568.)

The Shan-i Hind dated 24 October 1899 observes that the European powers have been inciting the Boers against England as they did the Greeks before the outbreak of the Greek-Turkish war. Adds that England will apparently have to face some reverses at the outset but her ultimate triumph is certain. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 32, p. 584.)

Hindustan dated 19 November 1899 observes that according to the English, the natives in Calcutta and its suburbs sympathise with the Boers. Adds that the inhabitants of some places view the British losses at Ladysmith with satisfaction. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 32, p. 693.)

Jamiul Ulum dated 7 December 1899 refers to the Transvaal War Fund started for the benefit of the wounded British soldiers and also for the wives and children of the soldiers killed in the war and requests the Nawwab of Rampur to contribute liberally to such a benevolent fund. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 32, p. 670.)

Hindustan dated 13 January 1900 reports that about one hundred British Indians of Durban submitted a memorial to the Colonial Secretary at Pietermaritzburg declaring that they were unacquainted with the use of arms but they offered to work in war hospitals. Adds that the Colonial Government thanked the memorialists for their

loyal offer and declared that it would avail itself of their help as and when necessary. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 34, p. 24.)

The Hindustan dated 16 December 1900 complains that the Indian traders labour under unjust disabilities in Natal and other British colonies and observes that they are not eligible for election as members of local Parliament in Natal. Adds that British Indians, other than coolies, have to pay poll-tax and such of them as have no knowledge of English are turned out of the Colony. Remarks that it is unfair to impose such disabilities on British Indians as they are Her Majesty's loyal subjects. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 33, p. 101.)

The Rohilkhand Gazette dated 16 May 1901 regrets that the Government is so indifferent to the difficulties which the Indian labourers have to bear and the ill-treatment they receive at the hands of the whites in South Africa, and adds that the miners of Rhodesia held a meeting at Salisbury and passed seven resolutions against Indians. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 34, p. 387.)

The Advocate dated 20 March 1902 observes that M.K. Gandhi has done well in his mission for the ventilation of the grievances of his countrymen in Natal, the Transvaal and Orange River Colony. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 35, p. 174.)

The Advocate dated 28 August 1902 observes that when the Boer War caused havoc among the British soldiers, the loyalty and devotion of Indians was praised by the English but the *Natal Times* remarks that "the Indian has his industrial value and as a labourer this Colony at least could not do without him but all our efforts should be directed to prevent him from coming in any other capacity." (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 35, p. 533.)

The Oudh Samachar dated 20 November 1902 regrets that the colonialist British, who boast of their charitable benevolence, consider the lives of the unfortunate Indians, who proceed to South Africa in search of a living to be of less value than even a bale of grass and treat them like animals. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 35, p. 711.)

The Indian People dated 27 March 1903 thanks the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for its timely representation to the Government on behalf of the Indian settlers in South Africa and adds that the Chamber lays stress on the right of Indians to settle and hold property in South Africa. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 36, p. 135.)

The Prayag Samachar dated 25 April 1903 reports that the

Government of the Transvaal has decided to enforce the laws relating to Asiatics and adds that Asiatics will be allowed to carry on trade in some fixed quarters of each town but will not be able to visit other quarters. Points out that this law will not be applicable to educated Asiatics, thus making invidious distinctions (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 36, p. 205.)

The Advocate dated 29 December 1907 appreciates the decision to release the Denshawi prisoners on the anniversary of the accession of the Khedive of Egypt and reports that some British officers were maltreated near the village of Denshawi, resulting in the arrest and public flogging of those living in that village and their trial in the most summary fashion. Adds that this caused much indignation in both Egypt and England (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 42, p. 8.)

The Indian People dated 13 September 1908 questions the English sense of justice and fairplay in view of the atrocities committed against British Indians in South Africa and observes that so long as Indians are treated in South Africa in the way they are treated now, so long will extremism thrive in the soil of the peninsula of Hindustan. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 43, p. 798.)

The Mashriq dated 22 November 1908 regrets that there is no one to redress the grievances of the oppressed Indians in the Transvaal and observes that, had such incidents taken place in Turkey, the fleets of European powers would have at once appeared on the shores of that country. Adds that had a Christian been a victim of such handling, all the inhabitants of the Transvaal to a child, would have been hanged. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 43, p. 960.)

The Advocate dated 15 April 1909 points out the contrast in the attitude of Lord Curzon in respect of South Africa and India. Observes that in South Africa, Lord Curzon approves of the efforts to found a self-governing unit under the British Empire but in the opinion of his lordship, the inclusion of India as a unit of self-government would be a breach in the British system of sovereignty. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 44, p. 289.)

The Indian People dated 5 August 1909 observes that the moral support given by women to the passive resistance movement in the Transvaal will serve as an example in India and hopes that, in India, men and women will work or suffer with one will and one heart. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 45, p. 557.)

The Advocate dated 22 August 1909 comments that the adoption of the Bill sanctioning the establishment of a Union Government

marks the doom of British Indians in South Africa. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 45, p. 615.)

The Advocate dated 15 May 1910 comments on the deportation of 61 British Indians from the Transvaal and observes that this case requires immediate attention by the Imperial Government. Hopes that the Imperial Government will take prompt steps to secure redress for these "equal subjects of her majesty." (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 46, p. 461.)

The Leader dated 10 July 1910 expresses satisfaction at the news that Lord Gladstone is reported to have spoken to British Indians in sympathetic terms on his visit to Johannesburg. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 46, p. 637.)

The Leader dated 11 February 1911 hopes that the Government of India would not swerve from its resolve until steps are taken to improve the conditions of Indians in Natal and alludes to the prohibition of indentured emigration to Natal. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 48, p. 136.)

The Sons of India dated April 1911 reproduces the communication sent by G.A. Natesan, Joint Secretary on behalf of the Indians' South African League to the Government of Madras and the Government of India on the subject of indentured emigration to Natal. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 48, p. 369.)

