

Indian Opinion

No. 10—VOL. XX FRIDAY, MARCH 10th, 1922.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper
Price Fourpence

NOTES AND NEWS

It is with deep regret that we learn of the sad death, last week in Johannesburg, of Mr. H. O. Ally. It will be remembered the late Mr. Ally was one among the deputation that first went to England in connection with the Transvaal Passive Resistance struggle and he was also one of those who courted voluntary arrest at the time of that great struggle. There were present a large number of Indians representing all sections at the funeral ceremony to pay their last respects to the deceased. We extend to the bereaved family of the late Mr. H. O. Ally our sincerest condolence and pray that the departed soul may rest in peace.

Mr. C. F. Andrews sent a wire from Trichur to the *Bombay Chronicle* in connection with Mr. Churchill's East African Dinner Speech in London in the course of which he says:—

"No blow in East Africa could be more serious than the Colonial Secretary's final decision against Indians in Kenya Highlands.....What the final result will be is outlined very distinctly in Lord Delamere's remarks which were made without contradiction in Mr. Winston Churchill's own presence. Lord Delamere anticipates the practical prohibition of Indian immigration making East Africa almost as closed to Indians as South Africa and Australia and Canada are closed. This will be accomplished under cover of Cecil Rhodes's maxim of equal rights for all civilised men, the idea being tacitly implied that there is only one educational and economic standard of civilisation, namely, the European standard. Personally, I do not think that India can ever accept that position. What I had personally been fearing and dreading all these years appears now almost to have come true. We must still have patience and make every possible appeal against this decision by every constitutional means in our power. But we must never allow this supreme issue to go by default.

The members of the Hindustanee Association of Japan at one of their regular meetings passed the following resolution:—

"The Hindustanee Association of Japan heartily congratulates Sreejot Chittaranjan Das, the President-elect of the Indian National Congress and the other Non-co-operators numbering more than 2,000 on their arrest and imprisonment, pays homage to their courage, innumerable sacrifices and patriotic services, and hails them as martyrs to the cause of Swarajya."

We are sorry to learn that a brutal assault was committed on Mr. B. L. E. Sigamony by a tram conductor last Saturday whilst boarding a car at Overport. Mr. Sigamoney, we understand, was ordered by the conductor to get off the car and on refusing to do so he was assaulted by the latter on off the car. Mr. Sigamoney being a well-known sportsman could have no doubt paid back the conductor with full interest but we are very pleased to note that he suffered the blows without retaliating. It was gentlemanly on the part of Mr. Sigamoney not to have retaliated while the act

of the conductor was as brutish as it was illegal. It is time that these young conductors who are many of them, probably, ex-soldiers who have lost all humanliness during their service are once more taught civility. It is worthy of note that when Mr. Sigamoney asked for European witnesses not one was prepared to come forward! We understand the case is in the hands of the C.I.D.

We are informed that a meeting of the general Advisory Committee of the M. K. Gandhi Library and Parsee Rustomjee Hall will be held on Saturday the 11th instant at 3 p. m., at the Queen Street Library Hall. Members of the above committee as well as well-wishers who intend to join the Committee are requested to be present.

Many improvements have been made in the above Library and much expense incurred for the benefit of the public by purchasing sets of very useful books and subscribing for all important papers from the different parts of the world. A Library is a blessing to those who know the worth of it. It is regrettable that the Durban Indian public is not taking advantage as they should do of the heavenly gift placed before them. To the Indians it should be a recreation to go to the Library and search for the hidden treasures that lie therein. We hope the above meeting will be well attended and many more members will be enrolled.

London, Feb. 24.—An important conference on the political situation in India is being held at Delhi, whither the Governors of Bombay and Madras have proceeded to meet the Viceroy. Replying to a question in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi, in regard to the Government's policy in view of the temporary suspension of civil disobedience, Sir W. H. Vincent, the Home member of the Executive Council, said that the Government could discover no indication of any fundamental changes in the attitude of non-co-operators. The enrolling of volunteers was continuing, and the circulation of seditious propaganda had not abated. Until the illegal activities of non-co-operators had completely ceased, the Government's attitude must be unchanged, as those activities had already produced a serious situation which might at any moment result in bloodshed and disorder.—Reuter.

