

Indian Opinion

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EDITORIAL NOTICES.

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CORRESPONDENCE.—Letters and other communications should be written on one side of the paper only. When articles or "Correspondence" are signed with the writer's name or initials, or with a pseudonym, or are marked "Communicated," the Editor must not necessarily be held in agreement with the views therein expressed. In such instances, insertion only means that the matter or point of view is considered of sufficient interest and importance to warrant publication. Space being a consideration, correspondents are requested to be brief and to the point. Letters should be addressed:—The Editor, "Indian Opinion," Phoenix, Natal.

Indian Opinion

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26TH, 1908.

The Year's Work.

THE year that is now closing has been full of tribulation for British Indians throughout South Africa. They have suffered as, perhaps, few communities in civilised lands are called upon to suffer. The only thing that they have apparently been spared has been actual physical violence on the part of their oppressors, and even this has occurred in individual instances. But, on the other hand, there have been not a few gleams of sunshine through the rifts in the clouds. There have been many occasions for rejoicing and many a valued opportunity for taking stock of the communal position.

The year commenced, as it promises to end, with the sounds of warfare. Early in January, the principal Transvaal leaders were arrested and many of them were imprisoned. Nearly two hundred Indians and several Chinese were in gaol at the end of the month when, owing to the concurrence of various circumstances and influences, a compromise was arrived at with the Government, whereby voluntary registration was accepted by General Smuts, who, in return, promised to repeal the Asiatic Act if registration were satisfactorily completed. The commencement of registration was marred by the unfortunate assault upon Mr. Gandhi as he was proceeding to the registration office. Voluntary registration continued until the middle of May, whereafter suspicions were aroused that the Government did not intend to fulfil their part of the compromise. What followed is too recent to need detailed recapitulation—the Pretoria interviews, the revised instructions to licensing officers, the Aswat application, the re-commencement of pas-

sive resistance, the burning of registration certificates, the watching of the Natal border, the Sorabji incident, the arrival, arrest, and imprisonment of the Natal leaders, the Pretoria Conference and the subsequent Johannesburg meeting with the Government, breach of faith in the matter of Mr. Sorabji's deportation, the break-up of negotiations, the passing of the Validation Act, the hawkers sent to gaol by hundreds, the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi, Imam Abdul Cadir Bawazeer and the leaders, the Barber-ton arrests, imprisonments, deportations, re-entries, re-arrests and re-imprisonments the Mass Meetings, the Supreme Court Appeal, and the recent happenings—it is all too tragic for words. False imprisonment, wrongful arrest, unlawful deportations, fearful gaol hardships due to stupid regulations, heartless lack of discrimination on the part of the Government—it is all very dark and dreary to look back upon.

But certain details stand out brightly amidst the general gloom. There is the striking enthusiasm of a growing band of European sympathisers, who have now formed a strong and influential Committee. The names of Hosken, Cartwright, Doke, Phillips, Pollock, Howard, Dallow, and many others will be names to conjure with wherever Indians retain any sense of the fitness of things. Another item on the credit side is the magnificent self-sacrifice of the community as a whole, and of the Natal leaders especially. There is, again, the fact that at last the Colony is beginning to realise something of the true inwardness of passive resistance, and to appreciate the principles for which Indians have all along been striving. Then, again, Indians are admitted, by Lord Selborne, General Smuts, and Mr. Chamney, to have honourably fulfilled their promise to register voluntarily. There is the growing sense of self-respect and self-dependence on the part of the community. There is the splendid advocacy of the London Committee, in season and out of season, headed by Lord Amphill, Sir Mancherji Bhownaggee, Sir Charles Bruce, and Mr. Ritch. There is the knowledge that the Imperial Government, that false friend, has now come out as an open antagonist to the just claims of the Transvaal Indians, an advantage whose magnitude it is difficult to gauge. There is the knowledge that the Transvaal Government has played into the hands of the passive resisters by almost inconceivable maladministration and an almost brutal disregard for humanity of treatment. So much, then, for the Transvaal.

Southern Rhodesia has, so far, not

had the infliction of an Asiatic Ordinance, though an attempt has been made to induce the Imperial authorities to give their assent to such a re-actionary measure.

Very little has happened at the Cape, where the community seems to be unorganised and apparently no unhappy in its condition of apathy. A Commission of Inquiry into the Licensing and Immigration question was appointed, but the local community failed to realise its obligations and responsibilities.

In Natal, the Government has outdone all previous efforts. It has wasted public time and money in passing stupid and detestable anti-Asiatic licensing measures which, by a lucky chance, have been disallowed by the Imperial Government. The Unoccupied Land Tax Act, directed largely against Indian ownership and occupation of land, has however, received the Royal assent. There has been the incident of Natal acting as the Transvaal's policeman and the rebuff at the hands of the Supreme Court. There has been the recent attack upon Indian higher education. The one important gain is the inquiry into the position of the indentured Indian immigrants and the whole problem of this class of immigration into the Colony.

The past year, then, has had its sorrows not unmixed with happy moments. The community, generally speaking, has found itself. It has realised something of its inmost being. It has learnt what it is striving for, and has set up a lofty ideal.

The Utmost for the Highest

"Life is a mission; duty, therefore, its first law. In the comprehension of that mission and full fulfilment of that duty lie our means of progress.

Each of us is bound to purify his own soul as a temple; to free it from egotism; to set before himself, with a religious sense of the importance of the study, the problem of his own life; to search out what is the most striking, the most urgent need of the men by whom he is surrounded; then to interrogate his own faculties and capacity, and resolutely and unceasingly apply them to the satisfaction of that need. . . . Young brothers, when once you have conceived and determined your mission within your soul, let naught arrest your steps. Fulfill it with all your strength; fulfil it whether blessed by love or visited by hate.

You are cowards, unfaithful to your own future, if, in spite of sorrows and delusions, you do not pursue it to the end."

Thus wrote Joseph Mazzini, in 1848, not as a preacher merely, but as a man of action who was undergoing the sorest trials of his life, and had already tested in his own life the truth of what he wrote. We place those thoughts

before our young Indians, who are taking an active part in the struggle that is going on in the Transvaal. Its national, its imperial, importance is daily becoming more and more evident. The difficulty of the task, too, is daily forcing itself upon Indians. They are to hope for and expect nothing from the Imperial Government; nothing, indeed, from the local Government. Both will do what is required of them *when we have done what is required of us*. Hence the hope lies in ourselves. The struggle is for a sacred principle. And for it, in spite of all difficulties, we must be prepared to die if need be. We have chosen our remedy. It is that of fighting Evil by opposing to it Good; to avoid communal suffering involved in the deprivation present and prospective of our manhood by voluntary personal suffering. Such suffering is a process of purification. It involves a continual rejection of the grosser elements and a cultivation of the finer in us. Thus viewed, prolongation of the struggle need not dismay us, we may even welcome it. If we do not succumb to its pressure we shall rise out of it all the stronger and fresher. Victory, then, consists, not in obtaining what we want, but in having suffered for the attainment of our object. The fulfilment will not be victory; it will be merely an indication that we have fought to the end; in other words, that we have proved ourselves to be *men*, not cowards. Thus, our mission then is not so much the gaining of what we are justly entitled to, but to do our duty by fighting for it.

For those who recognise this simple truth, there is no such thing as defeat. Every man has it in his power to suffer to the uttermost. And this is the meaning of passive resistance. It never fails. We may fail because we may be found wanting and may not rise superior to our selfishness. We hope, therefore, that young Indians who are engaged in the Transvaal struggle will cherish the inspiring words of Mazzini, and fulfil the mission undertaken by them "whether blessed by love or visited by hate, and "in spite of sorrows and delusions."

IN A NOT UNSYMPATHETIC LEADING article, which we publish elsewhere in this issue, the *Natal Witness* dealt, on the 14th instant, with the passive resistance struggle in the Transvaal. It is pleasing indeed, to find that passive resistance itself is not challenged, and that credit is given to the passive resisters for a *bona fide* agitation. There appear, however, to be one or two misapprehensions on the part of our contemporary, with which we should like to deal briefly. The first is that there seems to be an impression that what the Transvaal Indians are asking for

is the open door. This, of course, is as far as possible from the truth. The Transvaal Indians have all along agreed that future immigration should be most rigidly restricted by their white fellow-colonists. All that they are asking for is that the door should be kept open for an infinitesimal number of highly-cultured Indians to minister to their higher needs. It is possible that these highly-cultured men will not come, but the principle that is being striven for is that there should be no race test, and even though only one man came in ten years, he should come in as a matter of right and not as an act of grace. This also removes the second cause of misunderstanding, that of trade competition. The cultured men who would thus enter would certainly not be trade competitors with Europeans. They would, in every case, be professional men or university graduates, who would derive their livelihood from services performed to their own community. No sane man can possibly deny the right of any community to promote its highest welfare through the energies of the most cultured members of its race, and we are quite sure that, on reconsideration, our contemporary will agree that there are not many points of difference between it and ourselves.

