

# Indian Opinion

13—Vol. XXII.

Friday, March 28th, 1924.

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

## NOTES AND NEWS

PEOPLE have been patiently waiting to see the second reading of the Class Areas Bill which was supposed to come on Monday the 17th instant. Hopes have since been given of its coming by the parliamentary correspondents of the local daily papers but up to the time of going to press there is no sign of it. Presumably Mrs. Naidu's presence is responsible for the delay. We wonder if the Government are afraid, or rather, ashamed to bring the Bill in the presence of Mrs. Naidu. It is likely that they are because the Government themselves know full well that the Bill is contrary to all principles of justice. If the Government fear Mrs. Naidu's presence how much more should they not fear the Unseen when they attempt to do the wrong. It will be an act of wisdom on the part of the Government if they decide even at this late hour to shelve the Black Bill.

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce has decided to support the Class Areas Bill with its principle of segregation for Indians, says the *Rand Daily Mail*, dated 22nd March. In a committee report laid before its meeting it was stated that legislation of a discriminatory character based on racial or class distinctions was foreign to the principles of equality and freedom, but its adoption was justifiable if it could be shown to be essential in the interests of the development of a standard of living and civilisation desired by the nation by which it is adopted. In South Africa, the report continued, Asiatics would always remain a race apart. It was admittedly impossible for the European successfully to compete with the Asiatic trader, and it was undesirable in the interests of both races that whites and Asiatics should reside in the same areas. It was considered that under the Bill the Asiatic would still retain a large proportion of the trade he has hitherto enjoyed, and therefore support for the Bill was recommended. It was emphasised, however, that great care would have to be taken in personnel of the Commission, whose duty it would be to approve of the areas set aside for Asiatic residence.

Interviewed by Reuter at Bombay Mr. Gandhi is reported to have said the Union Government's decision not to apply the Class Areas Bill to the Cape Province was actuated by the desire of the European population, especially the Dutch, that Malay women, who did nearly all the housework in the Cape, should not be segregated, and thus greatly inconvenience whites, while the Indian population, which was a "mere fleabite," was not worth worrying about in view of the difficulties in connection with segregation in the Cape.

The Council of State in India carried without a division Mr. Natesan's resolution against the Class Areas Bill.

According to a Reuter's message from Delhi Dr. Gour's motion for adjournment of the Legislative Assembly to discuss the matter of the Bill on the plea that the second reading of the Bill was imminent, and it was a matter of the deepest importance to India, was disallowed by the President of the Assembly on the ground that no fresh urgency had arisen.

Addressing a big public meeting in Bulawayo on the 19th instant Sir Charles Coghlan the Premier of Rhodesia dealing with Indians is reported to have said:—

Rhodesia would not have the same Indian problem as Kenya. Our small Indian population were contented citizens, and there was no intention of taking away their rights. The coloured people held the same rights as in the Cape Province, and he quoted approvingly Rhode's dictum of equal rights for all civilised men.

Mr. A. M. Jivanjee the well-known merchant of Nairobi who has accompanied Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to this country returned from Capetown last Wednesday and will leave for Nairobi by the B.I. boat on Sunday next. By his very affable nature Mr. Jivanjee has won the hearts of many in this country by whom he will be missed. We wish Mr. Jivanji a very pleasant voyage.

Mr. Jivanjee accompanied by Mr. E. A. Tyeb and Mr. Chandabhai Miankhan paid a visit to-day to the Phoenix Settlement and the Ohlange Institute.

We are officially informed that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu after visiting Port Elizabeth, Basutoland, Kimberley and other important towns will pay her final visit to Johannesburg and return to Durban on the 20th of April.

