

# Indian Opinion

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## Contents

EDITORIAL COLUMNS:—	Page
On Education ... ..	189
Indians in Natal ... ..	190
No Incompatibility ... ..	190
Trading in Locations ... ..	190
Justification By Works ... ..	190
Lobito Bay Indians ... ..	191
OTHER ARTICLES:—	
Stanger Indian School ... ..	191
Lobito Bay Indians ... ..	191
Transvaal Supreme Court ... ..	191
Maritzburg's New By-Laws ... ..	192
Sir Percy Fitzpatrick on Black and White ... ..	193
Maritzburg Hindu Young Men's Association ... ..	194
Colour in Natal ... ..	195
Indentured Labour in Natal and Federation ... ..	195
A New Socialism ... ..	196
Indians in East Africa ... ..	196
Krugersdorp Asiatic Trading Progressives in Conclave ... ..	197
The Colonies and British Indians... ..	198
Asiatic Passive Resistance ... ..	198

## Indian Opinion

SATURDAY, MAY 2ND, 1908.

### On Education

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the inaugural address read before the newly-formed Native Affairs Society of the Transvaal by its first President, Mr. Howard Pim. It indicates a new phase of politics in the Northern Colony, where native policy has been notoriously reactionary and points to a rift in the clouds through which the silver lining peeps, enabling us to realise that, in the Transvaal, as elsewhere in South Africa, it is beginning to be understood that, to a great extent, the duties of the ruling race towards the principal subject races of the sub-continent have been largely neglected, and that, unless the problem is regarded from a new viewpoint, the evil arising from the systematic neglect of the past will become incalculable and overwhelming.

Perhaps the keynote of Mr. Pim's remarkably able and lucid exposition of the native question lies in the statement that "we recognise to the full that the native population have their rights in this country and that these rights must be respected." In point of fact, "we" do not do anything of the sort. "We" regard the native theoretically as a fellow human being, but for all practical purposes, he might as well be an animated creature of the lower order, to be exploited to suit "our" needs, and

to be crushed down when he endeavours to develop along lines independent of "our" needs. And here we would explain that we make this statement, not because this journal in any way desires to pose as an advocate of native rights *per se*, but because we realise that the mental attitude that we have referred to affects the relatives existing between the European population of the more retrograde portions of South Africa towards all coloured peoples resident therein, notably the Indian population, and especially that section of it which, in this Colony, is serving under indentures, the result being that Indian bodies are cared for so long as they may properly be regarded as instruments for the direct acquisition of wealth for white employers, but as an undesirable incumbrance when their owners desire to direct their energies towards their own higher development.

The chief point emphasised by Mr. Pim was the universal craving of the native for education. What is the cry? Meat? Drink? War? Simply education. And if the native cannot get that education in South Africa, he will go elsewhere to seek and acquire it. Education in South Africa should be South African. It should partake of the spirit of the country. Whether a man be white, black, or brown, all men who are born and bred in South Africa are sons of the country upon whom the country's welfare depends. What South Africa needs more than anything else is the production of the best white men, black men, and brown men possible, men who are born with the spirit of the land in them, men who are different from, but as good as, any other men, because they are splendid South Africans, and it is the duty of South Africa to create circumstances suitable for the production and reproduction of such desirable specimens of humanity as these. Each of us has his talent, but it is useless for South Africa to hope for the best possible investment of these talents if we are not allowed to learn how to employ them, if we are taught to regard ourselves as members of a servile race, owing servile duty to a class that exists upon and ruins itself by our servility. Freedom of development is the first requisite. The ordinary laws of development provide for the rubbing off of sharp corners that inconvenience the general body and tend to prevent the suitable development of each portion thereof. We know how this lack of opportunities, this forbidding of normal mental growth, has driven some of the most promising representatives of the subject races into the camp of the enemy,

how good material has become recalcitrant, how willing souls have become embittered.

And so we say again that South Africa must provide sufficient "opportunities for these children of ours (be they black, white, or brown) to develop to the full their talents and character." But what do we find? In Natal, a beggarly £8,000 is spent upon the education of 900,000 natives, whilst an infinitesimal sum is spent on the education of the children of over 100,000 Indians, most of whom either came here themselves or are the descendants of those who came here, to supply the labour needs of this Colony. These thousands of Colonial-born-and-bred Indians are in a state of mental stagnation and starvation. Occasionally, a farseeing parent sends his son to England to secure a professional training. But what is even more needed in this country is industrial and agricultural training. The land cries aloud for cultivation and development. Huge quantities of goods of all kinds are imported that might easily be manufactured here, if only indigenous skilled labour and intelligent organisers of such labour were available. So much could be done with the raw material to hand. We are reminded of the lamentation, "Water, water everywhere, but not a drop to drink."

