The primary activities of the Natal Indian Congress founded in 1893 by Mahatma Gandhi's initiative, were to safeguard Indian interest and acquaint of Englishmen in South Africa and England and the people of India with the conditions in Natal. Gandhi had a knack for publicity, was in his blood. Before the direct plunge into the field of journalism, Gandhi cultivated, as we have been earlier, friendship with the editors of influential journals. That not the age of microphone or radio. His feeble voice could not reach thousands of Indians scattered all over South Africa. Nor could he inform the world outside about the state of affairs in Africa. The Congress had no newspaper of its own. Exposition of the Indian cause could not be expected from the existing press, he realised soon, could create a public opinion. Mahatma Gandhi wrote later:

"I believe that a struggle which chiefly relies upon internal strength can not be wholly carried on without a newspaper - it is also my experience we could not perhaps have educated the local Indian community, nor kept Indians all over the world in touch with the course of events in South Africa in any other way, with the same case and success and through the Indian Opinion, which therefore, was certainly a most useful and potent weapon in our struggle".
Shri Madanjit Vyavakarik was an ex-school master of Bombay and a political co-worker of Gandhiji in South Africa. He started a Press - the name of this Press was the International Printing Press at 113, Grey Street, Durban, in 1898. Many of the pamphlets and brochures of the Natal Congress inspired if not actually written by Gandhiji, were printed in the press. Gandhiji was also able to inspire Madanjit with the idea to start a weekly.

The Indian opinion started its publication and the 1st issue was *Out* on June 4, 1903 through Gandhiji, in his autobiography, gives the date as 1904.

Mr. George Hendrick in the article, Mahatma Gandhiji, Indian opinion and Freedom, wrote:

"Even the Indian opinion began publication is almost given in correctly (Gandhiji remembered it in 1904) and biographers and bibliographers have continued to give 1904 date instead of 4th June 1903)."^2

The first editorial - 'Ourselves' - an unsigned, one, was written by Gandhiji. This is quoted below for the simplicity of language and direct appeal of the content.
We need offer no apology for an appearance. The Indian Community in South Africa is a recognised factor in the body politic and a newspaper, voicing its feelings and specially devoted to its cause, would hardly be considered out of place; indeed, we think, it would supply a long felt want.

The Indians, resident in British South Africa is a recognised factor in the body-politic, and newspaper, voicing its feelings, and specially devoted to its cause, would hardly be considered out of place: indeed, we think, it would supply a long felt want.

The Indians, resident in British South Africa, loyal subjects though they are of the King-Emperor, labour under a member of legal disabilities which, it is contended on their behalf, are underserved and unjust. The reason of this state of affairs is to be found in the prejudice in the colonists, arising out of his misunderstanding the actual status of the Indian as a British subject, the close relations that render him kin to colonists, as the dual title of the Crowned Head so significantly proclaims, and the unhappy forgetfulness of the great services, India has always rendered to the Mother country lover since providence brought loyal Hind under the flag of Britannia.
It will be our endeavour, therefore, to remove the misunderstanding by placing facts in their true light before the public.

We are far from assuming that the Indians here are free from all the faults that are ascribed to them. Whenever we find them to be at fault, we will unhesitatingly point it out and suggest means for its removal. Our countrymen in South Africa are without the guiding influence of the institutions that exist in India and that impart the necessary moral tone when it is wanting. Those that have immigrated as children, or are born in the colony, have no opportunity of studying past history of the nation to which they belong, or of knowing its greatness. It will be our duty, so far as it may be in our power, to supply these wants by inviting contributions from competent writers in England, in India, and in this sub-continent.

Time alone will prove our desire to do what is right. But we can do very little unaided, we rely on generous support from our countrymen, may we hope for it from the great Anglo-Saxon race that haild. His Majesty Edward VII as King-Emperor? For, there is nothing in our programme but a desire to promote harmony and goodwill between the different sections of the one mighty Empire."
Sri Madanjit, as proprietor of the Indian Opinion, gave the following information, as printed on the first page of the first issue for the consumption of all readers. The underlying spirit is in tune with the main editorial quoted earlier and Gandhiji's influence is unmistakably manifest.

"This weekly newspaper is published in four languages namely English, Gujarati, Tamil and Hindi in the interest of the British Indian residing in South Africa.

The policy of the paper would be to advocate the cause of the British Indian in the sub-continent. But while it would insist upon the rights of the community, it would not be slow to point out to its responsibilities also as members of a mighty Empire. It would persistently endeavour to bring about, brought together under one flag.

The advantages to the Indian community in subscribing to and supporting this paper would be:

i) It would have a newspaper that would advocate its cause as well as give to all sections its news in their own languages.
ii) It would contain news specially affecting Indians of all parts of South Africa, besides local and general information.

iii) It would contain an epitome of events happening in India.

iv) It would give commercial intelligence.

v) It would contain contributions from competent writers, Indians as well as Europeans, on all subjects - social, moral, intellectual.