The Awaz-i Khalq dated 1 June 1911 observes that the action of the Government of India in prohibiting immigration of Indians to South Africa came as a surprise to the President of the Union of South Africa. Remarks that it was this action of the Government of India, which induced the President of the Union to express his willingness to accord fair treatment to Indians and adds that the Indians should be grateful to M.K. Gandhi and the Government of India. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 48, p. 477.)

The Leader dated 11 May 1914 observes that Rhodesia is not to be left behind in the race for the exclusion of poor Asiatics from the British colonies and adds that the Union Government has been repeatedly complaining of Asiatics slipping through from Rhodesia into the Union with the result that the Government of Rhodesia have hurried to enact a law of prohibition, the character of which has not become thoroughly familiar to Indians. (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 54, pp. 548-49.)

The Leader dated 7 May 1917 offers comments on the report of the South African Land Commission appointed in August 1913 and

details the distribution of land between white and coloured people as follows:

<i>Colony</i>	<i>White Population</i>	<i>Land-allotted</i>	<i>Coloured population</i>	<i>Land allotted</i>
Orange River Colony	1,42,000	345,00,000	3,50,000	50,00,000
The Transvaal	300,000	520,00,000	10,00,000	130,00,000
Natal and Zululand	90,000	400,00,000	11,00,000	100,00,000

Concluding, the editor poses a question: Is this distribution an illustration of the "Whiteman's Burden" or of his justice towards the soil? (Vernacular Newspapers, Vol. 60, p. 265.)

Finding Aids

1. K.P. Srivastava, *A Hand Book to the U.P. State Archives* (Lucknow, 1975).
2. Transfer lists, Accession Registers and Indexes.

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APPENDIX I

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: RESOLUTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA

1. That this Congress earnestly entreats Her Majesty's Government to grant the prayer of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, resident in the South African Colonies, by vetoing the Bill of the Colonial Government disenfranchising them. (XXI, Madras, 1894.)
2. That the Congress deems it necessary to record its most solemn protest against the disabilities sought to be imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa, and it earnestly hopes that the British Government and the Government of India will come forward to guard the interests of these settlers in the same spirit in which they have always interfered, whenever the interests of their British-born subjects have been at stake. (IX, Poona, 1895.)
3. This Congress once again deems it necessary to record its most solemn protest against the disabilities imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa and the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between them and European settlers, and appeals to Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India to guard the interests of Indian settlers and to relieve them of the disabilities to which they are subjected. (IX, Calcutta, 1896.)
4. And this Congress, concurring with its predecessors, records its protests against the disabilities imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa, and the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between them and European settlers, appealing to Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India to guard the interests of Indian settlers, and to relieve them of the disabilities to which they are subjected. (IV, Amraoti, 1897.)

5. That this Congress deploras the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between Indian and European settlers in South Africa, a prominent instance of which is afforded by the recent decision of the Transvaal High Court restricting Indians to 'locations'. Appeals to Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India to guard the interests of Indian settlers and to relieve them of the disabilities imposed on them. (XII, Madras, 1898).
6. That this Congress once more draws the attention of the Indian Government as well as of the Secretary of State for India to the grievances of the British Indians in South Africa, and earnestly hopes that in view of the re-arrangement of the boundaries in that continent and the incorporation of the late Boer Republics into the British dominions, the disabilities under which the Indian settlers laboured in those Republics, and as to which Her Majesty's Government, owing to their independence in internal matters, felt powerless to obtain redress, will now no longer exist, and that the serious inconvenience caused by the Dealer's Licences Acts of that Colony, which are manifestly inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the British constitution as also the Proclamation of 1895 will be materially mitigated, if not entirely removed. (XX, Lahore, 1900.)
7. That this Congress sympathises with the British Indian settlers in South Africa in their struggle for existence and respectfully draws the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the anti-Indian legislation there and trusts that while the question of the status of British Indians in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies is still under the consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for the Colonies, His Excellency will be graciously pleased to secure for the settlers a just and equitable adjustment thereof. (VI, Calcutta, 1901.)
8. (a) This Congress views with the greatest indignation the harsh, humiliating and cruel treatment to which British Indians, even of the highest respectability and position, have been subjected by the British Colonies in South Africa, and expresses its alarm at the likelihood of such treatment resulting in far-reaching consequences of a mischievous character calculated to cause great injury to the best interests of the British Empire, and trusts that the Imperial Parliament, when granting the new constitution to South Africa, will secure the interests of the Indian

inhabitants of South Africa.

(b) This Congress begs earnestly to press upon the British Parliament and the Government of India the desirability of dealing with the self-governing Colonies in the same manner in which the latter ruthlessly deal with Indian interests so long as they adhere to the selfish and one-sided policy which they proclaim and practise, and persist in their present course of denying to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.

(c) This Congress, while aware of the declaration of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the self-governing Colonies in the British Empire to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlements, deems it but right to point out that the policy of shutting the door and denying the rights of full British citizenship to all subjects of the British Crown while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy in Asia and other parts of the world, is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous. (IV, Madras, 1908.)

- 9 (a) This Congress expresses its great admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice of the Indians in the Transvaal. Mohammadan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian—who, heroically suffering persecution in the interests of their countrymen, are carrying on their peaceful and selfless struggle for elementary civil rights against heavy and overwhelming odds, and urges the Imperial Government to adopt a firm and decisive attitude on the question so as to remove a great source of discontent amongst the people of India.

(b) This Congress begs earnestly to press upon the Government of India the necessity of prohibiting the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for any portion of the South African Union, and of dealing with the authorities there in the same manner as the latter deal with Indian interests, so long as they adhere to the selfish and one-sided policy which they proclaim and practise and persist in their present course of denying to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire. (V, Allahabad, 1910.)