Pickets Arrested

Leaders Before the Court

Upon several Indians, it is said, proceeding to the registration office on Von Brandis Square yesterday morning [the 18th inst.] in order to comply with Act 36 of 1908, the office was immediately picketed by "passive" resisters, says the *Transvaal Leader*. The police were sent for, and soon after their arrival they arrested four members of the picket, amongst whom was C. K. T. Naidoo. The places of the four men were taken by four others, who, in turn, were arrested. A crowd of Indians collected; further arrests were made, and eventually about 27 Indians were charged with having refused to produce registration certificates and to give signatures and impressions of thumbs and fingers.

Later in the day the arrested Indians were removed for trial to Government Square. The news of their detention had got abroad, and when Mr. Gandhi arrived to conduct the defence he was escorted by about 200 compatriots.

The first quartette charged consisted of C. K. T., L. R. and L. D. Naidoo and A. V. Chetty. Pleas of "Not guilty" were entered.

Mr. Samuels, who prosecuted for the Crown, said that the charge was on the lines of that in the Randeria case. The circumstances were the same, and the question was whether the Crown should proceed pending the result of Randeria's appeal.

Mr. Jordan: Why have they been arrested?

Mr. Samuels: They have been arrested upon instructions received and, it is alleged, they have been acting as pickets and causing trouble amongst Asiatics who are desirous of complying with the law. I make this statement, *ex-parte*, and possibly it is not correct.

Mr. Jordan said that such conduct, if report were true, was most serious. The statement seemed "to lend the colour of truth to statements upon oath made before me by Indians to the effect that they are frightened to register because of these pickets. Many of the men who have been charged before me have told me that they have been terrorised, and now I begin to believe their stories."

Mr. Gandhi: If these men in the dock have been terrorising Indians anxious to comply with the law, surely there is some section amongst the Statutes for the contravention of which they can be charged. But why charge them under this section of Act 36 of 1908? The watching will go on so long as the struggle continues. If these men have been terrorising others, then they should be punished, but my learned friend, Mr. Samuels, says he hardly credits the story.

Mr. Jordan: Men upon oath have told me that they have been terrorised by compatriots.

Mr. Gandhi: Some people will say anything.

Mr. Jordan: And I'm afraid it will continue so long as your friends are permitted to do what you glibly term "watching." (Laughter.)

Mr. Gandhi: Anyway, these four men can't be charged under this section, because there is no Registrar of Asiatics according to law.

Mr. Jordan: Oh! Then what's the use of your picketing if Indians cannot get registered?

Mr. Gandhi: We only want to let those who forget their manhood know that there is such a thing as ostracism.

Mr. Jordan: I don't think it is ostracism. I think it is a wholesome fear of incurring grievous bodily harm.

Mr. Gandhi: Then 500 would not have registered and been living upon the best of terms with the rest of the community and be supplying part of the sinews of war to-day.

Mr. Jordan: All right; the accused are remanded *sine die*.

Mr. Gandhi: If there is any terrorism brought into play, if it is brought to the notice of the officers of the Association, they will do all they can to help the Government.

The other Indians under arrest were similarly remanded.

INDIAN MAIL. For Bombay per S.S. *Reichstag*, until 2-30 p.m., Tuesday, the 29th inst.

Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce

Reply to Indian Chambers

The following has been addressed by the Secretary of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce to the Chambers of Commerce of Bombay and Madras:—

Asiatic Registration

Dear Sir,—I am directed by the Executive Committee of this Chamber to thank you for the courteous terms of the enquiry which you have addressed to my Chamber as to the present difficulties relating to the Asiatic residents in the Transvaal.

At the outset I am to point out that the immediate questions in dispute must be considered with due regard to the whole history of the immigration of Asiatics into the Transvaal, and of the results to the people of this Colony.

As you are no doubt aware, during the time of the late South African Republic, the British in the Transvaal, supported by the Imperial Government, objected to Indians being entirely excluded, and at that time a large number were allowed to settle here. The laws then in force applied only to those within the Transvaal, and imposed no restrictions on their immigration.

After the conclusion of hostilities a Peace Preservation Ordinance was promulgated, under which (with certain exceptions) no person, European or Asiatic, could enter the Transvaal without a permit; and the granting or withholding of such permits was reserved for the discretion of the Governor, under whom was the Chief Secretary for Permits.

Applications for permits were received in great numbers from Asiatics desirous of entering the new Colony, and as a result of the influx every trading district of the Colony was invaded by them, although there was already an adequate supply of stores; and it was evident that if no check was applied serious losses would be sustained by those who had previously established businesses here, and that the development of the Transvaal as a suitable colony for the establishment of a successful community according to European conditions was gravely endangered. Representations to this effect were addressed from all parts to Lord Milner, and also to Mr. Chamberlain, when he visited South Africa in 1902, and the Government found it necessary to adopt a definite line of policy in regard to Asiatic immigration. The decision then arrived at by the High Commissioner was that such immigration must be restricted to those Asiatics who had acquired domicile in the Transvaal before the out-break of war. It may here be at once stated that this decision embraces the general feeling and desire of Europeans in the Transvaal, and that all subsequent

legislative and administrative action has been actuated by that principle, whatever modifications may have been introduced and whatever defects may have crept in.

In endeavouring to deal with the position by the administration of the Peace Preservation Ordinance, however, many difficulties were experienced. The registers kept under Law 3 of 1885 were nearly all lost during the war, and the other documents available afforded no proof of identity—in fact, these were also freely sold or passed from one to another. Out of 12,543 registrations of Indians, Chinamen, etc., effected between May, 1903 (when registration commenced), and December, 1906, only 4,144, or 33 per cent., were in respect of applicants producing documents accepted as valid. But meanwhile the influx of Asiatics with or without permits was continuing, and the absolute necessity of providing effective means of registration was more and more strongly impressed upon the Government and people of the Transvaal.

The Crown Colony Government and Legislative Council repeatedly sought for the necessary power to legislate, but the Colonial Office considered that such power should only be given to an elected Parliament.

So urgent was this matter deemed, however, that immediately on the assembly of the present Parliament, in 1907, the Asiatic Law Amendment Act and the Immigrants Restriction Act were introduced and passed. It was with regard to this legislation that the agitation on the part of the Asiatic community reached such an acute stage.

The legislation was resented by the Asiatics, who combined (under what is known as the passive resistance movement) in refusing to register thereunder. In order to vindicate the law some of the leaders of this movement were prosecuted and imprisoned, but during their detention in January last they made an offer to the Government to register if they might do so voluntarily, if the penalties under the Act requiring such registration were not enforced against them, and if finger-prints were dispensed with in the case of educated or well-known Indians.

In an endeavour to bring about an amicable settlement of the difficulty the Government accepted this offer, and promised to seek Parliamentary ratification of such registration. The general feeling here then was that the whole difficulty was satisfactorily settled.

In August last Parliament passed the Asiatic Registration Amendment Bill to validate the voluntary registrations, and this was sanctioned by the Imperial Government on 9th September. The passing of the amending legislation was, however, followed by the present unfortunate agitation.

Mr. Gandhi and his compatriots apparently base their continued op-

position on what they contend to be a breach of faith on the part of the Government; firstly, in not repealing the Act of 1907; in not making specific provision for further immigration in respect of educated Indians (professional men, etc.).

In regard to the first of these points, if you will refer to the Blue-books (extracts from which have appeared in the press) you will see that the correspondence between the Transvaal Government and the leaders of the agitation in January last does not commit the Government to the repeal of the Act of 1907. As to the second point, General Smuts, the Colonial Secretary, has stated publicly:—

"The Government have repeatedly declared that they are prepared to consider applications for permits under the present law from professional Indians. No such applications have, however, been made recently. If made, they will be considered favourably and granted in proper cases."

My committee believes that it is echoing the general feeling of the people of the Transvaal when it contends that the reasons given for the passive resistance movement are utterly inadequate, and that the resistance to the law is really actuated by a desire to prevent the effective registration and control of the Asiatics within the Transvaal.

It is much regretted that some recent prosecutions have been instituted by officers of the Government without due regard to the correct legal interpretation of the several provisions, and that convictions obtained in the Magistrates' courts have in several cases been annulled by the Supreme Court. Whilst, however, the persons convicted were declared on technical grounds to be innocent of the particular charges contained in the indictment, they would be the last to deny that they have deliberately combined to defy the law which requires their registration.

The question next arises, whether the passive resistance movement which they have instituted and maintained entitles them to immunity from the consequences of concerted opposition to the law of the land. In this connection you will see that in the House of Lords on October 12 Lord Crewe, replying to a question asked concerning Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment, said that the Imperial Government "assumed that he had been taking part in the passive resistance campaign, and that he had paid the penalty, which no doubt he intended to pay."

My committee does not wish here to discuss whether or not the principle of "passive resistance" is justifiable under any circumstances, but it is felt by the public of the Transvaal that it cannot be allowed in a country such as this, in which there are millions of natives, a large proportion of whom have made very little progress towards civilisation, as understood by Europeans, and who might at any time under a wave of fanaticism imitate the

example of the Indians, and thus undermine law and order throughout South Africa.