### 'ADVERTISER' AND THE "WHITE PRESTIGE"

THERE are a few papers in this country, we are glad to admit, that take a very sane view of the Indian question, and the *Natal Advertiser*, we have known to be one among them. But at times the suggestions even of this paper do appear to be extraordinarily narrow-minded and unreasonable. The case of two Indian motorists who were fined last week in the Durban Court for disobeying the orders of the Borough police has been made the subject of a leading article by our contemporary, which appears in its issue of the 24th March. In the beginning the paper lays a serious charge against Indians by saying that, "the visit of Mrs. Naidu to Natal had coincided with a resurgence of aggressiveness in the Asiatic temper, and that there was something akin to a studied provocativeness in the attitude many of these people were showing the European community around them. As an example it quotes the above-mentioned cases and explains them as follows:—

"In the one case an Indian jeweller was charged with driving a car carelessly and recklessly and to the danger of the public. The constable who held up the car stated in court that the accused used obscene language, and that he threatened to shoot the officer. The Indian pleaded guilty to the charge of careless driving, but denied the other allegations. The Magistrate, after calling the Indian's conduct disgraceful and improper, fined him three pounds.

In the other case, a constable asked an Indian

motorist who had pulled his car up on the station front to move it to the kerb. The Indian refused. The policeman then asked for the Indian's name and address. This also was refused. The policeman next entered the car and asked that it should be driven to the police station. He was ordered out of the car: he attempted to arrest the Indian, but before he could effect this the car shot away. Twice the constable, chasing it, sought to board it, only to be knocked off each time. The car eventually got clean away, but the number being taken the Indian later was arrested.

The Magistrate commented on the seriousness of the offence, and said this sort of thing could not be tolerated. The police were on the street for the purpose of keeping order, and they must be obeyed, otherwise their presence was useless. *He fined the accused four pounds.*

The paper thinks the most deplorable aspect of these two cases is the utter frivolous imdequacy of the fines imposed, and considers the offences to be such that would put the ordinary white man out of the "pale." "None but the lowest type of white men would behave as these two Asiatics behaved to constables who were doing a duty that is at all times disagreeable," says the paper, and sees good grounds for suspecting a general resurgence of Asiatic defiance of white authority. The paper strongly protests against the leniency exercised by the Magistrate in imposing a fine of three and four pounds respectively and describing their conduct as "improper," "disgraceful" and "cannot be tolerated" and goes on to suggest that "this will further allow Indians to resist and treat with contumely if not with violence white officers of the borough." The paper makes the following further observations: "Many an Asiatic to-day would consider the gesture of defiance cheap—remarkably cheap—at the price. For the rest, how the prestige of white authority in troubled times like these is going to be maintained in face of this judicial attitude towards law-breaking by wealthy non-Europeans it is impossible to say." And after giving some hints to the Magistrate as to his duty the paper ends the article by saying: "There is not too much white prestige left that we can lightly jeopardise the remainder."

At the outset we wish to make it quite clear that we have not a word to say in defence of the two Indian motorists in question nor is the motive of the present article to defend their action. Their behaviour in not obeying the reasonable orders of the police was abominable and had a heavier penalty been imposed on them than the one already imposed we would not have said anything against it.

The purpose of this article is to criticise the very exaggerated view taken of the case by our contemporary and to remove the few misconceptions it seems to be labouring under.

Our contemporary is quite correct in saying that none but the lowest type of white men would behave as these two Indians behaved to the constables. But we wish to remind our contemporary that this offence has not been confined only to Indians but European motorists, not of the "lowest type," have also on more than one occasion committed a similar offence. What surprises us, however, is that in these cases the *Natal Advertiser* sees good grounds for suspecting a 'general resurgence of Asiatic defiance of white authority!' There must have been something radically wrong with the mentality of the writer when he wrote this. To fear a general resurgence

