

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

SIR Kurma V. Reddi, Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, announces that the following will constitute the Indian delegation to the Round Table Conference which opens in Capetown on January 12 :—

India

Khan Bahadur Mian, Sir Fazl-i-Husain, K.C.I.E., member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, (Leader).

Sir Geoffrey Corbett, K.B.E., O.I.E., Joint Secretary to the Government Commerce Department.

Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

Sir Darcy Lindsay, C.B.E., M.L.A.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

Sir Kurma Reddi.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai, O.I.E., C.B.E. (Secretary.)

South Africa

The following will compose the South African delegation, states Renter :—

Dr. D. F. Malan, Minister of the Interior, (Leader.)

Mr. O. Pirow, Minister of Justice.

Mr. E. G. Jansen, Minister of Native Affairs.

Mr. Patrick Duncan, M.P.

Mr. G. Heaton Nicholls, M.P.

We cull the following from *Pretoria News* :—

From next Monday, Indians will be admitted to the Opera House, Pretoria, for all shows. This decision has been taken, we are informed, to bring Pretoria into line with certain other theatres under the control of African Theatres in Johannesburg, Capetown, Durban, and Maritzburg. The only difference will be that whereas in the other theatres the Indians are allowed to occupy any seat in the gallery, in Pretoria they will only have the last four rows in the gallery reserved for them. A railing will divide the Indian seats from the European seats, and no Indian will be allowed below the railing. A separate entrance is available, and no intermingling will be permitted. It is not proposed to extend the concession to other places of entertainment in Pretoria.

We would rather that the Opera House, Pretoria, were entirely closed to Indians than being open in the manner indicated above. None but the lowest type of Indians, who have no sense of self-respect in them, would take advantage of this liberty which in fact is no liberty but an insult to Indians. However much our brethren may be tempted to go to theatres, let them not succumb to such temptations at the risk of their national honour and self-respect. We look to our educated brethren to wean their ignorant folk from condescending to visit the Opera in the present circumstances.

MR. Winston Churchill's amendment which stipulated that the Government's policy should not commit the House to the establishment of an Indian Dominion Constitution, as defined in the Statute of Westminster, and should not impair the ultimate responsibility of Parliament for peace, order and good government in India, was rejected by the House of Commons by 369 votes to 43, and the Government's Indian policy was approved by an overwhelming majority.

INDIANS in this country are quite familiar with the name of Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazir. He is one of those stalwarts who sacrificed their all during the great Passive Resistance struggle in this country under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and, ever since, Imam Sahib has remained with Mahatma Gandhi as one of his staunchest followers and as a symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity. He had broken down in health during his incarceration in the great struggle of 1930 and has never again been able to come to his normal health. According to Renter's message from Bombay his condition seems to have grown worse and Mahatma Gandhi has, therefore, decided to proceed straight to Ahmedabad on his landing in Bombay and the Congress Working Committee too will sit at Ahmedabad. We fervently pray that Imam Sahib may be restored to his normal health again and that he may be spared to reap the fruits of his labour for the freedom of India.

IMMIGRATION DIFFICULTIES

IN our last week's issue we reproduced a judgment of the Supreme Court of Natal in the stated case of the wife and children of Mr. Hasaram Rijhoomal who were declared prohibited immigrants by the Immigration authorities and whose appeal to the Immigration Appeal Board was dismissed.

Mr. Hasaram Rijhoomal is one of oldest and well-known merchants of South Africa. He originally entered Natal lawfully in 1896. From the date of his arrival in 1896 Mr. Hasaram was a partner of the firm G. Ramchand, the name of which was changed to Bombay Bazaar, the largest and well-known firm owned by Indians in West Street, Durban, between 1910 and 1912. In 1926 or 1927 Mr. Hasaram became the virtual owner of the business. In 1929 the business was converted into a private limited liability company in which he holds twenty thousand of the twenty-five thousand shares.

The present property upon which the business of Bombay Bazaar is conducted is owned by Mr. Hasaram. In September, 1904 Mr. Hasaram applied for a Certificate of Domicile which was issued to him. In 1915 or 1916 Mr. Hasaram went to India where he remained until December, 1929. While in India Mr. Hasaram exercised control over the business in Durban and established businesses in Japan and other places.

Mr. Hasaram re-entered in Natal in December, 1929 and in January, 1930 he applied for a Certificate of Identity under Section 25 (2), Act 22, 1918, and for permission to introduce his wife and three minor children. This was issued to him and he thereupon left for India with the intention of bringing his wife and family to Natal. On his arrival, however, in December, 1930, accompanied by his wife and three children they were all declared prohibited immigrants by the Immi-

gration Officer at Durban. Mr. Hasaram was told, we are informed, that the prohibition order against him would be withdrawn if he did not press for the entry of his wife and children. But Mr. Hasaram was not weak, as others in his circumstances, but without his means, would surely have been and would have surrendered the rights of their family. Later, however, the prohibition order against Mr. Hasaram was withdrawn without the imposition of any conditions and Mr. Hasaram had his wife and children here on temporary permits and was engaged in fighting their case almost a whole year.