Your letter under reply was read to a general meeting of members of the Chamber, which was specially called to consider the whole question, at which meeting the following resolution was adopted with but one dissentient, viz:—

"That this Chamber respectfully trusts that the Government will not be swayed by the great pressure which is being brought to bear upon it by the Indian community and their supporters in England and elsewhere, but that the Asiatic Law Amendment Act of 1907 and the Asiatic Registration Amendment Act of 1908 will be strictly enforced."

Similar resolutions have been adopted by Chambers of Commerce and Municipalities in all parts of the Transvaal.

My committee desires me to assure you that this Chamber fully appreciates the very reasonable attitude which your Chamber assumes in regard to this matter. It is greatly to be regretted that exaggerated accounts of recent occurrences should evidently have reached you, and naturally these would cause a feeling of indignation at what appeared to be wrongful treatment of Indians, most of whom were British subjects. In this letter an endeavour has been made to explain the leading facts, and also the policy which public opinion in the Transvaal has urged, and which the Government is endeavouring to carry out.

There is no desire whatever to expel any Asiatics who have received permission to enter the country, but there is a firmly-rooted conviction that these must be registered in an effective manner, and also that the interests of the Transvaal demand protection against further unrestricted immigration.

My Chamber regrets that the way does not appear open for it to intervene usefully in the present controversy, as suggested, and particularly so seeing that the Asiatics here have set themselves in opposition to the clearly-expressed determination of the people of the Transvaal, in a manner that is subversive of all good government.

My committee is forced to the conclusion that the Asiatics can expect no modifications whatever in the conditions laid down for them until they have first become amenable to the Transvaal Government, and have rendered themselves law-abiding citizens in the country of their adoption.

TRANSVAAL PRISONS. Reuter's Pretoria correspondent states that Mr. Hanrette, the Director of Prisons, is being retired at the end of the month on a pension. This is due to a resolve of the authorities to adopt the Cape system of administration, which is without an administrative head of the prison, the administration being managed by the Law Department direct.

Indignation in India

On the Transvaal Question

The Bengalee of the 24th October, writes:—

In spite of the disturbance which followed the conviction of Mr. Tilak, Bombay still maintains its reputation as one of the least excitable parts of the country. Yet it is from Bombay that the following telegram has been despatched to the Secretary of State:

"People of all classes here are intensely exasperated by fresh news of cruel treatment to which Indians of position and respectability are subjected by Transvaal authorities. Feeling has grown so intense that all possible desperate measures of boycott are being urged. I feel it my duty to place before your lordship that mischief occasioned by state of things is incalculable, particularly at present time. My Association implores British Government to lose no time in taking measures for protecting our fellow-countrymen of South Africa. We avoid mass meetings to give expression to these feelings because it is felt that they might embarrass Indian Government; otherwise whole country will be filled with bitter cries from every town and place."

We are bound to say that in this telegram, addressed by Sir Pheroze-shaw Metha on behalf of the Bombay Presidency Association, matters are not in the least exaggerated. There is hardly any question, except such domestic questions as the Partition of Bengal, which has within recent years excited greater interest or evoked greater or more wide-spread indignation throughout the country than this question of the treatment of our countrymen in the Transvaal. Indeed, this question has already worked miracles. It has converted men who would, under different circumstances, have been strongly opposed to the very mention of boycott, to warm and enthusiastic champions of that movement and has united all parties and all sections of the community. The fact is significant, but by no means surprising. With the growth of national sentiment, our people are bound to develop greater self-respect, and it is part of that self-respect to be keenly sensitive of the rights of our fellow-countrymen abroad and the treatment that is accorded to them in foreign countries. Bombay has done what the rest of the country, Bengal in particular, would have done long ago, had not its hands been too full with internal questions and, may we not add, internal troubles. The sense of indignation to which Bombay gives such emphatic expression is felt by every individual in the country. What is more, it is shared by the bulk of the Anglo-Indian community. Is it too much to hope that the Imperial Government will yet realise the necessity of either compelling the Transvaal to treat Indians on a footing of equality with its white subjects or placing India in a position where she can effectively retaliate against the unjust and humiliating treatment of its children by the Transvaal and other Colonies? These are the only

alternatives left to the Imperial Government between which there is no *via media*. If it will not accept either alternative, we fear the course suggested by Lala Lajpat Rai and others would be found to be the one course left.

Calcutta Aroused

Calcutta, November, 23.

A public meeting was held this afternoon at the Town Hall to protest against the treatment of Indians in South Africa. The meeting was representative, Mahomedans preponderating. Khan Bahadur Abdul Zubbar, C.I.E., presided.

The following resolutions were carried: That this meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta strongly condemns the conduct of the Transvaal Government in not having yet repealed the obnoxious Asiatic Law Amendment Act of 1907 which, in its spirit, brands the Indian community as undesirable, inferior and criminals, and in attempting to prevent future immigration of Indians in that colony, and expresses its indignation at the severe sentences passed on highly-respectable people of this country; and this meeting further condemns similar legislation and treatment of Indians in other British Colonies.

That this meeting express its deep sympathy with the Indians in South Africa in their undeserved sufferings and fully appreciates the great self-sacrifice and heroic courage that they have displayed and hopes that they will come out triumphant in the present struggle by virtue of the justice and righteousness of their cause.

That this meeting strongly condemns the policy of the Transvaal Government in making invidious distinctions between Mussulman and Christian subjects of his Imperial Majesty, the Sultan of Turkey, thereby causing wanton insult to the feelings of the followers of Islam.—*Indian Patriot*.

A STRANGE CREED. Mr. T. P. G. Boshoff, of Standerton district, says he objects to missionaries assisting in churches of white people. He proceeds:—"It can be easily understood that a missionary, when preaching the Word of God has to be friendly and make himself agreeable to the creatures among whom he works. Now, when later on one of these creatures sees or hears that some person who instructs them does the same also among the white people, it speaks for itself that without any hesitation he considers himself the equal of those whites who are being administered to by their own pastor. If the Church wishes to become the means for paving the way for equality of whites and barbarians, then that same church will find a dangerous rock in the Missionary Society, on which the ship of our national feeling must be shattered, and that we cannot allow."—*Volkstem*.

"The Witness" on Passive Resistance

On the 14th instant the *Natal Witness* printed the following leading article:—

It does not perhaps become Englishmen to condemn too strongly the method of agitation known as "passive resistance." Indeed, we may go further and say that even active resistance is a form of protest consecrated by tradition. It is no part of an Englishman's creed that the mere passing of a law invests that law with inimitable sanctity. Our history teems with examples of resistance to tyranny, even when that tyranny has been legalised by all the formalities known to law and precedent. As for "passive resistance" we have only to cite the recent instance of the Education Act to show that men of the highest standing and character have lent their sanction to it. But to justify it there must be very strong arguments; above all, the argument of conscience. And it is even conceivable that conscience may be opposed to conscience in such a manner as to create an insoluble dilemma. It is not for us to make the application in connection with the Asiatic agitation in the Transvaal. We are not prepared to admit that all who are concerned in that agitation are actuated by purely conscientious motives; neither are we prepared to deny that conscientious motives have actuated many of the leaders and followers. But the issue is so vital to the welfare of this country, that, in our view, even if we were to concede that the agitation could be fully justified from the Indian point of view, it would still be necessary to rigidly maintain the policy of exclusion upon which the Transvaal has embarked. It is a singular instance of the irony of events that, whereas ten years ago one of the principal points of dispute between the Imperial Government and the Transvaal was the position of the Asiatics, to-day the Imperial Government is practically supporting the Government in putting into operation the identical principles which at that time led to so much friction. And it is also a singular instance of the vicissitudes of party Government that the same party which now has to countenance these principles, is the party which poses as the historic champion of the subject races. How the Liberals reconcile their avowed penchant for the Indians in India, with their tacit support of the treatment of Indians in the Transvaal is, however, for themselves to justify. What we have to consider is the situation as it affects this country, and from that point of view we must unhesitatingly approve of the decision of the Transvaal to restrict to the narrowest limits the presence of Asiatics in the Colony.

We cannot judge of the crisis as if it were an entirely new thing. If it were, there might be good grounds to

condemn the exclusion policy as harsh and unnecessary. But it is the misfortune of our own Colony to supply the "awful example" of laxity in the matter of Asiatic restriction. The Transvaal has only to point to Natal to justify itself. The unrestricted immigration of Asiatics into this Colony has had a deplorable effect upon the development of trade and industry. It has practically eliminated the country trader, a class which, in other Colonies, is not only of importance in itself, but plays a notable part in upholding white supremacy. That result alone would supply ample justification for a policy of exclusion. But that is not all. The Asiatic trader has encroached to such an extent on the trade of the town; as to render special and drastic legislation necessary to save the urban merchant from the same fate as the rural trader. It helps nothing to say that it is the result of trade competition. Such an argument loses sight of the chief factor, viz., the standard of living. We are not now urging against the business methods of the Asiatic trader. No doubt, in many cases, his business aptitude entitles him to whatever success he has achieved. Nor can we condemn him for conforming to the standard of life in which he was bred and nurtured. But what we have to take into account is that that standard is not our standard; that it is, according to our ideals and traditions, a lower standard, and that it would be absolutely fatal to it. Yet it is the undeniable truth that that is the very factor which enables the Asiatic to compete with the European, and very often to crush him in trade rivalry. It is because the Asiatic can live on so little that he has been able to undersell the country trader in Natal and drive him from the Colony; and the process is just the same where he is allowed unchecked facilities in the towns. It need not be imputed to the Asiatic as a crime; but it would be a crime if we stupidly allowed him to gain such power as to monopolise the commerce of the country. Europeans cannot bring themselves to the Asiatic standard of living; they would rather give up the contest and disappear. And if we foolishly, and out of mistaken sentiment, allow the Asiatic the facilities for which he is striving, we shall see the process repeated on a much larger scale.