of Asiatic defiance from this solitary case is to fear a mountain out of a mole-hill. And where comes in the question of "white authority" we completely fail to understand. Surely our contemporary who, we believe, stands for right and justice, does not mean to suggest that the Indians in question had done wrong in not obeying the constables because they were 'white'! If so, our contemporary is totally mistaken and is taking a very narrow view indeed. We believe it is essential in the interests of public safety that one should obey the authority irrespective of race or colour, but certainly not on the basis of race or colour. In this connection our contemporary should remember that there have been several cases of European motorists who have deliberately disobeyed the orders of Indian constables knowing them to be only 'Indians.' They were, however, rightly taken to task by the Magistrate, but our contemporary, at the time, did not think it advisable, as it has done in the present instance, to give the matter any importance. We would venture to suggest that the offence of the Europeans was much more serious than the one committed by the two Indians. For this reason, that the former committed the offence deliberately, with an air of arrogance resulting from a sense of race superiority; while the latter committed it, not with any consideration of race or colour, but through momentary childish impudence.

Our contemporary's suggestion that many an Asiatic would consider the gesture of defiance remarkably cheap at the price they have had to pay really amuses us because it is quite contrary to the belief once expressed, we believe, by our contemporary that 'the Indian hardly spends a sixpence of his £1 earning.' We do not think that the Indian, who is content to live on the "smell of an oil-rag" as it is said, has the pluck to waste his hard-earned money only to be driven to Court! And when he does acquire that pluck we hope he will make use of it to his advantage and not to his disadvantage.

What we object to very strongly is that the Indian community as a whole should be judged by the foolish action of a few individuals. It would be very unwise to say that the white community is composed of drunkards because a few white men have been brought before the Court for drunkenness; nor would it be wise to entertain the fear that the white community would become a community of drunkards because a few of them have unfortunately taken to drink.

The hysteric cry of the writer of the *Advertiser* article, of the prestige of white authority being jeopardised is as a result, we believe, of the "white supremacy devil" reigning supreme over the writer when he was penning his article.

As to the charge laid against Indians in the beginning of the article we plead absolute ignorance. We would be grieved and we know Mrs. Naidu would be very deeply grieved to know of a single instance of aggressiveness or provocativeness on the part of our countrymen to the European community. The purpose of Mrs. Naidu's visit to this country is to bring about a better understanding between the two communities and any misbehaviour on the part of a single Indian will not only injure our own cause in this country but hinder Mrs. Naidu in her noble work. We cannot believe that any Indian with the slightest respect for Mrs. Naidu would be pleased to hinder her in the cause she is fighting for our own interest. It is our duty to assist her

and we can do so not by rejoicing at her rebuke to those who are unjust to us but, as we stated in our last issue, by earnestly following from her message only that which affects us personally. Let it not be said of us that we were not fit to have Mrs. Naidu in our midst to assist us; for if we are not fit to have Mrs. Naidu in our midst we will certainly never be fit to possess the rights we are fighting for.

### MRS. NAIDU IN CAPETOWN.

Mrs. Naidu who reached Capetown on Saturday the 15th instant received a very enthusiastic welcome by the Indians of that town. On Saturday morning a special train went to Wellington to receive Mrs. Naidu. Wellington Station, has in the course of its existence rarely been so crowded, says a Capetown paper, as it was on that occasion. An address was presented to Mrs. Naidu on the Station by Mr. A. B. Naidu on behalf of the Indian Association of the Cape Peninsula (Wellington). It was tastefully bound in leather with the initial "S" in gold on the outer cover. The following is an extract from the address: "We hope and trust your stay with us in this part of the Union of South Africa, where equality between different sections of the community reigns, may be of great enjoyment. . . . We pray that you may be long spared to shed the lustre of your poetic genius upon the whole of the Indian people in whatever part of the world they may be, also to continue the labour to which you have devoted your life—the advancement of our beloved Motherland and her children."

She was also presented with several bouquets of flowers by three little girls.

