

# Indian Opinion

No. 12—VOL. XVIII.

FRIDAY, MARCH 19TH, 1920.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper  
PRICE THREEPENCE

## NOTES AND NEWS

**A** FAREWELL address was presented to Mr. C. F. Andrews on the eve of his departure for India at a meeting of Durban Indians held on Thursday the 11th instant, at 5-30 p.m. at Rawat's Hall. Mr. O. H. A. Jhavari being in the Chair. The time arranged for the meeting being awkward and notices not well-circulated the gathering was not as should have been expected, though comparatively is was a large one.

Mr. Andrews in the course of his farewell speech stated that among the most important questions one was that of the Indian labourers employed on the Sugar Estates. Their condition, he said, was not in any way improving but was rather becoming worse, and that he would try his utmost, on his return to India, to see that the present condition is improved.

Those who were advocating the repatriation of Indians were condemned in the severest terms by Mr. Andrews, who said he would fight till death against such a policy being put into practice.

London, March 10.—In the House of Commons, replying to Mr. Bennett (Coalition Unionist), formerly editor of the *Times of India*, Mr. Fisher, on behalf of Mr. Montagu, stated that the Union Government laid down no conditions which the non-official Indian representatives, who had been invited to accompany Sir Benjamin Robertson to South Africa in connection with the Asiatic Commission of Inquiry, was not prepared to accept, but there were difficulties outside the control of the Union Government which led him to refuse the invitation at a very late stage. It was inadvisable to delay the institution of the inquiry indefinitely, and it was impracticable for the Government of India to replace him.—Reuter.

A correspondent, writing to the *Natal Mercury* on the question of Asiatic repatriation, says:—"Even if it cost £200,000,000, that is cheap to what it will cost in another 25 years. But the cheapest way to get rid of these people (and go they must), is to stop the issue of all new licences to Asiatics and the transfer of property. All present licences to cease at the death of the present holder. These people would then desert South Africa, as rats desert a sinking ship."

Another correspondent replying to the above says:—"No, if some drastic steps such as I advocate are taken, so far from £200,000,000 being needed for repatriation, etc., in 20 years the amount will have fallen considerably indeed. Who would suggest that the value of a business stand in an Indian location bazaar would equal in value one, say, in West Street, Durban?"

The meaning of each of the above suggestions is clear enough. And yet we have no doubt that each writer would stoutly deny that he was unfair. That is the queer part of it.

The statement is made by a correspondent in the

daily press that the British Government repatriated all the French settlers on the coast of Newfoundland in 1906? These people (he says) had become as a big nuisance as what the Asiatics here have become. They were compensated, repatriated, and now Newfoundland has peace.

Mr. C. F. Andrews left for India last Friday morning by the s.s. *Karagoua*.

The *Natal Mercury*, in the course of an editorial on the new Government of India Act, says:—

"The Act that now comes into force did not have its genesis in any widespread protests against the administration of the Raj. Rather is it the outcome of a claim to privileges that we ourselves had taught India to expect, and for which we have been training her to qualify. Responsible action must now take the place of irresponsible fault-finding; and it now remains for Indians to prove themselves capable administrators. They have climbed into the seats of the mighty with remarkable rapidity, and it rests with them to make the most of the chances offered them. The eyes not only of the East, but of a far wider world, will be upon them, as they set themselves to the boldest experiment that has ever been made in the annals of the British Empire."

Meanwhile a Commission is at present sitting in South Africa to consider whether Indians shall be entitled to trade freely and own the property to reside or do business in!

The following advertisement appears in the *Cape Times* dated the 17th instant:—

The Commission appointed by His Excellency the Governor-General to inquire into and report on the provisions of the law affecting—

- (a) the acquisition of land and rights affecting land in the Union by Asiatics and persons of Asiatic descent for trading or other purposes;
- (b) the trading or carrying on of business by such persons generally, or in specified localities, and whether it is in the public interest to alter the law in any respect;
- (c) to make recommendations with regard to any difficulties and grievances which have arisen in regard to matters (a) and (b).

will commence its sittings at Room 7, Marks' Buildings, Parliament Street, Cape Town, on Wednesday, 17th March, 1920.

All persons desiring to give evidence or appear before the Commission are requested to communicate with the Secretary at 69, Parliament Street, Cape Town.—J. R. HARTSHORNE, Secretary.

Calcutta, March 6.—The Khalifate Conference passed a resolution in favour of sending a final message to the Viceroy and the King-Emperor, severing connection with the British Government if the Mahomedan feeling with reference to Turkey is not respected. A further resolution urged the Mahomedans to boycott British piece goods.—Reuter.

A Reuter's telegram from Capetown dated March 17 says:—

The first sitting of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission took place to-day, under the chairmanship of Sir John Lange. After discussion as to procedure, it was decided to sit with open doors in future. The Commission will sit to-morrow at 10-30, and next week from Monday to Saturday. Sir Benjamin Robertson was present, representing the Indian Government.

After leaving Capetown, the Commission will sit at Kimberley, and then proceed to Johannesburg. It has not been decided whether the Commission will then proceed, but Natal will certainly be visited.