Before the Appeal Board the Principal Immigration Officer contended that Mr. Hasaram's home was in India and that by reason of his long absence in India between the year 1915 and 1929 he had lost any domicile he may previously have had in Natal. In regard to the issue of the certificates in 1929 and 1930 he stated that they were issued under a misinterpretation of the law. The Board accepted the explanation and dismissed the appeal.

The following points of law were, thereupon, reserved and the ruling of the Supreme Court of Natal was sought on them :

(a) Whether Mr. Hasaram was in law domiciled in Natal on his departure in 1915 or early in 1916.

(b) Whether in view of the provisions of Section 30 of Act 22, 1913, as amended, Mr. Hasaram could after an absence of approximately 14 years be deemed to have retained his domicile in Natal.

(c) Whether in the circumstances of this case the Minister has in the exercise of his discretion under Section 25 of Act 22, 1913, either before or by means of the issue of the certificate of identity exempted Dhanibai and her minor children from the provisions of Section 4 (1) (a) and (b) of the Act.

The Court has decided that :

"the certificate granted to Mr. Hasaram, under Act 37, 1903, was *prima facie* evidence that at some date between 1896 and 1904 he had lost his domicile of origin in India and had acquired a domicile in Natal. In the absence of proof to the contrary, that certificate was sufficient proof that Mr. Hasaram still possessed such domicile in 1930. It seemed to the Court that Mr. Hasaram in view of the fact that he had acquired property in Durban and had spent a great deal of time in Durban developing his Natal business, had never intended to abandon his Natal domicile and it was, therefore, held that Mr. Hasaram was domiciled in Natal at the time of his departure therefrom in 1915 or early in 1916. In regard to the second question reserved, the Court held that facts were not sufficient to establish an abandonment by Mr. Hasaram of his Natal domicile and that the onus of proving such abandonment, which under the circumstances lay on the Immigration Department, had not been discharged.

In view of the answers given to questions (1) and (2) the Court did not think it necessary to enter into question (3) at any length and the question was answered in the negative.

This is how the matter has ended so far. The tragedy of it all is that when a well-known person like Mr. Hasaram has been subjected to such humiliations and put to unnecessary troubles and expenses what hope has the poor man who is bullied into submission by the Immigration Department and cannot afford to fight for his just rights. While the stringency of the Immigration laws is ever increasing the avenues open for the victims for justice are very meagre and are available at an expense which very few like Mr. Hasaram only could afford.

Mr. Hasaram's success gives little comfort to the community, for it has been the policy of the Department to tighten up the laws wherever they appear to be to the detriment of the Department.

If the forthcoming Round-Table Conference will not succeed in bringing an end to this molestation by the Immigration Department of Indians domiciled in this country its labours will surely have been in vain.

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

THE annual general meeting of the Natal Indian Congress was held last Sunday afternoon at the Parsee Rustomjee Hall. The report submitted by the jt. hon. Secretaries, covering a period of four years, gives an interesting account of the work done by the Congress officials which is deserving of every praise on the part of the community. We hope to publish the report in our next week's issue which will speak for itself. While the report of the labours of the Congress is bright and worthy of praise the same cannot be said about the financial statement. The Congress has on its head roughly a debt of £400 which is indeed a sad commentary on the very poor response made by the community. It is easy enough to imagine with what great difficulties the Congress has to conduct its work in these dire times with lack of funds. This should indeed be the last drawback expected of a community which is conscious of its own position in this country and is desirous of improving it in every respects politically, socially and morally. And now there will be the Round Table Conference. How is the work to go on if there are no funds? If the community desires that their case should be strongly represented before the Conference let it not hesitate to fill the coffers of the Congress to an overflow in all the three Provinces.

The meeting was wise in deciding after much discussion to postpone the election of officials until after the Conference. We hold the opinion that there should be a change in the officials in order that the erroneous impression existing among some of our discontented friends that the present officials are reluctant to leave their respective offices may be removed and in order also that others from the community may be trained to do the work of the Congress and that it may not be the monopoly of a few. This is, however, not the proper occasion for effecting the change, for old and experienced hands would be the best suited at the present juncture to watch over the interests of the community. The decision, therefore, arrived at at last Sunday's meeting was a very wise one and it will enable the present officials to go before the delegates to the Conference with the full mandate of the people.

While going to Press we received the very sad news that Imam Sahib has passed away.

Prize Distribution At Sastri College

A decided advance of the work of the Sastri College was indicated by the Principal, Mr. W. M. Buss, B.A., in his annual report at the prize distribution held in the College Hall last Saturday night.

The second year of the College's existence, said Mr. Buss, had seen more rapid progress than did 1930, when his main pre-occupation was the laying of a solid foundation for an enduring educational structure.

Not only had certain needs in the way of equipment been met but there had been a definite advance in tone, discipline and work. The staff had grasped the essentials of its task and realised to the full the function of the College.

Work had certainly improved, proceeded Mr. Buss, in quantity and quality and there was a much greater readiness of response to the demands for regular and punctual attendance, proper preparation of work and attentions to dress and personal appearance.

Physical training had been made a part of the curriculum with satisfactory results and would have an even greater effect on the all-round development of the boys as they understood it better. There was a more vigorous atmosphere and a greater sense of co-operation and mutual understanding between the staff and the pupils. The number on roll to-day was 207.