The advantages to the European Community would be -

1) The paper would give it an idea of Indian thought and aspirations.

11) It would acquaint it with such Indian matters as are not commonly known to it, and yet which should not be governed by the true Imperialists.

To Europeans and Indians Alike, it would serve as the advertising medium in those branches of the trade - in which Indians are especially concerned.
The rate of annual subscription is 12S. 6d. in the Colony, and outside the Colony 17 S. payable in advance. Single copies are sold at 3 d. each. Advertising charges can be had an application to the undersigned.

V. Madanjit
Proprietor, Indian Opinion,
113, Grey Street, Durban.

As indicated, the foolscap sized, three-column journal started publishing South Africa, Indian news and views. It was filled with discriminatory law cases involving Indians, and which Gandhiji used to plead, or letters to the editors of local newspapers correcting false and mistaken reports concerning Indians. Important happenings in India were also displayed. Besides, there were contributions from 'competent writers' on subject 'Social, moral and intellectual'. Gandhiji tried his hand on intellectual and aesthetic subjects as well. Here is an example, being the extract of an article on 'Indian Art'. The Journal was published in the issue of September 17, 1903.

"The Hindu place-architecture of Gwalior, the Indian-Muhammadan mosques and mausoleums of Agra and
Delhi, with several of the olden Hindu temples of Southern Indian, stand unrivalled for grace of outline and elaborate wealth or ornament. The Taj Mahal at Agra justifies Heber's exclamation, its builders had designed like Titans, and finished like jewelers. The open carved marble windows and screens at Ahmedabad finish examples of the skilful ornamentation which beautifies every Indian building, from the cave monasteries of the Buddhist period downward. They also show with what plasticity the Hindu architects adopted their Indian ornamentation to the structural requirements of the Mahammedan mosque. English decorative art in our day has borrowed largely from Indian forms and patterns. The exquisite scrolls on the rock-carving of Western India, the harmonious blending of forms and colours in the fabrics of Kashmir, have contributed to the restoration of taste in Enland. Indian art-work, when faithful to native designs, still obtains the highest hours at the international exhibition of Europe.

Mahatma Gandhiji was not only contributing articles of the journal but money as well. Journalistic advarture became increasingly expensive for him. During the 1st year he had to spend £ 200 from his own pocket. This
state of things could not be allowed to continue. The venture had either to be stopped or he had to assume the full responsibility for it. Shri Madanjit also entreated him to take over the journal as well as the press in lieu of the money he had invested. He agreed. It was rather a formal handover the 'de jure' recognition of the 'de facto'. Both Europeans and Indians in South Africa knew very well that he was the man responsible for the journal's management and policy, through not the editor in name. As he, in his autobiography, recalled in a reminiscent mood. "I had to bear the brunt of the work, having for most of the time to be practically in charge of the journal".3

But financial burden was too much for a young barrister yet to set up lucrative practice. Nor did he realise how costly the journal, "at the initial stage, could be." As he confesses, after getting wiser, "I had no notion that I should have to invest any money in the journal."4

But he was not sorry for all this. In his letter of January 13, 1905, to his political guide and philosopher, Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Poona, wrote "When I saw that Mr. Madanjit could not carry on the paper without pecuniary assistance and as I know that he was guided by thoroughly patriotic motives, I placed at his service
the bulk of my savings ..... I have already become responsible to the extent of nearly £ 3,500.5

In the same letter he indicated that he assumed the responsibility for the journal round about October, 1904. "Three months ago, I took over the whole responsibility and management Mr. Madanjit still remains nominally the proprietor and publisher, because I believe that he has done much for the community. My own office is at present being worked in the interests of the Indian opinion ..."

Shri Mangal Lal Hiralal Nazar, a journalist from Bombay was appointed the editor in which post he continued till his death in January, 1906. In a signed obituary note in the Indian Opinion, Gandhiji, among other things wrote: "without him this journal would never have come into being. In the initial stages of the struggle, Mr. Nazar took up almost the whole of the editorial burden, and if it is known for its moderate policy and sound news, the fact is due, to a very large extent to the part that Mr. Nazar played in connection with it."

The Indian Opinion entered into a new phase in December, 1904. Under the caption "ourselves" reminding the readers of the first editorial under the same caption
"ourselves" reminding the readers of the first editorial under the same caption of June 4, 1903, the Indian opinion of December 24, 1904, informed the public that the paper "enters upon the third stage of its career in the short space of the 18th months of its existence". It also gave an account of how the paper during the period, was run. The proprietor "had to depend for the editing paper purely on voluntary and unpaid assistance." More urgent was the task of enlisting paid subscribers. The Natal Indian Congress and the British Indian Association came to the rescue, but "the paper continued, octopus-like, to devour all it received and wanted more."