## THE SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION

### ANTI-INDIAN CAMPAIGN

#### MR. GANDHI'S LETTER TO THE INDIAN PRESS

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, has forwarded the following to the Press in India:—

The following is the extension of a cable received by me from Mr. Aswat, Chairman of the British Indian Association Transvaal, regarding Krugersdorp Municipality vs. Dadoo Ltd., referred to in the memorandum presented to the Union Premier:—

"Court has set aside transfers. Held formation Indian companies purpose of acquiring fixed property illegal. Declared transfers so obtained *fra dem legis*, saying that legislation cannot be laughed at Section 130. Gold Law intended to prevent indiscriminate mingling coloured Europeans. Further judgment Potchefstroom under Local Ordinance 91, 1912, Magistrate upholds Council's contention Asiatic presence causes annoyance and detriment to European commerce and on that ground holds Indians as undesirable. Both judgments ruination community. Appeals noted. Europeans tendering, Local Government Commission specialising Indian question urging complete autonomy Municipalities. Make representations proper quarters immediately. Association prays hold meetings throughout India. New Act 3 no protection even to old companies and traders. Position most precarious strenuous action imperative for the sake of saving community."

#### AN EYE-OPENER.

This cablegram cannot fail to disconcert those who have at all studied the South African question for, as Mr. Aswat says, it is calculated to undo even the little that the new Act was claimed to accomplish. The Dadoo Ltd. is an old established Indian company in Krugersdorp. It holds extensive landed property in that township and the meaning of the cablegram is that the transfers registered in the name of the company of landed properties are illegal, because, as the court seems to have extended, the transaction was in fraud of the law and that legislation could not be laughed at. I wish to say nothing regarding the propriety of the judgment or the reasoning on which it seems to be based. I wish merely to point out to the public the astounding results that can flow from this judgment. Thousands of pounds worth of landed property is registered in the names of companies in which Indians enjoy a dominating position. If the judgment stands, every one of those companies will become dispossessed of the land they have occupied for years, land which they have acquired openly and under legal advice and which has been registered in the land Registry Office. With the full knowledge of all the circumstances by the Registrars, and only last year when the new Disabling Act was passed by the South African Legislature, we were told that the holding of land in this manner prior to the 31st July last would not be affected by the legislation and in justification of the measures we were told by all the speakers in the Union

Assembly that the legislation would protect existing companies and mortgages. The judgment in question comes, therefore, as an eye-opener. I venture to submit that even if the judgment is sound, it evidently frustrates the intention of the legislature and deprives Indians of rights they have enjoyed without question for years past. I hold that the impending doom must be averted even if it is to be done by special legislation as was done in 1914 in connection with the legal recognition of Indian marriages.

#### "UNDESIRABLE"

The second point raised in the cablegram refers to a magisterial judgment and it means that Indians as Indians may be declared as undesirable not on ground of insanitation or immorality but because they compete with the European traders to their detriment. If this doctrine were to hold good, not a single Indian can engage in any trade whatever in South Africa. It is evident that the anti-Asiatic atmosphere created in the Transvaal by the agitation against British Indian settlers in South Africa is beginning to effect even the courts of law.

The third point raised in the cable refers to the Commission that is now going on in South Africa, regarding the proposed extension of the power of the Municipalities. Ordinarily, one can only welcome any extension of powers being given to municipalities, but in South Africa and the other Dominions in the Empire such extension often means, as in the present instance, the power and oppress the unrepresented classes domiciled in those Dominions, and it, therefore, proves not a blessing but a curse to those who are not enfranchised. Indians in the Transvaal and the Free States possess neither the political nor the Municipal franchise. In Natal and at the Cape they do in a limited manner but in no way so as to affect Municipal policy or to be able to assert themselves.

#### "CALL TO GOVERNMENT OF INDIA"

Sir Benjamin Robertson will presently sail for South Africa. His diplomatic talent and his trusteeship will be taxed to the utmost before he secures not only a full status for the Indians in South Africa but even a tolerably respectable footing for them, to secure, i. e., to say the right to trade and own landed property without restriction save such as are common to all as well in theory as in practice. One can only hope that the Government of India will speak to the Union Government in no uncertain terms on this question, and that the public and the Press will strengthen their hands in this matter of vital importance, involving the bread and butter of thousands of Indian settlers in far off South Africa who are engaged in an unequal struggle.

## THE AMRITSAR MASSACRE

### STATEMENTS BY PROMINENT PUBLICISTS

The following expressions of opinion on the Amritsar Massacre received by the Editor of *India* from outstanding figures in British public life should be remembered especially by those in South Africa who have not and will not realise the seriousness of the crimes committed in India by responsible British officials:—

Mr. G. P. Gooch, the eminent historian, writes:— "As an old supporter of the Liberal spirit and policy in India, and a convinced believer in the Montague reforms, I hope that the British Government and the British Parliament will express their abhorrence of the Amritsar crime."

Mr. Ben Spoor, M.P., telegraphs:— "All responsible for Amritsar massacres should be immediately dismissed, for our own credit no less than India's."