Acknowledging the interest and support of the Education Department, Mr. Buss believed it was proof that the department regarded the progress and welfare of Sastri College as being of first-rate importance in education in this country.

Continuing, Mr. Buss stated that while his staff was taking a practical and constructive interest there was no corresponding interest on the part of the parents and the public.

"I have said," he added, "that you probably understand little of the content of modern education, so it may be as well to touch on one thing which is not clear to everyone: education does not come solely from books and it is not limited to the confines of the school."

Mr. Buss foreshadowed important changes in the curriculum for higher teachers' certificates. This was a very important development, he said.

"As more Indian schools are opened more teachers will be required and it is the intention of the Education Department that new teachers shall be trained and certificated. Openings during the next few years may be numerous and the prospects of teachers will be better than hitherto, so it is expected that considerable numbers of boys of the right type will come forward for what is possibly the best avenue of employment open to them.

"To those who do not intend to become teachers are open the ordinary courses leading to the university junior certificate and matriculation examinations, which are, apparently, what their parents want. Personally, I am not at all sure that their ambition in this direction is wise.

"The entire elimination of craftsmanship seems wrong. In the interests of the boys themselves, I should like our curriculum to include agricultural science, book-keeping and manual work in wood and metal, and I believe that if this point of view were put to parents in general a number of them would agree with me. Some modifications would involve further buildings and equipment and more avenues of employment for them.

"The original building programme is still incomplete. We have no science block, containing the urgently needed offices and common rooms for

principal and staff, no hostel, no principal's residence. The grounds cannot be touched till a fence protects them. It is not out of place to quote here what Mr. Sastri said in a speech at the Durban Town Hall in 1927:—

"Let the rich and fortunate among you come forward with endowments for schools' higher grades as well as elementary grade...Rear your children with the advantage of education...You will find yourselves in the end rewarded beyond all calculation if you put the education of your children in the forefront of your programme."

"As far as your teachers and prospective teachers are concerned several officials of the Education Department are devoting careful thought and much energy to their requirements and encouraging their just ambitions; not less are those immediately concerned with the higher education of your boys and girls, bringing to their mission high enthusiasm and intelligent practice; in your elementary schools a large body of Indian teachers has for many years given devoted service.

Improved Conditions

"Conditions have already improved and they will improve further," said Mr. Buss in conclusion. "Whether through its high schools, its training courses or its projected extension work among adults, Sastri College seeks to play its part worthily as a vivifying influence and to shine in service. I do ask, however, for the hearty co-operation of all of you—parents and public—and I do not ask in vain."

After an excellent programme of songs and dialogues by the students, Mrs. R. A. Banks distributed the prizes.

Before the conclusion, Mr. J. H. Lawlor, the chief inspector, emphasised upon the students the importance of securing a prize of manhood, which he briefly defined as the pursuit of truth—its strength they were compelled to acknowledge even if it hurt them. Win this prize, he exhorted them, bringing forward their race, making it respected and win respect for themselves.

To those who were entering the teachers' profession their greatest prize was, he said, the developing of their own people in South Africa. There was great work to be done, and they had difficulty in finding the teachers.

Mr. Lawlor, rejoiced that the Indian community were attaching so much importance to health and sanitation, and in these matters women were taking a keen interest; for in the raising of their knowledge progress of the community would be greatly accelerated. They had with them Professor Karve, from India, whose work among women had won such great renown.

Parents' Sacrifice

His department, said Mr. Lawlor, was thankful to those parents whose sacrifices made it possible to keep their children at school. This was known to the Education Department as something real. In other cases they found boys drifting away from school before their education was completed. By increasing the school attendance to another two per cent. from the present 88 per cent. to 90 per cent. or more it would be possible to open a few more schools every year. They should keep their children at the Sastri College until they reached the highest level. Visualising the future of the college he regarded it as the highest educational institution, attracting students from all parts of South Africa.

"Official sympathy," Mr. Lawlor declared, "was with you—our officials meet and discuss your education. I can assure you all so far as the money goes, we spend it to the best advantage."

In conclusion he reiterated the principle of service to the community, postulating that the loss of respect of the individual meant loss of respect to that

community. "See that your race suffers no loss of respect, for he who does so suffers himself," he added.

Prizes

The following is the prize list:—

Standard X.—1, V. K. Naidoo. Special, K. Coopsamy, steady work and attendance.

Standard IX.—1, T. Padichy. Special, B. Mistry, remarkable improvement and regular attendance.

Standard VIIIa.—1, N. K. Sham; 2, R. D. Mistry and O. K. Mistry. Special, C. Chanderpal, for good work.

Standard VIIIb.—1, A. N. Lazarus; 2, K. P. Naidoo; 3, D. Singh. Special, R. Bugwandeem, good work in science and mathematics and attendance.

Standard VII T.—1, A. P. Govender; 2, T. Vadivaloo; 3, R. R. Maharaj. Special, T. Morgan, attendance, good work and behaviour.

Standard VIIa.—1, D. S. Mall; 2, A. H. I. Mulla; 3, A. K. Yusuf. Special, C. Narayanswami, attendance, drawing, good behaviour and improvement.