Mrs. Naidu in a brief speech said the cordial welcome she had received was an augury of good things to come. Her leader, Mahatma Gandhi, had said that it was the millions who had helped him to win the respect and honour of South Africans for Indians. In that spirit she hoped the Madrassis would be always ready to help their less fortunate brothers in the Transvaal and Free State. She knew that in the Cape Province there was a real equality for all people and all recognised that there was a mutual responsibility. She hoped that consciousness of responsibility was to be found amongst the Indian community as amongst others. She had come on a great mission to South Africa—to try and bring a wider understanding between all communities, white, coloured, native and Indian. They could only do that by having a better feeling towards each other and by each community learning to give and take nobly and unselfishly. No one community could expect to prosper at the expense of any other community. She hoped they in the Cape, more free and fortunate, would aid those less favourably circumstanced and try to show that justice was the only means of solving problems in the world of South Africa. Her message was one based on true understanding, and if necessary they should be prepared to make great struggles and sacrifices if they were to solve their problems.

### CAPE TOWN SCENES

Mrs. Naidu then joined the special train en route for Capetown. The scene in the station was a remarkable one, the arrival platform being thronged with a mass of Indians and coloured people. There was also a big crowd outside the station near Wellington Fruit Store, where the thoroughfare was for a time impassable. Mounted police, however, kept control.

A procession was formed and, headed by a coloured band, Mrs. Naidu was borne triumphantly to

the residence of Dr. Gool, where she is staying during her visit.

### MRS. NAIDU INTERVIEWED

A *Cape Times* representative in the course of an interview with Mrs. Naidu ascertained that she hoped to have an interview with General Smuts. Her trip, she added, had been splendid and successful; she having been accorded fine receptions at all places visited. She had been invited to come to South Africa by the Indian community and by the Indian National Congress, whose representative she was.

"How did you find conditions in the Transvaal?" she was asked.

"The conditions of the Indians in the Transvaal and Natal are very bad indeed," replied Mrs. Naidu. She went on to say that the Class Areas Bill was a most unjust measure. She had heard that the Cape was to be exempt, and at that she was very pleased.

"Have you any grievances about conditions in the Cape Province?"—No. The Indian community may have local grievances, but they are fortunate. They can exercise the franchise. Of course they have all local grievances in common with all other communities. The conditions are different in Natal, they are not in keeping with a civilised community.

Asked if she had a message to the Indians from Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Naidu replied that she had not held converse with him. He was still in prison when she left on that, her first visit to South Africa. A cable, however, had been published from him which contained a message to General Smuts.

Mrs. Naidu then remarked:

"In spite of all prejudices and personality I have received the greatest kindness from everybody. I would like especially to thank the railway authorities. Ever since I landed on South African soil I have met with every kindness and consideration."

"With regard to the conditions in the Transvaal and Natal, have you anything to suggest which would remedy matters?"—At this moment I have no suggestions to make. A great deal is due to misunderstanding and misconception. If there was more frank talk amongst the leaders on both sides the injustice of it all would be realised. Many concessions will have to be made on both sides.

### A TEST OF STATESMANSHIP

"Then you realise that South Africa has a tremendous difficulty in this problem?"—I can only say yes, be just. I realise that you cannot solve it by being unjust, I see difficulties in the way. I have stated the Indian case as fully and clearly as possible and I have stated the other side of the case with just as much impartiality. However, that is not my job. Mine is to state the Indian side of the case. The solution lies in mutual concessions and adjustments and not in injustice or high-handed legislation, prejudicial almost to the existence of the Indian community. I have come more earlier to the Cape than was my intention. I have come especially to be in time for the second reading of the Class Areas Bill. I have read about it in the papers, but I want to get the atmosphere of it in the House of Assembly.

"I am no blind partizan of the Indian community. I can see their faults and I have no hesitation in telling them so. I claim there must be justice. This is going to be a tremendous test of true statesmanship on the part of General Smuts and his Cabinet. The names of legislators have gone in history in the past; their fame was not based on any policy of expediency, but on absolute and unswerving justice. I should like to think at this critical moment in the history of South Africa that the statesmen of to-day would go down to history as men who were true and upright and who did not swerve one way or the other for the sake of popularity."

