

Indian Opinion

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JOHANNESBURG TRAMWAYS

THE Johannesburg Municipality, who won the Tramways test case in the Witwatersrand High Court, were beaten on appeal to the Supreme Court at Pretoria, and appealed to the Appellate Court, have now withdrawn their appeal, allowing to stand the Supreme Court's judgment that the old regulations excluding coloured persons from the ordinary tramcar service was *ultra vires*. The original coloured applicants are paying the costs in the High Court, and the Municipality is paying the costs in the Supreme and Appellate Courts. The result, so far as this case is concerned, is a complete legal and political victory for the various sections of the coloured population, and the above settlement is also to their financial advantage. The Tramways Committee, however, are recommending the following for acceptance by the Municipality, with a view to the publication of new Tramway By-laws:—

In view of the necessity of making provision for the conveyance of coloured persons on tram cars, the following amendments are required to the Tramway By-laws.

By-laws

(a) Definitions.

Delete the existing definition of "coloured person," which now reads: "Coloured person" shall include any native and other coloured person except Asiatics," and substitute the following:—

"Asiatic" shall include any person belonging to the native races of Asia not being a Malay born and resident in any British colony or possession in South Africa, and not being an officer in the Consular service of any Asiatic State or Dominion."

"Coloured person" shall mean any person who is manifestly a coloured person not being a native or Asiatic as by this By-law defined."

"Native" shall include any person belonging to any of the aboriginal races or tribes of Africa South of the Equator and its islands, and any person one of whose parents belongs to such race or tribe."

(b) Clause 33 now reads as follows:—

The Council may at its discretion set apart and license any carriage or portion of a carriage for the use of passengers of European race only, and may further set apart and license any carriage or portion of a carriage for the use either of passengers of Asiatic race or of coloured passengers only, or for the exclusive use of both coloured persons and persons of Asiatic race.

Any person entering, travelling upon, or attempting to enter or travel upon any carriage or portion of a carriage set apart and licensed by the Council for a class of passenger to which he does not belong, and any driver or conductor admitting any such person upon such carriage or portion of a carriage shall be deemed to have committed a breach of these By-laws; provided

always that upon payment of the proper fare, notwithstanding the fact that such person may not belong to the class of passenger for which the carriage upon which they are passengers is set apart and licensed by the Council as aforesaid.

(a) Any person holding a special permit, signed by the General Manager on behalf of the Council duly authorising him thereto, may travel upon any carriage or portion of a carriage whatsoever;

(b) Domestic servants in charge of children may travel and occupy any seat that may be allotted to them by the conductor upon any carriage or portion of a carriage set apart and licensed for the use of the class of passenger to which such children belong;

(c) Domestic and personal servants in attendance upon their masters and mistresses may travel and occupy any seat that may be allotted to them by the conductor upon the outside of any carriage set apart and licensed for the class of passenger to which such masters and mistresses belong;

and no driver or conductor admitting any such person or servant shall be deemed to have contravened this By-law, provided always that nothing in this By-law shall be deemed to relieve the Council of any obligation that may attach to it to provide reasonable accommodation for every class of passenger.

The amended Clause 33 reads as follows:

"33. The Council may at its discretion, by a notice affixed to any carriage,

(1) set apart such carriage or portion thereof for the conveyance either of coloured persons only or of Asiatics only or of natives only;

(2) set apart such carriage or a portion thereof for the conveyance of both coloured persons and Asiatics to the exclusion of all others, or for the conveyance of coloured persons, Asiatics and natives to the exclusion of all others.

Any carriage or portion of a carriage not set apart by any such notice as aforesaid shall be deemed to be set apart by the Council for the conveyance of white persons only.

Any person travelling or attempting to travel upon any carriage or portion of a carriage set apart by the Council for a class of passenger to which he does not belong, and any driver or conductor allowing any such person to travel upon such carriage or portion of a carriage shall be deemed to have committed a breach of these By-laws, provided always that, notwithstanding anything herein contained, upon payment of the proper fare—

(a) Any person holding a special permit, signed by the General Manager on behalf of the Council duly authorising him thereto, may travel upon any carriage or portion of a carriage whatsoever;

(b) Domestic servants in charge of children may

travel and occupy any seat that may be allotted to them by the conductor upon any carriage, or portion of a carriage, set apart for the use of the class of passenger to which such children belong ;

"(c) Domestic and personal servants in attendance upon their masters or mistresses may travel and occupy any seat that may be allotted to them by the conductor upon the outside of any carriage set apart for the class of passenger to which such masters or mistresses belong, and no driver or conductor allowing any such person or servant to travel upon any carriage, or portion of a carriage, as herein provided, shall be deemed to have contravened this By-law ;

" Provided always that nothing in this By-law shall be deemed to relieve the Council of any obligation that may attach to it to provide reasonable accommodation for every class of passenger."

