

## INDIAN OPINION IN SOUTH AFRICA: GANDHI'S QUEST FOR AN IMAGINED INDIANNESS

By

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**Abstract:** *The very idea of Mahatma Gandhi's newspaper Indian Opinion published from Durban, South Africa was symbolic of a constructed imagined nationality. The newspaper, experimental in a real sense, is often described as anti-commodity, copyright-free, slow-motion newspaper. It defied the common notions about a 'newspaper' which traditionally includes news stories, editorials, reports filed by outstation correspondents, analyses etc. Indian Opinion, printed once a week, was published in four languages: English, Gujarati, Tamil and Hindi. The present study analyses articles written by Gandhi in the Indian Opinion from June to December, 1903 and traces his idea of an Indian identity, transcending its linguistic and religious diversities. These articles provide a deep insight into his idea of Indianness — both civilizational and territorial. The idea of nationalism as an 'imagined political community' is pivotal here. An important notion in this idea of the imagined political community is that it is limited by finite boundaries.*

During his 21-year stay in South Africa from 1893 to 1914 Mahatma Gandhi endeavored to promote an idea of Indianness, replete with its diversities, and a disadvantaged position as a British colony. Most of his trademark political accomplishments — passive resistance, non-cooperation and non-violent resistance were developed during his South African stay.

Gandhi's first newspaper *The Indian Opinion* was formed in 1903 as a mouthpiece of the Natal Indian Congress. Before this at least two Indian newspapers were published. In 1898 the first Indian newspaper in South Africa — the *Indian World* was published by P.S. Aiyar. Three years later, in May 1901, *Colonial Indian News* was brought out from Pietermaritzburg. Initially this paper was in English, within three months of its publication in August 1901, it became bilingual

with a page in Tamil as well. However due to a poor response from readers and advertisers, the paper had to close down in 1903 (Mesthrie, 1997, pp. 100-101).

The very idea of Gandhi's newspaper *Indian Opinion* was a counter-argument against the mainstream notions of newspaper. Traditionally in early twentieth century, newspapers would have conventional news stories, editorials, opinion pieces and dispatches from correspondents in different cities and countries. *Indian Opinion*, on the other hand was an 'anti- commodity, copyright- free, slow- motion newspaper' (Hofmeyr, 2013, p. 4). To emphasize oneness in diversity, each edition of Gandhi's newspapers had pages in four prominent Indian languages: English, Gujarati, Tamil and Hindi — symbolizing unity among the north, west and the southern part of the country while at the same time making it accessible to the colonial rulers and to the larger public opinion in Britain through its use of English.

Apart from its unique multi-lingual character, there were a number of other important differences in the *Indian Opinion*. Unlike the standard newspaper, extracts from ethical texts and other philosophical discourses were given prominence. For Gandhi, the newspaper was an important instrument to emphasize the moral dimension of issues. As was his insistence on newspapers as important vehicles of knowledge. A remarkable feature of *Indian Opinion* was the summary of important concerns — culled from other newspapers, books, legal documents and other government records. It was initially published as a weekly and importantly it was a strictly not-for-profit venture. Also the target audience was not the average Indian but the literate elite, in effect the opinion leaders and influencers of the time. The 28-page *Indian Opinion* had ten pages of advertisements, three news pages each in Tamil and Hindi, five in Gujarati and seven pages in English in 1905 (Mesthrie, 1997, p. 113).

Mahatma Gandhi's tryst with journalism was as a freelance journalist during the Boer War, in October 1899 where he was a member of the Indian Ambulance Corps — along with 1100 fellow Indians of whom 800 were indentured labourers. After his duties as at the Ambulance Corps, which was fully funded by the Indian community in South Africa, he regularly filed dispatches from South Africa for *The Times of India*, which then a weekly. In one such dispatch, Gandhi wrote about an Indian woman fruit seller who donated her fruits for the soldiers landing at the Durban Wharf (Gandhi, 1960, p. 141).

### **Nationalism as Imagined Political Community**

This paper uses Benedict Anderson's formulation of nation as an imagined community — a socially constructed community imagined by people who regard themselves as members of that group. Anderson postulates that newspapers are a vital element in constructing a sense of community among widely dispersed people with little possibility of physical exchange. The feature of the newspaper which makes this possible is its ability to create concurrent influence (Anderson, 2006). There is a simultaneous reading of the newspaper among the dispersed community, fostering a sense of unity. People often separated by hundreds of miles, consume the same news and react to it almost at the same time. This experience is different from periodicals

which may be read at different times. The chances of simultaneous consumption are slim since unlike the newspapers, they have a larger shelf life.