Standard VIIb.—1, K. Misra; 2, D. Coopsamy; 3, E. V. Naidoo. Special, R. Nathalal, attendance, punctuality, good work and behaviour.

Standard VIIc.—1, Cassim Lakhi; 2, Hansraj Sewpall; 3, Sewsanker Ramdin. Special, Abdool Lakhi, good behaviour and general excellence.

Standard VIa.—1, D. C. Maharaj; 2, A. R. Khalek; 3, M. M. Naidoo. Special, Budree Sewdayal, for neatness, arithmetic and attendance.

Standard VIb.—1, R. K. Pillay; 2, B. S. Randeria; 3, D. M. Govender. Special, G. Roopnarain, for attendance and good behaviour.

Prizes awarded for essays on health and hygiene by the Durban Indian Social Service League were presented to the successful competitors, many of whom were girls. The first prize in this connection was awarded to Miss Dina Jalbhoy.

Control On Charitable Institutions

Draft Ordinance Gazetted

The control and registration of charitable institutions is provided for in a draft Ordinance published in last week's Natal Provincial Gazette. Under this Ordinance it will not be lawful for any charitable institution to be conducted unless the committee or person responsible for the management is in possession of a certificate of registration.

A "charitable institution" is defined as "any institution or organisation which obtains or seeks to obtain contributions in money or in kind from sources other than the Government of the Union or the Provincial Administration and applies or declares its intention to apply such contributions in whole or in part to the distribution of alms, doles or other form of assistance in money or in kind."

Any application for a certificate must (a) specify the arrangements made or proposed to be made for the management of the charitable institution; (b) state whether or not payment is made or proposed to be made to collectors of funds for the charitable institution, and, if so, on what rate or basis payment is made or proposed to be made; (c) supply such further information as may be required by the Administrator on such form as he may prescribe.

Administrator's Powers

Discretion is given to the Administrator to cancel any certificate issued. Any person issuing an appeal

or soliciting assistance in cash or in kind who is not in possession of a certificate will be guilty of an offence.

Under the Ordinance the Administrator will, further, be given power to make regulations governing the inspection of documents and the keeping of records.

At the present time anyone can organise a "collection" without obtaining the permission of the authorities.

India In The House Of Lords

The need for drastic action was raised by Lord Brentford, who was vigorously supported by Lord Burnham and Elibank in the House of Lords last week.

Lord Brentford declared that there must be no more truckling with terrorists and there should be no treaty with men who were ready to drive us out of India.

Lord Elibank suggested that if Gandhi continued to foment disorders when he returned to India he and his fellow-conspirators should be deported to some island in the Indian Archipelago, such as the Andaman Islands. Indians, he said, regarded conciliation as an instrument of weakness and the only thing they understood was the method of firmness tempered with justice.

Lord Lothian, replying, said although it was not possible to anticipate the decisions of the Government on questions of policy, he could say that the situation arising out of the terrorist menace was engaging the most earnest attention of the Government and the Secretary of State for India.

Formidable Facts

The facts were very formidable. During the past three years 150 crimes had been committed in Bengal, the Punjab and the United Provinces. It was the duty of a civilised government, he said, to take the most resolute action for the protection of its servants and the general public against murder and it was not less its duty to make it impossible for any group of men to deflect the course of orderly Government and political progress by bringing to bear on it not reasoned argument and constitutional methods but terrorism and assassination.

It was the view of the Government and the Secretary of State that drastic action must be taken to end this menace to individual liberty and social peace. Tolerance of terrorism was a negation not only of individual liberty but constitutional government. Self-government was impossible alongside anarchy and terrorism. It was precisely because the Government wanted to see responsible self-government extended to India that it was convinced that in the highest interest of Indian freedom and advance the resolute suppression of terrorism was imperatively necessary to-day.

Officials In Deadly Peril

Lord Lothian concluded: "The situation at the present time is one of the greatest gravity. It is no exaggeration to say that in some districts of Bengal every officer of the Government goes about his duty in daily peril of his life.

"A meeting was held on November 1 between the Government of Bengal and representatives of the Government of India to discuss the situation and the steps necessary to deal with it. I cannot yet give the result of this conference, but I can give the assurance that the Government of India, acting in full accord with local Government, is determined to take all the necessary measures to deal with the

terrorist movement and secure the lives of their officers and restore respect for law and order which organised terrorism seeks to destroy. In these measures the authorities in India will have the complete support of His Majesty's Government."

Society For The Advancement Of Indian Culture

Mr. G. L. Sinha, of the Sastri College, sends us the following for publication :—

Under the auspices of the above-mentioned society Prof. Karve gave a very inspiring lecture on his experiments on Female Education recently in the Gandhi Library Hall. The learned Professor started by giving the history of his earliest work which he started about forty-five years ago and gave a very interesting description of the methods that he used in teaching reading and writing to individual widows of a fairly advanced age. He quoted the story of one of his own relations who unfortunately became a widow at the age of thirty-three, having practically no appreciable source of income to support a family consisting of five children and herself. The Professor described how he induced her to break the social prejudices which were much stronger then and to come to his place where, under his guidance, she was, within a period of a few months, made able to be admitted to standard four of the local girls' school. She had, since then, said the learned lecturer, passed the Teachers' Examination and had proved one of the most selfless workers for the spread of education among the women of her province.