"a novel and revolutionary project" said the editorial, could save the situation. The workers "were to look not to the present but to the future; not to their pockets but to the paper first". Gandhiji rather demanded this from the workers when the declared policy of the journal was service." It was to educate public opinion, to remove causes for misunderstanding, to put before the Indians their own blemishes; and to show them the path of duty while they insisted on securing their rights."

The future plan was also unfolded in the same article, "if a piece of ground sufficiently large and far away
from the hustle of the town could be secured for housing the plant and machinery, each one of the workers could have plots and on which he could live.

The phoenix settlement - 14 miles away from Durgan town and 2½ miles from the Phoenix Railway Station - came into being. The Indian Opinion was transferred there from Durban and the first issue, in one sheet, was printed on a treadle machine on the due date, i.e. December 24, 1904. In the farm everyone had to work, during the same living wage £3 per head - and attending to the Press job work in spare time.

In the issue of December 31, 1904, the Gujarati edition of the Indian Opinion, published brief notes on the three Englishmen who were assisting in the printing and publication of the paper. Mr. West owned a printing press in Johannesburg. But he joined the Struggling group with 24 hour's notice. "Now he takes from us just enough for his bare needs, but stays on with us in the faith that there will be profits eventually. He toils from morning to evening looking upon the work as his own."
Mr. Kithin was an electrical contractor. He joined the Indian Opinion as "he felt that the objectives of Indian Opinion were worthy". There was Mr. Polak "since he is a man of humble simplicity and believes that he can freely express his feelings against oppression through Indian Opinion he had informed his chief of his intention to resign, and he will arrive here towards the beginning of next year. Meanwhile, he has started writing for the journal."

In 1905 there was the outbreak of plague in Johannesburg. Gandhi ji with a band of volunteers was fighting against this deadly disease. Throughout this period he was writing editorials, publishing news items and letters, drawing the attention of the Town Council as also the Indian community to the seriousness of the plague. He stated that there was serving a trinity of interests viz. "truth, public weal and my own countrymen."

Gandhi ji was also continuously fighting against the disabilities suffered by the Indians in South Africa. These disabilities were many and varied. There were restrictions on immigration and trading; on travelling in trains and cabs; on walking on foot-paths and what not. These were the result of racial arrogance and trade policy. The columns of the Indian Opinion were full of cases dealing with these disabilities of pleading for sanity from this ruling power.
In protesting against the importation of indentured Asiatic labour and against the attempt to reduce 'free' Asiatics for sub-human serfdom, Gandhiji was moved, not by abstract theory, but by "instinctive sympathy and profound concern for the welfare of future generations. It was this love of humanity (European as well as Chinese) and not political or economic theory - which inspired his criticism of Mr. Skinner's report on Chinese labour for the mines; and which also evoked his appreciation of Mr. Greswell's action in resigning his post as manager of a gold mining company because he could and would employ well-paid white labour, while the owners, caring only for profits insisted, on his employing cheap imported labour."

Narrating his experiences of those "The printing press, where the type-setting was done by hand, was run by a decrepit oil engine while frequently broke down, when this occurred, the settlers had to resort to hand-power to turn out the paper in time for the usual despatch of miles, often until the middle of the night. More than once, when this happened during one of his occasional visits he could not permanently reside there, as his public and professional work in the Transvaal then occupied almost all his energies - I can recall Gandhiji literally putting his shoulder to the wheel as energetically as any of us."
His wife Mrs. Millie Polak, had also recorded interesting facts about the printing arrangement.

"The printing press, at this time, had no mechanical means at its disposal, for the oil-engine had broken down, and at first animal power was utilised. Two donkeys being used to turn the handle of the machine. But Mr. Gandhi, ever a believer in man doing his own work, soon altered this, and four hefty Zulfi girls were procured for a few hours on printing day. These took work in turns, two at a time, while the other two rested; but every male able-bodied settler, Mr. Gandhi included, took his turn at the handle and thus the copies of the paper were 'ground out'."

"I remained a dunce to the last" - merrily recalled Gandhi after many years.

Like so many experiments which shaped Gandhi's thought and belief, the experiment in running the paper revealed many a novelty to him so much so that he devoted one full Chapter, in his autobiography, on his experience on the first night. It not only shows his intimate knowledge of his masterly grip on every detail.
Shri Prabhudas Gandhi adds further details of the working in the Press-room of the Indian Opinion.

"Friday nights were of importance for the weekly Indian Opinion was despatched by Saturday. The material for the paper was composed by mid-day on Friday. It was evening by the time the paper went to the Press. There were no servants, peons or other labour. The Press workers themselves had to print the paper, fold it, paste the addresses, make bundles and take them to the Station. The work would take the whole night and there would still be something left to do after day break. Under such pressure of work Gandhiji along with others keep awake all night. To encourage the staff rice pudding would be served at night."