Krugersdorp and Indians

On Monday, the 14th ultimo, a protest meeting was held at Burgershoop against the residence of Asiatics among the Europeans. Mr. W. J. Delpport presided and was supported by the Mayor (Mr. Jas. Richardson), Mr. E. Cresswell, M.P.C., and Messrs. J. Hoatson and C. B. Saner, members of the Municipal Council.

It appeared that the Council had some time back closed the old Asiatic bazaar, and that the inhabitants had then migrated to Burgershoop. The Mayor considered that the matter should be dealt with by the Provincial Council. He thought that the white man who let a house to Asiatics was to blame, and Asiatics could not own property, but could lease it.

Mr. Cresswell was of opinion that concessions were allowed to coolies in preference to Europeans, and as an instance astonished his hearers by telling them that "under the existing Shop Hours Bill you cannot prosecute a coolie, but a white man, if he keeps open after hours, you can." If his hearers wanted to keep their own standard, they should keep the Asiatic from white areas. The coolies were there, in his mind, because the whites were supporting them. They were compelled to deal with them because they were cheaper. He suggested a boycott.

Mr. Hoatson said that the Council was sympathetic, but was powerless. It was a question for the legislature to deal with. People who rented houses to coolies were greatly to blame, and he mentioned in this connection the name of a well-known resident in Krugersdorp, who had five Chinese families living on his property.

Mr. Saner found a great many white people trading with coolies, and he considered this rotten. It was not only the poor people who did so, but others. It was up to them all, even if they had to pay a bit more for their supplies, to deal with their own people. They must not, however, forget the men who were fighting for the Allies in Europe. All honoured and supported them. They were, however, the tip-toppers. What came to this country was the scum. He urged them to play the game from start to finish, not protest one minute, and then go across the road to buy their groceries from the coolie.

After further discussion, Messrs. H. J. Delpport, C. B. Smith, L. Frack, M. Klavansky, J. Wimble, Duggan, and D. Vaughan were elected a deputation to meet the Municipal Council on the subject.

[NOTE: The elegant gentleman who described Transvaal Indians as "scum," evidently forgot how some years ago the late Sir Lepel Griffin described a very large proportion of the "white" inhabitants of his country. Mr. Saner does not appear to remember the first elements of economics, and he is quite oblivious, apparently, of Lord Kitchener's injunction to those who are not in the fighting line, to carry on the business of the country as usual.—Ed. I.O.]

Indians and the War

This week the "Indian Number" of *The Times* "History of the War" has been published, and it is a record of which all India and all the Empire may well be proud (says the London correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*). The number is exceedingly well illustrated with pictures of special interest. On the frontispiece appears H. H. Maharaja Sir Pertab Singh, Regent of Jodhpur and many other ruling Princes appear in its pages. The first of the two chapters deals with the wonderful response of India at the outbreak of war, and the marvellous gifts in equipment and all kinds of necessaries as soon as it was known that Indian troops would fight side by side with other soldiers of the Empire on the battlefields of Europe. The unity of Princes and people is specially emphasised and Germany's miscalculation on the attitude India would adopt to the British Raj, Mr. Malaviya and Mr. Tilak are quoted to show the attitude of those whom Germany expected would welcome a favourable opportunity for revolution. A sketch is given of the history and records of India's army and adds interest to the story of the arrival in Europe of the Indian soldiers. The public is enlightened as to what really happened to the Contingent on its arrival in France, and a graphic picture is drawn of the time spent in and around Orleans by certain sections; the illustrations make the word picture more real. Another interest on which light is thrown is the first appearance of the men in the fighting line. Dates and names of places, mysteriously referred to in the accounts published in the daily press and indicated by dashes and dots, now stand boldly forth in these pages. "October 28th will be a memorable day in the annals of the Indian Army," says this record. "It was the first occasion on which the Indian troops were called upon to show their mettle on European soil. They were required to take part in an offensive against a strong position held by a force of the regular army of the greatest military Power in Europe. They responded splendidly." Then follows the story of the storming of Neive Chapelle which brought to Sir James Willcocks the following message from the Commander-in-Chief: "Please congratulate your Indian troops on their gallant conduct and express my gratitude to them." Other notable points of interest are the visits of Lord Roberts and His Majesty the King-Emperor, the attempt of the Germans to spread disaffection among the Moslem troops, the arrangements made for the comfort of the soldiers, both the unwounded and wounded. Many incidents of daring are given, and the heroism of those who have won the V.C. and other marks of recognition. The work of the Sappers and Miners is warmly praised, and the recorder, in mentioning the preparedness of the enemy with regard to mortars and hand grenades, tells how splendidly the Indian sappers came to the rescue, having had long experience of these machines. The record ends on an emphatic emphasis on the comradeship in arms between the soldiers of East and West in a way undreamed of even comparatively recently. "When Hindu and Musulman have fought shoulder to shoulder with Canadians and New Zealanders against a common European enemy the differences that have divided the fellow-subjects of the Crown should find an easier settlement."