The following is an extract from a letter written by Chinnaamy, one of those who have become the victims of the Union Government's Repatriation Scheme, from Trichinopoly (Madras) to his friend in Maritzburg:—

"I regret to say that all the people were very very ill-treated in the ship. The officers did not take any notice about the poor ignorant people. Couldn't get water to drink. Very very poor food. We were all starved. It is very hard to get labour here. Provisions and other goods are very dear.....Kindly inform those people who were very anxious to come to India not to come because the country is very poor. People

are starving. I am feeling very sorry now. I am sure I made a very great mistake to leave Natal and I lost my rights. Don't know what to do."

The following letter addressed to the English contemporary by Mr. Holford Knight, that warm friend of India who visited the country towards the close of 1920, will be read with interest. It shows (says the *Hombay Chronicle*), what a righteous-minded Englishman thinks of the present policy of the authorities in India and how repugnant to all liberty-loving Englishmen are the acts of their countrymen here in shackling freedom of speech and association. With the hope that it may help in bringing our local contemporaries, who see, in the National Movement in India, nothing but sedition and anarchy and thus mislead the people in this country, to their senses, we reproduce it below:—

"Sir,—The imprisonment of Lala Lajpat Rai, following on the equally vindictive sentence of Motilal Nehru, should stir all those to whom civil freedom is a genuine possession. No more valuable or responsible popular leaders than these two worthy men can be found in India. The Seditious Meetings Act has been stretched to cover the ordinary gathering of a Provincial Committee in preparation for the annual National Congress. Under this process, the right of conference on public business is reduced to a farce, and our professions to the world about freedom are covered with mockery. What hope can there be for better days in India when the masses are insulted by this treatment of revered leaders? I write to say, shortly, as one who knows and respects these eminent patriots, that, in their place, no responsible leader could, should, or would act differently. Their imprisonment is a disgrace to the British name."

Yours, etc,

HOLFORD KNIGHT.

MR. HULETT'S ORDINANCE AGAIN

THE Draft Ordinance to amend the Local Townships Law No. 11, 1881, in regard to the qualification of Voters in Townships is to be again introduced by Mr. Hulett, M.P.C., in the forthcoming session of the Natal Provincial Council which, it is officially stated, will meet on the 22nd instant. The above Draft Ordinance is aimed at directly depriving Indians in Townships of their franchise rights. It will be remembered by our readers that the very same Draft Ordinance was introduced by Mr. Hulett last year in the Provincial Council and after a very strenuous struggle on the part of Mr. Hulett and others of the type of his thinking it was passed through. But Indians also, especially the Natal Indian Congress (Mafitzburg Branch), put up a strong fight against it as a result of which it was vetoed by the Governor-General-in-Council. Mr. Hulett's soul is not at rest. He has brought in the same Draft Ordinance again with the hope of getting it passed this time, and therefore he is out, openly, to betray those who have eaten. It is not a little surprising that an Ordinance that has once been vetoed should be allowed to be introduced again. We hardly believe that the Governor-General-in-Council will ever assent to an Ordinance which has once been vetoed and which is obviously outside of the powers of the Provincial Council to pass. However, the duty of the Indian community is quite clear. It will not do for them to rest at peace. They must wake up and put as strenuous a fight as last year against the proposed Ordinance and to do all in their power to safeguard the remnants of the rights which they still possess in this country.

PETITION TO PARLIAMENT

URGING THE REMOVAL OF COLOUR BAR

The following is a copy of a petition, to the Union Parliament, which is being circulated throughout the Union for signatures, praying for the removal of the colour bar from the Union Act:—

To the Honourable the Speaker and Members of the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa in Parliament assembled:—

The Petition of Abdullah Abdurahman, 119 Loop Street, Cape Town, Mat. J. Fredericks, 14 Dundonald Street, Woodstock, respectively the President and the Secretary of the African People's Organisation; Stephen Reason, Mamel Road, Claremont; Samuel Wentzsl, Main Road, Claremont; Philip Poole, Vine Road, Wynberg and George Corson, Cardiff Road, Simonstown; members of the General Executive of the African People's Organisation; and others, respectively Sheweth:

(1) That under the Franchise Laws presently in force in the Union of South Africa, the non-European sections of the population of the Union are, save within the Province of the Cape of Good Hope and, to a limited extent, within the Province of Natal, debarred from political rights and privileges, and are disqualified from voting at the election of members of the House of Assembly or of the Senate.