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald writes:— "In common with every person who cares for the good name of this country and for its genius as a governing State, I have read with horror the reports of the Amritsar and other enquiries. Mr. Montagu ought to be made to resign

and the responsible military people tried on a murder charge. That alone will put us right with the world."

The Hon. J. Kenworthy, M.P., writes:—"I will give you the following statement of the Punjab disclosures:

"The evidence already given before the Hunter Committee on the methods used to impress the people of the Punjab with the blessings of British rule show that we deliberately adopted the principle of terrorising the population.

"If this is the only way in which we British can rule India, it were better that we cleared out of the peninsula altogether.

"The case is *subjudice*; but when the final report is made, the British people should insist on the trial of those responsible for any atrocities proved to have been committed in their name. I do not blame the military officers concerned so much as the civil officials, who are responsible for the good government and fair treatment of the Indian people. If these officials have betrayed their trust and are not punished, it will be sheer hypocrisy for us to go forward with the trial of the German war criminals."

The following statement (says *India*) has been drawn up by an eminent cleric of the Church of England, who held high preferment for twenty-five years in India. We commend it especially to those missionaries and other ecclesiastics who hold that the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre "saved" India:—

That a religious man like Cannon Guilford can express approval of General Dyer's action at Amritsar is a melancholy proof of the effect of environment upon the moral standard of the individual; for it is probable that nine out of every ten Englishmen living in India would share his opinions. Yet these same people would unhesitatingly condemn similar acts committed by German officers in Belgium. Whence, then, comes this moral obliquity? Why are they anxious to draw out the mote from the Germanic eye without perceiving the beam which obscures their own moral vision?

It would appear that General Dyer, without any warning, and without the proclamation of martial law, ordered his soldiers to fire on an unarmed crowd, who showed no disposition to attack him, and who were unable to escape; he ordered this firing to continue as long as there was any ammunition to fire; and as a result more than five hundred Indians, fellow subjects of the King, were killed, and a much larger number were wounded. Like Shylock, who refused to provide any medical aid for Antonio, this gallant officer made no provision for the wounded.

That such conduct should be defended, and even applauded, by Englishmen is only to be explained by the extraordinary psychology of the Anglo-Indian. Conservatism and Reaction are in the very air breathed in the messes and gymkhanas of India; and freedom of expression on Indian matters is sternly repressed by public opinion. A youth who leaves England an ardent Radical will, as a rule, in a few years, or even in a few months, develop into a reactionary; for he finds himself surrounded by an atmosphere hostile to Liberalism, and he finds it prudent to accommodate his views, or, at least, any open expression of them, to those of the majority rather than run the risk of social ostracism. Yet if Anglo-Indians took a wider outlook they would realise that there is more true wisdom in encouraging men like Sir Henry Cotton than in glorifying the hasty acts of a hot-headed militarist like General Dyer.

If we are to retain India we must win the confidence of Indians, and not arouse their antagonism; we must endeavour to meet their legitimate aspirations for self-government, or otherwise we shall not only lose India, but we shall deserve to do so.—*FAIT JUSTITIA.*

Mr. A. G. Gardiner writes: I don't recall any event which has so universally outraged the feelings of the British people as the disclosure of the Amritsar massacre. It is of the utmost importance that this fact should be disclosed to the people of India by a prompt, emphatic gesture of Government. A crime has been committed in our name; and the first step towards

restoring confidence in our rule in India is to show that we are honest, brave, and just enough to admit the wrong in the face of the world and, as far as is in our power to make amends, leave to the lawyers the consideration of the action which should be taken in regard to the authors of this painful tragedy.

What I am concerned with is the urgent necessity of convincing the people of India that the people of England share their indignation at the appalling incident, feel its intolerable shame, and will not rest under its shadow an hour longer than circumstances compel. It is the duty of the Government through Parliament to send to the people of India at the earliest possible moment after the commencement of the new Session a declaration of the national sorrow at the occurrence, of sympathy with the relatives of the innocent victims, and of stern determination to show that the sense of British justice is a reality on which the people of India can rely. We have done a great wrong. Let us show we are great enough to confess it, humane enough to lament it, and just enough to purge ourselves of it.

The following from the National Peace Council:—

Madam,—I beg to draw your attention to the following resolution adopted at the monthly meeting of the Executive Committee of this Council, held yesterday.

—Faithfully yours,

C. H. HEALTH, General Secretary.

#### THE INDIAN MASSACRE

The Executive Committee of the National Peace Council views with horror the admitted killing of over 400 unarmed, defenceless people in Amritsar, and the wounding of 1,500 others in the exercise of a ruthless militarism, recalling the most brutal of the acts of frightfulness during the European War. It looks to the British people to refuse to condone this military massacre and to insist that its authors be brought to justice without delay and India granted such powers of self-government as will make impossible the repetition of such proceedings.

### INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

#### OFFICIAL REPORT

[FROM "INDIA"]

The 34th Session of the Indian National Congress was held at Amritsar from December 27th, 1919, to January 1, 1920. Owing to the rainy weather which had preceded the session for some days, the arrangements of the Reception Committee were upset, and could not be completed so as to enable the Congress to sit on December 26th as originally announced. Even the worst detractors of the Congress cannot but pronounce the session to be a splendid success. All honour to the courageous public spirit of the men and women of the Punjab and of Amritsar in particular, and their firm resolve, in spite of insurmountable difficulties, not to go back upon the invitation which they had extended in happier times to the Congress. The number of delegates easily rose above eight thousand, and is a record number in the annals of our National Assembly. About fifteen hundred of these were contributed by farmers and small landholders. The house—it is called here a *pandal*—was in the form of a circle, and its extended capacity was fifteen thousand. It is no exaggeration to say that every available inch of space had been occupied by expectant delegates and visitors long before the appointed 2 p.m. of December 27 arrived, and overflow meetings had to be convened outside the *pandal*. The enthusiasm of the spectators knew no bounds when they learnt that the released leaders were coming. The cordial welcome accorded to them by thousands of their countrymen assembled in that Temple of Freedom must have drawn tears of joy from the erstwhile victims of an alarmist bureaucracy.

The sympathy of a Royal heart could alone heal the grievous wounds inflicted by an unthinking executive. This session was also remarkable for the presence of a large number of ladies among delegates and members of the Reception Committee.

The President, accompanied by several leaders, was led to the dais at 2 p.m., and the proceedings began with welcome song by some ladies led by Shrimati Sarala Devi Choudhrani, wife of Pandit Rambhaji Datt Choudhry, one of the leaders lately released.

The first day's proceedings, in accordance with long-established custom, comprised the Chairman's welcome address, the formal installation of the President and his address. The Chairman, who, by the way, is a Sanyasin—that is to say, one who has renounced the world and who has to his credit years of solid religious and social service and educative work—delivered a characteristically thrilling address, and declared that the incidents of April last had accelerated the political advance of the Punjab of fifty years. While dealing with those events he rightly warned his hearers against cherishing hatred towards General Dyer and others. He said: "My purpose in reminding you again of all these events is not to raise hatred in your hearts against the British nation, which has given us a Ripon, a Bradlaugh, a Wedderburn, a Hume, a Cotton, a Hardinge, a Montagu, a Besant, and an Andrews, and you should remember that O'Dwyer, Dyer, Johnson, and O'Brien belong to the same race. We must cast off, root and branch, anger and ill-will towards the authors of the incidents of April last, and learn to conquer anger with peace, evil with good, and untruth with truth."

The presidential address was, as might be expected from a man of the Honourable Pandit Moti Lal Nehru's parts of head and heart, a masterly production. It naturally concerned itself primarily with the Punjab question, which had been the burning topic of the day for several months past. Although the limitations of our space preclude a full report, the words of the President uttered by him at the close of his remarks on the subject of the Punjab are exactly quoted: "It is for England to learn the lesson and put an end to conditions which permit these occurrences in her own dominions. If our lives and honour are to remain at the mercy of an irresponsible executive and military, if the ordinary rights of human beings are denied to us, then all talk of reform is a mockery." Constitutional reform without free citizenship is like rich attire on a dead body. Better to breathe God's free air in rags than be a corpse in the finest raiment. He concluded the address with the following words:—"But what is our ultimate goal? We want freedom of thought, freedom of action, freedom to fashion our own destiny and build up an India suited to the genius of her people. We do not wish to make of India a cheap and slavish imitation of the West. . . . We must aim at an India where all are free and have the fullest opportunity for development, where woman have ceased to be in bondage and rigorous of the caste system have disappeared, where there are no privileged classes or communities, where education is free and open to all, where the capitalist and the landlord do not oppress the labourers and the ryot, where labour is respected and well paid, and poverty, the nightmare of the present generation, is a thing of the past. Life will then be worth living in this country; it will be inspired by joy and hope, and the terrible misery we see around us will become a bad dream which has faded away from our memory on our awakening to welcome the morning sun.

"But that day is yet distant. We have still a difficult path, full of obstacles and pitfalls, before us. Let us march ahead with truth for our guide and courage our watchword, and before long we shall reach the promised land."

The session for the day closed at about 6 p.m.

Sunday, the 28th, also following a recently established practice, was entirely taken up by the Subjects Committee. And in view of the several very important

questions that called for decision, the Committee held several meetings also on the following days, when long and anxious deliberation was bestowed on the problems before the Congress. It should be stated here that Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Tilak, the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and other leaders, by their sage counsel and powerful leadership helped materially to guide the Congress in the right path.

On the 29th the Congress met again at 12 noon. After the singing of national songs, the Secretary read a telegram received from Messrs. Mohammad Ali and Shaikat Ali, saying that they would arrive at Amritsar the next day, should their mother be well. It may be pointed out that these are the two leaders who have suffered internment for five long years. They were actually present at the Congress on the 30th, and received a right royal ovation from the whole assembly. Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore's message, a poem, was then read by the Secretary, and also those from Mr. Adamson, Chairman of the British Labour Party, and others.