We respect those in the Transvaal and elsewhere, who conscientiously champion the cause of the Asiatic, in the belief that they are receiving less than justice. But do they fully consider what would be the result of laxity? Have they fully realised that the issue is one of self-preservation—the first law of nature? There is no law in nature or morality which requires us to jeopardise the future of our land and our children in order to gratify the desires of an alien race to obtain a footing in this country. We in Natal have made that mistake, and we are now paying the penalty. The

Transvaal, less involved than we are, is striving to remedy the evil before it has grown too strong for it, and in that endeavour it has our deepest sympathy. The only State which showed true wisdom was the Orange Free State, which absolutely prohibited the entry of Asiatics except under certain regulations which safeguarded it from all danger, and the O.R.C. is to-day the only part of South Africa free from the Asiatic menace. It is somewhat singular that, while the Transvaal Government is the object of the most virulent criticism, both from the Asiatics and their partisans, we hear nothing said against the O.R.C. Even in India it seems that a policy of absolute and entire exclusion is accepted without comment, whereas attempts to prevent the increase of an already existing Asiatic population are condemned with the utmost violence of language. Would that all South Africa had been inspired by the same foresight as the old Raadsleden of the Orange Free State! This country would then have been spared not the least troublesome of its racial problems.

A Reasonable View.

Of a Difficult Question.

The *Times of Natal*, in the course of a leading article, recently remarked:—

As far as we can make out the real point of difference between the Transvaal Government and the leaders of the Indians is with regard to the admission of educated Indians not possessed of domiciliary rights in the Transvaal. In a statement made in the House of Lords Earl Crewe is reported to have said that it was altogether impossible to induce the Transvaal Government to admit all Indians who are able to pass an education test; but he expressed himself in favour of a sufficient number of Indians belonging to the professional class being admitted, in order to supply the deficiency by wastage. We were not aware that Mr. Gandhi had demanded that all Indians, capable of passing a high education test, should be allowed entrance to the Transvaal, but surely a compromise could be arranged on similar lines to the Canadian settlement of the Asiatic immigration trouble, under which a strictly limited number of Asiatics of education and position are allowed to enter the Dominion every year. The present situation in the Transvaal is deplorable, and greatly increases the difficulties with which the Indian Government have to contend. It may be nothing to the Transvaal Ministers that their action is giving serious offence to the peoples of India, but they should have some regard for the Imperial Government, to which they owe their present position and power.

What the British Press Say

The Evening Standard & St. James's Gazette, of the 20th October writes:—

We hold no brief for the Asiatics in their struggle with the Transvaal Government. That struggle is mainly waged over a question of names. On the broad lines of the scheme regulating the admission of Indians to the Transvaal they and the Government are agreed. They are agreed that future immigration of new men shall be stopped; the Indians would like to see a few lawyers, priests and doctors admitted, and the Transvaal is opposed to such a course, but that is a small matter. They are also agreed that old residents shall be allowed to continue as residents.

We appeal therefore to the Transvaal, to Mr. Smuts, to find some little by-path, to adopt some slightly different system which, without giving away anything vital, may alleviate this irritating sore. It has been done once and might easily be done again.

India of the 23rd October says:—

Matters in the Transvaal have been steadily getting from bad to worse; but it is to be hoped that the climax to the disgraceful treatment of British Indian subjects has been reached. Indian public opinion is in a peculiarly inflammable condition just now; and if the Boer Government has any conception of its Imperial responsibilities, it will be well advised to cry a halt in its irritating and indefensible policy. What do they suppose the "whispering galleries of the East" are saying of the latest object-lesson they have afforded in the spectacle of Mr. Gandhi dressed as a convict and doing scavengers' work under the supervision of a Kaffir convict guard in the streets of Volksrust? The tide has been long in rising; but it has become abundantly clear that a deep and dangerous feeling has been aroused in India. Mr. Ameer Ali did not exaggerate in the smallest degree when he emphasised this aspect of the situation at the House of Commons on Monday last. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta's telegram to Lord Ampthill affords ample corroborative evidence of that, to say nothing of the Jam of Nawanagar's pointed allusions at Cambridge a night or two ago. No less significant was the gathering at Caxton Hall exactly a week to-day, when Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee and Lala Lajpat Rai met upon a common platform with Mr. Khaparde and Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal to testify to the solidarity of the indignation and resentment that is felt.

What is "the centre of the Empire" to do? The Imperial Government has deliberately created the major portion of the present difficulty by its policy of drift and *laissez-faire*. The trouble might largely have been avoided if Lord Elgin had acted with promptitude at the outset, and had made use

of the reservation in the constitution of all legislation relating to Natives and Asiatics. But Sir Richard Solomon, the present Agent-General, was right when he told the electors of the South Central Ward of Pretoria on January 21, 1907, that this reservation was "merely a matter of form." One obnoxious and offensive Act after another has been sanctioned; and Lord Crewe now finds himself burdened with a load of vicious precedents. No one denies that the weakness of Lord Elgin has rendered the position of his late colleague both delicate and difficult. It is odd indeed that a Liberal Government should need urging when "it is a matter of active intervention on behalf of those who voiceless, cannot speak for themselves, voteless, cannot act for themselves, and whose only weapon is that of passive resistance and undeserved and humiliating imprisonment and degradation." Mr. J. H. Polak puts the position most forcibly in these words to the Press. The statement made by Lord Crewe in Parliament on Wednesday shows that he has taken the wisest, because the most resolute, course in regard to Natal. But the case of the Transvaal is no less urgent in its demand for prompt and immediate action. The Cabinet cannot consent to remain exposed to such reproaches as the Indian community naturally levels at them when the Transvaal authorities wantonly add insult to injury. And if they do, they will find that time and tide wait for no man, whether in nature or in human affairs.

The Saturday Review of October 24th says:—

No doubt Lord Crewe finds questions such as Lord Ampthill addressed to him on Wednesday concerning the Indians in the Transvaal and Natal highly inconvenient. The war gave a unique opportunity to settle the case of British Indians in South Africa, but a Radical Government of course missed it. Lord Ampthill says quite truly that the continued failure to solve this problem has become a serious danger to the Empire. The Colonial Secretary resented the suggestion that General Botha and his colleagues appear to aim at the extermination of the Indian community resident in the Colony. That may be a blunt way of expressing it, but the occasion is not one for mincing words. Lord Ampthill at least speaks with personal knowledge of the feelings of the Indian peoples, and has a livelier sense of the harm which the misuse of their powers by the Transvaal authorities are working. If Natal is an offender too, the Imperial Government cannot be surprised. They can hardly ask Natal to abstain from doing what she conceives to be in her own interests whilst the Transvaal is allowed a free hand.

The Yorkshire Daily Post of the 27th October comments:—

Lord Crewe has consented to re-

ceive a deputation of the friends of the Indians in the Transvaal at an early date. The arrangements are in the hands of Lord Ampthill who is the most active promoter of this urgent case for Imperial intervention, and the deputation promises to be highly influential. It will be the purpose of the deputation, I gather, to press for such a conference of representatives of the Transvaal, Natal, the Colonial Office, and the Indians as has already been suggested in South Africa. It is thought that if a conference on such lines could be held in London, it would discover a way out of the deplorable mess and muddle in the Transvaal, while Natal could be shown that the Colonial Office would but express the sense of common justice characteristic of the English race if it were to refuse the Royal assent, as Lord Crewe has threatened to do, to measures for the wholesale deportation of the Indians who have helped to develop the Colony and have legitimate vested interests in its future. But Lord Ampthill and his friends will insist upon provisional release of the Indians from the prisons of the Transvaal pending the issue of the proposed conference. These prisoners are all known to the Transvaal authorities as lawfully domiciled citizens. They are registered in every sense except that they have destroyed their certificates of registration, or refused to take them out in order to make a case for the redress of their grievances. Much evidence is to hand here to day showing that the Transvaal Government are tolerating extremely harsh measures on the part of their officers in carrying out the law of registration which the Indians oppose.

The Yorkshire Daily Observer of Nov. 23rd comments editorially:—

As the outcome of a meeting held at the House last week Lord Ampthill, with half a dozen Peers at his back and a number of commoners, waited upon Lord Crewe and Lord Morley at the Colonial Office to-day to submit to them the case of the British Indians in the Transvaal. The proceedings were private, but they left the members of the deputation little disposed to reticence. With Lord Crewe's statement they were apparently fairly satisfied, the Colonial Secretary intimating that he should be prepared to bargain with the Transvaal Government for the rescinding of the obnoxious ordinance in return for the acquiescence of the British Indians in legislation to restrict immigration. In as much as the British Indians in the Transvaal have already professed their willingness to consent to a restriction of the kind, the suggested compromise offers a possible way out of the difficulty. Lord Morley, however, appears to have associated the protest of the British Indians in the Transvaal with the unrest and agitation at present manifest in India, and he entered up-

on some defence of the right of exclusion from self-governing colonies under a federal scheme of Empire. The attitude taken up by him was somewhat resented by members of the deputation, who asked whether under the federal scheme a self-governing India would be permitted to exclude whites. It is hoped, however, that effect will be given to Lord Crewe's suggestion as an easement of the present troubles.