The deconstruction of the ‘imagined political community’ quite straightforward. The community is *imagined* because the citizens of even a district of the smallest nation will never know about their fellow citizens. However in their minds, the image of their ‘communion’ is a very concrete idea (Anderson, 2006, p. 6).

Another important component of this idea is that it is ‘*limited*’ in the sense that it is defined by finite boundaries. With these finite boundaries are fellow citizens beyond which are others. To put it differently a separate imagined political community may lie beyond those finite boundaries (Anderson, 2006, p. 7).

Despite the inequalities and deprivations in the community, the nation is always perceived as a ‘deep, horizontal comradeship’ (Anderson, 2006, p. 7). This comradeship is so deep that people are willing to die for this community. Another important basis for this comradeship is shared cultural roots.

Right from its inception Gandhi in the columns of *Indian Opinion* chose not to identify Indians with their regional, caste or religious identities. They were not identified as Tamils Bengalis, Mohammedans, Hindus or Brahmans. He always identified them as British Indians (Mesthrie, 1997, p. 112).

The multilingual character of *Indian Opinion* presented its unique set of challenges. The supply of type in Indian languages was limited. Hindi and Tamil type had to be first set and printed and then reset to print the remainder text. It led to enterprising solutions. In Gujarati type available initially with Gandhi the character ‘a’ was very scarce. The typesetter had to send instructions to the editor to avoid using words that contained this letter (Hofmeyr, 2013, p. 51). Apart from the other pressing challenges, a major headache for the editor was to bring down the use of the character ‘a’ to a minimum.

### **Gandhi’s columns in Indian Opinion**

In the first issue of the *Indian Opinion* in June 1903, Gandhi set forth his political agenda: ‘Our countrymen in South Africa’ lack the ‘guiding influence of the institutions that exist in India, this deficiency would be made up by the *Indian Opinion*,’ he wrote. For that he solicited the help of the literate elite in India.

It will be our duty, so far as it may be in our power, to supply these wants (the past history of the nation) by inviting contributions from competent writers in England, in India (Gandhi, 1903).

In another article in the inaugural issue he advocated that the substantial number of Indians in British South Africa could not be ignored. The sheer number of Indians in South Africa would create an impact there for ‘good or evil,’ he wrote in the inaugural issue.

At the same time Gandhi was quick to point out that British South Africa that needed the indentured labourers more and could not afford to stop the immigration of Indian indentured

labourers. The reference was always to Indians in the plural and not to their regional sub-identities.

We say with all the earnestness we can command: stop the indentured immigration.. It would furnish a practical demonstration as to whether the Colony can or cannot dispense with such labour (Gandhi, *The Lion and the Lamb*, 1903).

Gandhi's columns also regularly invoked the pride in the Indian 'race'. An issue that agitated him was the order by the Transvaal government debarring Indians from voting for the municipal government. The ostensible reason was that Indians were not fluent in English or Dutch and also because they owned little property in Transvaal. In the third issue of the *Indian Opinion*, Gandhi reminded the colonial powers that Indians 'enjoyed municipal self-government long before even the Anglo-Saxon race' (Gandhi, *Is it Imperial or Emperial?*, 1903).

The construction of the 'Other' is vital for defining the boundaries, as seen earlier. In many of his articles, the other is often invoked. For example in an article he traces the 'trade jealousy' of the European traders leading to legislations to create obstacles for the Indian traders.

A concurrent thread in his articles is to highlight the problems of the Indian community as a whole, disregarding the regional differences. The unique characteristics of Indians were brought out, not always in glowing terms. The following article traces the distinctive fatality of the Indian community.

No amount of poverty would be a sufficient excuse for gross untidiness and offensive simplicity observable in many an Indian home. But the Indian settlers, though in many instances they have built substantial structures, have certainly not made it an elegant town. The reason is obvious. We lack the spirit of unity, co-operation, and a full measure of the spirit of sacrifice for the sake of the general good.