- 10 (a) This Congress, anticipating the forthcoming legislation of the provisional settlement recently arrived at, cordially congratulates Mr. Gandhi and the Transvaal Community upon the repeal of the anti-Asiatic legislation of the Province regarding

registration and immigration and expresses its high admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice with which they—Mohammadan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian—have suffered persecution in the interest of their countrymen during their peaceful and selfless struggle for elementary civil rights against overwhelming odds.

(b) Whilst appreciating the endeavours that have been made from time to time to secure the redress of the grievances of the Indians of South Africa and other British Colonies, this Congress urges that in view of the avowed inability of His Majesty's Government to adopt a firm and decisive attitude in this matter, the Government of India should take such retaliatory measures as may be calculated to protect India's self-respect and the interest of Indian resident in those parts of the empire, and thus remove a great source of discontent among the people of this country.

(c) This Congress further protests against the declarations of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the self-governing colonies, in the British Empire, to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlements and deems it its duty to point out that the policy of shutting the door in those territories against, and denying the right of full British citizenship, to all the Asiatic subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy of the open door in Asia is fraught with grave mischief to the empire and is as unwise as unrighteous.

(d) Whilst thanking the Government of India for the prohibition of the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for South Africa, this Congress is strongly of opinion that in the highest National interest, the system of indentured labour is undesirable and should be abolished and respectfully urges the Government to prohibit the further recruitment of Indian Labour under contract of indenture whether for service, at home or abroad.

(e) That the President do despatch the following message to Mr. Gandhi, "The Congress reaffirms last year's resolution, expresses its warmest appreciation of your efforts and assures you and your fellow workers of the country whole-hearted support. (II, Bankipur, 1912.)"

11. (a) This Congress enters its emphatic protest against the provision of the Immigration Act in that they violate the promises made by the ministers of the South African Union, and respectfully urges the Crown to veto the Bill and requests the Imperial and Indian Governments to adopt such measures as would ensure to the Indians in South Africa just and honourable treatment.
(b) This Congress expresses its abhorrence of the cruel treatment to which Indians were subjected in Natal in the recent strikes and entirely disapproves of the personnel of the Committee appointed by the South African Union to enquire into the matter, as two of its members are already known to be biased against Indians and as it does not include persons who command the confidence of Indians in South Africa and here.
(c) The Congress tenders its most respectful thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for his statesmanlike pronouncement of the policy of the Government of India on the South African question.
(d) This Congress expresses its warm and grateful appreciation of the heroic struggle carried on by Mr. Gandhi and his co-workers and calls upon the people of this country of all classes and creeds to continue to supply them with funds. (II, Karachi, 1913).
12. (a) This Congress begs to offer to His Excellency the Viceroy its respectful thanks, for the noble and courageous stand made by him in the cause of our people in South Africa, and while expressing its grateful appreciation of the efforts of the Government of India, in obtaining relief in respect of some of the most pressing grievances of our Indian fellow subjects, and of the firm advocacy in the cause of India of Sir Benjamin Robertson, this Congress begs to place on record that no settlement can be wholly satisfactory or be deemed final, which does not secure equality of treatment between His Majesty's Indian subjects in South Africa, and respectfully urges on the Government of India that steps may be taken as early as circumstances will permit to bring such equality of treatment.
(b) This Congress also places on record its warm appreciation of and admiration for, the heroic endeavour of Mr. Gandhi and his followers, and their unparalleled sacrifice in their struggle for the maintenance of the self-respect of India and the redress

of Indian grievances.

(c) This Congress further expresses its gratitude to Messrs Polak and Kallenbach for their voluntary sacrifice and suffering, in the cause of India, and to the Rev. Andrews for his help under circumstances of great difficulty.

(d) And, lastly, this Congress records its appreciation of the invaluable services of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, throughout the struggle in bringing about the present settlement. (XII, Madras, 1914.)

13. This Congress re-expresses its regret that the British Indians of South Africa still labour under disabilities which materially affect their trade and render their residence difficult, and unjustly and unduly restrict their movement to and in these parts of the Empire, and hopes that the local authorities will realise their responsibility to the Indians who have, in spite of disabilities, taken their full share in the war by raising corps and otherwise remove the disabilities complained of, and authorises the President to cable the substance of the resolution to the respective local authorities. (XIII, Calcutta, 1917.)
14. (a) This Congress protests against the attempt being made in South Africa and particularly the Transvaal to deprive the Indian settlers of the rights of property and trade hitherto enjoyed by them, and trusts that the Government of India will secure the repeal of the recently enacted legislation and otherwise ensure the protection of the status of the Indian settlers in South Africa.
(b) This Congress is of opinion that the anti-Indian agitation now going in East Africa is utterly unscrupulous and trusts that the Government of India will safeguard the right of free and unrestricted emigration from India to East Africa and the full civil and political rights of the Indian settlers in East Africa including the East African territory conquered from Germany. (II, Amritsar, 1920.)
15. This Congress resolves that the Natal Indian Congress Committee, Durban, the British Indian Association, Johannesburg, the British Indian League, Cape Town, and the Point Indian Association, Durban, be affiliated with power to send ten delegates—this number to be allotted amongst themselves by agreement to be reported—to the All-India Congress Committee. (XIV, Gaya, 1922.)