We take the following from *John Bull* of November 7th:—

In March, 1897, five British Indians were refused admission to the Transvaal at Komatiapoort, and Lord Rosmead at once made representations, which resulted in their being permitted to proceed to Johannesburg within 24 hours. The refusal of the Republican authorities to allow British Indian subjects to enter the Transvaal was in direct contravention of the Conventions of 1880 and 1884, and the Imperial Government was not only justified in protesting against the violation of those Conventions, but was bound to do so if it had any regard for the Imperial honour. From early days the Transvaal Government sought in one way and another to exclude British Indians, or to impose upon them exceptional obligations, action that was always followed by the protests of the Imperial Government, and was ultimately one of the causes which led to the war of 1899. Time and again British Ministers appealed to British sentiment to support them in upholding the rights of British coloured subjects in the Transvaal, and not the least of the justifications of those same Ministers for the war that followed was the plea that British subjects must be protected. After the war in which the Boers were reduced to impotence, and at a cost to this country of 250 millions sterling, and some 20,000 lives, Great Britain became the absolute master of the Transvaal, and it was taken for granted that whatever terms might be offered to the enemy, henceforth all British subjects would be free of the country. And so far as words go, so far as clauses and conventions can make them free, so far as despatches written in the best official style can bring about, that freedom exists. But it is in name only. When war broke out the Indians showed their gratitude for what had been done for them. There were offers of Indian regiments to help the Imperial Forces. Their offers were accepted. We are reminded of them by a letter in the *Johannesburg Star*. The writer says:—

I happened to be through the Natal campaign, and I cannot help thinking that my countrymen have forgotten what these Indians did. I saw Indians in charge of the mule water train lead their mules up Spion Kop, bringing water to the famished Regulars and Irregulars. They were exposed to a galling fire, and as one fell another silently moved to the vacant place. I saw the work the Bearer Corps did in several actions in

bringing the wounded to a place where they could be attended to. I saw this man, Gandhi, sitting by the roadside one morning after a strenuous night's work with the little band of Indians he led. The Indians suffered great privations for our sakes, and for the credit of the brotherhood which the Empire gives. A brave man—Buller—testified to their noble endurance. Today the Indians in the Transvaal, who are a thousand less than they were four years ago according to the census, ask to have a law enacted providing that a maximum of six of their educated countrymen shall be allowed to enter the country within a twelvemonth. They want doctors of their own kind. They want barristers who will understand their interests. Such professional men cannot enter into competition with the Europeans, as their practice would be restricted to Indians. Is it not possible for a compromise to be arranged allowing the Indians the right to import a certain number of professional men right away, and empowering the Colonial Secretary to deal with such applications in future?

Whilst fully realizing the legitimate objections of South African whites to the unrestricted immigration of coloured men, we should have thought that the equitable suggestion of the correspondent we have quoted was feasible and most desirable. What has the Imperial Government done in the matter? Mr. Ritch, the indefatigable Secretary of the South African Committee, gives us the answer:—

In reply [he writes] to repeated representations to His Majesty's Government on the score of these examples of brutality and attempts to coerce the Indians by physical ill-treatment to comply with the provision of the objectionable Registration Law, the Government suavely expresses their confidence that it is not the desire of the Transvaal Government to administer the law with any harshness.

As a comment upon their assurances, we give below a telegram dated Johannesburg, October 26:—

Since last Monday over 70 Indians imprisoned. Wife Transvaal resident refused permission to land Durban from Natal because husband declined to apply for registration under new law. She expected childbirth soon, shock induced still-born birth. Gandhi yesterday transferred to Johannesburg dressed in convict garb, marched thus publicly in broad daylight from station to gaol.

What may be the intention of the Transvaal Government we do not know. What is their action is shown by their acts, and they are indicated in the facts given above. It is a sorry business. We hear much about the magnificence of this Empire of ours, but for our part we would sooner have a smaller one if within the bounds of that smaller territory *Civis Romanus Sum* carried the meaning that Englishmen of an older generation attached to it.

RESTRICTING EDUCATION. The following Regulation (published in the Natal Government *Gazette*), has been made by His Honour the Deputy Governor-in-Council:—From and after the First of February, 1909, no pupil under the age of five or over the age of fourteen years shall be permitted to attend any Government School for Indians.

Meeting of Transvaal Europeans

Mr. Gandhi makes a Statement

The Situation in India

A meeting, which was called by invitation, was held in the Masonic Hall, Jeppe-street, Johannesburg, on the 18th inst., to hear Mr. Gandhi make a statement as to the present position of the Asiatic question. Invitations were issued to representative bodies, such as the Town Council, Chambers of Trade and Commerce, clergymen and ministers of the various Churches, and to others who are known to be personally interested in the question. There was a good response to the invitation, and about 100 persons were present at the meeting. Mr. Wm. Hosken, M.L.A., was in the chair.

Mr. Gandhi made a full statement of his view of the case, and, at the invitation of the chairman, questions were asked, and a number of points, such as the withdrawal of Law No. 2 of 1907, and the reason why the Indian community ask for six educated Indians to be given personal right of entry and residence yearly, were discussed and elucidated. Mr. Gandhi was given a very good hearing, and was thanked for the statement he made.

In response to a request from several of those present, it was arranged to hold a public meeting at an early date, so that the Indian question may be generally discussed and debated.

At the close of the proceedings the following resolution was passed without dissent:—

“That this meeting of Europeans, called to hear Mr. Gandhi's address on the Indian question in the Transvaal, welcomes the programme of Indian political reform proposed by the Imperial Government, and expresses its horror and detestation of the crimes of violence against British officials and civilians reported from India. That the chairman be requested to communicate this resolution to the High Commissioner and the public press.”

The *Transvaal Leader* made the following comment:—

In another column we publish a summary of proceedings at a private meeting held in connection with the Asiatic question on Friday evening. It is all to the good that so many citizens attended to show their interest in one of the most difficult Colonial and Imperial questions. We note two points with especial pleasure. It has been decided to hold a further meeting, a public one, at which full discussion will be allowed, in which discussion it is to be hoped both sides will state their case frankly. And the meeting passed a resolution welcoming the political reforms in India and expressing its “horror and detestation.”

of the crimes committed there of late. We are informed that not only did Mr. Gandhi and those of his friends who were present vote for this, but that the Indian leader indicated his desire that such a resolution should be proposed.

Rev. John Howard and Asiatics.

The Sentinel (Fordsburg, Johannesburg) of the 28th ulto., contains a letter from the pen of the Rev. John Howard in reply to letters by Messrs. Zeffert, and J. Lane, and "Onlooker." Referring to Mr. Lane's letter, the rev. gentleman writes:—

The first part of his letter is written on the assumption that there has been an overwhelming invasion of Asiatics since the war. Here, however, are two simple facts which knock the bottom out of this assumption. Before the war there were admittedly about 15,000 Asiatics in this country, now there are not 10,000. What has become of "the overwhelming illicit immigration?"

Mr. Lane insists on the need for "finger-prints," apparently in ignorance of the fact that the whole Asiatic community have given them. In order that there may be no doubt about the matter, I quote Mr. Smuts' own words, spoken in the House of Assembly on August 21st of this year. He said:

"Hon. members will recollect it was the impression that it was regulations framed under the Act of last year which were the principal stone of stumbling, that the Asiatics refused to comply with these regulations, and that was the principal cause of the Passive Resistance movement. You will also know that under the arrangement made last January with the Asiatic leaders it was arranged that a dispensation should be given to those Asiatics who refused, for religious reasons or otherwise, to give their finger-prints. The result is interesting, as showing that there has been no substantial objection to the giving of finger-prints. In the case of the last number of applications, 7,010 gave finger-prints; 1,960 gave two thumbs, which was considered equivalent and sufficient for the purpose of registration. Only 70 declined to give finger-prints, and in these cases the signature or other means of identification was resorted to. Hon. members will accordingly see that the impression which existed at one time—that the principal difficulty centred around these regulations in connection with the finger-prints was not correct. The principal objection was to the law itself."

They certainly had strong objections to giving finger-prints, but, in response to the strenuous appeals of men like Mr. Gandhi, they pocketed their objections, and voluntarily gave them, on the distinct understanding that having done so the Act would be withdrawn. If the Government had been true to this compromise, as the Indians were, nothing further would have been heard of the matter, and the whole of this miserable bungle would have been avoided.