The Professor gave a graphic description of the Widows' Home which he started at first practically on his personal responsibility. He described to us how he used to walk a distance of four miles every evening after finishing the College work carrying a load of foodstuff on his shoulders to reach the Ashram in time to supervise the general management and to teach the inmates. He gave in words full of pathos the description of the small damaged hut unable to stand wind and rain in which the Ashram was first started and in which he and the inmates passed several sleepless nights seeking shelter under tables and blankets against cold water dripping in through the thatched sealing when it rained outside.

The next association which he mentioned to have originated under his guidance was the society of selfless workers who had taken a vow to do public good without expecting any remuneration in return. Three lady members of that association, he said, had succeeded in establishing three high schools in different towns.

The lecture ended with lantern demonstration. The growth of the Widows' Home from the 'hut stage' up to its present highly improved condition, was shown. The buildings of the University consisting of schools, colleges and boarding houses, all were shown. And lastly the growth of the university in finance, staff and number of students were shown.

Prof. Karve has been called an educational Sanyasi and he well deserves that honour. A really great man wins honour, reverence, respect and devotion not by show of power and wealth but by his selflessness and love to those whom others discard. He left Fergusson College not to lead a retired life but to complete the mission of his life. He is a true

Acharya and knows the ideals of a Guru. He is out to sow seeds of knowledge and his highest happiness lies in seeing that his country takes full advantage of it.

Our mothers and sisters, Griha luxamias, Annapurnas and devies of the past have very nearly been reduced to the level of Chandies and Kalikas. Ignorance and superstition had taken possession of them. But, fortunately, the process of destruction is not complete. Let us hope that Professor's efforts will raise them once more to the dignity of 'Motherhood' which is inherently due to them.

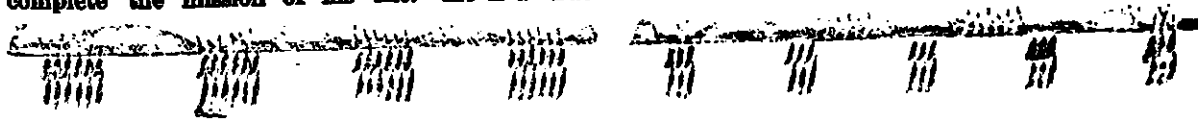
London Letter

Another Week Of Agony

The following is one of the latest of the London letters written by "M.D." in Mahatma Gandhi's *Young India* which we have no doubt will interest our readers in South Africa :—

Another week of agony has passed by without any result. The Federal Structure Committee's report and Federal Court Committee report may be considered by some to be the events of the week. They were not for us. The question is still being shirked, and even on the smaller essentials the reports do nothing more than record the Congress view. Single Chamber is unacceptable, India too must have a House of Lords! The Federal Court is not enough, the Privy Council must continue! And so on and so forth. The Congress view simply does not seem to have weighed with them. Shrewd judges like Mr. Bernard Shaw can easily see through the game. Mr. Bernard Shaw had long been wanting to see Gandhiji, and it was not without considerable hesitation that he came. He sat with Gandhiji for close on an hour, interrogating him on a bewildering variety of topics—ethnographical, religious, social, political, economical, and his talk was illumined by his sparkling wit and sardonic humour. 'I knew something about you and felt something in you of a kindred spirit. We belong to a very small community on earth,' said he. Whilst his other questions were of universal importance, he could not help asking a question about the R.T.C. 'Does not the Round Table Conference try your patience?' he asked, and Gandhiji had to confess with sorrow: "It requires more than the patience of a Job. The whole thing is a huge camouflage and the harangues that we are treated to are meant only to mark time. Why not, I ask them, make a clean breast and announce your policy and let us make our choice? But it does not seem to be in the English political nature to do so. It must go by roundabout and tortuous ways!"

The other event, someone will say, was the reception at Buckingham Palace. Well, with all respect to their Majesties, I cannot say so. Do these receptions mean anything? Do their Majesties meet people in the real sense of the term? Do they transact any business? Can they? Or is it not more or less like a pantomime show? And yet, someone will say, Gandhiji went there. Why did he? If it were so meaningless, why did he not abstain from it? Shall I try to give the readers an inkling of his state of mind? He described it at the Friends' meeting referred to elsewhere in this letter. "I am here," he said, "in an embarrassing position. I have come as the guest of this nation and not as the elected representative of my own



nation. I must therefore walk warily and I cannot tell you how warily I am walking. Do you think I relished the Prime Minister's minatory speech in the Minorities' Committee? I would have repudiated it there and then, but I sat mum. I came home and wrote a letter of gentle reproach. And now this week I am faced with a moral problem. I have an invitation to attend His Majesty's reception. I am feeling so heart-sick and sore over the happenings in India that I have no heart in attending such functions, and if I had come in my own right I should not have hesitated to come to a decision. But as I am a guest I am hesitating; I can do nothing hastily. I have every moment to consider the morality of the thing and not the legality." And it is the morality of the thing that decided him to go, and when he did so he wrote a courteous letter to the Lord Chamberlain thanking him for the invitation and intimating to him that he and his companion (who had also been invited) would attend the reception in their usual dress. He usually excuses himself from all social functions, but he had to make an exception in favour of this as in some others, as he would do nothing which would be regarded in the nature of a discourtesy. He would not refrain from doing anything that might be turned against him.

