

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

In the course of inquiries a *Mercury* representative ascertained that since the Indian Immigration Trust Board of Natal was incorporated under Law 15 of 1880, which took effect at the beginning of 1882, this Board has returned to India 62,025 souls. All these have gone voluntarily after completion of their terms of indenture. Indian immigration ceased on July 31, 1911, and the number to be sent away by the Board has steadily diminished since then. At that time there were 25,975 Indians under indenture from India, in addition to which there were 18,470 Indians who had entered into periods of re-indenture, the total being 44,445. The total number has been reduced to slightly over 5,000 at the present. The period of indenture is from two to five years, the majority serving for the shorter period.

In reply to a query Mr. Stead, Secretary to the Indian Immigration Trust Board, said that Indians were not going to India so freely to-day as in former days. First, because there were not so many Indians, and conditions here were as inviting, if not more so, as those in India. Indians under indenture get free housing, rations, medical attendance and considerable other benefits. They simply either became re-indentured or went through the formalities which made them free Indians. Mr. H. C. Wynne-Cole, Repatriation Commissioner, deals with the repatriation of Indians under the Government scheme from Maritzburg, this work having been taken out of the hands of the Board.

While we give publication to the views of Mr. Stead, we cannot agree that the conditions under indenture are so advantageous or inviting.

Mr. Mahomed Ebrahim from an extended holiday in India has returned to South Africa. He is full of India and speaks very hopefully of its future.

Assisted by a Magic Lantern with Mrs. Burns in charge of it, Mr. J. K. Murray, a well-known chemist, lectured on the evil effects of alcohol to an interested audience in the Indian Y. M. C. A. last Wednesday.

Mr. Nilmoney Beharaya, Bachelor of Agriculture, Sabour, with 20 Cultivators is on his way to Brazil to introduce Jute Cultivation there. They have been loaned, we are informed, by the Government of Bengal to the State of Brazil, for one year for that purpose.

A reception in honour of Mr. Bhawani Dayal on his return from India was held in the Tamil Institute by his friends and admirers. Mr. B. A. Magrajh presided. Felicitous speeches were made and at the conclusion of the proceedings refreshments were served.

The Anjuman Esha-A-Tul Isham will be pleased to receive applications from duly qualified persons de-

siring to accept the post of Teachers, in Arabic, Urdu, and Persian, at their Madressa in May Street, Durban. Duties of the Teacher to commence from 1st October, 1920. All applications to be addressed to the undersigned from whom further particulars can be obtained.—Mr. S. Eunnamaly, Hon. Secretary, P. O. Box 1255, Durban.

A Reuter telegram from Paris, in connection with the Presidency of the French Cabinet, says:—

Asked whether he would become a candidate for the Presidency, M. Clemenceau replied characteristically, "I was too old last January—I feel too young to accept now, and I am going to the Indian jungle to hunt tigers which is much less dangerous than French politics."

London, Sept. 16:—The *Daily Graphic* says that Lord Selborne will probably be appointed Viceroy of India.

A deputation of the Natal Coal Owners' Association recently waited on the Minister of Mines the Right Hon. P. S. Malan in connection with labour and railway difficulties. Mr. Otto Siedle, who headed the deputation, said that 40 per cent of the coal owners' labour was Indian labour, supported practically entirely by Native labour, and they gradually had to alter the position by the introduction of more and more Natives. Their main obstacle was public sentiment, which was in favour of the repatriation of Indians. They were agreed to that in Natal, if proper substitutes could be found but the difficulty of finding substitutes was as well known to the Minister as it was to them.

The Minister (says the *Natal Mercury*), referred the above deputation to the action taken by the Government in response to the Asiatic Commission's report, advocating facilities for encouraging the repatriation of Indians. At the same time, he thought that the point of view brought forward by the deputation was one which would carry a certain amount of weight with the Government, and no violent change was contemplated, such as would adversely affect the industries of the country. At the same time they should accustom themselves to getting on without Indian labour. Mr. Wynne-Cole, the Government representative, has been advised to go slowly with regard to the labourers employed on the sugar estates and on the Mines.