Mr. Polak was earlier instrumental in introducing Ruskin's work unto this last to Gandhiji while he was on a journey to train. The book changed his ideas profoundly. Not only Ruskin, but other thinkers and Philosophers like Thoreau, Emerson and Tolstoy had great influence on him. Their teachings in turn influenced his writings in the Indian Opinion.
Gandhi admitted: "So long as it (Indian Opinion) was under my control, the changes in the journal were indicative of changes in my life. The Indian Opinion in those days, like the Young India and the Navjivan to-day, was a mirror of past of my life."  

Gandhi was looking for reliable correspondents in other countries, particularly in England. His letter of December 10, 1904, to Mr. Dadhabhai Naoroji will be read with interest in this context:

"Dear Sir,

Indian Opinion has entered on a third stage in its career. I would not weary you with the important step that has been taken in connection with it. You will see the full particulars published in it in the course of this month. It is now intended to have weekly or a fortnightly letter from England of general interest but also dealing particularly with the Indian question in South Africa, as it may have effected from time to time in London could you recommend any one who would undertake the work and if so, at what rate? I have nothing special to report on the question this week."
In his letter on January 13, 1905, to Shri Gokhale, reference of which has been made earlier he suggests for correspondents to write for the Indian Opinion. "I am also anxious to secure either honorary or paid correspondents who would contribute weekly notes in English, Gujarati, Hindi and Tamil".

Indian Opinion contained the following interesting new items of 6th January, 1906.

Congratulation - It is with great pleasure that we announce the marriage of Mr. H.S.I. Polak and Miss M.G. Dows (who recently arrived from London), at Johannesburg on Saturday last. Mr. Polak is the Transvaal representative of Indian Opinion, and Mrs. Polak is in thorough sympathy with the cause of Indians in South Africa. We offer our heartiest congratulations and best wishes to the happy pair.

Photographs were published some times. A black bordered full page photograph of Sri Mansukh Lal Hiralal Mazar was published in the same issue carrying an obituary written by Gandhi, to which reference has already been made. Photos of the then Amir of Afghanistan (1907), Shri Gokhale (March 10, 1908) and Gandhi, when he was leading the South African delegation to London, were among some others, published from time to time.
There were other interesting news items, which gave a glimpse of the life at the settlement. An example: "Many thanks. We have much pleasure in thanking Messrs. G.H. Miankahan and Co. for the gift of a splendid cricket set and a football, presented to the Indian Opinion Athletic Club".

The editor was a sports enthusiast as well I have post Script of the letter written to Shri Chhaganlal Gandhi, from Johannesburg, dated April 20, 1907, Gandhiji wrote "I am sending you three numbers of the Times of India. After you have seen and admired pictures. I want you to cut out Gaekwar, the Jam and the Cricket Team. We might one of these days want to reproduce these pictures as supplements and it would be better for you also to file any other picture you may come across and consider good enough for use".

Here is another piece of news item. Visitors at Phoenix, the International press was visited on Wednesday last, by Messrs. M.K. Gandhiji, H.O. Ally, Dawa d Mohamed, Omar Haji and Amod Johari, M.C. Anj Amelia, M.C. Anglia, Pacram Mohamed and H.L. Paul.
The various departments were inspected with interest and visitors expressed pleasure at what they saw.

Some of the headlines of the Indian Opinion will interest modern journalists. Both these were printed on March 31, 1906.

"IN THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT
SYMPATHY FOR INDIAN GRIEVANCE
INDIAN FOR TRANSYL MISSION".

A typography conscious editor would not put 'Parlia' and 'ment' like this.

SENSATIONAL
POTCHE FSTROOM CASE
DUTCHMAN BLACK MAIL AN INDIAN
Mr. JUSTICE WESSLIS ON JUSTICE AND COLOUR"

Examples, of a new other captions are given below from the Indian Opinion, dated 25, 1906. These were neither 'Cachy' nor would they provide a 'lead'.

"ANOTHER REGISTRATION CASE
MAGISTRATE'S CURIOUS DECISIONS"
THE INDIAN STRETCHER BLABER CORPS.
AND INTERESTING RECORD."

"Or' take the case of the following double column headlines
which appeared in the December 29, 1906 issue of the Journal:

"SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH COMMITTEE
COMPLIMENTARY BREAKFAST BY DELEGATES"

"LORD RLAY AND RAYMOND WEST ON THE
OBLIGATION OF THE EMPIRE
DELIGATES LETTERS : NO OPPOSITION
TO COLONISTS"

In spite of various checks adopted in the press, there
was spelling mistake in deligates, an unfortunate thing.
We should not judge journalistic efficiency by the twentieth
century standard. But still the insertion of 'break fast'
in a double colmn headline should atrocious now-a-days.