The first resolution tendered respectful thanks to His Majesty the King Emperor for his gracious proclamation dated December 23, 1919, welcomed the announcement of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' visit to India next winter, and assured him of a warm reception by the people of this country, and the resolution was put from the chair. After protesting against the anti-Indian legislation in the Transvaal and agitation in East Africa, expressing Viceregal declaration regarding the cancellation of the Fiji indentures, and thanking Mr. C. F. Andrews for his services, the Congress adjourned till December 30.

The various resolutions that were passed at each sitting from day to day need not be detailed here at any length. All of them have been enclosed herewith. But two most important resolutions which were passed on the 30th must be mentioned. They respectively asked General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer to be relieved of their present duties—the one of his place on the Army Commission and the other of his command. Even from the official evidence tendered before the Disorders Enquiry Committee the country has had a glimpse into the mentality of these two gentlemen, and no wonder that Indians of any party whatsoever feel strongly that both these men have done a world of disservice to the British Empire in India.

On the 31st another momentous resolution was passed, beseeching His Majesty to be pleased to recall Lord Chelmsford immediately. The Congress also resolved that the Jallianwala Bagh be acquired and used as a memorial for those who were killed or wounded on April 13, 1919, during the massacre by General Dyer, and a strong committee was appointed to that end.

The last day on which the Congress sat, January 1, 1920, several very important resolutions were passed. The one on the Reforms Act reiterated India's fitness for full responsible government, and repudiated all assumptions and assertions to the contrary. Following the resolution passed at Delhi on the same subject of reforms, it considered the present Act as inadequate, unsatisfactory, and disappointing, and further urged the British Parliament to take early steps to establish full responsible government in accordance with the principle of self-determination. The Congress trusted that meanwhile the people would so work the reforms as to secure the early establishment of full responsible government. Another resolution asked for a statutory guarantee of the civil rights of His Majesty's Indian subjects. A third recorded the grateful appreciation of the Congress of the valuable services rendered by the Labour Party, and especially Mr. Ben Spoor. It also urged its provincial committees and other affiliated associations to promote labour unions throughout the country, with the view of improving the social, economic, and political conditions of the labouring classes, and securing for them a fair standard of living and a

proper place in the body politic of India: The Congress further opined that the time has arrived for establishing a permanent mission for its own propagandist work in England and elsewhere, and appointed a committee for the purpose. It also thankfully recognised the valuable services rendered by Lala Lajpat Rai to the cause of the country by his earnest and self-sacrificing efforts of constitutional agitation in the United States of America. The Congress Deputation, too, received its warmest thanks for their strenuous labours in England. The Congress then proceeded thankfully to record its appreciation of the assistance given by the British Congress Committee, and especially Dr. Clark, Dr. Rutherford, Mr. Holford Knight, and Mr. J. M. Parikh, to the Congress Deputation in its work in England, and viewed with entire satisfaction the reorganisation of the Committee as an executive body of the Congress pledged to carry on the Congress propaganda in England. Then an emphatic protest was entered against the unjustifiable deportation of Mr. B. G. Horniman and an immediate cancellation of the order urged. The Congress considered that there was no justification for the exclusion of Burma from the operation of the new reform scheme, and was of opinion that, in accordance with the wishes of the people of Burma, the same reforms as applied to the other major provinces should also be applied to Burma. The last two resolutions respectively appointed the Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel, of Bombay, the Honourable Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, of Lucknow, and Dr. M. A. Ansari, of Delhi, as General Secretaries, and fixed Nagpur as the venue of the next Congress to be held in December, 1920.

The national week at Amritsar will even be memorable as a red-letter day in the history of the Hindu-Moslem relations in this country for the nobility of sentiment underlying the resolution passed by the All-India Moslem League calling upon the Indian Muslims to desist from cow-killing at the Bakri-Id festival. It will not be untrue to say that Amritsar has had the supreme privilege of setting its seal to Hindu-Moslem unity. The Congress, of course, handsomely appreciated the brotherly feeling of the All-India Moslem League.

It may be noted that some of the prominent members of the Liberal Party, like the Honourable Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, were also present at the session, and assisted the Congress in coming to a decision on several questions of public moment.

B. RAJA RAO, Assistant Secretary,  
Office, All-India Congress Committee,  
Lucknow, January 8.

### MESSAGE TO INDIAN WOMEN

FROM MOTHER OF ALI BROTHERS

Rampur, January 8.