At the Association of Chambers of Commerce Congress held in Port Elizabeth, the matter of Asiatic trading was raised by Mr. Corke (Springs), and in the course of discussion several speakers animadverted on the position in the Transvaal and Natal. It was stated that there were towns in the Transvaal to-day where there were only one or two European traders left, owing to the activity of the Asiatic trader. In one case the president of the local

Chamber of Commerce had been ousted from business and his store was now occupied by an Indian. A resolution was adopted expressing alarm and apprehension at the great increase in the number of trading licences held by Asiatics, and suggesting means whereby it might be combated.

It is officially announced, says Reuter, that Sir William Meyer has been appointed the First High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom, as provided by the new Indian Reform Act.

Sir William Meyer entered the Indian Civil Service in 1881, and retired in 1918. From 1913 to 1918, Sir William Meyer was an ordinary member of the Council of the Governor-General of India, and in 1917-18 he was President of the Central Recruiting Board of India.

Mr. V. A. Pillay, we are informed, has withdrawn owing to certain reasons his candidature for the City Council of Port Elizabeth at a General Meeting of the members of the Ward No. 1.

BUTCHERS' TRADING HOURS

POSITION OF THE INDIANS

Application has been made to the Durban Town Council by the Indian Butchers Association for an amendment of the Borough By-laws controlling shop hours trading, in favour of an extension of trading privileges at the Indian Market. It is understood that the Indian Butchers' Association puts forward the claim that, under the present by-law, by which butchers stalls in the Indian Market are compelled to close at the same time as butchers' shops in the town, a large section of the Indian community is affected, and it is asked that the butchers should be allowed to trade up to 7 o'clock at the market, as in the case of other stallholders.

Yesterday afternoon there was a meeting of the General Purposes Committee of the Durban Town Council, and a large deputation of master and journey-men butchers, waited upon the members and protested against any alteration to the present by-law which bound all butchers, whether European or Indian, to the same trading hours. The point put forward was that there should be no differentiation. There were also present several Indian butchers whose case was watched by Mr J. H. Nicolson.

It is understood that the Committee does not favour any differentiation in the trading privileges of European and Indian butchers, and that it is intended that the present by-law should be unaltered.—*Natal Mercury*.

TRADING LICENCES

NEW TARIFF

The Natal Provincial Gazette announces that the Administrator, has confirmed the subjoining amended Clause 1 (a) of the Licence (Shops) By-laws of the Borough of Durban, as passed by the Town Council at the meeting held on the 30th July, 1920:—

(a) Every person or firm carrying on any of the following businesses, trades, occupations or callings, within the limits of the Borough of Durban shall take out and pay for a licence in respect of such business, trade, occupation or calling, according to the following tariff:—

Boarding, and/or Lodging Houses, £1; Refreshment and/or Eating Houses, £3; Butcher, £7 10; Bakers, including Confectioners, £3; Canvassers for Clothing Orders, £1; Circus, each performance, £15; Drivers, of vehicles used for trade 2s. 6d.; Hawker

of goods other than Colonial Produce, £6; Hawkers of South African Produce, £6; Hawkers of South African Fruit and Vegetables only, 10/-; Laundries and/or Cleaners and Dyers, £1; Livestock Dealers, £3; Livestock Dealers transacting business on Public Square (Wholesale Licence), £10; Miller using Plant up to 25-h.p., £5; Miller using Plant over 25-h.p., £10; Manufacturer, £5; Milk Vendors, Dairymen and Milk-Dealers, 2s. 6d.; Native Eating Houses, £5; Persons hiring out vehicles and Livery Stable Keepers, £1; Public Garage, £3; Photographers, £3; Retail Dealers, £5; Retail Fruit Dealers, £5; Retail Dealers in South African Produce, £5; Sanitary Plumbers, 1s.; Tea Rooms £3; Wholesale Dealers, £10; Wholesale and Retail Dealers, £15.