Gandhi had to get into dangerous journalistic
pitfalls known as "Printers' devil". One such interesting
episode was narrated by Mr. Henry S.L. Polak, Paul Kruger,
Ex-President of the South African Republic, died in July 1904 while in exile in Europe. His mortal remains were to be buried at Pretoria, Africa. Mr. Polak was to cover the funeral proceedings. He was a fastidious journalist and did not like errors in the Indian Opinion. He asked Gandhi to see the proof himself it was printed. Mr. Polak's opening sentence was "He is dead and buried," but the Indian Opinion published, "He is dead and burnt." Mr. Polak was shocked and annoyed and wrote to Gandhi immediately lest the mistake might create misunderstanding among the orthodox Boers. Gandhi, however, explained that the word "burnt" seemed natural to him, a Hindu, whose dead were habitually cremated.

Gandhi, was, in his letter of March 1907, advising Shri Chhaganlal: While reading the proofs, compare them with the original book. Do not depend for spelling etc. on the copy sent by me. Please send me the proofs before printing. Printing has to be done after deciding about the format, etc., of the book. I believe it is desirable to print off after composing as much material as we have types for. Types necessary for job work etc., should be kept apart."
Not only "printer's devil", the enthusiastic journalist had other troubles as well. In one of his Lectures in Hindu Religion at Johannesburg, Gandhiji referred to the spread of Islam and said that the majority of converts came from the lower classes. It created a stir among the local Muslims and many letters of protest were sent to the editor of Indian Opinion. He had to publish letters in the Gujarati Issue of the Indian Opinion on June 3, 1905 and June 17, 1905, with a view to apologizing and clarifying the objections raised. He was also misunderstood, while publishing a Viñāja sketch of prophet Mohammad. This had to be stopped because of protests from Muslim members of the Indian Community.

Gandhiji was reproducing biographies of great men and women of the World, through the columns of the Indian Opinion. His idea was to in spìte his fellow countrymen so that they could emìlate their examples" .... We hope that the readers of this journal will read their lives and follow them in practice and thus encourage us. We have suggested earlier that each one of our subscribers should maintain a file on Indian Opinion. We remind of it on this occasion."
The biographies were of people like Tolstoy, Lincoln, Mazzini, Elizabeth Fry, Florence Nightingale, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar.

Gandhiji committed a few mistakes while writing these biographies. In the life story of Abraham Lincoln he wrote that the assassin was torn to pieces by people who witnessed the dreadful deed, when he was shot dead in the special box at the theatre. In fact, the assassin, Mr. Booth, was killed in a barn which was set on fire by the soldiers in pursuit of him. In the biography of Washington he wrote that he was elected President for a second time in 1892-1893. In fact, it was in 1792-1793.

Similarly, in the life of Wat Tyler who was fighting against the unjust taxes imposed by the King of England, he wrote that "Wat Tyler lived in the 12th century." But he lived in the 14th Century.

Under the Caption
"THE REPUTATION,
A REMINDER"

The Indian Opinion carried a photograph of Gandhiji and the following news item in its issue of October 13, 1906.
"In connection with M.K. Gandhi's departure for England as one of the delegates for the Transvaal, it is of interest to recall the circumstances of his departure for India from Natal in 1901. At that time a Community of National and invitations were issued to the leaders of European community. Amongst the replies received was the following interesting letter from the late Sri John Robinson, at one time Prime Minister of the Colony of Natal:

I beg to thank you for your kind invitation to the meeting at the Congress Hall this evening (October 15, 1901). It would have given me great pleasure to have been present on the occasion of so well earned a mark of respect to our able and distinguished fellow citizen Mr. Gandhi, but, unfortunately, my state of health prevents me going out at night, and I am, for the present, debarred from taking part in any public function; so I must ask you kindly to excuse my inability to attend.

Not the less heartily do I wish all success to this public recognition of good work done, and the many services rendered to the community by Mr. Gandhi."

This is crude publicity. To bring in the ex-Prime Minister of Natal in a very round about way, was not
in good journalistic taste. The only excuse was that Gandhiji was at the time away in England.

Whatever might be the size, shape, content or policy of the paper, it was making a good headway in the realm of journalism. The Gope Angus' leading articles on the Indian Opinion was published in the Journal in its issue of January 5, 1907. It inter alia stated:

"They (Natal Indians) have an able organ, Indian Opinion, printed in English and Gujarati, and it is from Natal that the Champion of South African Indian interests mostly came".

Under a sub-heading: 'An Indian Poetess' - the Indian Opinion of March 2, 1907, reproduced the following paragraph from the Journal Indian People.

"The Ladies Conference at Calcutta brought to prominence a lady orator, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, already known as a poet of considerable distinction, Mrs. Naidu is a Bengali lady by birth and has married a Madras gentleman. She spoke without notes and made an impressive and most eloquent speech. It is further stated that she is not accustomed to speak in public. It is a very hopeful sign of the times that our
ladies are coming to the front and are taking active part in the great work of national reform. A gifted lady like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, with her persuasive and attractive eloquence, should be able to render important service to the women of India".