The report by Mr. J. McNeill and Mr. Chimman Lal on the condition of Indian immigrants in Trinidad, Demerara, Jamaica, Fiji and Surinam has been referred to local Governments for consideration.

From the Editor's Chair

THE LATE MR. GOKHALE.

WE received a cable from Mr. Gandhi informing us of the death of the late Mr. Gokhale, and suggesting universal mourning; but, spontaneously, South African Indians had already taken steps to give general expression to the grief that had so suddenly overwhelmed them. Throughout the country memorial meetings were held and telegrams of sympathy in large numbers were sent from all the Provinces of the Union. In most places of importance the shops were closed and no business was done, and in other ways the local Indian population displayed the deep feeling that moved them, in an appropriate manner. The proposal of Mr. Rustonjer, in Durban, that some permanent memorial should be offered as a tribute to the memory of the late statesman—a proposal that was crystallised in the Johannesburg resolution—we certainly hope will be embodied in something more permanent than a pious thought; and we venture earnestly to suggest to the Indian public bodies of South Africa, that they should take steps without delay in that direction. The death of India's greatest statesman has left sore hearts in this country, yet life is not made for mourning, but for greater efforts to remedy distress and human wants, and we must gird up our loins and set to work to fulfil the trust that has been committed to us.

MR. AND MRS. GANDHI

It is a matter of deep gratification to South African Indians to note the great respect and affection with which Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi have been welcomed back to the Motherland. The leaders of Bombay did not, indeed, wait for them to land, but met them on the steamer upon its arrival, and their landing took place, by permission of the authorities, at the Apollo Bunder, an honour shared with Royalty, by Viceroys, Indian administrators of the front rank, and India's most distinguished sons alone. And the honour was doubled in value because it was conferred also upon Mrs. Gandhi, who deserved it equally well. We are glad to note that the Bombay ladies did not delay to accord her a most hearty welcome amongst them, and her reception was significant and historic. But for the war and their ill-health, both Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi would have made a triumphal progress through India, and we are sure that, though the Motherland may possibly have lost by reason of these impediments, Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi must have been grateful for them in that their modesty must have shrunk from these public demonstrations. We understand that their health is improving, and we pray that they may be long spared to serve India nobly.

JOHANNESBURG TRAMS

THE coloured residents—using the term in its widest connotation—of Johannesburg are to be congratulated upon the achievement of a notable victory against the forces of re-action as represented by the Johannesburg Municipality. For years they have been deprived of the use of the municipal tramcars, though directly or indirectly they provide, with the white citizens of the Golden City, for the maintenance of this public service. The coloured citizens have either been compelled to walk or to pay for cabs at excessive rates for relatively short distances. Some months ago, however, the Doornfontein Branch of the African Political Association, moved by a strong sense of injury, commenced legal proceedings against the Municipality with a view to secure a judicial interpretation of the Tramways By-laws. In the Witwatersrand High Court they lost, but this Court's decision was shortly afterwards upset