CRUSADE AGAINST NON-CO-OPERATION

Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—
I have most carefully read the manifesto addressed by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and others dissuading the people from joining the non-co-operation movement. I had expected to find some solid argument against non-co-operation, but to my great regret I have found in it nothing but distortion (no doubt unconscious) of the great religious and history. The manifesto says that 'non-co-operation is deprecated by the religious tenets and traditions of our motherland, nay, of all the religions that have saved and elevated the human race.' I venture to submit that the Bhagwad Gita is a gospel of non-co-operation between forces of darkness and those of light. It is to be literally interpreted, Arjun representing a just cause was enjoined to engage in a bloody warfare with the unjust Kauravas. Tulsidas advises the Sant (the good) to shun the Asant (the evil-doers). The Zendavesta represents a perpetual dual between Ormuzd and Ahriman, between whom there is no compromise. To say of the Bible that it taboos non-co-operation is not to know Jesus, a prince among passive resisters, who uncompromisingly challenged the might of the Sadducees and the Pharisees and for the sake of truth did not hesitate to divide sons from their parents. And what did the prophet of Islam do? He non-co-operated in Mecca in a most active manner so long as his life was not in danger and wiped the dust of Mecca off his feet when he found that he and his followers might have uselessly to perish, and fled to Medina and returned when he was strong enough to give battle to his opponents. The duty of non-co-operation with unjust men and kings is as strictly enjoined by all the religions as is the duty of co-operation with just men and kings. Indeed most of the scriptures of the world seem even to go beyond non-co-operation and prefer violence to effminate submission to a wrong. The Hindu religious tradition, of which the manifesto speaks, clearly proves the duty of non-co-operation. Pralhad dissociated himself from his father, Meerabai from her husband, Bibhishan from his brutal brother.

The manifesto speaking of the secular aspect says, 'The history of nations affords no instance to show that it (meaning non-co-operation) has, when employed, succeeded and done good.' One most recent instance of brilliant success of non-co-operation is that of General Botha who boycotted Lord Milner's reformed councils and thereby procured a perfect constitution for his country. The Dukhobours of Russia offered non-co-operation, and a handful though they were, their grievances so deeply moved the civilized world that Canada offered them a home where they form a prosperous community. In India instances can be given by the dozen, in which in little principalities the rayats when deeply grieved by their chiefs have cut off all connection with them and bent them to their will. I know of no instance in history where well managed non-co-operation has failed.

Hitherto I have given historical instances of bloodless non-co-operation. I will insult the intelligence of the reader by citing historical instances of non-co-operation combined with violence, but I am free to confess that there are on record as many successes as failures in violent non-co-operation. And it is because I know this fact that I have placed before the country a non-violent scheme in which, if at all, worked satisfactorily, success is a certainty and in which non-response means no harm. For even one man non-co-operates, say, by resigning some office, he has gained, not lost. That is its ethical or religious aspect. For its political result, naturally, it requires polymorous support. I fear therefore no disastrous result from non-co-operation save for an outbreak of violence on the part of the people whether under provocation or otherwise. I would risk violence a thousand times than risk the emasculation of a whole race.

THE CONGRESS AND NON-CO-OPERATION

Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*.—The Hon'ble Pundit Malaviyaji, for whom I entertain the highest regard and whom I have so often described as *dharmatma*, has appealed to me, both publicly and privately to suspend non-co-operation till the Congress pronounced upon it. The *Mahratta* has also done likewise. These appeals have made me pause and think, but I regret to say that I have not been able to respond to them. I would do much and give much to please Punditji. I am anxious to receive his approbation, and blessing for all my action. But a higher duty requires me not to turn from the course mapped out by the Non-co-operation Committee. There are moments in your life, when you must act, even though you cannot carry your best friends with you. The 'still small voice' within you must always be the final arbiter when there is a conflict of duty.

The reason for asking me to suspend action is that the Congress will presently meet and consider the whole question of non-co-operation and give its verdict. It would therefore be better (says Punditji) to await the congress decision. In my humble opinion it is no Congressman's duty to consult the Congress before taking action in a matter in which he has no doubts. To do otherwise may mean stagnation.

The Congress is after all the mouth-piece of the nation. And when one has a policy or a programme which one would like to see adopted, but on which one wants to cultivate public opinion, one naturally asks the Congress to discuss it and form an opinion. But when one has an unshakable faith in a particular policy or action, it would be folly to wait for the Congress pronouncement. On the contrary one must act and demonstrate its efficacy so as to command acceptance by the nation.