Mr. Lane goes on to say he has been informed by several Indians that they do not want any more highly-educated Indians to come in. But we do not want to know what

of them say. What is the expressed desire of the vast mass, as revealed in their great meetings, or more significantly still, in their united readiness to go to gaol? Nay, what is Mr. Lane's own desire? If Indians are to remain by his side in the country, does he wish them to sink down into unnameable squalor and ignorance and vice? Does he wish them to be forbidden those agencies by which alone they can be prevented from becoming a menace to himself, his family, and the State? I know there is but one answer to these questions, and I appeal to Mr. Lane with much confidence, and to Mr. Zeffert and "Onlooker" without much confidence, to assist in obtaining that fair and honourable compromise which these people have expressed their readiness to accept.

I cannot close this letter without thanking even Mr. Zeffert for establishing one point I made in my last. In urging that six men be allowed to come in for professional work, I called attention to the fact that Mr. Zeffert's own spiritual leaders were imported from other countries. He retorts by saying that the same is true of us. Precisely. The Dutch have fetched professional men from Holland, the English from England, and the Jews from everywhere. The only people, apparently, who are not to be allowed to have teachers of their own race are those who, according to your correspondents, need them most.

But I have faith, sir, in British justice, and once my countrymen understand the righteousness and moderation of the Indian demand, they will meet it in that spirit of fair-play they have shown so often in the past.

Let your readers remember the two points considered vital by the Indians—

1. The repeal of an Act Mr. Smuts says he has no intention of enforcing; and

2. The admission, by administrative order, of six highly-educated Indians in any one year.

NEGRO GIRL WINS A PRIZE. At a Convention of the National Educational Association, held in Cleveland, O., recently there was an international spelling championship contest in the Hippodrome. The Cleveland team of fifteen won the city championship, easily defeating teams of Pittsburg, New Orleans and Erie, Pa. Out of the five hundred words submitted, Cleveland pupils missed only forty. The feature of the contest was the winning of the medal by a little negro girl, Marie Bolden, the 14-year-old daughter of a Cleveland mail-carrier. The girl had not missed a single word. President Haserot called the child to the front of the stage, and amid the cheers of the audience, gave her the gold badge signifying that she is the champion speller of the best team in the United States.—*Christian Herald.*

The Asiatic Problem in Natal

The *Times of Natal* recently contained the following in the course of a leading article:—

To the Asiatic problem in Natal there appears to be no immediate solution. In the interests of employers of labour Parliament will not agree to any proposal to stop the immigration of indentured Indians, although it is willing enough to impose disabilities upon free Indians resident in the colony. It has been announced that the Asiatic Licensing Bills will probably be disallowed. Apparently Parliament did not realise that in the event of those Bills becoming law the first step of the Indian Government would have been to stop all further recruiting of Indians for Natal. The stoppage of the immigration of indentured Indians would thus have been brought about indirectly. However, even if all further immigration of indentured labour were stopped to-morrow the problem would not be solved. We have now a large Natal-born Indian population, which is increasing every year, and in the course of a comparatively short time will greatly outnumber the whites. These people or their parents have been allowed to settle here, because their introduction in the first instance was a convenience to colonists. They cannot now be turned out, or prevented from earning their living by any legitimate means, merely because their permanent presence is objected to, or their industrial and commercial competition become an inconvenience to the European community. Owing to the Asiatics, Natal has the cheapest and most plentiful labour of any colony in South Africa; but these things have their disadvantages and Natal can't have it both ways. It can't have abundance of cheap Asiatic labour, and at the same time secure the Europeans from the competition of free Indians settled in the Colony. If repatriation had been permitted the present embarrassing situation would never have arisen: but Natalians embarked upon their Asiatic importation policy with their eyes open, and it is rather late in the day to cry out because of easily foreseen consequences. If Colonel Seely can throw daylight on the Natal Asiatic problem we shall be glad to benefit by his powers of vision.

HUNGRY. Two Indians were charged with theft at the City Police Court, before Mr. Hime. As a third party had not been arrested the prosecutor (Sergt. Blundell) asked for a remand. One man asked that his case be tried then. This was refused. He then very feelingly informed the Magistrate that he had been at the Court since 10 o'clock the day previous, and had not had anything to eat since then. His Worship: They will give you something to eat at the gaol if you are hungry.—*Times of Natal.*

Notes on the Transvaal Struggle

A WHITE MAN'S VIEW. "A White Man" writes to the Johannesburg *Star*: "Since the expiration of the last date allowed for registration, it is generally understood that the Government are going to do 'something.' Would it not be feasible to make those persons who aid and abet the wilful breaking of the law by dealing with unregistered Asiatics equally punished by fine or imprisonment with the actual culprits? Run in a few white people as contributory violators of the law, and the result would be a total absence of dealing with unlicensed coolies. No trade—no coolie! Only give the white people a week's notification of the risk they will be running. Then white people, good hardworking Colonists, will stand a chance of making a living." Pleasant fellow, isn't he?

THE TEST CASE. The test case is, after all, to come on before the New Year. This, in many respects, is an advantage, as we shall know how we start the year 1909. Advocates Carl Jeppe and A. D. Home have been briefed. The grounds for appeal are as follows:—

1. Section 7 of Act 36 of 1908 could not be enforced until a Registrar of Asiatics as defined thereunder had been duly appointed.

2. The order of removal contemplated by the said Section 7 of Act 36 of 1908 is *ultra vires* in that it operates beyond the border of the Colony.

3. The decision is against the weight of evidence and law.

Parentetically, it may be added that Mr. Mahomed Baba has also given notice of appeal against the decision of the Volksrust Magistrate in ordering his deportation under the same section. Mr. Mahomed Baba has been released from the clutches of the Natal authorities by lodging notice of appeal against the judgment of deportation against him there.

MORE ARRESTS AND IMPRISONMENTS. At Ventersdorp, last week, Mr. Moosa Raja was sentenced to ten days' imprisonment with hard labour for trading without a licence. Two hawkers were also sentenced to seven days each for the same offence. At Pretoria, two men were arrested under the New Act, and were remanded *sine die*. At Johannesburg, four hawkers were sent to gaol on Monday for one month for hawking without licences. Evidently the order has gone forth to make the sentences more severe.

BLIND JUSTICE. Messrs. Mahomed Ebrahim Kunk, Amod Saheb, and

Candasamy were, on Tuesday last, found guilty by Mr. D. J. Schurman of assaulting two Konknis in Market Street. Mr. Mahomed Ebrohim Kunk was sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour, and the other to two months each. The feeling in the community is that the three men were quite innocent, and an appeal has been noted, the accused being released on bail of £50 each.

MR. GANDHI'S ARRIVAL. On Saturday week, Mr. Gandhi arrived at Park Station from Volksrust. He had been released that morning from Volksrust Gaol, and was met at Standerton, Heidelberg and Germiston by very many of the local Indians. At Germiston, quite 300 Indians gathered. Mr. Gandhi was accompanied from there by the Chairman of the British Indian Association and the Natal leaders. Mr. and Mrs. Polak, Miss Schlesin, and Mr. Issac joined the train at Jeppe. The train was met at Park Station by a huge crowd of several hundred enthusiastic Indians. As he jumped from the train, Mr. Gandhi was garlanded amidst terrific cheers. Rev. Mr. Doke, Mrs. Phillips and Miss Agnes Phillips, Mr. Kallenbach and Mr. Gordan were also at the Station. Mr. Gandhi was hoisted upon the shoulders of enthusiasts who made the tour of the station and the whole crowd left by way of the centre bridge and Rissik Street to the Fordsburg Mosque, Mr. Gandhi being carried shoulder-high the whole distance. Whilst enthusiastic to a degree, the crowd was most orderly, and by the time the people arrived at the Mosque there must have been at least 1,500 people present. Mr. Gandhi addressed the audience briefly. The proceedings throughout were enthusiastic, speeches being delivered right up to half-past six.

THE TAMIL COMMUNITY. The Tamil community, who have throughout the struggle been in the front rank, were specially addressed by Mr. Gandhi at their meeting-place in Market Street, on the Monday at 4 o'clock. A dinner was afterwards given by the Tamil Benefit Society, presided over by Mr. V. A. Chettiar in honour of Mr. Gandhi, Imam Abdul Cadir Bawazeer, the Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society, and the Natal leaders, all of whom were present together with the most prominent members of the British Indian Association and the Hamidia Islamic Society. Other guests were Miss Schlesin, Rev. J. J. Doke, and Messrs. H. Kallenbach, G. Isaac, H. S. L. Polak, A. Brittlebank and Leung Quinn (Chairman Transvaal Chinese Reform Union). A number of speeches were afterwards made laudatory of the Tamil community and especially of the work done by Mr. Thambi Naidoo.

Quick-Witted Asiatics.

Bishop Warus Missionaries of the Future.

"British people are very dull of intellect, compared with some of the races of the Far East," Bishop Molony, of Mid-China, declared in the course of a farewell sermon preached to missionaries in St. Bride's Church, Fleet Street, London, says the *Daily Mail*.

"I have only lately gone to China after spending fourteen years in India," the bishop afterwards said in an interview, "and my remarks were more particularly in reference to Bengalis and other highly-intellectual Hindus. "There is no doubt that both the Indians and Chinamen were intellectual people before we were, and accustomed to abstruse and philosophical reasonings. Furthermore, I should say there is no question but that they are capable of closer reasoning than the average Briton.