(2) That, furthermore, a person who, though a British subject, is not of European descent, is under and by virtue of the South Africa Act 1909, sections 23 (b) and 44 (c) debarred and disqualified from being, or being elected as, a member of the House of Assembly or as a Senator.

(3) Your Petitioners feel aggrieved that merely on the ground of colour, these discriminations are made against a portion of the inhabitants of the Union; who have proved themselves a loyal and law-abiding community, and have shown their capacity for exercising political rights and privileges with judgment and discretion whenever they have enjoyed such rights and privileges.

(4) Your Petitioners respectfully submit that the removal of the colour bar will be an act of even handed justice, which will bring contentment to those whose interests they represent, and will make for that peace, harmony, goodwill and respect among all sections of the population, which is essential for the progress and prosperity of our great country.

Wherefore your Petitioners humbly pray that it may please your Honourable House to make such provision as may be necessary for the removal of the colour bar, by granting to non-European subjects Franchise Rights in all the Provinces of the Union, and the right of being elected as members of the Legislature.

Your Petitioners further pray to be heard in support hereof by the first-named Petitioner at the Bar of your Honourable House, or for such other relief as to your Honourable House may seem meet.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

THE EAST AFRICAN QUESTION

MR. ANDREWS' VIEWS

ON MR. CHURCHILL'S SPEECH

The following is a report as given by the Associated Press of India in connection with Mr. C. F. Andrews' views on Mr. Churchill's much advertised speech at the recent East African Dinner in London, which were referred to shortly by Reuter:—

Mr. C. F. Andrews in a statement to the Press concerning Mr. Winston Churchill's speech expressed the opinion that the Colonial Secretary has done badly determined to maintain the unsatisfactory terms of the secret document sent out to Kenya last October. This

secret document stated that the decision to reserve the Kenya Highlands for the European settlers was unalterable. Mr. Winston Churchill's East African Banquet speech in London now probably openly emphasises the same decision. What is implied in this Colonial Office decision may be understood from the following example. A Greek or an Italian foreigner who is not a British subject will be able to buy land in Kenya Highlands outside the municipal areas. But no Indian who is a British subject will be allowed to do so.

Furthermore, Mr. Churchill now openly states that Indian immigration must be strictly regulated. In his secret document he proposed that an immigration security up to 750 rupees and a writing and speaking test in English might be demanded from an Indian in the near future. Apparently this test has now been finally determined. Because, Lord Delamere at the same East African Banquet while expressing pleasure at Mr. Winston Churchill's utterance hoped that the control of Indian immigration would bear its practical prohibition.

Thirdly, Mr. Winston Churchill anticipates the amalgamation of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda in one Federal Government. The capital of such an East African Federation would be Nairobi in the Kenya Highlands. This would almost inevitably imply that the Kenya European sentiment which is bitterly hostile to Indians would gradually penetrate the whole East African Federation. Mr. Winston Churchill emphasises Cecil Rhodes' principles of citizenship. But it must be remembered that those principles, as they are exercised to-day in the Cape Colony, involve complete prohibition of all Indian immigration. Lord Delamere representing the European settlers evidently imagines that practically the same powers of prohibition will be exercised by the European community in East Africa and that Kenya will become a White colony.

Mr. Andrews states in conclusion that Mr. Winston Churchill's position appears to him nothing less than a betrayal. Its effect upon the Indian community in East Africa is difficult to contemplate. Its injustice is apparent.

MR. HULETT'S ORDINANCE

[FROM OUR MARITZBURG CORRESPONDENT]

Elsewhere in this issue a copy of a draft ordinance to amend the Local Townships Law in regard to the qualifications of voters in Townships is published. The ordinance is proposed to be introduced by Mr. G. H. Hulett, M.P.C., in the Natal Provincial Council, which meets on the 22nd inst., at Maritzburg.

The ordinance aims at disqualifying non-Europeans from possessing votes equivalent to Municipal franchise in Townships. It will be remembered that last year Mr. Hulett introduced a similar measure in the Council, and despite the strenuous opposition put up by the Indians of Natal secured its passage. The Indians unwilling to be browbeaten in this way, pressed their objections forward and sent strong objections to His Royal Highness the Governor-General and to the Minister of Interior. The gravamen of the objections was that the ordinance was based upon class distinction, and it clearly aimed at depriving the Township franchise now held by Indians. Legal opinion obtained from an eminent counsel by the Maritzburg Branch of the Natal Indian Congress, which led the attack upon the measure, went to show that it was *ultra vires* of the powers of the Provincial Council, to pass the measure.