My loyalty to the Congress requires me to carry out its policy when it is not contrary to my conscience. If I am in a minority I may not pursue my policy in the name of the Congress. The decision of the Congress on any given question therefore does not mean that it prevents a Congressman from any action to the contrary, but if he acts, he does so at his own risk and with the knowledge that the Congress is not with him.

Every Congressman, every public body has the right, it is sometimes their duty, to express their own opinion, act upon it even and thus anticipate the verdict of the Congress. Indeed it is the best way of serving the nation. By initiating well-thought-out policies, we furnish data for a great deliberative body like the Congress to enable it to form a well-informed opinion. The Congress cannot express national opinion with any definiteness, unless at least some of us have already firm views about a particular course

of conduct. If all suspended their opinion, the Congress must necessarily suspend its own.

There are always three classes of people in an institution: Those who have favourable views on a given policy, those who have fixed but unfavourable views on it and those who hold no fixed views. The Congress decides for this third and large group. I hold fixed views on non-co-operation. I believe that if we are to make anything of the reforms we will have to create a pure, clean and elevating atmosphere instead of the present foetid, unclean and debasing atmosphere to work them in. I believe that our first duty is to compel justice from the Imperial Government in regard to the Khilafat and the Punjab. In both these matters injustice is being sustained by untruth and insolence. I therefore consider it to be the duty of the nation to purge the Government of the uncleanness before they can co-operate with each other. Even opposition or obstruction is possible where there is mutual respect and confidence. At present moment the governing authority has no respect for us or our feelings, we have no faith in it. In these circumstances co-operation is a crime. Holding these strong views I can serve the Congress and the country only by reducing them to practice and thus affording to the Congress material for forming an opinion.

For me to suspend non-co-operation would be to prove untrue to the Mussalman brethren. They have their own religious duty to perform. Their religious sentiment has been deeply hurt by a total disregard of laws of justice and their own promises by British ministers. The Mussalmans must take action now. They cannot await the Congress decision. They can only expect the Congress to ratify their action and share their sorrows and their burdens. Their action cannot be delayed till the Congress has decided on a policy nor can their course be altered by an adverse decision of the Congress unless their action is otherwise found to be an error. The Khilafat is a matter of conscience with them. And in matters of conscience the Law of Majority has no place.

THE KHILAFAT AND THE TURKISH TREATY

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes on the above subject in the *Servant of India*.

I had imagined that the full extent of the breach of faith committed by the Prime Minister, in the name of the British Government, was fully known by us in India. But the hypocrisy which lies behind Constantinople, is only just coming to light. The news is slowly trickling through. It wears a most sinister aspect. It strengthens the demand for a complete revision of the Treaty a hundred-fold, and makes India's part in such a demand a duty to humanity of the very first importance.

The facts are these. The French and Italians are firmly convinced that Great Britain, by her naval power and military occupation, is determined to rule the Straits and to remain indefinitely, as the virtual over-lord of Constantinople, with the ostensible plea that local conditions are too unsettled to contemplate any hasty retirement. The instance of Egypt is constantly cited as a precedent. In Egypt, it is remembered, Great Britain made more than a hundred separate promises to retire, and found reasons for breaking them all. Such, it is said, will be the fate of Constantinople.

There has been one terribly revealing statement of Mr. Lloyd George, which he made in an unguarded moment. He was answering a deputation, which waited on him in order to ask him what would be America's attitude towards Great Britain undertake the responsibility of America's protection; if America were unwilling? According to the *Whitman* report

given in all the papers, Mr. Lloyd George answered as follows:—

"We have got Constantinople: we have got Mesopotamia: we have got Palestine."

Even if Mr. Lloyd George was speaking somewhat casually, and only meant,—"we have got, in our own temporary military occupation, Constantinople"—even then, it was unforgettable, that he put Constantinople in exactly the same category as Mesopotamia. To state the very least construction that this word will bear, it showed that he regarded the possession of Constantinople as no mere temporary affair, which would be over in a few months, but a long and costly business.