on appeal by the Transvaal Division of the Supreme Court, and it was against this decision, which declared the objectionable by-law to be *ultra vires* and that coloured persons equally with whites were entitled to the use of the ordinary tramcar service, that the Municipality noted an appeal in the Appellate Division. Apparently the Municipality has been advised that it had very little likelihood of success, for it has now withdrawn its appeal by arrangement with the coloured applicants, upon conditions financially advantageous to the latter. But this recoil has been but to spring forward the better. For a new series of regulations has been drafted to replace those that have been declared *ultra vires*, which are deliberately designed to rob coloured citizens of the rights of which they have been unlawfully deprived for the last nine years, and these regulations, as will be observed by reference to another column, are of a most reactionary character looked at from the racial view-point. They reek of racial discrimination and insult every class of coloured citizen. We are glad to learn that both the Cape coloured people and Indian community are already making preparation to resist this fresh invasion of their rights, and we hope that their efforts will meet with success. The Johannesburg Municipality record in this matter has been one of mingled slimness and meanness, and we are sure that the Municipality, sooner or later, will meet with the retribution that it deserves. May it be sooner rather than later is our earnest wish.

he could not rest until he came here to observe our conditions with his own eyes, to offer the encouragement of his own presence, to imbue us with his own glorious enthusiasm and to encourage us by the respect and affection that he bestowed upon our own great leader, Mr. Gandhi, who always looked upon him as his own political teacher. In the few weeks that he spent among us in 1912, he entered deeply into all our problems, all our hopes and all our fears. There was no section of the community to which he did not pay the tribute of the study of its particular problem and the encouragement that he alone could give. I well recollect how he pleaded the cause of the Indian trader before the Durban Chamber of Commerce. Do we not all remember the indignation with which he condemned the disgraceful £3 Tax and the enthusiasm with which he urged and induced many of our European fellow-colonists to urge its early repeal? To the Colonial-born Indians, he gave a special message in recognition of the peculiar difficulties with which they are surrounded and the special responsibilities reposing on them. To the Tamil Indians he expressed his deepest appreciation of the sacrifices that they had already made in the cause of our country. And to the Indian women he bowed low in respect for their extension of the great tradition of Indian womanhood.

"Where can such another man as this be found among our countrymen? Who can replace him in the social and political life of our country? He was truly a great, noble, dignified, modest, and self-sacrificing Servant of India. What can we do to perpetuate his

Capetown Meeting

A mass meeting of Indians, representing the various sections, was held at 50 Aspeling Street, under the presidentship of Dr. Gool, in order to express sympathy and sorrow at the great loss sustained in the death of Mr. Gokhale. Among those present were Mr. and Mrs. Cook, Miss Blackburn and Messrs. T. L. B. Edgcombe, V. R. Vartak, H. J. M. Gool, M. S. Pillay, S. M. Rahim, M. Halim, Bapoo Abojee, S. S. Chetty, L. Desai, M. Unoos, A. Ismail, Ally Ebrahim and Bawoodien Parker.

In his speech, the chairman said: We have met here to-night under the auspices of no special society, thus giving the opportunity for everyone, of whatever caste, creed, or association, to be present, so that the spirit of tolerance and understanding may be with us inculcated by the great departed. We are here to give expression to the sorrow we feel at the irreparable loss the Motherland has sustained in the death of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, her most eminent statesman in India. At this moment both Hindus and Mahomedans of all classes are mourning; and in spite of the distance, we here realised fully how great he was who laboured so willingly and so well for the fair name of India. The keynotes of his success may be summed up in his self-sacrifice and hard work. He was born in Kolapur in 1866, and obtained his B.A. of the Bombay University in 1884. At the college he had already shown marked brilliancy and great powers of application. He then joined the staff of Ferguson College, Poona, as Professor of History and Political Economy, at a small salary. For 18 years he devoted himself to the education of the Indian youth, in spite of the many tempting offers to better his position. This first sacrifice in the cause of a high ideal of duty laid the foundation of his future greatness. During these years, as editor of two journals, he wrote many articles on Indian finance, showing a depth of knowledge and understanding of local conditions undreamt of before in an Indian. He was one of the first to prick that ancient bubble that the educated Indian gets his opinions all second-hand. The Indian politicians of the time showed, with few exceptions, a marked inability to consider present-day conditions. Lost in the vision of the future, they failed to see the many steps to be firmly and slowly built before it can materialise. Gokhale brought with him into politics a deep knowledge of Indian finance, a breadth of understanding enabling him to see all sides of a question, and an eloquent tongue. Besides these he was a man of great personal charm and magnetism. With all these fine qualities combined in a high-minded, generous character, his advance into favour amongst all the divergent peoples of India was rapid. In 1900 he was elected to the Bombay Legislative Council, and in 1902 to the Viceroy's Council. He was of the moderate school, and saw India's future greatness as a self-governing part of the British Empire honouring and honoured by all the rest of its members.