It will be interesting to observe that in reply to objections lodged, the Secretary for the Interior in a letter dated the 23rd July, 1921, to the Natal Indian Congress (Maritzburg Branch) wrote as follows:—

“With reference to your letter of the 2nd instant

confirming your telegram of the same date, relative to the objections of the Natal Indian Congress to the Township Franchise Ordinance, 1921, I have to inform you that His Royal Highness the Governor-General has been pleased to withhold his assent to the Ordinance.”

It was thus the Ordinance, which Mr. Hulett, seeks now to re-introduce, was vetoed. The attempt to re-introduce a vetoed ordinance, in this manner, raises the question as to whether there is constitutional authority for doing so. In my humble opinion, seeing that the South Africa Act is silent on this point, a legislative authority may re-introduce time after another a bill which was once vetoed. But whether this view is correct or not it does not matter. It is the plain duty of all Indians residing in Townships and in Municipalities to show a united front in objecting to this piece of class legislation. It is in plain words an unscrupulous robber disguised in this attempted legislation with an intent to rob, in broad daylight, the last vestige of the rights, which have been assigned to non-Europeans, no less than to Indians in this country.

Will the Indians of Natal sleep over their rights, or are they going to fight manfully for the preservation of their rights, are the questions that stand at the face of the community at this critical period.

MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE RIGHTS

[FROM OUR MARITZBURG CORRESPONDENT]

Readers of INDIAN OPINION will recollect that last year the Natal Provincial Council introduced a Bill amending the Local Townships Law, No. 11 of 1921. The amendment avowedly aimed at disfranchising Indians of the Township vote. The Maritzburg Branch of the Natal Indian Congress, supported by Indians residing in Townships vigorously objected to the bill on the ground that it was based on class discrimination. The bill, though strongly objected to by the Administrator, passed the House, and was, owing to objections taken by the Indian community, vetoed by the Governor-General-in-Council.

Excepting Stanger and Howick Indians, those that reside in the other Local Boards have not taken any trouble to enrol themselves as voters. This may be put down to the ignorance of their rights, or their apathy to exercise same.

I propose to give in these notes, what their rights are, and what procedure should be pursued to enforce those rights.

There are 11 Local Boards, namely, Charlestown, Harding, Howick, Paulpietersburg, South Barrow, South Shepstone, Utrecht, Stanger, Verulam, Weenen, Richmond. I understand Glencoe has also been declared a Township.

Law 11 of 1881 provides for the establishment and local management of Townships. Section 7 of this Law says that “the Local Board shall prepare a Town Roll, and shall enter therein the names of all persons possessing within the Township a qualification entitling them to vote for a member of the Legislative Council. And the qualification is:—“Every man, except as hereinafter excepted, above the age of 21 years, who possesses any immovable property of the value of £50, or who rents any such property of the yearly value of £10 within any electoral district, and who is duly registered in the manner hereinafter mentioned, shall be entitled to vote at the election of a member for such district.”

The disqualifications are:—Aliens not naturalised, persons convicted of treason, felony or infamous offence, who shall not have received a free pardon.

So that the position briefly summarised is:—
That a male person of the age of 21 years and above, possessing immovable property of the value of £50, or

a male person, who pays in rent a yearly value of £10 is entitled to enrol his name as a voter in a Township.

Indians possessing these qualifications should at once form a Ratepayers Association in each Township, and send their applications to the Clerk or Chairman of their Local Board. The application may be in the following terms:—

I.....(full name) make application as follows:—That I am fully of the age of.....years, that I own immovable property to the value of £50, or that I have rented the premises No.....in this Township, and that the yearly value of same is £ : : (insert amount of rent paid for a year).

That in terms of Section 7 of Law 11 of 1881 I claim a vote as a burgess in the Township of.....

Dated at.....: this.....day of.....1922.
Signature.....

The Town Roll is prepared in the first week of May in each year. Our community is advised to lose no time.