Furthermore, we have now the fact brought to light, that every other allied power appears to regard the British as paramount in Constantinople, just as the French are now regarded as paramount in Aleppo and Damascus and the Greeks as paramount in Smyrna and Adrianople. All the military defences of Constantinople are in the hands of the British. The Sultan himself, his vizier, and his Cabinet sign dutifully and unanimously British orders. Recalcitrant officials have been effectively dealt with. Financial control has been taken from the Turkish Government; and the Sultan has been made, not only a prisoner in his own palace,—to all intents and purposes,—but also practically a pauper and a mendicant, dependent on the hated foreigner for every penny of his income. It is this situation, which has made Europe regard the British military occupation as complete and lasting.

Mr. Lloyd George's own words, and those of members of his Cabinet—such, for instance, as those of Mr. Winston Churchill—have now become like a debased coinage. No one gives them any credit or currency. Every newspaper on the Continent assumes, as an axiom, that Constantinople has become a British protectorate. In France, is characterised as an immense diplomatic triumph for Great Britain; and the eagerness to make certain of Syria, as a French possession, has been increased by this action of the British army and navy.

Furthermore, the feeling is now strong on the Continent of Europe, to the point of dangerous bitterness, that the English Prime Minister and Mr. Winston Churchill have over-reached themselves both in mendacity and in forcing the hands of the Allies. It is everywhere believed that secret financial aid is being given to Greece, and that the Greek Government is deeply involved in the plot. M. Venizelos is regarded as acting in closest concert with the British Minister in order to bring about the final overthrow of Turkey, and to place Great Britain permanently as guardian of the Straits and controller of Constantinople's destiny. The price paid for this has been the Greek possessions of Smyrna and Thrace.

What the French view is, in detail, may be seen from the account given in *L'Opinion*, a French literary weekly. It is written by M. Berthe Gaulis, who has on the spot at the time of the British act of forcible possession, and resented it most bitterly.

"At day-break," he writes, "a short volley awakened the inhabitants of Stamboul and Pera. It was the prologue to the sudden leap of the British Lion by which he defiantly seized possession of the prey he had imperiously chosen. Apparently it was an act preparatory to putting into effect a treaty in which England's allies came off second best."

"We, the French residents," M. Gaulis adds, "witnessed all this with stupefaction. As the real meaning of what was happening became evident, our indignation increased." Every new arrest made by the British soldiers removed some one from our circle of friends and acquaintances from those to whom we felt bound by those tacit obligations which one incurs towards men who rely upon one's justice and honour. Consequently, the moral position of the French in

Constantinople speedily became intolerable. This flagrant violation of an agreement, made at the time of armistice, obviously took our officials unprepared... All this occurred in the glory of a Turkish spring-time. The soft beauty of the sky and the calmness of the people threw into sharp relief such acts of apparently groundless violence."

"During the next few days," M. Gaulis continues, "the subsequent stages of permanent occupation followed in quick succession. Sensational arrests were made. The Turkish Government being disintegrated, the neverless Parliament hastened towards extinction. Gradually, the physical evidences of Great Britain's military occupation became less evident. But its unseen pressure never for a moment relaxed. Every influential Turk in Constantinople or Stamboul, was either under arrest, or else a fugitive. He was journeying towards Malta, or towards Anatolia."

We turn from this sordid and disgraceful picture to the actual Syrian and Mesopotamian mandates themselves, and the lying and chicanery of the Powers, with Mr. Lloyd George as chief offender, stands out more clearly than ever. Open and unashamed buccannery and plundering is surely better by far than this cunning concealment of spoliation under verbiage that has become too thin even to deceive the simple-minded. We had another of Mr. Lloyd George's virtuous phrases telegraphed to us lately in India,— "The whole of the property," he declared, "in oil of Mesopotamia will belong to the Arab State." Now we find that, just as in the case of the "rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace," this promise also means nothing at all. It is "subject to any arrangements which were made before the war." This means, in plain terms that 25% is to go to France and 75% to Great Britain, with a certain royalty to the Arab State."

Lord Welby has bluntly declared the truth in the face of all this double-dealing. "We are in the hands," he has said with terrible directness, "of an organisation of crooks (i. e. cheats)." Lord Hugh Cecil, speaking concerning another mandatory scandal in the Pacific, has given the verdict of all decent people in these carefully measured terms:—

"The British Government have earned, rightly or wrongly, the most lamentable reputation for want of sincerity. I have known a great many governments, but never one with as bad a reputation for speaking the truth and acting sincerely."