Abadi Bano, mother of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shauket Ali, wires:—"To every one from His Majesty the King Emperor down to the humblest of His servants and subjects, who has assisted in restoring my sons to the fullest freedom, I offer a mother's thanks. An overwhelming number of messages have come from every part of the country congratulating me and my daughter-in-law on the return of Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali to their home and family. I am old and feeble and have been ill for months past or I would have acknowledged every affectionate greeting separately now. However, I must be content with offering my thanks to one and all through the national press of India and I trust they will accept it. Naturally I would like to have my sons with me for some time at least now that they have come back to me, but I am told that the work for which their lives have been consecrated need them evermore than I and their families and that one or both may have to go abroad for some

months. We, therefore, most willingly accept the demand of the country and the community and shall spare them for as long as their work for Islam and India may need them. The wonderful display of affection and confidence with which they have been received on their release gladdens my heart. But what they tell me of the blessings poured down on their heads by my sisters and daughters of the Punjab has touched me deeply. I feel confident that Indian and Moslem womanhood will now rise to the occasion and help the great cause of Islam and India with every pice or handful of grain that it can spare, even if they pinch the whole household in the very necessities of life. Men have many things to occupy their minds and engross their hearts but we women have only our homes to keep us busy and our God to worship and serve dutifully. To-day our duty to God and to our Motherland has a far higher claim on us than ever and I fully trust that the women of India will demonstrate to the world that we are capable of sacrificing ourselves for God and country not less willingly and uncomplainingly, but, on the contrary, much more than we have been sacrificing ourselves for our fathers and husbands, brothers and sons. All may appear to be lost but so long as this spirit of Indian womanhood is not lost one feels that nothing that really matters is lost."

### INDIANS IN SOUTH AND EAST AFRICA

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. BARNES AND  
MR. GANDHI

The following correspondence passed between Sir George Barnes, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and Mr. M. K. Gandhi on the question of the position of Indians in East and South Africa is published in the Indian papers:—

Delhi, January 27.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—Thank you for your letters of the 13th and 14th instant, forwarding a copy of the telegram which you have received from the Chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association and also of the letter which you have written to the Press on the subject. His Excellency the Viceroy had already received a similar telegram direct from Mr. Aswat. As you say, the telegram raises three separate questions namely:

(1) The decision of the Transvaal Provincial Court in the Krugersdorp case that the acquisition of fixed property by Indian controlled companies is *in fraudem legis*;

(2) The decision of the Potchefstroom Magistrate that the presence of Asiatics causes annoyance and detriment to European commerce and that an Indian can therefore apparently be refused a licence under section 90 of the Transvaal local Government Ordinance of 1912, on the ground that he is undesirable within the meaning of paragraph (e) of the section;

(3) The demands which are being made by Europeans before the local Government Commission that Municipalities should be granted complete autonomy with special reference apparently to the issue of trading licences;

So far as the terms of reference are at present settled, all these questions will come within the scope of the Commission's enquiry and Sir Benjamin Roberson will state the Indian case and press it strongly before the Commission. The first question, however, raises at once, and in an acute form the question of fixed property already acquired by Indian companies. As Mr. Aswat has said the new Act No. 37 of 1919 did not in this case validate the rights already acquired. Section 2 of the Act merely enacted that the provisions of the law No. 3 of 1885 should be construed as from the 1st of May 1919, as prohibiting the ownership of fixed property by companies controlled by Asiatics. The legality of such acquisitions prior to the 1st of May 1919 was left open and the Committee specially stated

in paragraph 13 of their report that an action was pending in the Supreme Court of the Transvaal in which the validity of such companies would be tested. Previous decisions of the courts, as you are aware, have upheld the validity of such companies, but as the case now stands, these decisions have been upset.

I need not assure you that the Government of India are fully alive to the seriousness of the situation with which Indian companies in the Transvaal are now faced. Immediately on receipt of Mr. Aswat's telegram his Excellency the Viceroy telegraphed to the Secretary of State and requested him to represent to the Colonial Office that no further action adverse to Indian interests should be taken, at any rate, until the Commission has reported. We also telegraphed to Mr. Aswat assuring him that we were moving in the matter.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd) G. S. BARNES.

#### ANOTHER LETTER

The following is another letter from Sir George Barnes to Mr. Gandhi.

Delhi, January 21st, 1920.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—In your letter of the 13th instant you ask me to give you some information regarding the difficulties which are arising in East Africa. The information which we have so far received is far from complete, but I will tell you what we know and what we are doing.

In my answer to a question by Sir Dinshaw Wacha at the meeting of the Legislative Council on 19th September last, I told him how the position then stood. You will remember that a deputation of Indians from East Africa headed by Mr. Alibhai came to Delhi last March. I was then away on leave, but understand that Sir Thomas Holland, who received the deputation in my absence, was impressed by the fairness and moderation with which they stated their grievances. Their memorial was forwarded to the Secretary of State with a despatch in which the Government of India urged that there was no justification in a Crown Colony or Protectorate for assigning to British Indians a status of any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects. We further urged not only that the more galling disabilities of Indians in East Africa should be removed but also that their claims to a share in the Government of the country should be sympathetically considered.

We have now heard from the Secretary of State that he has pressed these views on the Colonial Office and that Lord Milner on his return from Egypt, will discuss the general question of the position of Indians in East Africa with the Governor, Major-General Sir E. Northby, who is now in England.

Meanwhile a new situation has arisen from the publication of the report of the East African Economic Commission and the proposed Ordinance for the removal of undesirables. We have not yet received a copy of the report and we know no more about the proposed ordinance than what has appeared in the press. On the 15th I received a visit from the Hon. Mr. Phooke, one of the Indian members of the East African Legislative Council, who is now on a visit to this country and he told me that he had heard nothing about this ordinance when he left Nairobi on the 17th December.