The same story is to be heard in the Transvaal. A large native population is to be found there upon whom some £12,000 per annum are spent for education, approximately the same sum is spent upon the annual upkeep of the zoological collection at Pretoria. And for Indian education, not a brass farthing is forthcoming. That is the way South Africa performs its primary duties towards its potential citizens. We depend for the very nursing of our children upon untrained coloured labour, and we are content to allow those children to grow up in an atmosphere of ignorance, superstition, ingratitude, and colour prejudice. What hope is there for a people so unresponsive to the calls upon its sense of responsibility?

Yet there is hope, for the neglectful element of the South African population is being forced to realise its shortcomings by reason of the awakened longings for intellectual development and independence of labour manifested by the neglected. The native peoples are avidly swallowing all the instruction that they can produce, good, bad, and indifferent. The Interstate Native College is a monument to the inherent good sense of the natives, and this journal will not cease to hold it up as an example of

what should and can be done to the somewhat apathetic Indian community. The present generation of Indians will need to plunge their hands deep into their pockets if they do not desire the well-deserved reproaches of the rising generation in the years to come. For the development of what is best in men, unfettered freedom of intellect and opportunity is demanded, and if the Governments are asleep to the primary functions of Government, then it behoves the governed to create that freedom and to utilise those opportunities by a self-sacrificing expenditure of their own energies and efforts.

### Indians in Natal

THE next few months will be fraught with lasting consequences so far as Indians in this Colony are concerned. The battle-cry is and will be for some time, "Down with the Indian trader." We hope that this cry will not induce a sense of false security among the non-trading Indians. They cannot escape suffering, if traders have to undergo it. If a limb is injured the whole body suffers with it.

Slowly but surely Indian trade is being undermined. Indian storekeepers are being crushed in a very insidious manner. And now comes the proposal to stop all Indian licences within ten years, compensation being paid at the end of the period. He who runs may read that compensation is merely in name. There can be no traders to compensate after that period if the Dealers' Act is used against them. The ever vigilant Mr. Ritch was quick to perceive the hypocrisy of the idea and lost no time in pointing it out to the British public.

What is the Indian position? So far as we are aware, Indians recognise that newcomers from India can only be the fewest possible. But they also assert that Indians who have a right to remain in the Colony should have the full civic rights that are enjoyed by the white inhabitants. They claim that Natal is just as much theirs as it is that of the Europeans domiciled in the country. They cannot, therefore, accept any notice to quit, even though they were compensated, unless compensation became a pension for life suitable to the station in life of the trader in question.

Let us take the trader's own standpoint. He has been in the Colony for the last twenty years. He was allowed to settle in the country by the then Government. He has made Natal his home. He has a family dependent on him—why should such a man be called upon to leave the country? To say: "There is no room for him, this is a white man's country," is simply nonsensical. He must be treated as part of the body politic, and what is more, he must see to it that he is so treated, even though he

test of his manliness and no other. If he do not make the attempt he will deserve to leave Natal. To expel the Indian trader from Natal is practically to starve him. Nor can he change his occupation in Natal. He is born a trader and he will die one. If he is forced to return to India, he goes away a discontented man and naturally so. No British Colony can be allowed to manufacture malcontents.

The Dealer's Act has now lived a decade and the Indian trader has chafed under it for all that time. Its operation has well-nigh reached an intolerable point. He has exhausted all the avenues left open to him by the technical law and he has, as a rule, gained no redress. He must, if need be, now advance a step further, copy his Transvaal brother, and become a passive resister for the sake of himself, his country both of birth and adoption, and the Empire of which India and Natal are but parts. This may at first sight appear paradoxical, but a little reflection will show that the Indian who will manfully stand up for his right and be prepared to lose all in asserting it, will live out the Empire ideal and make the rulers do the right thing in spite of themselves. Of such only can real empires be made and by such alone may they be held together.

SPEAKING AT THE ST. GEORGE'S Banquet, in Johannesburg, last week, Lord Selborne is reported to have said:

There is nothing that Englishmen ought to be more proud of than that when we have buried the hatchet with the French or with the Scots or with any other people, the hand of brotherhood is given for ever and ever. For there is no incompatibility between that spirit and the true spirit of patriotism.