We look upon our troubles as a divine chastisement. If we would but learn the lessons that have to be learnt from our adversity, it will not have been lost upon us. We would emerge from the trial a community richer in social virtues, stronger in the justness of our cause, and, to take up the analogy we have used at the outset, with a far larger credit balance in our favour than we started with (Gandhi, *The Balance Sheet*, 1903).

Taking the sense of fraternity to a more tangible level, Gandhi petitioned the South African colonial government to adopt the usage of 'principal Indian languages' — at least on a limited scale. In the Immigration Restriction Bill brought by the government, it was mandatory for all immigrants to pass an educational test. Gandhi asked the government to recognize the Indian languages for this purpose. He offered to ask the government to withdraw the concession if it was seen that 'more than a fair number of Indians are able to avail themselves of the new test' (Gandhi, *The Immigration Restriction Bill*, 1903).

## **The National Imagination**

In an early article, the metaphor Gandhi used for the country was that of ‘Cinderella’. Suggesting that the nation had taken on all the responsibilities as well as it could, even giving up her own share which she always did with an ungrudging spirit, she was always discriminated against. However when it came to partake of the glories of the empire she always ended up deprived.

Is India to take her full share of the burden only, and never receive or participate in the glory of the privileges of the Empire (Gandhi, *The Cinderella of the Empire*, 1903)?

The reference to ‘countrymen’ in his articles was always in the sense of one single community spread across the provinces in South Africa. The ‘spoken flashback’ narrative built by Gandhi was a clarion call to the shared values and strengths of the imagined community separated by distance but bound together by common cultural roots. He exhorted in a column about the Indians in Transvaal — ‘it will be exactly these troubles and worries which would show whether they are able to come out of them with credit to themselves, and whether they possess the virtues of patience and fortitude which have often been claimed by us for British Indians’ (Gandhi, *On Trial*, 1903).

Racial stereotyping was common in early twentieth century South Africa. An important area, often overlooked is the resentment of the native population to the Indian immigrants. White landowners preferred to lease their land to Indians on rent since they had more cash compared to the local Africans. Indians had easier access to credit too. Also the Africans perceived Indians to be responsible for pushing up the price of land and causing distress (Bhana & Vahed, 2005). In a petition to Viceroy on July 14, 1884 Doorasamy Pillai on behalf of the traders and shopkeepers objected to Indians being arrested by the Black constables who treated them with ‘great cruelty, using undue violence.’ By 1900 racial antagonism became so evident that the Africans were called *kaffirs* by the Indians who in turn were referred to as ‘coolies’ or ‘amakulas’ by the Africans. (Bhana & Vahed, 2005).

The national imagination is visible in many of Gandhi’s writings in the *Indian Opinion*. For instance, in an article about the Potchefstroom Indians a simple congratulatory message to them was also emphasizing oneness through the ceremony he performs — of acknowledging the Indian presence in far off territories — this ceremony is repeated by thousands of other faceless Indians, about whose identity he may not be aware (Gandhi, *Potchefstroom Indians*, 1903)

Reference to a culture and ethos distinct from Europeans was an important theme of Gandhi’s ideas of Indian nationalism. In fact in many of his articles Gandhi explicitly appealed to the virtues of the ‘model Indian’

Every Indian, therefore, should consider it his duty to make a decided effort towards dispelling the existing prejudice by spreading correct information with reference to the habits of the Indian community as well as its aspirations. The best way to do it is for each and every one of us to endeavour to live the life of a model Indian. What that means is known to everyone who knows anything at all about India, and ought to be known to every Indian child (Gandhi, *An Eye Opener*, 1903).

The invocation to the 'universal-imperial' and 'particular national' too was pronounced fairly regularly. The position of British Indians in an offshore colony and the discrimination he had to face on account of his 'Indianness' find regular place in his columns. 'Seriously, we do not understand why, whenever it is the Indian who is concerned, the proposal is always to adopt any but the legitimate course...Secondly, in what way is he going to be an objection, if he puts up a structure in keeping with the bye-laws and the surroundings? (Gandhi, Greytown Local Board, 1903). The social cleavages among the Indian immigrants were immense. In his writings Gandhi made distinct efforts to look beyond the fragmentations, appealing to interests that transcended the tangible.