In the latter part of his life he realised the many disadvantages under which Indians in the colonies lived. He recognised the veiled bonds of slavery in the Indian indentured labour system, and it was due to him that Indian indentured labour in Natal was abolished. We know him best in connection with his tour of South Africa in 1912. He came to study the Indian question on the spot, and to bring about a better feeling between the Indians and colonists. At the time expectations did not come true as regards the latter, but there is no doubt that after Gokhale's tour many Europeans began to realise the very reasonable attitude Indians have adopted in South Africa. There is no doubt now that there is some definite improvement in the feeling between the colonists and the Indians, which had started even before the present war. The rest would depend, in the words of Mr. Gokhale, upon ourselves, our power of combination, tolerance, and self-sacrifice. After this tour he was never himself again. The insidious malady which has troubled him

for some time asserted itself. Until his death his interest in the South African community was unabated. So has departed from us one who in his field was a pioneer, a model for future generations. In any other country such a man would have filled the highest position in the land with integrity and honour. But in India he had to be content with opening ways for those to come. He showed in his work the same realisation of the needs of modern life as Rabindranath Tagore showed in his poetry and imagination inasmuch as both belong to the great Renaissance of India.

The first resolution as follows was proposed by Mr. Vartak, seconded by Mr. Bapoo Abojee, supported by Mr. M. S. Pillay and carried unanimously:—

"That we, members of the Indian community of the Cape, representing the various sections, hereby wish to put on record our deep sorrow at the irreparable loss the Motherland has sustained in the death of the Hon. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, eminent statesman and true patriot, who in his life, character and attainments has given a new ideal to India."

While the resolution was being read, the audience stood as a token of respect to the departed soul. In proposing the resolution Mr. Vartak outlined in Hindustani the life-work of the great patriot.

The second resolution, proposed by Mr. M. S. Pillay, seconded by Mr. Rahim and supported by Mr. Halim, reads as under:—

"That this resolution be forwarded to the family of the late Hon. Mr. Gokhale, at Poona."

Mrs. Cook said she met Mr. Gokhale when he visited Capetown, and she found him to be a noble soul. Europeans admitted that the work accomplished by him and Mr. Gandhi was worthy of praise. Mr. Gokhale began life under great difficulties and gradually rose to high position. They as Europeans were proud of his life and prayed for peace to the departed soul.

Mr. Cook said it was a great privilege to be amongst them. One speaker had just said that he could not speak in English. It mattered little; he knew they were all aiming at one great thing. Dr. Gool had said that the way had been opened by the spirit of this great soul. It was very true. The Almighty had given them all power for good, as this wonderful man possessed. The fruit of goodness would surely be reaped. He came from the West; they came from the East; and they had met there that day as men and women of a great Kingdom. They all knew what the Indian troops were doing in Europe. The time would come when they would all meet together in a common brotherhood.

Miss Blackburn said she had come there to pay her respects to the departed soul. She had personally met Mr. Gokhale while he was in South Africa. He enquired into the work and education of the Native children and showed very great interest in them. She mourned with Indians in this great loss. Though she did not come from the same country as themselves, she had no hesitation in saying that the life and work of Mr. Gokhale could be compared with that of Christ. He worked for the uplift of humanity.

Mr. Edgecome said he felt it to be a great honour to be present. He was reminded of the Indian soldiers fighting for their King. He had read a story of how His Majesty, who was visiting the hospitals, asked a wounded man how he came there. The man replied: "I came to fight for you, and when I am better I will go again." The speaker exhorted them to stand firm, to be united, and stand as one man in the fight. It was the wish of the deceased statesman that they should enjoy all the privileges of citizenship and become a permanent component part of the British Empire.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Among the messages sent to India deploring the country's loss, was one from the Natal Colonial-born Indian Association expressive of the sorrow of Colonial-born Indians at the death and conveying their sympathy with Miss Gokhale.

Cape Licences

At the Port Elizabeth City Council on the 3rd ultimo, a number of applications for butchers', general dealers' and green grocers' licences were considered (says the *Looker-on*), with the result of there being several refusals, the latter in the case of persons who it was not considered advisable should be holders of such trading privileges.