Mr. H. W. Massingham expressed the same things in words that burn with shame, as follows:—

"A very young student of the world and its ways, or a very bitter socialist might enjoy the facile intellectual exercise of exposing hypocrisy and untruth so crude as this hypocrisy of the mandates. Our own feeling approaches nausea. It would be pleasanter to look the other way and write about our Shakespeare and the musical glasses. Until the few men in this House of Commons, who combine honesty and independence and brains, will face the Government, as the two Cecils are doing and tell it in the plainest Anglo-Saxon words that these tricks of untruth and dishonour are smearing our repute in the world, destroying the faint hope of any working of the League, and burying idealism itself, the conclusion must be that the war has ended in a disregard of international right and good faith, meaner and more demoralising by far than the frank wrong-doing of Bethman-Hollweg, who had at least the manhood to admit that he did evil under the stress of necessity. Here there is no necessity, no honesty. There is a breach of treaties, and grasping at material wealth, a disregard of others' interests and rights, rendered tenfold more odious because it is cloaked in deception."

I do not think that a single word of all this is too strong for what has recently happened at the Peace Conference and after. What it implies for India at the present juncture I shall discuss in my next paper.

TILAK MEMORIAL MEETING
A NOTABLE GATHERING IN LONDON
 (By D. N. BANNERJEA in India)

The hall of the Connaught Rooms was filled to the utmost limits of its capacity when Mr. Ben Spoor, M. P., presided over the Tilak Memorial meeting on August 12. The chairman read telegrams, regretting inability to attend, from Col. J. C. Wedgwood, George Lansbury, J. Ramsay MacDonald, John Scurr, J. Ransome, Roy Horniman, Helena Normanton, and others. Colonel Wedgwood wrote that India and the world had sustained an irreparable loss by the death of that gallant gentleman, Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

The resolution was then read that:

"This meeting of Indians in London and British friends and sympathisers desires to express its sense of the great loss which India and the world have sustained by the death of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and to place on record its profound appreciation of the noble services rendered by him throughout his life in the cause of Indian freedom. By his unremitting devotion, his suffering and his able leadership in that cause Tilak did more than any other in his lifetime to bring it to the threshold of success and laid his countrymen under the deepest obligation of gratitude. By following his example and by earnest endeavour to carry on the work for which he lived and died his countrymen can best repay that obligation and render the highest tribute to his memory.

"That copies of the above be sent to the President of the Indian National Congress with a request that it be forwarded to the family of the deceased and the Press."

The CHAIRMAN said: "If an impartial estimate were made on Tilak's life and the value for his work, it were obvious that India has not produced a greater nationalist. He had a bold vision and broad international sympathies just because he was a great nationalist and scholar of a high order. His death is a severe loss to all lovers of independence and liberty: his life has been the greatest inspiration to the progress of the world. Now that India is moving towards real independence, generations yet unborn will look back with gratitude to the Great Idealist who carved a roadway to freedom, looked forward to conditions of liberty and equality and fought with invincible courage the forces of repression and oppression."

Mr. J. M. PARIKH, Barrister-at-law, Vice-Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, said, in proposing the resolution: Mr. Tilak's death at this critical juncture is to us a stunning blow, but we must submit to the Will of Providence. His was a life, so full of usefulness, spent at all risks for the service of the country. The best tribute that we can make to his memory is by drawing some practical lessons with a view to follow in his footsteps. The very first decision that Lokmanya Tilak took was to make a firm determination never to enter Government service. As one of the pioneers of educational work in Poona, Tilak sought to promote the national cause from the national point of view, to educate public opinion and to encourage historical research in order to combat official misconception and to furnish a correct interpretation of Indian history. His work covered both the illiterate masses and the intelligentsia. It is some consolation to remember that persecution only helped the death and extent of his influence.