16. (a) The Congress extends its cordial welcome to the South African Indian Congress Deputation and assures the Indian settlers of South Africa of its full support in their unequal struggle against the consolidated forces, which threaten their very existence in that subcontinent.
- (b) The Congress is emphatically of opinion that the proposed legislation known as the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill, is in breach of the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914, in that it is racial in character and is calculated not only to make the position of the settlers much worse than it was in 1914, but is designed to make the residence in that country of any self-respecting Indian impossible. In the opinion of the Congress, if the interpretation of the said agreement as put upon it on behalf of the settlers is not accepted by the Union Government, it should be decided by reference to arbitration, as was done in 1893 in connection with the treatment of Indian settlers of the Transvaal in matters arising from the administration of Law 3 of 1885.
- (c) The Congress heartily endorses the suggestion that a Round Table Conference, containing among others, proper Indian representatives, should be called to settle the question, and trusts that the Union Government will accept that reasonable suggestion. In the event of the proposal for a Round Table Conference and the proposal regarding arbitration failing, the Congress is of opinion that it is the clear duty of the Imperial Government to withhold the Royal Assent to the Bill, should it pass through the Union Parliament. (II, Cawnpore, 1925.)
17. (a) This Congress welcomes the Round Table Conference now sitting in South Africa to deliberate upon the best method of dealing with the question of the status of Indian settlers in that subcontinent and prays for divine blessings and guidance upon its deliberations.
- (b) This Congress once more tenders its thanks to that good Englishman, Mr. C.F. Andrews, who has been chiefly instrumental in preparing in South Africa a calm atmosphere suitable for the holding of the conference. (III, Gauhati, 1926.)
18. (a) This Congress while acknowledging the relief received by the Indian settlers in South Africa and regarding the signing of the Indo-Union agreement as a token of the desire of the Union Government to accord better treatment to the Indian

settlers, cannot be satisfied till the status of the settlers is brought on par with that of the enfranchised inhabitants of the Union and appeals to the Union Government to consolidate the goodwill created between the two countries by repealing all class Legislation, especially the Colour Bar Act of 1926, the Clause in the Liquor Bill of 1927 prohibiting the employment of Indians as waiters in hotels and the Municipal Land Alienation Ordinances of Natal in so far as the latter involves racial segregation.

(b) This Congress places on record its sense of deep gratitude to Deenabandhu C.F. Andrews for his great and humanitarian work in South Africa and East Africa in connection with the status of the Indian settlers in those countries. (XII, Madras, 1927.)

19. The A.I.C.C. has viewed with deep regret the humiliating and irritating restrictions imposed by the Government of the Union of South Africa upon the contemplated visit to their country by the Ali Brothers, and regards these restrictions as a national insult. The Committee is of opinion that the Government of India has failed in its duty of vindicating national dignity by insisting upon the Union Government removing the objectionable restrictions and facilitating the entry of the Ali Brothers into South Africa, specially in view of the fact that they had voluntarily undertaken to refrain from all political discussions during their sojourn in that subcontinent. (VI, AICC, Lucknow, 1929.)
20. Resolved in modification of the resolutions passed by the Congress in December 1922 at Gaya and by the Working Committee on February 04, 1929, in Delhi, regarding the affiliation of committees in South Africa, that the South African Indian Congress be recognised and that it be authorised to return 12 delegates to the Indian National Congress and required to pay an annual affiliation fee of Rs. 300. Resolved further that these delegates be considered members of the Subjects Committee of the Congress and authorised to take part in the proceedings. (VIII, AICC, Lucknow, 1929.)
21. The Working Committee congratulates the Passive Resisters of South Africa on their restraint in staying action in the hope of an honourable settlement. The Working Committee appeals to the Union Government not to put the Indian settlers of South Africa to the severe test of suffering for the sake of merely

retaining the democratic rights which were twice guaranteed to them. Should, however, all attempts at an honourable settlement fail, the Working Committee assures the Passive Resisters that the whole of India will support them in their struggle. (X, Working Committee, Wardha, 1939.)

22. The A.I.C.C. regrets the attitude of the Union Government towards Indian settlers. It betrays utter disregard of the obligations undertaken by the predecessors of the present Government. The policy just initiated by them is in direct breach of the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914, the Cape Town Agreement of 1927, the Feetham Commission of 1932 and the subsequent undertakings on behalf of the Union Government. The A.I.C.C. notes with pride and satisfaction the firm stand taken up by the Indians of South Africa. They will have the sympathy of the whole Indian nation behind them in their fight for self-respect and honourable existence. The A.I.C.C. trusts that there will be no dissensions among them and that they will present a united front. The A.I.C.C. appeals to the Union Government to retrace their steps and carry out the promises of their predecessors to adopt a policy of progressive amelioration in the status of the Indian Nationals in South Africa 80 per cent of whom are born and bred in that subcontinent and to whom South Africa is their only home. (III, AICC, Bombay, 1939.)
23. (a) The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress are of opinion that the disabilities of the Indian settlers in South Africa constitute a blot on humanity and a slur on the civilization of the West. As the submission to His Excellency the Viceroy of the Indian Deputation from South Africa shows, the disabilities are an unbroken tale of progressive prejudice against Asiatics defined as "any Turk and any member of a race or tribe whose national home is in Asia but which does not include any member of the Jewish or the Syrian race or a person belonging to the race or class known as the 'Cape Malay', and of broken promises and declarations." A civilization that requires for its protection a series of legal enactments imposing political and economic restrictions on coloured and Asiatic peoples, must contain seeds of future wars and its own destruction.
(b) The Committee are of opinion that the contemplated breach of trade relations between India and the Union of South

Africa is the mildest step that the Government of India could have taken. The Committee would ask the Government of India forthwith to withdraw their High Commissioner, if the Union Government would not suspend the proposed legislation, pending the convening of a Round Table Conference between the two governments to consider the whole policy of the Union Government against non-White peoples of the earth.

(c) The Committee are painfully surprised to find Field Marshal Smuts, the Premier of the Union, dismissing on the untenable plea of regarding the proposed anti-Asiatic bill as a domestic affair, the right of the Indian Government and by parity of reasoning, of the other Allied Powers, of friendly intervention. The Committee hold that at this time of the day, it is not open to any State, however powerful it may be, to refuse to listen to the public opinion of the world as voiced through its different States, with reference to any legislation regarded by them as of an inhuman character or as amounting to a slur on the self-respect of the races comprising such a State.