One party was objected to by Mr. Fowler, this being one Mrs. Maud Abdullah, who wished to carry on the business of a general dealer in Rudolph Street, at the South End. Mr. Fowler explained that, from what he had been informed by the Chief Sanitary Inspector, the woman is a Malay who was married to an Indian. But the husband had absconded to India, leaving his wife without any means of support. The man had now returned from India and was again living with his wife, and although the woman was applying for the licence, it was really her husband, who, Mr. Fowler explained, seemed to be an undesirable character. He therefore moved that the licence be refused.

Mr. Newton remarked that Mr. Fowler had made some rather strong statements about the man's character. But except that he had left his wife, the husband—and the present speaker had known him all his life—was a very respectable man, who didn't drink and always conducted himself well in public. Mr. Newton added that he did not know anything about the man's private affairs.

Mr. Savage was in favour of the licence being granted because the man in question was a British subject. To-day Indians and their own countrymen were fighting side by side in Europe and elsewhere, and that they had also to consider. Formerly he was as much opposed as anybody to Indians getting licences to trade, but they were now to be regarded as brothers-in-arms, and were as much entitled to licences as any other British subjects.

The motion to refuse the licence was rejected by 14 votes to five.

Passive Resistance for India?

One of the greatest difficulties we have in India (writes Mrs. Annie Besant in her paper, *New India*) is the want of understanding, and consequently of co-operation, between the different schools of political views. A want of clarity of thought leads to a want of accuracy in expression; one word is used to describe different things and even opposed policies; hence misunderstandings arise, and these are aggravated by the inevitable pressure of a Government carried on chiefly by non-Indians—a pressure deliberately used in some Provinces occasionally, and in some constantly—a pressure which is always present in the minds of the governed, if not in those of the governors. Hence, if a word has ever been used by anarchists, or by Indians who wish for entire separation from the Empire, that word assumes a lurid significance, and becomes as the proverbial red rag to the proverbial bull. Without waiting to ascertain whether the red rag is a flag on the dart of a toreador or a harmless and even decorative shawl, the bull closes his eyes, lowers his head, and charges. Such words as Passive Resistance, boycott, obstruction, need to be sharply defined, at least by anyone who use them; otherwise, an anarchist, having used the word "boycott" as against the Government, indicating thereby a propaganda in which entire abstinence from all participation in anything with which the Government is connected is to be exercised, a Nationalist, using the same word to indicate abstinence from foreign-made goods, is at once suspected of anarchism. Let us then examine "suspect words," and see their possible connotations.

Passive Resistance. This is a political method of opposing a wrong, or gaining a right, in which all violence is definitely abjured and the Passive Resister

suffers anything that the Government of the place and time may choose to inflict upon him; his motto is: "Resist not evil; endure to the end." Some Englishwomen, Suffragists, believing really that which all Democrats pretend to believe, that "taxation without representation is robbery," abstain from paying taxes; the Government seizes some of their household furniture, sells it by auction, and pockets the tax. No resistance is made. If only a few do it, Government takes its taxes, and nothing happens. If very large numbers do it, as in the case of Church-rates, a public scandal is created, public opinion is aroused, and the law is changed. In South Africa, Mr. Gandhi adopted Passive Resistance; the grievances suffered were cruel, the number of the sufferers large, the area of combat small. Everyone, from the Viceroy downwards, applauds his Passive Resistance, and that of the Indians associated with him; he is applauded as hero, canonised as a saint. The area of combat was remote enough to cause no uneasiness in Great Britain, or even in India, save by its reaction here; Passive Resistance triumphed to some extent, and many of the grievances were removed. But suppose this same Passive Resistance were adopted here in order to exercise pressure to remove a grievance, we know very well that it would be at once labelled sedition, and that any concerted action, like that of Mr. Gandhi and his fellow resisters, would be forcibly broken up and the leaders deported, if there were not evidence enough to convict and imprison.