This was the first eulogistic reference made in public of Sarojini Devi whose friendship with Gandhiji last till death separated them.

Sgruggle against Registration ensured soon and the Indian Opinion became the mouth piece of this resistance movement. Its editorials struck a new note: "Amidst a whole heap of bad coins, if there is one true sovereign, the heap will be worth that the sovereign .... if you produce one civil resister of merit he will pull things through. Do not start the struggle ...... unless you have that stuff".

Satyagraha movement or passive resistance was lunched in reply to the South African Government's insistence on the registration of Indians and other Asians. Under this, all such people were to note down important physical identity marks and put thumb impression on the certificates. A date was fixed by which all Indians were to register their names, failing which they were to forfeit their right of residence and be liable to be fined or imprisoned. The Indian Opinion for the benefit of large number of Indians
translated the ordinance into Gujarati. There were meetings of protest against this Black Ordinance. The struggle continued for a long time with intermittent lull. Some sort of agreement was reached within the Government but the pledges of the Government were soon broken. The Indian Opinion of May 3, 1913 wrote: "In spite of the bill being rushed forward a stage further, we imagine that it will never reach the third reading stage. But it is well for passive resisters to keep themselves in readiness. It is well for passive resisters to keep themselves in readiness. It is to be hoped that, if the struggle revived the impending third campaign will be the purest, the last and the most brilliant of all.

We share the belief with Thoreau, that one true passive resistanc is enough to win victory to right. Right is on our side."

The Indian Opinion of September 20, 1913, wrote:

"Hitherto passive resisters have challenged arrest by crossing the Transvaal border. That is how, the present struggle too, has been commenced. We may, on this question of crossing of the border, at once say this method of resistance does not mean that we are asking for breaking of the provincial boundaries. On the contrary as soon as the struggle
ceases, those who have crossed the border from different provinces will return to the province of their domicile".

The struggle continued and streams of people joined Gandhiji in their fight to justice. Because of Gandhiji's earlier personal contract with the editors in England and India, there was widespread support for this movement.

Gandhiji was writing incessantly boosting up the morale of the Civil resisters. "During 10 years, that is until 1914, excepting the intervals of my enforced rest in prison, there was hardly an issue of Indian Opinion without an article from me", wrote Gandhiji. He was thrown in prison in 1908 and again in 1909.

The political situation in India was not bright either. Earlier in 1907, the Indian National Congress split up between the extremists and the moderates. The Morley - Min to Reforms in 1909 offered little to the Indians. The newspaper, Leader started publication under the guidance of national leaders. The Press Act of 1910, was passed empowering the Government to demand necessity from the Press.
The Satyaghraha struggle continued till 1914, when on Shri Ghokale's advice Gandhiji left South Africa, with his Phoenix Settlers, he reached India in the midst of World War-I.

The Satyagraha movement without the Indian Opinion, as Gandhiji admitted, would not have become a success. It awakened the Indians to their rights and privileges.

The paper was solely used for the movement. Directives to resisters were issued; news of successful boycott of Registration was published. The 'Weekly Diary' of the Indian Opinion was eagerly read by Indians; views of different aspects of the Satyagraha movement were displayed. The number of subscribers rose from 1,200 to 3,500. But the financial sting was still there.

In a letter to Sri Gokhale, April 25, 1909, Gandhiji wrote, "I gave you also the approximate summary of monthly expenses; office here £ 50, Office in London £ 40, Indian Opinion £ 50, distressed families £ 25. Expenditure on the Indian Opinion was like that on any other item during the Satyagraha movement."
In the same letter he wrote that the debt due to the Indian Opinion up to 20th instant was £ 1200. He ran the Indian Opinion "at a loss in the interest of the struggle," "I have devoted to the continuance of Indian Opinion and the establishment of Phoenix all my earnings during my last stay in South Africa, that is nearly £ 5,000."

Voteless Indian Settlers in Johannesburg were paid compensation if removed from the segregated areas. "The Municipality's officers were frequently so inadequate that the victims engaged Gandhi to take their claims to the appellate tribunal. He charged nominal fees and allowed the half the costs allowed by the tribunal to the rising expenses of Indian Opinion."

But he could bear it on without regrets. "It was never intended to be a commercial concern", he said. The paper was organized to meet the situation arising out of the Satyagraha movement.

A few works, it was arranged, would not join the struggle, but would run the paper instead. The size was reduced from 16 to 8 pages. It was brought out on Wednesdays instead of Saturdays, so as to catch the English Mail at Cape Town.
Gandhiji was giving indication of the shape of things to come. In his letter to Shri Maganlal Gandhi, dated November 27, 1909, written in Gujarati, he said: "Phoenix will be put to test now. Probably we may not get money from Johannesburg. Our pledge is that we shall bring out at least one page issue of Indian Opinion and distribute it among the people as long as there is even one person in Phoenix."