Continuing, Mrs. Naidu said she had visited Bloemfontein, where she had been taken by the driver of the train, who was a Nationalist, to see the monument. That went to her heart and she now understood much better the point of view of the Nationalist Party. She had liked the Orange Free State on account of her love of Holland and William of Orange.

Mrs. Naidu would make no statement regarding Kenya, and in connection with the Labour Government in England said: "We have nothing to fear from them, though Mr. Thomas, so far, has not proved sympathetic."

#### WELCOME MEETING IN CITY HALL

A welcome meeting was held in honour of Mrs. Naidu in the Capetown City Hall on Tuesday the 18th instant. When it is said that hardly another person could obtain entrance into the City Hall on this occasion, it is not figurative or exaggerated language; in fact, says the *Cape Times*, so many people stood in the corridors, passage, below and even on the platform, that the proceedings were carried on with no little difficulty.

Mr. Yasoo Mia presided. Most of the huge audience were coloured or native people, but in the bays and on the platform there were several Europeans, including Mr. W. Hosken, Mr. M. Alexander, M.L.A.; Dr. R. Forsyth, M.L.A., Messrs. C. J. Sibbett, M.P.C., Somerville, S. Goldstein, Callanan, the Rev. R. Balmforth, and others.

#### THE VISITOR'S MISSION

The Chairman of the British Indian Council announced that the object of the meeting was to "welcome to our city our distinguished fellow countrywoman, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, public worker and poetess, who through her poems has made many friends throughout the English-speaking world. We Indians admire her not only because of her outstanding literary gifts, but also for her able and courageous advocacy of our cause, and I feel certain that though some may differ from her, yet, irrespective of race, all will join with our Indian community in extending to her the heartiest of welcomes, not only because of her attainments, but also because to-night she will be the mouthpiece of over 300,000,000 of our fellow citizens of the British Empire."

"As chairman of the British Indian Council I wish to convey to her our humble and heartfelt thanks for coming to our aid at this critical juncture, and I hope that her great and noble mission of bringing peace and understanding between India and South Africa will be crowned with the success it deserves." (Applause.)

Various addresses of welcome were read and several beautiful bouquets presented to the guest of honour.

A lady speaker said that 14 years ago on Union they had been robbed of their rights, and Mrs. Naidu's arrival had already put new hearts into them. She was sure that Mrs. Naidu would beat the English in the clever game of politics. (Applause.)

#### WHY THEY ARE PROUD OF HER

Dr. Abdurahman, M.P.C., who was received with loud applause, extended a heart-felt welcome to Mrs. Naidu on behalf of the non-Europeans of Cape Town. It was not often, he said, that such a talented woman as Mrs. Naidu visited South Africa. They were indeed proud of her, because she was a non-European and because she was a woman. She was the accredited spokeswoman of 400 millions of people, and the whole of Asia had its eyes turned upon her, as well as the North of Africa: in fact, the whole world.

She had the whole-hearted approval of the non-Europeans in her work, because she was standing for truth and for justice. (Applause.) The non-Europeans of South Africa were the "people of

South Africa," because they were the majority, and when Mrs. Naidu returned to India she could tell the people there that she had the support of the people, or the non-Europeans, of South Africa.

He referred to Natal having been built up by the labour of the Indians and the Transvaal having been built up by that of the natives: and without that the whole fabric would break down like a pack of cards. Mrs. Naidu had been only a few hours in the O.F.S. and she was fortunate. (Laughter.)

In Cape Town she was where the non-Europeans still had some liberty, although since Union they had also lost rights, and those noble men who had framed those laws of liberty for the coloured people and natives of the Cape in the past would be amazed could they see what had taken place since.

"Mrs. Naidu had one fault—she liked to speak the truth—(laughter and applause)—which was not liked in these days. Mrs. Naidu, in the absorption of her literary life, still had a heart full of love for her fellow-man, and always had the time to stand up for their liberties. Natural causes were at work, which, in the end, would solve the non-European problems of South Africa. (Applause.) The greatest thing one could do was to work for others, and that was what Mrs. Naidu was doing. (Applause.)"