(d) The Committee venture to advise the victorious Allies to take notice of the contemplated action of the Government of South Africa, in as much as the late war would have been fought in vain if now, the persistence by the Union Government of South Africa in the bar-sinister against Asiatic races and coloured people inhabiting that subcontinent, is maintained.

(e) To the Indian Deputation from South Africa, the Committee would say that whilst they (the Committee) and, indeed, the whole of India, irrespective of parties or communities, are with them in their just struggle and would lend them all the moral weight they can, they should realise that the brunt of the unequal struggle will have to be borne by them, and the Committee feel assured that the Indians in South Africa will worthily carry out the example set by them years ago of vindicating their self-respect and that of the motherland by the noble rule of self-suffering.

(f) The Committee would, however, fain hope, even at the eleventh hour, that in the place of the indefensible law of the jungle, which the policy as revealed by the contemplated legislation enunciates, the Government of the Union of South Africa and its White settlers would listen to reason and the appeal of the moral law by which mankind lives. (III, Working

Committee, Bombay, 1946.)

24. The Congress Working Committee note with satisfaction, not unmixed with concern, that Indians in South Africa have started the campaign of Civil Disobedience as a protest against the recently passed legislation by the South African Union Parliament imposing disabilities upon them. The Congress Working Committee are of opinion that the campaign carries in it the seeds of success in so far as the honour of Indians is concerned as distinguished from the loss of material prospects. The Committee expect that having begun the struggle the resisters will carry it to an end without yielding. The Committee assure the resisters of full sympathy in their brave struggle and hope that those who are not themselves Resisters will not on any account succumb to the temptation contained in the legislation itself and such small concessions that may be held out by the Union Government. The inferior status assigned to the Indians by the Act can be wiped out only by its complete abrogation. The Committee hope and expect that while the Government of India remains in the British power, His Excellency the Viceroy will see to using his influence openly on behalf of the brave Resisters and thus secure for them the sympathy of the world in the noble struggle for the rights of man. (V, Working Committee, Delhi, 1946.)
25. (a) The meeting of the A.I.C.C., while it is grieved that it has become imperative for the Indian settlers in South Africa, once more to offer *Satyagraha* in the land of its birth, against a law imposing on them a colour bar more sinister than the one against which they had put up a brave fight between 1907 and 1914, congratulates the handful of *Satyagrahis* on their brave but unequal action against heavy odds.
 (b) The meeting is pleased to find that doctors and such other men and women are at the head of the gallant struggle and that among them are represented Parsis, Christians, Muslims and Hindus. This meeting is also pleased to find that a few White men like the Rev. Scott have thrown in their lot with the *Satyagrahis*.
 (c) This meeting condemns the action of some White men in resorting to the barbarous method known as Lynch Law to terrorise the *Satyagrahis* into submission to the humiliating legislation. It is worthy to note that a large part of the Indians are

born and bred in South Africa to whom India exists only in their imagination. These colonial-born Indians have adopted European manners and customs and English has become their mother-tongue.

(d) This meeting notes with great satisfaction that the Indian resisters are keeping their struggle free from violence in any shape or form and conducting it with dignity and without rancour and that they are thus suffering not only for their self-respect but for the honour of India, and by their heroic resistance setting a noble example to all the exploited peoples of the earth.

(e) This meeting assures the Indian settlers of South Africa of India's full support in this unequal struggle and is firmly of opinion that persistence in it is bound to crown their effort with success.

(f) This meeting appeals to H.E. the Viceroy to use all his endeavour and ensure that of the British Government in aid of this struggle and invites the European residents of India to raise their voice in protest against White hooliganism and the anti-Asiatic and anti-colour legislation of South Africa. (AICC, Bombay, 1946.)

26. The Congress endorses the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee on July 6, 1946, congratulating the South African Indians on their resistance to the segregation, and on the excellent work done by the Indian Delegation to the U.N.O. General Assembly exposing the narrow racialism of the South African Government to the full glare of world opinion. This Congress emphatically refutes the suggestion of Field Marshall Smuts in this connection that the Indian people are also guilty of racialism such as is shamelessly indulged in by the South African Government. The Indian people and all their leaders are energetically engaged in working out the fullest equality to all the nationals inhabiting this large and great country in all walks of life, political, social and economic, and laws of this country discountenance any discrimination whatsoever, whereas the policy of the South African Government and the white minority of that country is flagrantly racial and discriminatory and is a menace to world peace and civilisation. (V, Meerut, 1946.)

27. This Congress has noted with deep regret that the Government of the Union of South Africa continues to treat its Indian citizens in disregard of acknowledged human rights and of the principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. That Government has ignored the wishes of the General Assembly of the United Nations and even challenged the fundamental principles on which the United Nations Organisation is founded. This repudiation of a vital principle, if persisted in, can only lead to bitter and far-reaching racial conflicts and may even result in the break-up of the United Nations Organisation. The Congress expresses its full sympathy with all those who have suffered by the policy of racial discrimination of the Government of the Union of South Africa. (VII, Jaipur, 1948.)

APPENDIX II

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: RESOLUTIONS ON EAST AFRICA

1. This Congress sends the greetings and sympathy of the Nation to the Indian community in Kenya and while adhering to the opinion that unless *Swarajya* is won for India, the sufferings and grievances of Indians abroad cannot be properly remedied, it authorises Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. George Joseph to attend the forthcoming Indian Congress in Kenya and study the situation and advise the Indian community there, as to what steps they should take in carrying on their struggle against the insults and injustices imposed upon them. (XI, Cocanada, 1923.)
2. The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress desire to put on record their gratitude to Mr. C.F. Andrews, for having agreed at this critical juncture in the nation's history to help and advise the Indian deputation from the Kenya colony and to give them his moral support. The Committee trusts that by his truly Christian conduct, he will be able to prevent the most serious blow being dealt at Christianity itself by missionaries who are reported to be lending support to the European opposition to rightful Indian claims. The information received by the Committee concerning the missionary attitude in Kenya is hardly believable and the Committee note with satisfaction that the National Council of the Indian Christian Church has repudiated it. The Committee desire further to reaffirm with regard to the Kenya question the resolution previously passed by them stating that it will be necessary for the Congress to reconsider the question of the imperial connection