Within a week he again wrote to Maganlal Gandhi in Gujarati: "It is the duty of those who have devoted themselves of Phoenix to improve the lift there and do their best to develop Indian Opinion for through Indian Opinion, we have been imparting education and doing public good. We needed not be disheartened if some of us in Phoenix do not put in their best, waste our resources or are quarrelsome."

Immediately before the size of the Indian Opinion was changed, he wrote a letter to Mr. A.H. West on before December 19, 1909 saying: "The size of the Indian Opinion should be changed as suggested. No apology need be offered in the paper for it. The English Columners should be reduced. No leading matter of opinion given for the present except explanatory notes. All matters should be severely condensed. Energy should be devoted to the art of condensing. It may be divided into Passive Resistance, Natal notes, Cape notes etc. Reports of Bombay and other meetings may be considerably
shortened ..... The English columns then should simply give news of the disabilities throughout south India and about matters. We are interested in ....... The Gujarati column ought not to be reduced; but if the Gujarati subscribers fall off, even that may be reduced almost to any extent, you there, in Mr. Polak's and my absence, being the sole judge".

Though Gandhiji said that no apology need to be offered, the Indian Opinion of January 1, 1910, published the following under the heading "Ourselves".

"With the present issue, this journal appears under a somewhat changed dress. The size, too, has been reduced. The Transvaal struggle has put a very severe stain on our resources. It has now become too great for us to continue the old form and size. It is within the knowledge of most of our readers that our publication is not a Commercial Concern, but our capacity for the service of the Community to whose interests Indian Opinion is devoted is limited, and our limitation has necessitated the change the readers will notice in its appearance. We part very reluctantly by way of retrenchment within the cover whose colour was very specially selected. Though
the size has been reduced, we hope that we shall be able by means of condensation of give the same amount of information. Our readers who are interested, in the ideals we endeavour to promote can render useful service by finding subscribers for the journal which they may call their own. It is our desire to give more varied matter as our resources increases. It is, then, for the readers to say when they shall have a better service of news. The size of the paper was reduced still Gandhiji had the problem of finances. In his letter to Shri Maganlal dated January 20, 1910, Gandhiji wrote:

"It is desirable not to give more than a month's credit for Indian Opinion. You should only take a limited risk. Let the amount be debited to your account. It will not be deducted from your Current allowance. You should never take liberty for more than ten subscribers. Even that is, perhaps, too much. However, whatever liability you have taken upon yourself in the Cape Colony is binding on all as you did not known the new rule. The new rule is, I believe, very good, at least for the present."

"We will have to carry many (fresh) burdens; it is therefore, better to cut down these. This (not
allowing too much credit) seems to be the prevalent practice of newspapers. As people gradually get used to it. They will follow it of their own accord. We pay the license fee in advance because of compulsion, i.e. physical force. That we shall take the subscription in advance will be on the strength of soul force. That soul force consists in making Indian Opinion interesting and for that the only course open to us is to put in maximum effort. The subscriptions will then in automatically. I have no time now to dilate upon this."

The Gujarati edition of the Indian Opinion is its issue of September 4, 1912 published the following:

"It is more than seven years ago that this journal began to be, printed at Phoenix. We are now taking a step forwarded. So far the legal proprietor has been. Mr. Gandhi, but the ownership is not being transferred to (a board of) Trustees, and the objectives which will govern the management of Phoenix have been precisely laid down. We feel this is a step in the right direction and we are sure our readers will feel the same."
"The paper has never been a position to pay its way. It is here needless to go into the reasons for that. It, however, need to be recalled on this occasion that the paper would have been in dire straits, if Mr. Tata's generous help had not been drawn upon to meet its needs."

when the work decided to settle in Phoenix and start a journal there. It was expected that the income from it and the land would not only give them enough to live on but also enable them to put lay substantial savings, for they were to be the masters of whatever profit might accrue from the enterprise. Experience has shown that the assumption was incorrect. We realised that the Phoenix way of life could not be reconciled with monetary gain. And so, for the last several years, the Phoenix settlement has been worked on that basis.

"Our principal object was that while living by agriculture, we should give of our best in the service of the people and publish the paper for them. We have not so far succeeded in that aim."

We gave up job work many years ago. We now feel that we should also discontinue the practice of publishing
advertisements. We believed then that advertisements were a good thing to have but on reflection we see that the practice is wholly undesirable. Advertisements are inserted by people who are important to get rich, in order that they may gain over their rivals. They are also much in fashion these days that any and every kind of advertisement is published and paid for. This is one of the sorriest features of modern civilization, and for our part we wish to be rid of it. If however, we published non-commercial advertisements which serve a public purpose, free of charge, they would fill the entire number each time, so we shall only accept them against payment. Other advertisements, we shall stop publishing forthwith. As for advertisements which we have on hand, we shall try to negotiate with our clients and free ourselves of the commitments. We shall then be able to work more on the land and more effectively fulfil the main object of the Trust Deed which we publish in this issue.