#### MRS. NAIDU'S SPEECH

Mrs. Naidu, who received an ovation on rising to respond, delivered an eloquent address. She thanked them for the honour they had done her: not by their praise, but by their love. She went on to describe how she had seen the Atlantic Ocean—the symbol of Western civilisation—coming into contact with and then gladly and harmoniously mingling with the Indian Ocean—symbolical of her country and of her culture, the culture which her lineal forefathers had given to the world.

Then she related how the Europeans had been received in India with every courtesy and how they had been sheltered, honoured and granted land. There had been no colour bar, and the white man had not been put into class areas. (Loud applause.)

India was powerful enough to assimilate different races and cultures: "that is the India I represent," she exclaimed, amid further signs of public approval. "A minister said to me, you cannot make peace, because you came with a gun in your hand. I said, my gun is not in my hand, but on the table!" (Further cheers.)

"To-day you, representing millions of the coloured people, brown and black, of this continent, have assured me, and through me my people and those millions across the Indian Ocean whom I represent, that in the struggle of justice—not concessions, but justice—you are with me.

"Why are you with me? The oppressed peoples of the world are linked together in the brotherhood of suffering and of martyrdom." (Applause.)

Alluding to the "disease of ignorant prejudice," she said that the remedy was to understand the point of view of the one against whom you were prejudiced. She said to the coloured and the black man that the price they must pay for the return from their exile into their rightful possession was the price of noble character, of unity and of the power of self-sacrifice for the sake of truth which could never be crucified—truth which had not been crucified 2,000 years ago.

#### "ONLY A POET."

"I am no politician," Mrs. Naidu confessed; "when I come into contact with the great statesmen of the world I go down on my knees and say I thank God I am only a poet." (Laughter and cheers.)

"I have left the flowery paths I love to follow the thorny paths; that makes the Englishman call me 'dangerous woman.'" (Laughter.)

"As representing the motherhood of the East

have I come to you to give a message—that we all stand together in one common brotherhood. (Applause.)

"Let the white and the coloured men of the world come on an equal platform of mutual trust and of mutual love: a mutual sorrow for the wrongs they have done to each other in their ignorance."

### OPEN LETTER TO MRS. NAIDU

BY VERE STENT IN 'PRETORIA NEWS'

Madam,—I address you as politician rather than poetess. Though you rivalled Mrs. Browning, Zora Cross, nay, burning Sappho herself, I should still be more concerned with your politics at the moment than your poems. I am more of a politician than a poet, more of a practical matter of fact reformer—of other people—than a romanticist.

Verwelthen! Let us to politics. I have always had the greatest sympathy with the Indian and other Eastern peoples living in South Africa. I have sympathised with them, particularly because they were subjects rather than citizens of the British Empire. In their own country their form of government was arbitrary and autocratic, though, and even you, I think, will admit this, amazingly efficient, successful and, above all things, benevolent.

Since the days of the Mutiny and the disappearance of John Company, India has been governed in the interests not of England but of India. It was admittedly a government of India by the English—which in these crazy days of self-determination and a lust for licence in the guise of liberty—seems an anachronism, but it was a government by the English for the Indians.

That is the point not to be missed. Still, the very fact that you had no voice except advisory, in your own affairs made it essential to my mind that, in a British Dominion, you should be greeted with equal and exact justice. So it was that I supported Mr. Gaudhi—a great soul—in his fight with General Smuts, and laughed when the irresistible force in the shape of a modern steam-roller majority in Parliament, met the immovable mass in the shape of the Asiatic elephantine passive resistance and was shattered in the encounter. I was charged in those days with betraying my colour, my orientation of birth, and my country, but the reproaches left me cold. No colour, country, or compass point of birth is betrayed by so simple an act of justice as was embodied in the Gandhi-Smuts agreement.