That the interests of all the divisions are absolutely identical cannot be gainsaid. That being so, it is plain enough that our duty lies in doing away with any such prejudices. It is also incumbent on every Indian not merely to be satisfied with having made sufficient to feed and clothe himself and his family; he must be prepared to put his hands deep into his pocket for the public weal, (Gandhi, The Uses of Adversity, 1903)

The idea of Indianness was distinctly secular in his columns. He made every attempt to highlight the issues of Indian Muslims and their concerns in South Africa. In a lengthy piece in the columns of Indian Opinion he focused on the issue of the discriminating Boer law prohibiting the ownership of land by Indians as a result of which a land bought for the purpose of constructing a mosque could not be transferred to the Indian Muslims.

The same difficulty has been experienced in Johannesburg with reference to the Johannesburg Mosque, but here the need is not so great, as the seller is not in the same position as the seller at Pretoria. It is, therefore, hoped that Mr. Chamberlain will be pleased to induce the Government to grant the transfer (Gandhi, Indian Trade Licences in the Transvaal, 1903).

Gandhi's role as the multilingual Indian leader speaking on behalf of the dispersed community is brought forth time and again in his articles. In one such article he exhorted the authorities to allow Indians to settle in 'decent accessible sites'.

Invite Indians to co-operate with you, and you will find that a large number would, of their own accord, gravitate to these sites. Anyhow, it is an experiment worth trying (Gandhi, More light on the Indian Question, 1903).

The reading of nationalism is genealogical in many senses, as a continuity of history. In the case of Indianness it was cultural, historical and territorial roots. The pride in imaginatively associating Indians settled elsewhere and their achievements is quite apparent in his columns. Talking about the exemplary work of Indians in Mauritius he says: it owes its present position to Indian enterprise, and that, but for Indian labour, it would very probably have been a howling wilderness. The critics are unable to point to a time when, without the Indian, the island was in a better condition (Gandhi, Indian Labour and Mauritius, 1903).

The notion of Indians as a community, despite the prevailing inequality and even exploitation and the absence of any tangible short-term benefits accruing out of the identity, the nation is



always conceived as a 'deep, horizontal comradeship'. In an article disparaging compulsory repatriation of Indians, Gandhi voices the 'the universal Indian sentiment' to suggest that there is not in South Africa a free Indian who would 'agree to buy better treatment at the expense of his indentured countrymen'. Acknowledging the difference between the free Indian who can look after himself and that of the indentured laborer, Gandhi advocates for better treatment of the indentured labour.

But the indentured Indian, even as it is, is practically helpless. He comes from India in order to avoid starvation. He breaks asunder all the ties, and becomes domiciled in Natal in a manner that the free Indian never does (Gandhi, *Compulsory Repatriation*, 1903).

Going back to Anderson, nationalism has to be understood by aligning it, not with allegiance to consciously held political ideologies, but with 'the large cultural systems that preceded it' (Anderson, 2006, p. 12). This reference to cultural roots is found in many of his early writings:

We reproduce portions of it for the edification of our South African readers, both European and Indian. The former will be able to realise what Indian art means, and also that India, as is often believed in South Africa, is not a place dotted merely with huts inhabited by savages. To the Indians who have never been in India, it would be a matter of national pride and satisfaction that the enlightened potentate of Mysore is bent on encouraging Indian art, and on reviving it in a most practical form (Gandhi, *Indian Art*, 1903).

The idea of a sociological organism moving through homogeneous, empty time is a precise metaphor of the idea of the nation, according to Anderson. Most citizens of the nation have little or no idea of the activity of others. But they have complete confidence in the steady, simultaneous activity of their fellow citizens. Drawing on the collective contribution to the British Empire in India, Gandhi highlighted the strength of the imagined community even though the suzerainty of India was beholden to the colonial power. This highlighting of the strength of the community is a powerful tool to demonstrate the existence of the imagined community.

In 1875, the whole of the Perak Expedition was fitted out by India. The Afghan War of 1878 and 1879 claimed from 60,000 to 70,000 men. In 1882, the Egyptian Expedition drew on India for five infantry regiments, three cavalry regiments, two companies of engineers, and two batteries of artillery. The expeditions for the Soudan and Suakin in 1885 and 1896 respectively were formed entirely in India. In all but one instance, India paid all the ordinary expenses. During the Afghan War, India paid £18,000,000 as against £5,000,000 paid by Great Britain, and for the Egyptian Expedition, India not only paid the ordinary expenses, but £800,000 besides for extraordinary expenses (Gandhi, *India's Service to the Empire*, 1903).