"Our pre-eminent position is not, in my opinion, due to our intellectual capacity so much as to the position of our islands, the natural wealth of our country, and the fact that we have, for centuries, been a free people.

"If China were emancipated from its bad government and its demoralising habits—especially that of opium-smoking—it would certainly become one of the great world-powers. It behoves missionaries, therefore, who go abroad to be prepared to appreciate those characteristics of other nations in which they excel us."

"I certainly do not think the Chinese are inferior to the British in point of view of intellect," said Bishop Cassels, who has been out in China more than twenty years.

"While having, perhaps, little genius for invention, they have boundless capacity for adaptation and imitation, for industry and endurance. Their powers of repeating from memory are extraordinary, and their remembrance of dates and places is unrivalled.

"As diplomatists they are never beaten. As farmers they produce the most marvellous results with the most meagre appliances. In commerce they rule the markets of Singapore and Hong-kong, and easily hold their own against Western competitors.

"Now, certain ideas have taken hold of the Chinese, and they are being swayed by a common sentiment. This mighty land, leaving its ancient bed of sleep, has risen up and taken such a leap into the vortex of reform as may well disturb the equilibrium of the world, and, in a metaphorical sense, shake the globe to its base."

"In my own diocese, and in the Far West, I had, of course, felt the shock and watched the change, but the immensity of the reform was impressed upon me in a new way when recently visiting Peking, and more especially Tientsin."

"I wandered quite amazed among the schools, colleges, and lecture-rooms, recently erected. I was shown over institutions—medical, nursing, and industrial—which seemed to have sprung from the ground at the wave of a magician's wand. Over the way, too, were mints, arsenals, and factories, all in full working order, and the streets of the new-made city were macadamised, electric-lighted, and policed in a way never before seen in China."

Death of Sir V. Bhashyam Aiyengar

Appreciation by the Madras Government

On the 25th ulto. Sir V. Bhashyam, Kt., C.I.E., passed away at Madras.

The following is an order of the Madras Government dated 24th ulto., issued in the Public Department:—

His Excellency the Governor-in-Council has received with very deep regret the intelligence of the death of Sir Vembakam Bhashyam Aiyengar, Kt., C.I.E., and desires to record his appreciation of his high character as well as of the public services rendered by the deceased in the course of a long, strenuous and distinguished career.

He served almost continuously as a member of the Provincial Legislative Council since his first nomination to it in the year 1888, and in that capacity he was ever ready to place his great abilities as a jurist and his intimate acquaintance with the practical working of the laws at the service of the Council.

So pre-eminent a position had he attained in his profession that he was appointed to officiate as Advocate-General in the Presidency, being the first Indian to occupy that great place; the duties of which he performed with fidelity and indefatigable industry. In 1901 he was elevated to the Bench as a Judge of the High Court of Judicature, an office which he discharged with conspicuous ability and with great satisfaction to the public.

His public services and his high personal character have been recognised by the Government on many occasions. His loss will be greatly felt both by the Government and the people. The memory of his honourable life will long survive him to furnish an inspiring example to his countrymen.

A copy of these proceedings will be communicated to Lady Bhashyam Aiyengar with an expression of the sympathy of His Excellency the Governor-in-Council with her and her family at their bereavement.

The Asiatic Act and its Cost

The Rev. Joseph J. Doke writes to the Johannesburg press under date the 30th November, as follows:—

There is one feature of the passive resistance movement which has not yet received much public notice. That is its cost to the country. People look on and smile when hawkers are convicted or Indian residents are deported. But they do not seem to realise that all this persistent administration of laws—of which the Chief Justice said, "Nobody could be positive as to what meaning the Legislature intended" them to bear—is a heavy burden on the country. If this were realised I think there would be a serious effort made to effect a settlement.

Some correspondent in Pretoria told us the other day that wholesale deportation will be the next move. He said that over 1,500 are ripe for deportation. Of course, this can be carried out. Anything can be carried out, legal or illegal, under the present Administration. These 1,500 may be arrested, tried, sentenced, and taken to the border. I suppose, since the railway belongs to the Government, the cost to the country of this first move will not be great. But in a few hours they will be back again, because they have no other home than the Transvaal. Of course, they will be re-arrested, re-tried, and then imprisoned. The cost of imprisonment at 2s. per man per day (the usual cost is, I believe 2s. 6d., but they are not dealing sumptuously with the Indians) would reach £150. If it is a three months' sentence those 1,500 will cost the country £13,500! You may put what they earn at hard labour against the cost of law proceedings and official expenses. Perhaps there will be another visit to the border; at least, that sort of thing has been already done. Last month 75 Asiatics were taken out of prison at Barberton and sent down for a trip to Komatiapoort, brought back by the next train at no end of expense, and lodged in gaol. It was a pleasant change, no doubt, but wholly unnecessary, and very absurd!

But, Sir, you have to deal, not with 1,500, but with 6,000 or 7,000. How are you going to do it! The cost is prohibitive! Of course, if the law were just it would be worth while enforcing it at a much greater cost; but it is not just, and it settles nothing. General Smuts saw another difficulty, and frankly stated it in Richmond Hall in February last. "The policy of imprisonment," he said, "was very good as a threat, but every sensible man knew it was a policy which could not be carried out in this country. He defied any Government to put 15,000 men in prison here. There was not prison enough, and it was a physical impossibility. It was also

a moral impossibility, because he thought it would injure the reputation and prestige of the white people of the Transvaal."

Then there is, to my mind, a still more serious reason for alarm. Recently, I am told, the overcrowding at the Fort was shocking! Without any blame attaching to the officials there, these wretched laws, which the Chambers of Commerce are so anxious to retain, have sent so many Indians to gaol, that according to statements which we have no reason to doubt a cell marked for 50 and 100, 115, and 123 crowded into it on different nights! The men themselves told me that it was difficult for them to lie down. Complaints to this effect were made to the prison authorities a week ago; to-day, I am informed they are "beginning investigations." We shall await the result with interest.

But this week, under the rigorous administration of Mr. Chamney, supported by our Chamber of Commerce and Municipal Council, there should be a very large accession to our gaols. And then? Well, Sir, I leave it to you and to your readers to dream over that state of affairs! If plague or malignant fevers do not break out through ill fare and overcrowding, Johannesburg may be very thankful.

These are not merely alarmist views; they point to the need of an immediate settlement.

Will you not help us to urge an immediate settlement? Will you not help us to urge an immediate conference between General Smuts and the Asiatic leaders, in the hope of settlement. And it must come.

COLOURED PASSENGERS ON THE C.S.A.R. "Pro Bono Publico," writing to the *Transvaal Leader* on the 4th December says: I draw the attention of the Railway officials to the poor accommodation for coloured passengers in the C.S.A.R. trains. There is but one compartment "reserved" for coloured passengers. Often it is overcrowded, and although other compartments are empty coloured people are not allowed to occupy them. Some trains have no reserved compartments, in which case the coloured second-class passengers are compelled to go in with the whites. Such was the case on Wednesday in the 1.54 train from Krugersdorp. A white man, drunk, insulted the coloured passenger and offered to kick him out of the white man's carriage. This passenger never spoke. He was provoked from Krugersdorp to Witpoortje. He is in the Government service, and has a second-class monthly ticket. For the good of all coloured people I pray that a "reserve" compartment be kept on all trains for the displaced ones. We are all citizens of the Colony, and under the Government our lives must be safeguarded.

Danger of a Boycott

Mr. Robert Sutherland writes to *The Star* as follows under date the 6th November:—

The Star, which sympathised with and voiced the grievances of the British Indians during the régime of the late Republic is now their most hostile critic in the daily Press, and the staunch supporter of the present Government in enforcing laws which enhance instead of lessen their old grievances. Although this seems inconsistent, my object in addressing you is not for the purpose of showing this, but to point out that the policy which you at present support is likely to lead to serious loss to a section of the people of this country and Natal in a way which the people of the Transvaal do not at present foresee.

Those of your readers who are Anglo-Indian or who have kept in touch with Indian affairs must have noticed that there has been no question in India for a long time which has roused and united the different sections as has the treatment of the Indians in this country. There have been meetings of protest held all over the country from Kurachi to Rangoon, and these meetings have been led and supported by men of the first rank, who are esteemed by the people and are in the confidence of the Government. At these meetings, in addition to the usual resolutions of sympathy, the question has been usually discussed as to what would be the best means of bringing practical aid to the Indians in the Transvaal, and there have been generally two proposals made. The first is to introduce legislation differentiating against South African colonists which would humiliate them, such as the laws of this country do to British Indians. India is now within sight of a measure of self government, which would enable this to be done. The second proposal which was approved of was to start an industrial boycott against South Africa, and this is the point which I wish to make and the danger to which I have referred.