Cambridge

When we were going to Eton one of the first questions that Gandhiji had asked was whether Eton was not the school where Jawaharlal was educated. 'It was at Harrow,' I said, 'and not Eton,' and I am not exaggerating if I say that part of Gandhiji's interest in the Eton visit was lost because of that knowledge. The reader will now understand why Gandhiji was looking forward to a visit to Cambridge. It is the Cambridge of Jawaharlal and Charlie Andrews, and when the latter took him out for his morning walk Gandhiji insisted on being taken through the vast quadrangle of Trinity College where Jawaharlal was educated. Call it sentiment, call it what you will, it is imbedded in human nature and Gandhiji is subject to it as much as any one of us. Trinity was the College not only of Jawaharlal, but of Tennyson and Bacon and Newton, but perhaps we should not have looked into it did we not know it was Jawaharlal's College, just as for instance we did not look into Christ Church, though we knew it was Wordsworth's. The same thing may be said about Pembroke which for us is more Charlie Andrews' College than of the poets Gray and Spenser. Ever since Oxford had its first College in 1261 the ambitions of Cambridge were aroused and in a few years of Balliol and Merton, Cambridge had its Peterhouse. The healthy rivalry has been maintained through all these centuries and both can boast of an equal number of worthies among their alumni, and if Cambridge has less Colleges than Oxford, it has more students, and if Oxford has its Thames with its beautiful banks, the Cambridge Colleges have their "backs" through which the Cam meanders rendering these back-yards the proudest beauty-spots of Cambridge. All these Colleges had originally a religious foundation which is still being maintained by each having its own Chapel. The Chapel of the King's College (Cambridge) built by Henry VI in the fifteenth century is such a marvel of architecture that visitors to England make point of seeing it. It is this Chapel that inspired those well-known lines in Gray's elegy:

Where through the long drawn aisle and fretted vault
The pealing anthem swells the note of praise,

Its windows which tell stories of the life; death

and resurrection of Jesus in stained glass are believed to "contain the finest series in the world of pictures in glass on a large scale," and the actual architects and masons were themselves Fellows of Colleges. No wonder Wordsworth who grew up in these surroundings and must have attended many a service in the Chapel wrote one of his greatest sonnets on the Chapel, a sonnet whose music is only rivalled by the music that the sonnet extols:

Tax not the royal Saint with vain expense,
With ill-matched aims the Architect who planned
(Albeit labouring for a scanty band
Of white-robed scholars only) this immense
And glorious work of fine intelligence!
—Give all thou can'st; high Heaven rejects the lore
Of nicely-calculated less or more;—
So deemed the man who fashioned for the sense
Those lofty pillars, spread that branching roof
Self-poised, and scoop'd into ten thousand cells
Where light and shade repose, where music dwells
Lingerin'—and wandering on as loth to die;
Like thoughts whose very sweetness yieldeth proof
That they were born for immortality.

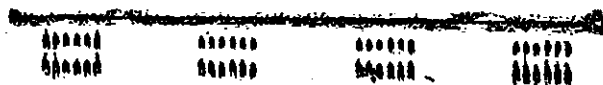
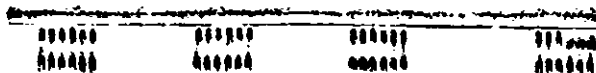
Our hearts sighed for Nalanda, Taksha Shila, Pataliputra and Kashi, and Gandhiji when he was asked a question as to the future of Indian education sorrowfully referred to the modern white elephants of Bangalore and Bombay.

With Cambridge Professors

If the Oxford professors were troubled over the justification of the Congress claim to represent India, the Cambridge ones were worried about India recklessly cutting herself adrift from England and the Empire. Why talk of independence and rub England up the wrong way? Has British rule in India done nothing but harm? Look at China with her national Government. Is not India under British rule ever so much better than China under self-rule? If British soldiers will not serve under a non-British Indian Government, why not, in the interests of peace accept a transition stage? Is the situation so desperate that if complete control cannot be achieved India should sacrifice a million lives? And so on and so forth. There were the elite of the University world gathered together under the roof of the Master of Pembroke to understand the Indian case from Gandhiji and to see how and to what extent they could help. There were professors like Mr. Ellis Baker, whose studies of Ancient and Medieval polity are well known; savants like Mr. Lowes Dickinson, whose study of the Eastern question and pacific tendencies we in India also are familiar with; ripe theological scholars like Dr. John Murray and Dr. Baker. There was also Mr. Evelyn Wrench of the *Spectator* eager to hit upon something which may be acceptable both to England and India and to avoid a clash between the two.

With all deference to their studies and their breadth of outlook, and above all to their earnest desire to understand and help, I am afraid no one, whether in Oxford or Cambridge, seems to appreciate the truth of Henry Campbell Bannerman's great maxim: "Good government is no substitute for self-Government." They discuss the moralities of the problem and the exigencies and expediences in all their aspect, but no one appreciates that bedrock truth is the starting point of all these discussions. Having said this I shall sum what Gandhiji had to say on the various questions raised. The ground has been covered over and over again, and I shall be brief.