As Colonel Amery said in his reply to question put by Mr. Bennett in the House of Commons on the 22nd December last, the Economic Commission's report must not be regarded as expressing the views of the Government of East Africa or of the Imperial Government. The proposed Ordinance too, if it has been correctly reported, is not ostensibly directed against Indians and it is not possible to question the right of any Government to remove undesirables from the country over which it exercises jurisdiction. At the same time I can assure you that the Government of India are fully alive to the general tendency of events in East Africa. His Excellency the Viceroy has already

telegraphed to the Secretary of State asking for full information. He has also urged that the India case should be fully represented at the forthcoming discussion between Lord Milner and General Northby in London and that no action detrimental to Indian interests in East Africa should be taken meanwhile.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) G. S. BARNES.

#### MR. GANDHI'S LETTER

The following is Mr. Gandhi's letter to Sir George Barnes.

Lahore, January, 20th.

I thank you for your letter of the 21st instant regarding the situation in East Africa and for the sympathetic assurances contained therein. May I however draw your attention to one sentence in your letter with reference to the proposed Undesirable Ordinance. You say "is it not possible to question the right of any Government to remove undesirables from the country over which it exercises jurisdiction." Whilst the above statement is perfect as a theoretical proposition, in the East African case seeing that the legislation is aimed at Indians and that the terms undesirable has an artificial meaning I venture to think that it is not only open to the Government of India but it is their duty to protest against the proposed measure and its use.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

#### ISIPINGO INDIAN SOCIETY

The second annual general meeting of the above society was held on the 28th February 1920 at the Railway Hotel with Mr. Ganga Ram in the chair. The Hon. Secretary in presenting his annual report thanked the official members for the able way in which they carried out their duties in bringing the above society to a great success, as a result of which they now own a piece of land for the purpose of a cemetery for which the general public of Isipingo and District were in great need. The Hon. Treasurers report showed a sum of £22 balance for the ensuing year.

The following officials were elected for the ensuing year:—Patron: Mr. R. Goene, president: Mr. L. P. David, vice-presidents: Messrs. Armogum, Nowbatt and Ganga Ram, Hon. Secretary: M. Hoosen, Hon. Treasurer: R. Gopaling. Committee: Messrs. S. Poohoomal, S. Cassim, B. G. Frank, K. Moothelal, K. Jugunumen, C. Balloy, Mahelal, R. H. Lala and Anthony. The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the chair.

#### "Indian Opinion" Supplements

We have the following supplements on art paper for sale: one shilling per dozen, post free —

The Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. V. A. Chettiar (Chairman, Tamil Benefit Society of Johannesburg), Mr. Budree (Vice-President of the Transvaal Indian Association), The Late Mr. Narayansamy, South African Indian Stretcher-Bearer Company, Hon. Mr. Gokhale's visit, taken at Heidelberg station, Mr. L. Hans Raj B.A. (Hon. Principal D. A. V. College, President, Lahore Arya Samaj), Mr. Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer, Mr. Omar Haji Amod Johari, Mr. Joseph Royappen B.A. (A Natal born Graduate Passive Resister), Mr. Royappen (A Barrister-Hawker), Indian Volunteer Stretcher-Bearer Corps, Three Transvaal ladies as passive resisters. (Mrs. Sivprasad, Miss Minnatjee and Mrs. Somar). Mr. Amersoodin Fajandar, Mrs. Sheikh Mehtab, Asiatic Ordinance (A Chess play Cartoon) India's Great Loyalty (Cartoon), The Late Sir Pherozshah Mehta, Mr. Ratan J. Tata, Mrs. R. M. Sodha, Sir William Wedderburn, Lt., Pioneer Settlers of Tolstoy Farm, The Late Count Leo Tolstoy, The Late Rev. Joseph J. Doke, The Late Mr. S. Nagappan, The Right Hon. Lord Ampthill, G.C.I.E., The Triumphant Arch outside Park Station (Mr. Gokhale's Visit), Shri Saayanji Swami Shankeranand, Mr. Sorabji Shapurji of Adajan, Hanifa Bibi

# BOOKS FOR SALE

To be obtained from the *Indian Opinion Press*, Phoenix, Natal. Postal Orders to be made payable at Durban. We have just received the following books from India. The prices given include cost of postage:—