THE DRAFT ORDINANCE

The following Draft Ordinance which is to be introduced by Mr. G. H. Hulett (Member of North Coast) in the forthcoming session of the Natal Provincial Council is published in the Natal Provincial Gazette of the 2nd instant for general information:—

Be it enacted by the Provincial Council of the Province of Natal, as follows:—

1. From and after the passing of this Ordinance no person shall be qualified to have his name entered on the Town Roll referred to in Section 7 of Law 11 of 1881 or to be a voter within the meaning of the said law who (not being of European origin) is a native or descendant in the male line of natives of countries which have not, prior to the coming into force of the South Africa Act, 1909, possessed elective representative institutions founded on the Parliamentary franchise, unless he has first obtained from the Governor-General-in-Council an order exempting him from the operation of this Ordinance: Provided that any person who was on the Town Roll on the First day of January, 1922, and who still possesses the qualification referred to in Section 7 of Law No. 11, 1881, shall continue to be entitled to be enrolled as a voter.

2. This Ordinance may be cited as the "Township Franchise Ordinance."

INDIA OF THE FUTURE

[The Indian National Congress Reception Committee arranged a series of non-political addresses by distinguished men irrespective of parties. Mr. Paul Richard was among those who accepted the invitation of the Committee. The following is the text of his address which is a translation of the original in French. Shrimati Sarojini Naidu read the translation to a select audience in the Gujarat National College on the 31st December. Mr. Gandhi presided.]

CITIZENS OF FUTURE INDIA

Pardon me, if I can only speak to you in French. My own ignorance of the language of the people among whom I pass increases my solitude and my silence. It enables me better to listen to the word of God. Because I cannot understand the languages of India, I can listen better to the soul of India. Who can listen to the soul of people, unless the soul of the people speaks to him?

Pardon me, I am but a man—a poor man, who has no country, no people. My people is that which has not yet come to birth. My country is that which is of the Future. That is why I have made myself a vaga-

bond, a citizen of the whole world, wandering among all peoples, seeking in the midst of them all, that country, that people which is to come. A people without selfishness, a country without frontiers, with no limits or limitations. A people new-born, with no routine or superstition, with no *pardah* or caste, with no *pariahs*, with no injustices. A country with no ignorance, with no famished people, wherein the greatest will be those who have made themselves most poor; wherein the most powerful are the most disinterested. A country without priests, wherein everyone is the servant-priest of God.

And I come to-day, on the eve of this New Year and of this New Era, into this besieged fortress, in order to say to India in her renewal.

Be that people! Be that country.

Is not this thy sacred mission, to be among the nations of the earth a people of the Spirit, to give to all mankind an example, a lesson of true Spirituality? Thou hast been in past ages the light of the world. Become so again. But in order to become so, make no claim to be so. Say not in thy heart, 'I alone am a spiritual people.' When any people or men believe themselves to be higher than others, then they fall lower than others. Say not in thy heart: 'I am the elect nation. I am the chosen people.' For many nations believe themselves to be the elect. But the elect people is that which thinks least of itself; which forgets itself in the service of others.

The elect people is always that people which is the first to rise from its own past in order to lead others forward into the future; which is the first to renounce its ancient ideas, beliefs, traditions, in order to receive the new idea, that creates the New Era. The elect people is that which allows itself to be instructed by all in order to become the instructor of all; which realises first in itself the law of the spirit, the life of the spirit, in order to reveal it to others.

For the life of the spirit is not a mere belief in Spirit. Spiritualism is not the same as Spirituality. There are men who deny the Spirit and call themselves materialists, and yet their whole lives are masterpieces of true Spirituality, an anonymous creation of the Spirit. And it is often among those, who style themselves spiritual, that the true life of the Spirit is least to be found.

The life of the spirit does not consist in ignorance of matter. Spirit does not ignore matter. It organises, it impregnates, it beautifies, it transfigures matter.

The soul's egoism, its indifference towards the obscurity of form, its refusal to accomplish in the midst of chaos the work of light, its failure to spiritualise matter,—this is true materialism.

Nor again is the life of the spirit the attachment to any external and formal cult of the spirit. Spirit does not cling to its forms. It renews them. The conservatism of forms formulae, and formalities, the superstitions of ancient books and ancient rites, fixity, that is limitation in time as well as in space, the inertia soul, its refusal to follow the spirit in its perpetual renewal,—this is true materialism. The materialism is first of all that of religion, that of life.