PARTNERSHIP: "The partnership has to be on equal terms. It should not be 'subjection' in glorified language. That means that the present relationship



must be completely transformed though the connection may be retained, and that connection should be wholly and solely for the benefit of mankind, India by herself has no capacity to exploit the nations of the earth, but with Great Britain's assistance she can do it. Now the partnership must mean that exploitation shall cease, and if Great Britain should not desist from it India should sever the connection. All that is wanted is a fundamental change in the British policy of exploitation. Britain cannot thereafter boast that she has a strong navy guarding the maritime highways and all her overseas commerce.

What about the South African possessions? I would not insist on a transformation of Britain's relations with them, as a condition precedent to our partnership. But I should certainly strive to work for the deliverance of those South African races which I can say from experience are ground down under exploitation. Our deliverance must mean their deliverance. But if that cannot come about, I should have no interest in a partnership with Britain, even if it were of benefit to India. Speaking for myself I would say that the partnership giving the promise of a world set free from exploitation would be a proud privilege for my nation and I would maintain it for ever. But India cannot reconcile herself in any shape or form to any policy of exploitation and speaking for myself I may say that if ever the Congress should adopt an imperial policy I should sever my connection with the Congress."

"But would not the Congress be satisfied with a status equal to South Africa or Canada, for the time being at any rate? I see the danger of saying 'Yes.' If you visualise a higher or superior status towards which we have then to work, I should say 'no.' But if it is a status beyond which we have not to aspire I should say 'yes.' It should be a status which the ordinary man in the street should understand to be a radically different status from the present. I would therefore not accept a transition period during which we may have to be satisfied with a lower status. The Congress will not be satisfied with a state lower than the best.

"But what about the Princes? They do not want independence? I know they don't, and they cannot as they are the mouth-piece of British Government. But there are others too who think that they cannot live except under the protection of British arms. For me I cannot accept anything short of a complete control of the army. If all other leaders of the land were to accept a compromise on the army question, I would say I would rather stay out, but would not resist it and make a call to the people to suffer. If there were such a large step taken which would ultimately and quickly lead to the final thing I would tolerate it, though I would not endorse it.

"But if you say the British units will never serve under the national Government, it would mean to me a fatal objection to any connection with Great Britain. We do not want, we cannot possibly tolerate any army of occupation. No scheme of Indianisation can serve any useful purpose inasmuch as until the last moment the command will be British, and the same doubts about our capacity to take over charge will be expressed as are expressed to-day. The real responsible Government can come when Britishers begin to trust India and her ability. Chaos can be got over only when Britain has a living conviction that it has done wrong to India and should now by way of undoing the wrong keep British troops at the disposal of Indian

ministers. You are afraid that British soldiers may be cut to pieces under the foolish orders of Indian ministers. Well I ask you not to forget that during the Boer War there came a time when British generals were described in England as asses and British soldiers as heroes. If British Generals erred, Indian ministers too may err. The Indian ministers would certainly discuss everything with the Commander-in-Chief and other military experts, but the final authority and responsibility will certainly have to be the ministers. "Let the Commander-in-Chief then resign or obey."

PRIOR OF LIBERTY: "The idea of my paying for freedom by blood startles you. Well, I who claim to know the conditions of India through and through know that India is dying by inches. The Land Revenue exactions mean morsels forcibly taken out of the mouths of the peasants' children. It is an indescribable agony through which the peasant is passing. In order to put that condition right a transition stage is not the remedy. Do the British Government understand transition as I mean? Would they keep the British soldiers to help us, i.e. only in our interests? If so, we would have them and pay them according to our means. But if the position honestly held is that we are incapable, and the control should not be relaxed, then, if God wills it, we must go through the purgatory. I have not talked of river, of other people's blood flowing, for I know that the party of violence is dying out. But I have talked of Ganges full of our own blood—a pure voluntary act of self-immolation to face the situation. It would be good for India to go through that purgatory if it must. Personally I do not think there can be such communal riots as you fear. Ninety per cent. of the population of India is rural and the strife is confined only to the ten per cent. urban population. I would count that bloodshed as of no consequence beside this slow ignominious death which carries no glory with it. This, of course assumes that India is being starved to death by having to pay the phenomenal expenditure for a foreign army of occupation and the most expensive civil service in the world. Even Japan which is armed to the teeth does not pay for her army to the extent that we have to do.