- if the rightful claims of Indians to equal status as citizens of the Empire are finally refused. (VII, Working Committee, 1923.)
3. The decision of the British Government on the Kenya question having made it clear that it is not possible for India to have an equal and honourable place in the British Empire, the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress is of opinion that there should be a solemn demonstration throughout India to mark the event. The Committee, therefore, resolves that there shall be a peaceful hartal throughout India on the 26th of August. There shall be meetings everywhere on that day at which resolutions should be passed calling upon the people to abstain from participation in the British Empire Exhibition, the Imperial Conference, the Empire Day celebrations and all other imperial functions. In view of the unanimous expression of opinion by the representatives of all political views on the far-reaching issues involved, the Committee hopes that everyone will join the demonstration and meetings irrespective of differences of opinion in respect of other matters. (Working Committee, 1923.)
 4. This Congress looks upon the decision of the British Government about the status of Indians in Kenya as being in keeping with England's determination to rule India as a subject country, and therefore this Congress urges on the people of India to redouble their efforts to wipe off the stigma of subjection as early as possible. (XIC, Special Session, Delhi, 1923.)
 5. The Congress places on record its appreciation of the great services rendered to the cause of the Indians overseas by Shrimati Sarojini Naidu who, by her energy and devotion, endeared herself to the Indian settlers and by her persuasive eloquence gained a sympathetic hearing from the Europeans there. The Congress also notes with gratitude the services rendered to the cause of the settlers of Kenya by Mr. Vaze of the Servants of India Society and Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi. (VI, Belgaum, 1924.)
 6. In the opinion of the Congress, the progressively restrictive legislation against the Indian settlers of Kenya as evidenced by the latest action of the Kenya Government in increasing the original poll-tax of 20 shillings, which by currency manipulation was raised to 30 shillings, and which has now been raised to 50 shillings by legislation, is calculated to demonstrate afresh that

British imperialism means the conservation of European interests at the cost of Indian interests, liberty and aspirations. (IV, Gauhati, 1926.)

7. This Congress (a) enters its protest against the appointment of the East African Federation Commission without any Indian representative and also against the tendency under cover of responsible government to give the European adventurers further powers of exploiting the unsophisticated natives of the soil and of oppressing by harassing and racial legislation the peaceful Indian settlers who had settled in East Africa long before any European ever went there and who have for centuries established and enjoyed friendly commercial relations with the natives.
 - (b) Calls the attention of the League of Nations of the imminent danger or infringement of the Tanganyika mandate by opening highlands in that territory exclusively for European settlement.
 - (c) Condemns the Feetham Report on Kenya local self-government as giving unfair and disproportionate representation to Europeans in Nairobi and Mombasa and hopes that the Indians in East Africa will continue their struggle for full status. (XIII, Madras, 1927.)
8. (a) This Congress congratulates the Indians of East Africa on their friendly and cordial relations with the East Africans and trusts that they will continue to maintain them and treat the interests of the original inhabitants as superior to all other interests.
 - (b) The Committee assure the Indian community of Kenya of its full support in its struggle for the achievement of political and economic equality in East Africa. (VIII, AICC, Bombay, 1929.)
9. This Committee congratulates the deputation now in India on behalf of Indian settlers in East Africa, on the sound national stand it has taken on questions of common franchise and settlement on land on terms of absolute equality and while wishing it every success assures them of all the support that public opinion can render to Indians in East Africa. It strongly deplores the attitude taken by the Government of India as disclosed in the debate of the 26th instant in Legislative Assembly when the member-in-charge declared the position of the

Government of India as a mere advocate instead of a high contracting party to protect the interests of Indian nationals overseas and records its considered opinion that the Governor General in Council should make an early declaration of their definite policy in regard to protection of rights of Indian nationals abroad. (V, AICC, Lucknow, 1929.)

10. The Congress congratulates Shrimati Sarojini Naidu who went to East Africa at considerable inconvenience to her self, and also the Indians in East Africa on the clear national stand they took upon the Indian problem in that subcontinent. This Congress is of opinion that no solution of the question can satisfy the nation that accepts communal electorates and is based on a discriminate franchise or that imposes disqualification on Indians holding property. (VI, Lahore, 1929.)
11. The Working Committee having learnt from Deenabandhu Andrews the deplorable condition of the Indian settlers of Zanzibar assures them of its sympathy and hopes for the averting of contemplated forcible expropriation of their just rights in a land in which they have settled with families for centuries and in which they have lived in perfect peace with the original inhabitants and, armless, have relied for their safety on just dealings with them and consequent faith in their good-will. This Committee reiterates its sense of gratitude towards Deenabandhu Andrews for his unremitting efforts on behalf of Indian settlers overseas, expresses its full confidence in his selfless mission and hopes that he will continue his labours in this direction. (III, Working Committee, Wardha, 1934.)
12. (a) The Committee express their full sympathy with the Indians in Zanzibar in their brave struggle against the new decrees which are sure to result in ruining Indian interests in Zanzibar and the internal and export trade of the Indian community settled for so long in the country which has helped greatly in promoting the prosperity of Zanzibar. The Committee are of opinion that in order to give adequate help in this struggle and protect Indian interests in Zanzibar it is essential that an embargo should be laid on the import of cloves into India. The Committee further call upon the people to refrain from the use of cloves until the new decrees are rescinded by the Zanzibar Government.

(b) The Committee regret the position taken up by the Government of India on the resolution moved by the Congress Party in the Central Legislature regarding the treatment of Indians in Zanzibar by the Zanzibar Government and are of opinion that the efforts made by the Government and the results attained by them are entirely inadequate to protect the interests of the Indians in Zanzibar.