O India, thou People of the Spirit, thy mission above all is to conquer this materialism within, to die to the dead past in order to take birth in the future. For peoples, as well as men, have to die and to be born again, to die to themselves in order to become as new born children.

Woe to the peoples that remain looking to where the sun had set, sitting in the darkness and repeating, 'There was the Light.' Woe to the peoples that wander like aged men, seeking everywhere their lost past, and knowing neither how to live, nor how to die, nor how to be born again.

O thou, people of the Spirit, look forward! Renounce everything in order to receive, not what others have, but that which none has yet received and thou hast to give to all.

Thou art one of the most ancient nations of the

world. Is it not thy mission, thy message to the world, to show to all how nations can have a great past and yet not remain buried under its ruins?

O thou, whose soul for centuries escaped, breaking forth from the worlds below to those above, to find there the things to come, the life of the future, is it not thy mission, thy message to the world to show to all what the Spirit can achieve, when it descends again from its inaccessible heights to the lower plane of men, their cities, their nations, their temples, in order to create everywhere its new forms of victorious life?

O thou, who was once enslaved, but art to be enslaved no longer in the future, is it not thy mission, thy message to the world, to show to all mankind how nations, by complete self-renewal from within, by breaking the fetters of the past, by securing inner freedom, can spring up free also from those fetters that are without?

O people, manifold and divided, assembly of nations whose problem is one of the most complex and difficult in the world, is it not thy mission, thy message to the world, to show how a nation of divers creeds and languages can become one, not by the law of the sword, but by the law of the heart founding an Empire, not of force, but of love?

Is it not thy mission to show to the world, how religious with their rival cults and warring sects, can reunite and commune together in the supreme worship of the living Infinite, which embraces, transcends and crowns them all?

O thou, who art one of the most numerous and vast among the peoples of the world, is it not thy mission to show to the world how nations can be truly great, not by shutting themselves in, not by imprisoning themselves with iron bars, but by overthrowing all barriers, by opening thyself to all so as to form in company with all the one perfect family, the peaceful, blissful, blessed family of humanity?

Arise, therefore, People of the Spirit, rise up! Break open the seals of the closed book of thy destiny. Arise, with the rising dawn, and spread your wings to the full sky, thy two wings of Love and Faith.

By Faith make alliance with the future. By Love, become united with all peoples. Let Love create the future in thee, so that the future may create love in all.

Arise, and become the servant of the future. The masters of to-morrow are those who make themselves the servants of to-morrow.

Arise, not to be free, but to be great. Freedom follows the course of greatness, as the morning star follows the course of the sun. Be great that thou mayest also be free.

The ideal of some is only that thou shouldst be free to be a nation in the fashion of other nations of the world, with Stock Exchange and a Parliament, a place where thy soul can be sold, and another place where it can be frittered away in vain talk. The ambition is that thou shouldst become a mere copy of the nations of Europe, receiving from them their worn-out idols, and giving them thy worn-out Gods.

But the Spirit in thee has other thoughts. It will fashion into a divine nation, when the politician shall be replaced by the sage; and the moneyed man shall be replaced by the *Rishi*, that spiritual State, that superior State, having its centre, for governance, a Council of Sages, and above it a Council of humanity; and higher still above, a divine symbol, a throne of the Lord of the Nations, the only true and supreme Sovereign of the peoples.

Thus, India, thou shalt not become what others are, nor remain in thy present condition, but thou shalt extirpate from within the sin,—the sin of the soul against Love, the sin which as yet thou hast only half recognised and half confessed.

For it was only said: "Untouchability is our national sin." But I say unto you, "Every division is sin. Caste, the present Spirit of Caste, of which untouchability is but the symptom and the effect, that is the national sin."

Thou shalt, therefore, extirpate this sin; thou shalt restore unity, fraternity; thou shalt bring back the harmony of love within, in order that thou mayest be its messenger without, its living messenger in the eyes of all. For it is Love which ever was and ever will be, in the future as in the past ages, thy message divine.

Therefore, O India, people of the Spirit, if now thou wilt be free, it cannot be by selfishness. It must be without hate, so as to be able to love.