	Price post free	s.	d.
Mr. Gandhi's Speeches and Writings—1896 to 1917	3	3	
Mrs. Annie Besant — A Sketch of her Life	0	7	
Tales of Mariada Raman	0	7	
The Son-in-Law Abroad	0	7	
Maitreyi	0	7	
Tales of Raja Birbal	0	7	
Essentials of Hinduism	1	1½	
Aspects of the Vedanta	1	8	
Glimpses of the Orient To-day, by Saint Nihal Singh	2	2	
Indian Industrial and Economic Problems, by Prof. Kale	3	3	
Essays on Indian Economics, by Ranade	4	4	
Sri Sankaracharya	1	7½	
Sri Ramaonjacharya	1	7½	
Essays on National Idealism, by Dr. Coomaraswamy	2	2½	
The Indian National Congress, its Origin and Growth	9	10	
Speeches of John Morley	3	2½	
Sri Sankara's Select Works	3	3	
The Life and Teachings of Buddha	1	7	
Sri Madhwacharya	1	7	
Vaishnavite Reformers of India	2	2½	
The Governance of India, by Govinda Das	6	4	
India's Untouchable Saints	0	10	
Aggressive Hinduism	0	4	
Gokhale's Speeches	6	10	
Dadabhai Naoroji's Speeches	6	8	
Vivekananda's Speeches	4	7	
King George's Speeches	2	2	
Ten Tamil Saints	1	7½	
For India's Uplift, by Annie Besant	3	3	
Speeches on Indian Questions, by Mr. Montagu	3	3	
The Indian Demands, by G. A. Natesan	2	2½	
Commentary on the Bhagavad Gita, by R. V. Khedkar	1	1	
<b>BIOGRAPHIES OF EMINENT INDIANS:—</b>			
Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Rabindranath Tagore, M. K. Gandhi, Babu Surendranath Banerjee, Budruddin Tyabji, Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, The Right Hon. Sayed Amir Ali, H. H. Shri Sayaji Rao Gekwar, Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, H. H. the Aga Khan, Swami Rama Tirath, V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Kristo Das Pal, Dewan G. Rangachari, Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, W. C. Bonnerjee, A. M. Bose, Behramji M. Malabari, Ravi Varma, Lala Lajpat Rai, Kashinath Trimbak Telang, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Swami Vivekananda, Toru Dutt, Ishwar Chandar Vidyasagar, Sir Salar Jung, V. P. Madhava Rao, D. E. Wacha, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Sir Pherozshah Mehta, Rahimtulla Mohamed Sayani, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Sir C. Sankaran Nair, Lal Mohan Ghose, Raja Ram Mohan Roy	each	0	7
Peeps at Many Lands, with 12 coloured plates — Ceylon, Siam, Burma, Home Life in India	each	2	10
Bhagavad Gita — Mrs. Besant's Translation		0	10
Nation Building, by Annie Besant		0	7
Warfare in Ancient India		0	7
New Indian Tales		0	7
The Story of the Raya and Appaji		0	7
Tales of Komati Wit and Wisdom		0	7
Tales of Tennalirama		0	7
Memoir of the late J. J. Doka		0	2½

The Ethics of Passive Resistance		s.	d.
Indian Home Rule, by M. K. Gandhi	0	3	6
<b>FRIENDS OF INDIA SERIES:—Lord Morley, Sir Wm. Wedderburn, Rev. Dr. Miller, Sir Edwin Arnold, Lord Hardinge, Chas. Bradlaugh, Edmund Burke, Lord Minto, Sister Nivedita, Henry Fawcett, John Bright, A. O. Hume, Sir Henry Cotton, Lord Macaulay and Lord Ripon.</b>			
	each	0	7
Life of M. K. Gandhi (in Tamil)	1	0	
" " " (in Hindi)	1	0	
Mahomed 'The Great Arabian,' by Meredith Townsend	1	3	
Stories and Sayings of India, Ceylon and Burma	1	9	
From Colombo to Almora: Lectures by Swami Vivekananda.	2	10	
From Colombo to Almora.	2	11	
Essays in Indian Art, Industry and Education, by E. B. Havell.	2	4	
Rabindranath Tagore, a Lecture by the Rev. C. F. Andrews of Delhi delivered at Capetown.	1	0	
Hinduism, by Dr. Barnett	1	9	
Letters of John Chinaman	1	9	
A Study in Indian Economics by P. Bannerji	4	4	
The Golden Number of "Indian Opinion"			
Paper covers	1	0	
Bound in cloth	2	6	
Position of the Women in the Vedas	0	2½	
Hindu Social Ideals, by P. J. Mehta	0	7	
M. K. Gandhi, " "	0	7	
The Story of the Ramayana, the Epic of Rama Prince of India: by J. L. P. Erasmus	0	7	
The Hon. Mr. Gokhale and the Indenture System	6		
The Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Tour in South Africa: Special INDIAN OPINION Souvenir.	1	0	
A Letter to a Hindu, or the Subjection of India, its Cause and Cure, by Leo Tolstoy	3	6	
Fields, Factories and Workshops, by Prince Kropotkin	1	9	
Unto this Last, " "	1	10	
English Traits and Representative Men, by Emerson	1	10	
Society and Solitude and other Essays, by Emerson	1	10	
War and Peace, Vols 1, 2, and 3, by Tolstoy, each	1	10	
Reflections on the French Revolution, by Burke	1	10	
Asiatic Law Amendment Act (1907) and Regulations, in English and Gujarati	5		
A Book—and its Misnomer	7		
Bhagavad Gita. Mrs. Besant's Translation	4		
Asiatics Registration Amendment Act (1908) in English and Gujarati	3½		
Registration Act (1908) Regulations, in English and Gujarati	2½		
The Indians of South Africa, by H. S. L. Polak	1	6	
Printed and Published by Manilal M. Gandhi at Phoenix Settlement, Phoenix, Natal.			