(c) The Committee feel confident that by the boycott of cloves by the Indian people, the Zanzibar Government will be compelled in the end to do justice to Indians by rescinding the objectionable decrees. (II, AICC, Calcutta, 1937.)

13. (a) The Working Committee feels deeply concerned over the publication of the recent draft Bills by the Zanzibar Government perpetuating complete internal and external monopoly of dealing in cloves in the hands of a close corporation, practically excluding the Indians there from and depriving them of all means of recovering their just and legitimate dues from the clove-growers and inflicting a death blow upon the vital economic interests of the Indian people in Zanzibar. The passing of these decrees is sure to create a grave situation in Zanzibar and this Committee is informed that the exasperated Indian community may have to resort to a passive resistance for the restoration and preservation of their legitimate rights.

(b) In the opinion of this Committee these measures are in direct violation of the just rights of the Indians and of the Zanzibar treaties of 1886 which guarantee security of property for Indians and prohibit the establishment of clove monopoly.

(c) Further, it is the considered opinion of this Committee that this legislation, though ostensibly designed to benefit the Arab clove-growers, is really intended to assist the British capitalists denying the just claims of Indians who have raised Zanzibar to its present prosperous, stable, agricultural position.

(d) This Committee assures our countrymen overseas in Zanzibar of its sympathy in their present situation, extends its support in their struggle and is of opinion that retaliatory measures should be taken forthwith by the Indian Government. (VI, Working Committee, Allahabad, 1937.)

14. The Congress expresses its appreciation of the response of the Indian people to the appeal made on behalf of the Congress to refrain from the use of cloves, and that the boycott of trade in

cloves in Zanzibar by the Indian merchants has been complete and satisfactory. The Congress congratulates the Indians in Zanzibar and the clove-merchants in India on the manner in which they maintained this boycott. The Congress, however, regrets that the question of the rights of Indians in Zanzibar for internal and export trade has not yet been satisfactorily solved. The Congress repeats its request to the Indian people to continue the disuse of cloves and presses upon the attention of the merchants the desirability of continuing the boycott of trade in cloves and trusts that by these measures the Zanzibar Government would be compelled in the near future to do justice to the Indian traders in Zanzibar by rescinding the objectionable decrees. (V, Haripura, 1938.)

15. (a) The Working Committee read the report of the Clove Boycott Committee and considered the agreement which has been arrived at by the Indian community in Zanzibar and the Zanzibar Government in respect of clove trade. This agreement is subject to the confirmation of the Indian National Congress and the Colonial Office of the British Government. The Working Committee accept the recommendation of the Indian National Association of Zanzibar and confirm the said agreement. The Committee trust that the agreement will be acted upon by the Zanzibar Government in a way so as to give full satisfaction to the Indian community so as not to raise any doubt or suspicion of discriminatory treatment.
 - (b) In view of this settlement, the Clove Boycott Committee is hereby authorised to lift the boycott of cloves which has been in operation since September last as and when and under such conditions as it thinks proper. On the ending of the boycott the Committee trusts that the general public and particularly the retailers will patronise those firms that have loyally adhered to the boycott, in preference to those who have not.
 - (c) The Committee congratulate the Indian community in Zanzibar for the brave and successful stand it has made for the rights of Indians overseas. The Committee further express their gratitude to the merchants, specially in Bombay, who by their loyal cooperation and support even at considerable sacrifice have contributed so greatly to the successful termination of this issue. The Committee wish also to record their appreciation of the labours of the Clove Boycott Committee (II, Working

Committee, Bombay, 1938.)

16. The Congress is of opinion that the administrative practice of excluding British Indians from acquiring lands in the Highlands of Kenya Colony, while a European of any nationality is free to do so constitutes a humiliating disability for the Indians settled in Kenya and is a deliberate offence to the Indian people. The Congress further condemns the proposal to promulgate an Order-in-Council defining the boundaries of the white Highlands which is calculated to perpetuate statutorily the erstwhile iniquitous practice which should have been abolished long ago in accordance with the declarations of the Government of India at the time of the issue of the White Paper of 1923. The pledge given by the Government of India to get the subject reopened still remains and will become totally incapable of being carried out in the event of the proposed Order-in-Council being passed. (XIII, Haripura, 1938.)

17. AICC notes with grave concern the promulgation of an Order-in-Council regarding reservation of Highlands in Kenya for Europeans which is a violation of all announcements and assurances by the Secretary of State for Colonies and the Government of India, and perpetuates the policy of racial discrimination and is an insult to India.

AICC also places on record its opinion that the Government of India have failed to do their duty by the Indians in Kenya. AICC is further of opinion that situation in Kenya cannot be met by any efforts on the part of the Government of India and requests the Working Committee to take necessary steps in this behalf. (V, AICC, Calcutta, 1939.)

18. (a) The Working Committee having heard Mr. B.B. Pandya, on behalf of the East African Indian National Congress, and Mr. Harichand M. Shah, on behalf of the Africa and Overseas Merchants' Chamber on the attempts made by the Government of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika to introduce anti-Indian immigration legislation, express their deep concern over the situation developing in these territories.

(b) In view of the assurances given by the East African Governments to the Government of India that Defence Regulations restricting immigration were a temporary measure to meet certain wartime needs, the Working Committee take a very grave view of the refusal of these Governments to these regulations

as promised, and ask the Government of India to take appropriate measures to secure without delay the fulfilment of these promises by the Government concerned.

(c) The Working Committee can see no justification whatsoever for the introduction of the immigration restriction bill in the present state of the political, economic and social development of the East African territories and their inhabitants, and is emphatically of the opinion that the British Colonial Office should restore pre-war conditions as regards immigration by withdrawing wartime regulations and should prevent the anti-Indian policy of the European inhabitants from being given sanction and legislative shape.