In regard to that agreement I must confess that no one seems to know exactly what its provisions were. Had it any stated provisions? Was it ever done into writing? If so, where is the protocol of the arrangement arrived at between the Mahatma and the Man of the Moment. Personally, I have always been told that it was more in the nature of an honourable understanding to the effect that the door should be closed against further Asiatic immigration and that those Asiatics already in the country should have no further disabilities placed upon them. This being agreed to, Mr. Gandhi undertook to "trouble Israel" no longer.

#### THE CLASS AREAS BILL

If, then, the Class Areas Bill in operation is to place Asiatics under a new disability, it seems to me that General Smuts cannot in honour remain in power and put the Bill in force, but this conclusion is contingent upon my idea of the Gandhi-Smuts agreement being correct and upon the Class Areas Bill being a new disability on Asiatics. Mr.

Duncan says it is not, but rather a facility. We shall know more about that when it has been thoroughly debated in the House. At present I must admit that it has the appearance of being an attempt on the part of the Government to emulate the old gentleman in Aesop's Fable and please everybody, and, like the endeavours of the hero of that story, it seems doomed to fail to please anybody.

In the meantime let us discuss your present campaign. You'll forgive me if I tell you in pretty plain language that your opening message to the people of South Africa was a dreadful blunder. "Inside the Empire or outside it, and let South Africa decide" was, dear lady, very very foolish talk. To begin with, South Africa cannot possibly decide. Our petty-fogging politics are not likely to be the wedge to separate the great British Empire in the West from the great Empire of the British in the East.

If you meant your opening message to be a bluff let me tell you, to speak American for a moment, it cuts no ice. It didn't amount to shucks. It only irritated Imperialists who hitherto had been the friends of your people and whose sympathies you alienate when you talk of secession. Even the secessionists of this country would be inclined to oppose secession if it came from your people, and if you thought to rouse their sympathy you were scattering seed upon very stony ground. Try and grasp this: *there is to be no secession from the British Empire*. Dominion status, self-determination, autonomy, mean absolute and unfettered liberty to each Dominion to manage its own affairs, so long as those affairs concern it alone and do not involve its sister Dominions or the motherland; but no Dominion, not even to cantankerous and murderous Ireland, has the right to secede been given.

The British Empire will no more permit the Indian Empire to separate from it than the Dominion of South Africa will permit the Free State to leave the Union, or the American Republic permit an individual State to declare its sovereign independence. If it comes to war and, from what I have seen of your folk during the Great War—you'll forgive me saying this, I know—fighting under arms is not their strong suit.

To talk for a moment on the problems of your own country—since you are so interested in the problems of our's—I wonder if you realise that all the concessions made by the Empire to the new doctrinaires, the apostles of the "higher status," the exponents of the Imperio in Imperium theories, are empirical? The coming into power of a Labour Party at Westminster; the extension of the franchise; the emancipation, to a great degree, of India—these things are an experiment.

#### "BE CAREFUL!"

Be careful, then, all you who value these concessions to use them as not abusing them. We are witnessing right through the Empire a bloodless revolution. Beware of a bloodless reaction such as they had in Italy and in Spain. Do not weary the dominant classes by some determined *coup d'etat* they reverse and revoke all the concessions to democracy and set up some autocratic, some dictator.

Better the rule of one whom all obey

Than to let Bolsheviks betray our  
liberty with the kiss of anarchy.

(This is not quite what Oscar Wilde wrote, but it's what he meant.)

Here in South Africa you must not threaten. We are bad people to bluff. We believe ourselves to be almost the most wonderful folk in the world. The world probably does not agree with us, but that does not worry us. When it comes to bluff, we are prepared to lift the betting, even though we know that a show-down will leave us broken. A half the Europeans in this country challenge the British Empire. The bluff didn't come off. The Empire called their cards, and they held a busted flush.

They've learnt some since then.