Gandhi's columns kept track of the activities of the imagined community spread worldwide. He expressed deep delight at Indian Associations like the one founded in Australia, which he regarded as a healthy sign that the British Indians, 'who have settled in different parts of the world, are banding themselves in order to resist any attempt to curtail their rights as subjects of

the King-Emperor'. The fact that the Indians could 'secure the active co-operation of some influential Europeans' also was a matter of satisfaction for him. It also supports our contention of the duality between the imperial reality and an imagined nationality (Gandhi, British and Indian Empire League of India, 1903). The pride in the indispensability of Indian labor is reflected in this article:

During that year, sixteen vessels — eleven from Madras and five from Calcutta — landed 4,373 Indians, 2,940 being men, and 1,069 being women. There were, during that time, 18,000 applications, and 1,902 applications undealt with for the year 1901. At the end of the year 1902, therefore, according to the report, there was an unsupplied balance of 17,500 men (Gandhi, Indentured Labour from India, 1903).

In an article in October 1903, he provides a delightful anecdote of an Indian witness who did not remove his boots and head-dress in the presence of the judge. His interpreter regarded it an insult of the judge. The judge ordered an inquiry into what constituted respectful behavior in court. He was informed that the custom in India is not to remove the head-dress or the boots when the parties are dressed either wholly or partly in the Indian costume; 'that is to say, if the head-dress is Oriental, then it is not to be taken off, but the shoes or boots have to be taken off in accordance with the Oriental practice if they are of Indian make' (Gandhi, What Constitutes Respect to the Court, 1903).

Even in the case of the edict of the Transvaal administration ordering the relocation of the marketplaces used by the Indian traders, the reference by Gandhi was to the collective identity of Indians and not just to the traders — mostly Gujaratis. The argument was that Indians in South Africa were of limited means. It was not just the traders but the entire Indian community which was held up to scorn and contempt since they were forced to live in shanties, 'although the situation will have been not at all of his creation, but of the Government's' (Gandhi, British Indians in the Transvaal, 1903).

In some articles, the condition of Indians was compared to that of the Europeans, who almost always had the better deal. In November 1903, he wrote 'whereas nearly 28,000 permits have been issued to Europeans between January and October, less than a 10,000 permits have been issued from the declaration of peace up to now to the British Indians... With the exception of perhaps a few dozen British Indians, all who have received permits have been refugees' (Gandhi, The White League and British Indians, 1903).

An important area, often overlooked is the resentment of the native population to the Indian immigrants. White landowners preferred to lease their land to Indians on rent since they had more cash compared to the local Africans and also had easier access to credit. Also the Africans perceived Indians to be responsible for pushing up the price of land and causing distress (Bhana & Vahed, 2005). Racial stereotyping was common. In a petition to Viceroy on July 14, 1884 Doorasamy Pillai on behalf of the traders and shopkeepers objected to Indians being arrested by the Black constables who treated them with 'great cruelty, using undue violence.' By 1900 racial antagonism became so evident that the Africans were called kaffirs by the Indians who in turn



were referred to as 'coolies' or 'amakulas' (Bhana & Vahed, 2005). The Indians and Africans were initially defined by their boundaries by distinguishing themselves from the other.

The Indian Opinion became a mouthpiece of the Indian community even with respect to answering charges leveled against the community in other South African newspapers. For example the East Rand Express had devoted considerable space regarding the purchase by an Indian of a piece of land in the East Rand district. The periodical argued that Indians were not legally allowed to purchase land in the district.

We may, however, remind our contemporary of one very material fact, namely, that the land in question was bought in a perfectly *bona-fide* manner ... The Indian, therefore, bought the property, and the white man sold it, under the full belief that the transfer would be registered. Indeed, it was even submitted to the Registrar for registration (Gandhi, Indians and 'The East Rand Express', 1903).