"We believe that the proposed changes will enhance our capacity for public service. We also hope that we shall be able to publish worthier and more valuable (reading) matter in the journal. It has been our endeavour daily to add to the value as an instrument of moral education."
There are two, and only two, reasons for its existence: to strive to end the hardships suffered by Indians in this country and to promote moral education. The second purpose can be best served by our improving our way of life. That is why we are doing our best to eschew the commercial aspects of our work, such as jobbing and advertisement. Progressively as we live up to the ideals enumerated in the title deed, we shall be able to give readers more useful material, we want all Indians to help us in this."

The Phoenix Trust Deed was published in the Indian Opinion dated 14 September 1912. Under the title "ourselves", the following was published:

"The Trust Deed, which we publish in this issue and which is in course of registration makes a step towards in our work. Mr. Gandhi ceased to be the sole legal owner of the concern known as the International Printing Press, where this journal is printed. Nearly eight years ago we migrated to Phoenix, the idea being that the workers might be able to look more to the land for their sustenance than to the proceeds of the sole of Indian Opinion and the advertisements interested in it. During this period we have not
given that attention to the land which it was thought we should be able to give and we have certainly not been able to pay our way by means of agriculture, that the journal itself has not been self-supporting is a widely known fact. The assistance received by it from Mr. Tata's gift of 1909 enabled it to tide over a crisis in its career.

"We have also come to the conclusion that, consistently with our ideals, we could not accept advertisements for paying our way. We believe that the system of advertisements is bad in itself, in that it sets up insidious competition, to which we are opposed and often lends itself to misrepresentation on a large scale; and that, if we may not use, this journal for the purpose of supporting us entirely, we have no right to cater for and use our time in setting up advertisement. We have always used for discrimination and rejected many advertisements which we could not conscientiously take. Our friends and well-widhers, who have hitherto extended their support to us, will not, we hope; take it amiss if we discontinue the practice of inserting advertisements. The object
of issuing this paper is two fold; to voice and work to remove the grievances of the British Indians of South Africa, and to do educative work, by publishing matter of an elevating character we hope that our readers will appreciate our position and continue to give us their support, by subscribing to the paper."

There were more changes in the Gujarati edition of January, 4, 1913. The following information was given to the readers:

"In this issue will notice a few changes. We believe these to be an improvement; we have made them because we thought that, if the Journal was printed in two columns, instead of three, it would look better. It would (also) be more convenient if the articles had to be published in book form. Our purpose is to publish, from time to time, articles of permanent value so that readers who like to pressive copies can later have them bound into a volume. It is our intention to continue providing the same (reading) matter (as before) but in as short a form as possible. By so doing we will be able to fit in more material within the same space or even less. Beginning, this
time, we have reduced the number of Gujarati and English pages, but we wish to provide more information, though not more words within these pages. It is our hope to reduce the work of the composition while increasing that of the writers. "Our venture is more eight years old. We have published information about rates (and prices) of interest to merchants and have also discussed serious topics. Matter varying from four to twenty-four pages in length has appeared in the Gujarati Section of Indian Opinion. We hope to print, for the most part, writings of two kinds; those which will provide the community with full information, in so far as that is possible of the hardships, we suffer, and we will (also) consider and suggest remedies, secondly, those that deal with an ethic of Public Conduct or Contain, in essence thought of great men of this problem. We hope that Indian Opinion will this become as instrument of education".

In the Gujarati edition of the Indian Opinion of December 31, 1913, the following remarks were made:

"The Satyagraha campaign, as carried on this time and still continuing, has hardly a parallel in
history. The real credit for this goes to the Hindi and Tamil speaking brothers and sisters living in this country. Their sacrifice has been the highest of all. Some of them have even lost their lives; killed by the bullets of the white soldiers. As a tribute to their memory, we have decided to give Hindi and Tamil news in this paper. Some years ago, we used to bring out this paper in these two languages as well, but we had to discontinue the practice owing to some difficulties. These difficulties are not yet over. And yet, we resume publications in these languages for the duration of the struggle, that being in our judgement, the least that we must do, even at some inconvenience in ourselves, in honour of communities whose numbers have made such sacrifices in a struggle of this kind. It is not with a commercial motive that we are publishing in these languages. Whether or not to continue the practice after the struggle is over. We can only decide in the light of the circumstances then prevailing.  

Gandhiji left South Africa. The Indian Opinion continue to be published. In his absence it naturally, lost much of its weight.
Reference:

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