It seems to me that your people in India have got to learn that lesson. Your appeal, Madam, in this Dominion should be to the innate justice of your cause; never forgetting that it is only the fact that you are British subjects, now to some extent citizens, that gives you any standing at all in the court here of White public opinion.

Put yourselves outside the British Empire, and outside of this Dominion your people go.

There are people in this country who are not deaf to an appeal to their sense of justice and fair dealing. Such an one is Mr. Patrick Duncan, the Minister in charge of the Class Areas Bill, though how he has come to get mixed up in any such travesty of modern legislation I must confess I am at a loss to explain.

You have come here, Madam, with the Gandhi traditions of victory behind you. Do not leave this country with the Naidu tradition of defeat. The spirit of the Mahatma may be with you. I should not be surprised at any exhibition of psychic metaphysical powers from Mr. Gandhi, but I should be surprised to know that he was with you, when you sent that undiplomatic, tactless, foolish message—"inside the Empire or out."

I wish you success in your attack upon the Class Areas Bill, though whether in its new form it be worth attacking is another matter; but its very name is abhorrent these days.

The Ghetto, the Bazaar, the various class "quarters" are all being flung upon the limbo of past failures. Even in South Africa the location will cease so soon as sufficient Natives are fit to "live White" in the towns. Things are not so bad here for your people as you would have us believe. After all, they are nearly all middlemen and not much use to the community. They belong to the parasitic classes. They amass, and do not create wealth. Do not, I beg of you, either here or in your own country countenance, connive, or even tolerate, any movement so blind to what you have already won, to the generosity of the concessions made to you, as to bring the reaction of which I have warned you.

Believe me, dear Lady, to be a sympathiser with your people, so long as they remain in the future the same loyal British subjects and citizens as they have done in the past and only so long leave it to the Nationalist leaders to bleat feebly of secession; for yourself, stick to practical politics or even return to your poetry.

Yours very truly,

VERE STENT.

## TRIBUTES TO MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

### "LITTLE BROWNIE"

You dear little Brownie, so sweet and petite,  
Your glorious gift no power can delete;  
Your message of truth has brought men to their feet,

And roused up the sluggish, the young, and effete.

What joyous prerogatives are thine,  
To show all brotherhood is divine;  
To give speech in voicing millions of brothers,  
Who feel in their hearts the trials of others.

The soul of the world is finding through you,  
An expression to voice what within it is true;  
To ring out a plea for Justice and Peace,  
In lifting the burdens—and the "shackles" release.

Of those that are crushed—no matter their creed,  
The greater the stronger—more pressing the need;  
For us all to unite in righting the wrong,  
And helping the weak, and struggling along.

You brave "Little Brownie," from out the Far East,  
You've come to bring comfort to the greatest, and least

Of India's troubled children—whose anxiety is great,  
Re a problem which is taxing the minds of the State.

To bring order from chaos, and peace out of pain,  
Has been tried by the wise ones again and again;  
But your system so wise, and your methods so new,  
If applied may bring credit on the "wee meek" Hindu.

Farewell "Little Brownie" you've played a big part

In India's great cause, from beginning to now;  
You've revealed to the world what a mother can do

When she pleads for her children from a heart  
that beats true.

And when you have departed again from these shores,  
Great thoughts will surround you—and all that is yours;

Your fragrant message will linger behind  
Long after you've gone—our gift, from your mind!

HELEN CALLAND-ANDREW.

Durban, March 14, 1924.

Reproduced from *The Latest*.

*De Volkstem* (Pretoria) in a review of the present Indian agitation in the Union, declares that "the determination of the million and a half whites in the Union not to tolerate Indian interference or dictates might possibly contribute towards the hastening of an Anglo-Indian crisis." It further says "it is inconceivable, however, that Great Britain, for the sake of merely continuing to exercise its authority over British India, would sacrifice the future of the white race in South Africa." The paper concludes by declaring: "One feels that England should rather for her own welfare, endeavour to secure for herself the allegiance and support of superior races than that of the inferior civilisation of Orientals."