An article about Dadabhai Naoroji, the first Asian to be a British MP, in the United Kingdom House of Commons between 1892 and 1895 is illustrative of the efforts of Gandhi, not only to trace back references to India as a territory but also the values that defined the nation. Gandhi defined the territorial boundaries of India from 'the Hindukush to Cape Comorin and from Karachi to Calcutta' and the defining values of Indian identity:

...though a Parsi, Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians and all revere him just as strongly as the followers of Zoroaster. He has sacrificed for the cause of India ease and luxury, and has imposed upon himself a long exile. He has devoted his wealth also to the cause. His is the purest type of patriotism and comes from a sense of duty to the motherland ...The land which is capable of producing a Dadabhai has every reason to hope for the best in the long run (Gandhi, The Grand Old Man of India, 1903).

In yet another article, he urges that the Indian question in South Africa is one of the few question which are totally above party politics and about which there is no difference of opinion (Gandhi, The National Congress and Indians in South Africa, 1903).

In a lengthy answer to Lord Harris who had written about the ill effects of the caste system in India, and derogatory references to what was known as the coolie class, Gandhi explicates on the virtues of Indian cultural roots. He argued, it was possible in India for the lowest class to rise to the highest level by 'patience and perseverance'. Many Indians by virtue of their hard work had risen to a very respectable position from the 'coolie classes.'

Is it not a fact that the knowledge that, on their regaining freedom, they are likely to compete in trade and other businesses with the Europeans is the cause for insisting on compulsory repatriation? Would it not be a sad reflection on the Government if it were true that the Indian miners would receive better treatment in the Transvaal than they would in India? And is not His Lordship aware that, no matter what may be the shortcomings of the higher castes in India, they do not for their own selfish ends resort to a modified form of slavery? (Gandhi, Lord Harris and Indian Labour, 1903).

In a year-end stock taking of the ambitious programme of the Indian Opinion, Gandhi reaffirmed that they 'endeavoured to observe most scrupulously, namely, never to depart from the strictest facts and, in dealing with the difficult questions that have arisen during the year, we hope that we have used the utmost moderation possible under the circumstances'.

The familiar invocation to the 'universal-imperial' and 'particular national' too was repeated in the article. The Indian Opinion wanted to serve the community, while at the same time supporting the Empire.

We believe in the righteousness of the cause, which is in our privilege to espouse. We have an abiding faith in the mercy of the Almighty God, and we have firm faith in the British Constitution (Gandhi, Last year's stock-taking, 1904).

The 'revolutionary vernacularizing thrust of capitalism' was given impetus by other factors which contributed directly to the rise of national consciousness (Anderson, 2006, p. 39). The spread of the print culture in India further strengthened this linguistic awareness often defined by distinct territorial boundaries. However rather than each of these languages giving rise to separate national identities, these regional identities were subsumed under an overarching national identity. This despite the fact that in the territorial expanse bounded by 'the Hindukush to Cape Comorin and from Karachi to Calcutta,' was not defined by a single religious identity. A remarkable similarity of modern nationalism with the colonial nationalism is the 'isomorphism' between their territorial stretches. In the colonial era, the territory was basically an imperial administrative unit (Anderson, 2006, p. 112). For the British, Indian boundaries were an administrative necessity. For Gandhi, through his columns, the territorial boundaries were incidental. The binding force was a shared history, culture and ethos.

The reference to a modern Indian identity is unique in many ways. The presence of a sacred language and religious references, central in Anderson's conceptualization of nationalism are not relevant in the Indian case for a number of reasons. There were diverse religions, languages and ethnicities. No single language and religion underlined the national identity, as was the case in many modern nations. A majority of Indian immigrants in countries like South Africa were poor illiterate labourers, speaking different languages and following different religions. Some were traders and travelers. The imperial powers had no interest in fostering a national identity, other than that for administrative reasons among Indians. In this backdrop of multiple significations, it was remarkable that the literate elite could create a sense of belonging to an imaginary community in a distant land. Through the columns of Indian Opinion nationalism, was defined by cultural artifacts of a distinct kind. The philosophical underpinnings of situating an Indian identity distinct from the South African natives and also from the European population in South Africa are grounded on the cultural roots and a longing for the past. The sense of belonging is based not just on the territorial boundaries of the Indian nation but also on the unique value-system which had charted a very distinct path from that of the West. For Gandhi the challenges of fostering a distinct Indian identity in South Africa, provided opportunities for reaffirming the national consciousness.

The Indian community has got a unique opportunity of showing the best that is in it. By an effort in the right direction, it can clear the Augean stables, by running the powerful stream of public opinion through them (Gandhi, An Opportunity for the Indians, 1903).

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