"My quarrel with you is this. I know that every honest Englishman wants to see India free, but is it not tragic for them to feel that the moment British arms are removed there would be invasions and internecine strife? Well, as against that, my contention is that it is the British presence that is the cause of internal chaos because you have ruled India according to the principle of divide and rule. Because of your benevolent intentions you feel that the harrow does not hurt the toad. It is not that that you are in India in response to our invitation. You must realise that there is sullen discontent everywhere and everyone says "we do not want foreign rule." And why this over-anxiety about how we would fare without you. Go to the pre-British period. History does not record a larger number of Hindu-Muslim riots. In fact the history of my own times shows a darker record. The fact is that the British arms are powerless to prevent riots, though they are powerful enough to punish the guilty and the innocent. We hear of no riots in the reign of even Aurungzeb. As for the invasions, the worst invasion left the villages untouched. They were like a periodic visitation of the plague. If, to avoid that kind of plague, which after all may be a cleansing process, we should have to maintain an army of doctors and starve ourselves to pay for them; we would far



rather have the cleansing process. Take the occasional inroads of tigers and lions. Would we submit to the erection of castles and fortresses at the expense of millions of rupees rather than fight the beasts straight and take the risks? Pardon me, we are not such a nation of absolute cowards who would always run away from risks. Better that we were wiped off the face of the earth than remain alive sustained by foreign bayonets. No, you must trust us to know how to patch up our quarrels and to deal with invasions. India which has survived many invasions, and showed a culture and a civilisation unsurpassed by any on earth, need not be pitied and kept in cotton wool."

I have simply condensed several hours' talk into these few paragraphs. Not that there were not many other questions discussed, but I have mentioned the main thing which was the subject of discussion. The friends were good enough to give a patient hearing and promised to carry on the discussions with a view to being able to suggest some solution, which could be presented to the British ministers.

There was the utmost friendliness and sympathy as in Oxford, and the desire to understand and help uppermost in the mind of everyone. I am tempted to cite one instance. The question of India's readiness to be treated as a dominion or a daughter nation was being discussed. Some of the friends said that it should not be difficult for India to be satisfied with what is called Dominion status. Mrs. Hutchinson said: "India's position cannot in the nature of things be like Canada or South Africa. Have we ever treated her as a daughter nation? The dominions are natural links, they have grown out of the mother country. How can India be described as such colony or link?" And Gandhiji gratefully said: "Mrs. Hutchinson, you have hit the mark."

At the Indian Majlis I must confess that the most intelligent questions were asked by the English boys rather than the Indian boys. The ignorant questions were common to both. The minorities' question came up like King Charles' Head, and evoked from Gandhiji the following stinging explanation: "Don't think that paralysis has possessed the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh masses in India. Had it been the case I should not have been here to represent the biggest organisation in India. But the stupidity is confined to the present company." The boys roared with laughter, as Gandhiji capped the last remark with the explanation: "Present company' meaning not this house, but the Indian delegates in the Round Table Conference, including, of course, myself." An ignorant question from the English boys, viz, 'Why does not the unemployed rural population go to the towns and join some industry?' elicited a witty reply: "Even the Royal Commission on Agriculture did not suggest this remedy."

But amidst this roaring laughter the real message was not lost as Gandhiji described to them in detail the "scientific scorching of a whole race under the British rule." Indeed an English friend at the meeting who was about to join the army and expecting to leave for India a fortnight hence asked: 'Could you please tell us how an Englishman going to India can co-operate with Indians and serve India? To whom Gandhiji said: 'Well the first thing he should do is to see Charlie Andrews and ask him what he did and what he has gone through to serve India. He has dedicated every minute of his life to the service of India, and done the work of several thousand Englishman. Let the English-

man therefore have his first lessons from him. Then he must go not with a view to teach but to learn how to serve India, and if he approaches his task in that spirit he will certainly teach. But in doing so he will efface himself and merge himself with the Indians as for instance Mr. Stokes has done in Simla Hills. Let them all identify themselves, as he has done, with the people's sorrows, wants, habits, sentiments, and try to help them. What cannot real love do? Let all those who are fired with love for India certainly go to India. They are needed there."

(To be Continued)

At a meeting of the East London British Indian Union held recently, a farewell reception was given to Lalloobhai Gopar, of the Union, who was proceeding to India. The president Mr. D. B. Parbhoo, paid a high tribute to Mr. L. Gopar for the work he had done for the Union and the cheerful manner in which he had always carried out his duties, and presented him with a garland and bouquet, wishing him bon voyage. Messrs. R. S. Harry and R. M. N. Dass also wished the guest of the evening every happiness during his holiday. Mr. L. Gopar suitably thanked the President and the Union for their good wishes.

Words of the Wise

THE VOICE THAT CALLS

The misfortunes of men are not caused by bad harvests, fires, robbers, but simply because they live in disagreement.

They are in disagreement because they do not believe in the voice of love calling them to unite.

—TOLSTOY.

WHY LIFE IS DIFFICULT

Men's lives are difficult solely because they do not understand that the soul living in each of us lives in all men.

From this comes all animosity, because some are rich and others poor, some are masters and others servants. From this also springs envy, hatred, and all the torments of humanity.

—TOLSTOY.

THE MAN WHO IS GREAT

A tree is great if it towers into the sky; a mountain is great if it lifts its peak up into and pierces the blue of the sky; but man is never great because of his bigness, his political influence, or his financial power.

A man becomes great only when he lives in the moral sphere and brings his life into touch with the Eternal.

—WILLIAM D. GOBLE.

ENOUGH FOR ALL

There is enough for all, did we but know it. One man's plenty need not be another man's lack, did we but understand the laws of love and life well enough to trust them.

Riches increase by sharing.

—Uncle Dudley in the BOSTON GLOBE.