Mr. MAHOMED ALI, who was received with loud applause, said that Tilak lived long enough to prove that allegations concerning his anti-Mahomedan bias were a lie. He heard from an intimate friend of Tilak's that when the Hindu-Mahomedan concordant was being discussed, Tilak threw the whole weight of his influence for giving to Mahomedans, if possible, to his lasting credit, that in the interests of national unity you cannot give too much and that if

you believe in the policy of give-and-take you are bound in the end to win. His revival of Sivajis memories was perfectly justified and certainly not anti-Mahomedan, just as an attempt at the revival of Aurang Zeb's puritanism cannot truthfully be characterised as anti-Hindu. With the possible exception of Mr. Gaddhi, no leader comes up to Tilak. Some of us shrink from the price of freedom; Tilak did not submit or surrender to the most insolent bureaucracy in the world. He had no shirt-sleeves to take off before commencing work as he lived simply and austerly as belonging to the rank and file. People must respond if their sympathies are properly enlisted. He heartily seconded the resolution.

Mrs. NAIDU said that Tilak's death only heralded the national movement for non-co-operation as his life preached the gospel of non-co-operation with the bureaucratic despotism.

To praise Tilak were to offer dishonour. The only fitting memorial would be one that fulfilled the legacy of unrealised dreams. Who cares for the words when the deeds are there? Tilak stood for the duty of freedom and for the victory of martyrdom. He spoke in the idiom of his nation. Simple in his dress and manners, his Brahmanical birth predestined him to service for the lowest of humanity, the supremest lesson of liberty. He voiced forth the great message of self-realisation: "Learn to despise difficulty: freedom is the birthright that our ancestors died for: Truth is greater than authority."

Mr. SYED HUSSAIN (in supporting): Tilak was a unique personality. Patriotism is to-day fashionable; it was not so when Tilak began the national crusade for freedom. He never compromised what was vital to non-essentials. He took up as his slogan: "Freedom is my birthright." He gave to India but took nothing from her. He was ever opposed to piecemeal reform.

Miss H. M. HOWSIN: Tilak's indomitable courage, his wonderful intellect, his unassailable integrity are known and honoured the world over, and in these qualities lies the hope of India's future. And yet through all these last days, when it has seemed to me that the memory of his living presence and its potent inspiration gave the lie to the fact of death, that the remembrance which is most potent is that of his exceeding greatness—his exquisite sympathy and perfect understanding born of intense and prolonged suffering, and yet even the memory of that suffering he thrust aside lest it should distract his concentrated attention from the work lying under his hand. Tilak has been called "the uncrowned king of India"—rather, he wears an imperishable and unshaken crown, wrought by the love and devotion of a million hearts. Crowned—yes, a thousandfold; but Tilak can enter his kingdom when India is free. Let us go forth to-night from this meeting as those who have lost their leader; let us make this hall, to-night a Hall of Dedication. Let us make an act of union with the living spirit that flame cannot destroy, nor the winds of heaven scatter, nor the tyranny of tyrants torment; uniting our feeble capacities and halting wills with his steadfastness; pledged to fight on and win freedom for the Motherland Tilak lived and died to save.

Mr. PRITHISH CHANDRA ROY (Asst. Editor of *Bengalee*, Calcutta): As one belonging to the Moderate Section of the Congress, I must say that Tilak was a great man, unique in political and intellectual eminence. Plain living and high thinking was the characteristic of his life. It was for him to bridge the unbridgeable gulf between the classes and the masses in India.

Mr. SEVA RAM SINGH, who spoke on behalf of the Sikh Deputation, called Tilak the noblest son of India, and said it was a high honour to be asked to pay a tribute to the memory of one who was recognised as the Master of Hearts in India.

Mr. B. G. HORNIMAN said that unswerving devotion to the winning of freedom for India was the keynote of

Tilak's life and activities. What an enormous achievement that in the cause of a single life India should, through Tilak's agitation and efforts, be on the threshold of freedom! The spirit of India was to-day awake and alive. Referring to the *Times* obituary notice, Mr. Hornimath, after commenting on the gross violation of journalistic etiquette, said that the newspaper that attacked Tilak during his lifetime with bitterness had pursued him in death with malignity. The total absence of bitterness and resentment as shown by Tilak should be especially realised by the younger generation of Indians.