If thou wilt be free, it is, it must be, not in order to be parted from those with whom destiny has united thee, but to be united with them by the tie of love mightier than that of might.

It is, it must be, not to oppose, not to make more distant the East and the West, but to make them draw nearer together, to make them more and more allied, by being thyself allied, not with one people of the West but with all.

If thou wilt be free, if thou wilt belong to one, it is in order to give thyself to all. It is to be able to associate thyself, not only with all the West, but with all the East; to be able to go forth from thy own border not in war array, as slave who is sent to fight with and to enslave his own brother, but as a friend and as a helper of those who would be free.

If thou wilt be free, it is to be more and nowhere an instrument of death, but everywhere and evermore a worker of Love. It is to accomplish everywhere the mission, the great mission of the soul in this world.

Listen and let thy soul weep over the world. For this world is made out of a great sorrow rising from the abyss which has to be comforted. This world is made out of a great obscurity, a great ignorance which has to be enlightened. This world is made out of a great bitterness, a great wrath rising from the abyss, which has to be assuaged, which has to be appeased. This world is made out of all the misery of beings. It is the meeting place where all that comes from below rises to seek all that comes from above; and the greater the distress from below, the greater the gloom and the violence, the more divine also is the Love which descends. Thus, from age to age, the worlds go forward. For the more dark those ages become, the more glorious the manifestations which they prepare.

To-day, in this age of 'Kali Yuga' from the depth has arisen a supreme 'Astara'. Announce, therefore, to the world the coming of a Supreme Lord, of a Supreme Love, of a Love which had never before descended. O India, by its splendour, once more, in saving thyself, save the beings and the nations.—*Young India*.

GOD'S WISH

The following letter was written to Mr. Gandhi by Mr. Dwijendranath Tagore the elder brother of the great poet Rabindranath Tagore:—

Dear Mahatmaji,—A seemingly difficult problem has been raised by some thoughtful men regarding the advisability of non-violent non-co-operation. They say it is better to give free vent to their hankering after violence than hypocritically to put on the garb of non-violence and cherish ill-will against our despotic rulers. They say also that the people of India are at heart the disciples of Moses who taught men to demand an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth unforgivingly while in outward appearance they behave in strict conformity with the teaching of Jesus.

I ask these friends what they want us to do. Do they really advise our people to kill our opponents and be killed? Or do they want us to practise forgiveness towards our oppressors by laying down our freedom at their feet and co-operate with them in all their evil practices?

It is as clear to me as daylight that to forgive the evil-doers is to refrain from cherishing any ill-will against them, but we cannot expect from any people of any country, as the world now stands, that they will at

once become saints of the highest type like Jesus Christ or Buddha without practising self-control and going through other preparatory discipline. When the oppressors are rampantly trampling on the freedom of our people without the least remorse, it is natural to expect that our people, in return, consider them to be their deadly enemies. Therefore it is the duty of those who have actually succeeded in throwing off all the natural infirmities of the human mind by a course of hard discipline to show their brethren of the lower plane by example and advice how to curb their passions and ill-feeling and to give vent to them, and thus gradually to acquire control over their lower self. This is the first towards freeing the soul from all ill-feeling towards one's enemies, and becoming truly non-violent inwardly as well as outwardly.

I know to a certainty, and my critic friends ought also to know, that you are doing all this with head and heart, with *manas* (mind), *vachas* (word) and *kaya* (body) as the phrase goes. My belief is that all this is not your own work but God's work coming through you in order to redeem India and our people from an age-long captivity.

With love and best wishes.

Yours affectionately,

DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE.

Shantiniketan,

1st Dec. 1921.

વૈવવાના પુસ્તકો

નીચેનાં પુસ્તકોનો રોક હમણાજ હિંદી આવેલા છે. આવો લખેલા છે તે પોસ્ટ સાથે છે. મંગલવારોએ ખાસ વિનંતિ છે કે તેઓએ ઓરડર મોકલતી વખતે પછસા સાથે ખીડી મોકલવા અને નામ અને શીરનામું ચોખ્ખા અક્ષરે લખવાં. વી. પી. ના ઓરડરોને ધ્યાન દેવામાં આવશે નહિ. ઓરડર મોકલવાનું ઠેકાણું નીચે મુજબ છે :

Manager,

INDIAN OPINION,

Phoenix, Natal.

	શી.	પે.
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