(d) Indians were in East Africa long before any Britisher set foot on that soil and they could point to as many generations of useful industry on the coast as well as inland as the white settlers could count years of residence. In consideration of this history of colonisation and opening up of East African territories, Mr. Winston Churchill came to the conclusion and wrote in his book many years ago that no Government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man could introduce a policy of keeping Indians out of East Africa.

(e) The Committee are also of opinion that any steps to bring about the economic union of the three East African territories should include the provision for equal representation as proposed by the British Colonial Office and should not yield to the pressure of the European population to abandon this provision.

(f) The Committee reiterate the protest against the reservation of the best part of the land, the Highlands, for White men, excluding even the Africans to whom the soil of their own country must belong.

(g) The Committee wish all success to the Delegation going to East Africa under the leadership of Raja Sir Maharaj Singh to study the situation on the spot and to impress upon the East African Governments the advisability of dropping their proposed anti-Indian immigration legislation which is now being precipitated in view of developments in India, and hope that they will be able to convince the East African Governments that any anti-Indian policy encouraged in East Africa will be an intolerable addition to the insults and provocations which

are aimed at India and which undoubtedly serve to postpone the day of realisation of true world peace and security.

(h) The Working Committee have noted with pleasure that cordial relations prevail between the Africans and Indians, and trust that there will be continued cooperation between the two for their mutual advancement, and for the removal of the disabilities which are sought to be imposed upon both of them by the white settlers. (Working Committee, Wardha, 1946.)

19. The Indian National Congress endorses the resolution of the Working Committee passed on August 6, 1945 regarding the situation in East Africa. The Congress views with great concern the attempts made in that country to make permanent the restrictions of the wartime period and converting them into a permanent anti-Indian law. The recorded admissions of even the confirmed enemies of Indian progress prove that Indians were in East Africa before any European set his foot on that soil and fully support the claim of the Indians in East Africa that the laws reserving the highlands for the White people and restricting the rights of Indians, are most immoral and unjustifiable. (VI, Meerut, 1946.)

APPENDIX III

IMPORTANT INDIAN ASSOCIATIONS IN AFRICA

EAST AFRICA

The Oriental Club, Blantyre, Nyasaland

The Beira Hindu Association, Beira, Portuguese Africa
(Mozambique)

The East African National Congress, Nairobi

Free Traders Union of Uganda

The Indian Association, Addis Ababa (Ethiopia)

Indian Association, Dares Salaam, Tanganyika (Tanzania)

Indian Association Gulu, Uganda

Indian Association, Mombasa

Indian Association, Nairobi

SOUTH AFRICA

Cape British India Council

Cape Indian Congress, Cape Town

British Indian Association, Johannesburg

British Indian Defence Committee, Johannesburg

British Indian League, Cape Town

Natal Indian Association, Durban

Natal Indian Congress, Durban

Point Indian Youngmens' Association, Durban

South African Indian League

South African Indian Federation, Natal

South African Indian Congress, Natal

South African Traders Union Congress

**The Transvaal British Indian Association
The Transvaal Indian Congress, Johannesburg**

CENTRAL AFRICA

Belgian Congo Indian Association, Zaire

APPENDIX IV

SOME POST-COLONIAL NAME CHANGES

COLONIAL NAME	MODERN AFRICAN NAME
Algeria	
Bône	Annaba
Bougie	Bejaia
Colomb-Bechar	Bechar
Fort Polignac	Illizi
Orléansville	El Asnam
Philippeville	Skika
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	Democratic Republic of the Sudan
Basutoland	Lesotho
Bechuanaland	Botswana
Gaborones	Gaborone
Belgian Congo	Zaire
Bakwanga	Mbuji-Mayi
Coquilhatville	Mbandaka
Costermansville	Bukavu
Elizabethville	Lubumbashi
Leopoldville	Kinshasha
Jadotville	Likasi
Luluabourg	Kananga
Stanleyville	Kisangani
Stanley Pool	Malebo Pool

British Somaliland	Part of Somali Democratic Republic (Somalia)
Cameroons	Cameroun
Chad (Tchad)	Chad Republic
Fort Lamy	Ndjamena
Dahomey	Republic of Benin
Eritrea	Part of Ethiopia
French Congo (Moyen Congo)	People's Republic of the Congo (Congo Braz- zaville)
French Guinea (Guinée)	Republic of Guinea (Guinée)
French Sudan	Mali
French Togoland	Togo (Togolese Republic)
The Gambia	The Gambia
Bathurst	Banjul
Gold Coast	Ghana
Italian Somaliland	Part of Somali Democratic Republic (Somalia)
Madagascar	Malagasy Republic (Republique Malgache)
Mauritania	Islamic Republic of Mauritania
Port Étienne	Nouadhibou
Fort Gouraud	Fderik
Morocco	Mohammedia
Fedala	El-Jadida
Mazagan	Essaouira
Mogador	Kenitra
Port Lyautey	Mozambique
Mozambique (Moçambique)	Maputo
Lourenço-Marques	Zambia
Northern Rhodesia	Mbala
Abercorn	Kabwe
Broken Hill	Chipata
Fort Jameson	Mansa
Fort Roseberg	

Oubangui-Chari
Portuguese Guinea

Ruanda

Astrida

Shangugu

Southern Rhodesia

Salisbury

South West Africa

Spanish Guinea

Fernando Po

Spanish Sahara

Villa Cisneros

Tanganyika

Urundi

Usumbura

Zanzibar

Central African Empire

Guinee-Bissã

Rwanda

Butare

Cyangugu

(Zimbabwe)

Harare

Namibia

Equatorial Guinea

Macias Nguema

Biyogo

Shared

between Morocco
and Mauritania

Dakhla

Joined with Zanzibar
in United Republic
of Tanzania

Burundi

Bujumbura

Joined with
Tanganyika in
United Republic of
Tanzania

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