Is Passive Resistance right or wrong? Clearly the Viceroy and the vast majority of English and Indians think that it is right—in some cases. To put it rather brutally, the majority think that it is a justifiable method of political agitation where the surrounding circumstances hold out a promise of success, and where it is strictly confined to the infliction of suffering on himself by the Passive Resister, who endures the suffering by his own choice. It then raises pity, and finally love. The Church-rate Passive Resistance succeeded, because the grievance was keenly felt by huge numbers of people; the Suffrage non-taxpayer fails, because the grievance is very little felt, and practically nobody cares. The money is gained by the auction of the Passive Resister's goods, there are three lines in the papers, they are read with a shrug, a smile, a sheer, or a word of admiration and—all is forgotten. The public does not care, is not moved. Such Passive Resistance pleases the individual conscience, but it is utterly futile; it is not politics. There are a few people in India who, while the Press Act, the Arms Act, the power of deportation, and a few other objectionable laws remain on the Statute Book, will not stand for election to Municipalities, Boards, Councils, etc. Some of these are people of the highest ideals, of purest love of country, of gentle life, who would never inflict suffering on anyone save on themselves. If the grievances of these laws were heavily felt by the vast majority of educated Indians, then such an abstention by all would make a great and effective protest. But the majority, knowing there is not a sufficiently widespread earnestness to make success, very sensibly prefer to use the powers they have on the Legislative Council to improve Indian conditions; if a large number of good men stood apart, there would be crowds of inferior men ready to scramble for the places they leave empty. The country loses the services of these good men, and the policy does not lead to any useful result. It is futile, not wrong; abstention due to sloth is wrong; abstention due to adherence to the ideal of Passive Resistance cannot be wrong, but we venture to submit, with all deference, that it does not help the country. There is nothing unconstitutional in the method, and such pure-minded and patriotic men should certainly have a place in the Congress. Their unselfishness, their patriotism, their high ideals make them inspiring influences, even though they abstain from the hard practical work. It is one of the tragedies of India that they feel they must abstain.

The conditions of successful Passive Resistance are a clearly-defined grievance, deeply felt by the great majority of the people; a public, whose sympathy can be obtained; a small area, in which, practically, all the people concerned exercise such resistance. Vague discontent, general dissatisfaction—these are not suitable for Passive Resistance. Moreover, there must be a reasonable hope of success within a comparatively brief time. In India, none of the conditions are present: Indian conditions resemble those against which the Suffragists contend in England—a mass of inert indifference, which cannot be roused into sympathy, which does not care. Therefore, while respecting the handful of patriots who adopt this policy, and hoping that they will join the Congress, we say, quite definitely, that Passive Resistance cannot be wisely or usefully employed in working for Self-government. A handful of Passive Resisters in 300 millions of passive acquiescers is futile, and their abstinence helps the bureaucracy.

News in Brief

Owing to the late arrival through the post of a packet from Johannesburg, which, however, was posted in time and in order, we are compelled to hold over a quantity of matter regarding the late Mr. Gokhale, including the personal tribute by Mr. Polak. Last week, by a similar delay to a packet carefully posted in Durban, we had to delay publication for 24 hours. These delays are not the first that have occurred and we are taking the matter up strongly with the authorities. We trust that our readers will excuse us. We should be glad, also, if the secretary of any society which has passed resolutions of sympathy in the death of Mr. Gokhale would send copies to us for publication, if not already posted.

Mr. K. T. Gajjar, of Somerset East, has set the good example of sending a cheque for £1 10s. 6d. towards a South African memorial to the late Mr. Gokhale, and adds significantly that, if nothing be done to perpetuate his memory, all the honour paid to him in South Africa in 1912 was mere selfish vanity.

The reports of meetings at Pretoria, Maritzburg, Port Elizabeth, Verulam and other places are unavoidably held over.

A successful Bioscope entertainment in aid of the Hindi Ashram, Hindi Press and Public Hindi Free School was given at Mr. D. Morgan's Bioscope, Johannesburg, on Wednesday the 24th ultimo. There was a large gathering of all sections of the community. Amongst the items displayed was the picture of the arrival of the late Honourable Mr. Gokhale in Johannesburg in 1912. A substantial amount of the takings will be handed over to the Principal of the Institution.

A meeting of the Reincarnation Society is called for Saturday, March 6th, at 7-30 p.m., in Acutt's Arcade (over Tea Room) to form a Durban Lodge of the International Karma and Reincarnation Legion. The Committee will consist of European, Indian, Chinese and Japanese ladies and gentlemen, representing a Brotherhood of all nations and faiths united in the single purpose of popularising the teachings of Karma and Reincarnation. A cordial invitation is extended to leading Indians to help to form this Committee. We understand that the promoters aim at "the practical application of Universal Brotherhood now—not in the hypothetical future." "As an independent organisation," writes the Hon. Secretary, "we wish it known that we are not in any way connected with the Theosophical or any other Society nor do we support any one aspect in preference to another of the teachings of Karma and Reincarnation." We wish these good people success in their undertaking.

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