The sale of South African coal has been strenuously pushed in the Indian markets during the last year or so, and the shipments have been going up by leaps and bounds and promise, if things go on uninterruptedly, to reach important dimensions. English coal, which competes with it is handicapped by canal dues of ten francs a ton, and this is where South Africa has the pull and promises to acquire even a stronger position in the Indian markets. Is it wise on the part of this country to jeopardise this promising business for all that the British Indians now ask? If this is done—and the present struggle is to continue judging from the strong and unanimous feeling which at present exists in India among all classes and colours as to the shameful treat-

ment which is meted out to their kinsmen in this country—it is safe to predict very soon we shall learn some morning that South African coal is being shunned and treated in India as if it had been sprinkled and mixed with cholera and plague virus, and South African steamers as if they were floating coffins. This boycott would have started ere this only that some of the more moderate and influential leaders counselled delay and not to be over hasty, to see if wiser counsels did not prevail here, and the people of this country did not reconsider and concede the moderate demands of the British Indians. Some two years ago, in a complaint against Japan, India adopted a boycott, such as is now proposed against South Africa, when Japan was brought to her knees in a week, and this can be done with South Africa. It has been argued that as the buying power is in favour of South Africa, India could not carry on a successful boycott against her, which is nonsense, for South Africa buys from India things which she cannot do without and cannot get elsewhere, whereas India has English, Japanese, and Australian coal to fall back on, and she is in an independent position.

Asiatics in Canada

Success of the Japanese Agreement

The *Standard's* Ottawa correspondent, cabling on the 25th ulto. says:—

The immigration of Japanese into Canada for the first seven months of the present fiscal year—April to October inclusive—amounted in all to 434 persons, 285 being men, 123 women, and 26 children. For the corresponding period of last year Japanese immigrants into the Dominion totalled 6,648.

This great decrease shows the effectiveness of the arrangement concluded by Mr. Rodolphe Lemieux with the Japanese Government to restrict immigration. No more Japanese or Hindoos will be admitted into the Dominion this year.

The total immigration into Canada from all countries during the months from April to October amounted to 109,575 persons, a decrease of 102,449, or 48 per cent., as compared with the same period of last year. The Immigrants from the United States for the seven months numbered 50,238, an increase of 783.

If the Hindoos in British Columbia, misled by agitators anxious to foment trouble for the Imperial and Canadian Governments, and backed by the seditious Hindoo organisations in Chicago and Seattle, continue their present attitude of opposition to the project of migration to British Honduras many may be deported to India by the Immigration Department as being undesirable citizens and dependants on public charity.

Treating Indians as 'Niggers'

In Canada and South Africa

The Sikh immigrants to British Columbia have just held a meeting at Victoria, says *The Globe* of the 24th ulto., to protest against the treatment meted out to them by the Canadians, and it is impossible not to sympathise with much of what they say. The Canadian does not want the British Indian in his country; and that is reasonable enough, partly on the grounds of racial purity and partly on those of the competition of cheaper Oriental labour, while the Canadians rightly enough, do not intend to lower the wages market. But it may be doubted whether in any case Canada offers a good place for the settlement of any number of British Indians, and the difficulty has to this extent been exaggerated. But there is also room for grave complaints as to the social treatment of the Indian. So far from treating him as a subject of the same Empire, the Canadian is often ignorant enough to treat the Sikh or the Hindoo as a "nigger." There is the same unhappy tendency in South Africa; and both together re-act on the situation in India in a manner that is singularly serious. It should be perfectly easy to treat the Indian immigrant as a reasonable being, and to come to arrangements with him, without informing him by harsh treatment that he is a member of an inferior race. The Canadian is putting a pretty hard strain on Imperialism when he begins to treat the Indian as a man utterly beneath himself, while he still asks that the Indian civil service should be open to himself and his sons, and that Indian trade should be free to Canadians.

Swami Shankeranand at Stanger

Until recently Durban has been the only place at which the Swamiji has been expounding ancient Vedic lore, but the learned Sanyasi is now on a lecturing tour along the North-Coast line.

Last Saturday evening saw him at Stanger where he was met on the station by a huge concourse of Indians, gathered from far and near to do honour to their spiritual guide. All adjourned to the premises of Mr. G. C. Patel.

On Sunday the holy priest performed *Yagna*. A big crowd listened with intense attention to the Swamiji's lecture, which followed this ceremony. For the benefit of the English people present, he also kindly gave an English version of his Hindi teaching, which mainly consisted in exhorting his hearers to live pure and righteous lives, as laid down by the Vedas.

What the "Man in the Street" Says

Mr. W. M. Vogl writes to the *Star* of the 25th ulto. as follows:—

Surely, reading the resolutions passed by the various commercial bodies, and Town Councils, also largely composed of commercial men, must force once more vividly upon the minds of all thinking people the fact that the whole of this agitation against Asiatics is purely an economic agitation, or, to speak plainer, an agitation engineered entirely by the famous "Where do I come in?" spirit on the part of their competitors, at the expense of our good name for justice and fair play. If there exist any doubts as to the accuracy of this assumption, read the wording of these resolutions, and you will see that the Asiatics' crime is "that they trade," not that they are uncivilised; in fact, if we are to tolerate their presence amongst us at all, says the spirit of these resolutions, we prefer them in an uneducated rather than an educated state. If we trace something of the origin of this queer business—it certainly is queer amongst a civilised people in the 20th century—we find that it started amongst the meanest of our trading community, who really feel this competition as they do the competition of one another, but that it made little headway amongst our level-headed and just men till the doctrine of colour prejudice—a doctrine as much in accord with higher morality as race prejudice is—was openly preached by men from another Colony, and under its preachment their real desires were hidden; then it made headway, and to-day we find that, like the snowball, it has been rolled up and up, apparently taking with it the whole of the white population. I say apparently, because, while it is claimed by the leading spirits of this movement, "that the whole of the white population supports the Government's attitude," even when it goes to the length of persecuting or prosecuting men whom its chief mouthpiece has publicly stated are conscientious objectors, what do we in reality find? Do we find the public active or indifferent to this movement? I submit that everything goes to prove that our disinterested white community is quite indifferent, when not in actual sympathy with the passive resisters, and although at times many could be induced to mouth the supposed popular theory, yet generally the same people, if questioned seriously, admit that they do not understand the subject, but generally finish up by stating, "They suppose that if all the Asiatics, etc., could be put out of the country, there would be more scope for those of us who remained." I have over and over again put this subject fully before persons, even some who have voted for resolutions like those passed yesterday, and have invariably found

them willing to concede as a just right all that the Asiatics now ask for. I am convinced that there is a great need for putting in some effectual way the whole of the case for the Asiatics plainly before the public, put it over and over again till all understand every phase of it. It is a grave question, and much depends on its just settlement in the cause of justice and the progress of our people. It is a serious thing to hear on all hands, "I have never studied the question, and can't give an opinion," and to find when an opinion is expressed that a little study of the subject would alter it.

I submit to all lovers of justice, and especially those who have given the whole subject careful study that it is their duty to leave no stone unturned to lift the veil from the minds of our people, so that they shall no longer in ignorance and indifference allow this persecution and injustice to ride rampant throughout our Colony, which bids fair to be chronicled in history as the dark page of the Transvaal, and to rival, when written twenty years hence, the hideous history we now read of South America preceding the emancipation of slaves.

This is not a question of fighting the Asiatic cause, but of fighting the cause of justice against noise, self-interest, and ignorance. This Colony has passed the pioneer stage; pioneer doctrines must be left behind now. The conscience of the country only needs to be stimulated by a fearless leader and knowledge to sweep away such injustices as these.

"What We are Drifting to"

In an article under the above heading, the *Transvaaler* says:—In course of time the native will play a very important part, if not indeed the principal part in our industrial system. He will as a result of our liberality in educating him at little or no cost to himself be able to earn a decent income, save money and invest it in the industrial undertakings of the country—in farming, factories, etc. Nothing can prevent him from doing that. We, in fact, foresee the native raised to a position that will ensure for him the respect of all whites and make him the equal of most. And as the native population will continue to outnumber the white, a time must come when the white will be beaten at the polls, and the native will make the laws for Black and white. This is beyond any doubt the tendency of our present policy and the direction in which any general South African policy is fairly sure to lead. We cannot prevent it. It is inevitable. We may dismiss the subject from our minds as being a thing for the dim and distant future. But our children's children will have to face the trouble. We may retard the process

that is evolving a civilised native population, claiming and exercising the rights of civilised citizenship, but only for a time. And then the colour question will become less important than it is now. The barrier of colour that separates a cultured white from an untutored savage or an uncultured coloured person, will not be as strong as at present, and white and black will intermarry. At first the laws of the white man will severely punish intercourse. But so many half-coloured children will continually be born that a mixed race will arise that will destroy the barrier between the black and white. Such is the state of things South Africa is drifting to. And we are bringing it about ourselves as if we are paid to do it!

Latest Telegrams from the Transvaal

Pretoria, Thursday.

The Randeria appeal was dismissed by the Supreme Court to-day. The Court held that the Magistrate's procedure is administrative, and not criminal and no appeal lay.

The Court considered that no offence had been committed under Section 7, and there was no conviction. The question was raised as to the meaning attaching to the last clause of the Section.

The Indian leaders are now awaiting Governments' action.

DURBAN FRUITERERS' ASSOCIATION.
A general meeting of the Association will be held on Sunday at 10 a.m., in Mr. Ismail Timol's Hall, Margesha Buildings. The annual Report will be presented and the election of officers take place.

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