Mr. Dube: Tilak was a master-mine whose influence built up modern India; he stood for complete cessation of "despotism." "Organise and discipline yourself in the interests of freedom" was the message that he always gave.

Mr. Chancellor (ex-M. P.) Your ambitions and dreams are justified. Tilak was a great prophet, infinitely superior to an ordinary politician or nationalist. He believed that the fighting was to be done in India first and in this country afterwards.

NOTICE

DURBAN AND DISTRICT RENT BOARD

In terms of Section 4 of Act 13, 1920, all Lessors of Property situated in that portion of the Borough of Durban, known as WARD 4, are hereby called upon to supply the following information, which must be in possession of the Secretary by NOON 13th OCTOBER 1920, and the Lessor shall verify by solemn declaration the correctness of the information given in the return.

Necessary forms may be obtained from the Secretary at the Durban Rent Board Office, Indian Immigration Trust Board, Stanger Street. Returns may be declared at the Rent Board Office.

The information required is as follows:—

(a) The Lessor's full name and address, together with the name and address of his agent (if any).

(b) The situation of each property so let;

(c) The name of, and the rent paid by, each Lessee set out opposite to the particulars aforesaid of each dwelling, and where any dwelling is let to more than one Lessee, the name of, and the particulars of the rent paid by, each Lessee, likewise set out.

N. B. Sub lessor comes under the heading of lessor. Dwelling means any room or place occupied as a human habitation if any money is stipulated to be paid to the lessor.

Lessor's attention is drawn to Section 5, WHICH PROVIDES A PENALTY FOR NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THIS NOTICE.

By order of the Board,

JNO. L. FARRELL,

Durban Rent Board,

Secretary.

September 10th, 1920.

"Indian Opinion" Supplements

We have the following supplements on art paper for sale at 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. E. Hans Raj B.A. (Hon. Principal D. A. V. College, President Lahore Arya Samaj), Mr. Inam Abdul Kadir Bawazoor, Mr. Omar Haji Amod Johari, Mr. Joseph Royeppen B.A. (A Natal born Graduate Passive Resister), Mr. Royeppen (A Barrister-Hawker), Indian Volunteer-Stretcher-Bearer Corps, Three Transvaal ladies as passive resisters (Mrs. Sivprasad, Miss Minnatjee and Mrs. Somar), Mr. Ameeroodin Fayandar, Mrs. S. Mehtab, Asiatic Ordnance (A Chess play Cartoon) India's Great Loyalty (Cartoon), The Late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. Ratan J. Tata, Mrs. R. M. Sodha, Sir William Wedderburn, Bt., 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 Amthill, G.C.I.E., The Triumphal Arch outside Park Station (Mr. Gokhale's Visit), Shri Sanyasi Swami Shankeranand, Mr. Sorabji Shapurji of Adajan, Hanifa Biji, H. H. The Amir of Afghanistan, Mr. Kallenbach, Mr. Kallenbach as seen walking from the Tolstoy Farm to Johannesburg, Mr. Henry S. L. Polak, Picnic Party at Tolstoy Farm, The Late Mr. M. H. Nazar, Shri Gopal Lal Hindu Temple Verulam, The Late Miss Valliamah Moodaliar, Sons of the Empire (Indian Soldiers), The 60 Indians Deported to India by the Transvaal Government, The Indian Monument in Johannesburg, The Late Mr. Hajee Hossain Dawad, Indian Merchants who suffered imprisonment at Standerton, Babu Rabindranath Tagore, The late Hon. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., Sir Benjamin Robertson and Staff, Some of the Addresses presented to The Hon. Mr. Gokhale, Vrededorp Properties, The Late Mr. Abdoola Ladji Adam, Indian Strikers in Durban, (Three Pictures).

Hindu Social Ideals, by P. J. Mehta	2 0
M. K. Gandhi, " "	2 0
A Study in Indian Economics by P. Banerji	4 6
English Traits and Representative Men, by Emerson	2 6
War and Peace, Vols 1, 2, and 3, by Tolstoy, each	2 6
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" " " (in Hindi)	2 0
From Colombo to Almora	4 0
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Improvement of Indian Agriculture	2 6
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