We have said before that Lord Selborne's sentiments are often of the most liberal, but that his practice of them leaves much to be desired, there being, at times, so little logical connexion between the lofty theories and the unsatisfying practice. Nevertheless, we trust that we are not taking an improper advantage of our functions when we claim that Lord Selborne is bound to agree that the natural interpretation of his words on the occasion referred to, is that there is no incompatibility between the true spirit of British patriotism and the extending of the hand of brotherhood to the British Indian community with whom, as a result of the settlement so happily arrived at last January, the hatchet has been buried. For, before the hatchet of racial strife can be decently interred, it is manifest that each exponent of racial difference should have been able to discern the fundamental racial identity of the one with the other. It is only then that the conception of brotherhood can arise, and, with it, the true flame of patriotism can burn brightly amid the conflicting claims.

ELSEWHERE WILL BE FOUND THE text of an important judgement delivered by the Supreme Court of the Transvaal with reference to the right of a municipality to regulate trade within its locations set apart for natives. The Court held a regulation preventing a white man from trading within a native location was a proper and therefore a lawful one. The question whether a by-law which, if it were an Act of Parliament, would require the Royal sanction, could be framed, does not appear to have been discussed. But now that the matter has been taken to the Supreme Court, perhaps the larger question raised above had better be decided.

NOT LONG AGO, SIR MATTHEW NATHAN, in a public address, intimated that, if the white man intended to occupy his present position of supremacy, he would have to justify his arrogation of power by action. Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, at the Progressive Congress in Johannesburg, last week, uttered the same warning. "The white man must justify himself," he is reported to have said. Nothing could have been more trite. We have heard so much of vocal proof of superiority, and have seen so many instances of non-whites forging ahead because of their industry, perseverance, and legitimate ambition, that thoughtful people are beginning to opine that, unless the white man "hustles" a bit, contrives to realise the situation, and condescends to use his hands and brains, he will be rapidly outclassed, and must give way to those who can better adapt themselves to altered circumstances. The Marianhill Monastery is turning out native artisans fully qualified to carry on all the industries for which there is a demand in this country. There is a growing population of Indians born in South Africa who will demand a place, and no mean one, in the economic fabric of the sub-continent. It is impossible to shut one's eyes to the fact that, in the Cape Colony, as elsewhere, the Cape coloured people are the mainstay of agricultural pursuits and industries that have grown up in the Colony. Moreover, this coloured labour is becoming more and more skilled, reliable and intelligent. Every year adds to its efficiency, and every year adds to the numbers of non-whites, whose home is in South Africa, and who are qualified to compete with the white man and to earn an honest livelihood. These are fingerposts that indicate the road along which the wise man must travel, if he would arrive at a well-balanced and comprehensive conclusion as to the future of South Africa, and the "conflict" of races that looms so large in the dis-

THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS HAS sent a cable to Lord Ampt-  
**Lobito Bay** hill's committee and a  
**Indian** wire to the Natal Govern-  
 ernment regarding the  
**Lobito Bay** Indians. The Congress  
 has rightly thrown the responsibility  
 on the one and sought information  
 from the other. Natal is committed  
 to the policy of thinning out the Indi-  
 an population. The local Government  
 therefore could not be expected to  
 go out of its way to keep these Indi-  
 ans. We assume that there was some  
 flaw in their claims for domicile, and  
 therefore they have been sent away to  
 India. But the Imperial Government  
 was concerned in advancing their  
 claim to remain in Natal, seeing that  
 they were sent from Natal to Lobito  
 Bay by its sanction, and that had  
 they not been so sent, the Natal Govern-  
 ment could not probably have  
 sent them to India. Mr. Dawad  
 Mahomed and his committee state  
 that the men did not wish to go to  
 India, and that they said they were  
 old residents. It is the duty of the  
 Imperial Government to investigate  
 the matter and protect the men.

### Stanger Indian School

A correspondent writes that on the  
 23rd inst. His Excellency the Govern-  
 or of Natal (Sir Matthew Nathan)  
 paid a visit to the Government-Aided  
 Indian School, Stanger (Mr. Anthony  
 A. Simon, Headmaster). His Excel-  
 lency took a very great interest in the  
 inspection, and he wished the school  
 well. The Acting Magistrate (Mr. P.  
 B. Goble) and other leading gentle-  
 men of the district accompanied the  
 Governor.

### Lobito Bay Indians

#### The Congress Active

A telegram has been sent by the  
 Joint Hon. Secretaries of the Natal  
 Indian Congress to the Hon. the  
 Colonial Secretary, Maritzburg, re-  
 questing information as to why the  
 men who were previously living in  
 the Colony have been sent to India,  
 and whether any arrangement has  
 been made in regard to looking after  
 these men on their arrival in India.

A cable has also been sent to the  
 South Africa British Indian Commit-  
 tee, stating the facts and suggesting  
 that the Imperial Government is con-  
 cerned.

London, April 18.—Mr. L. W.  
 Ritch has sent letters of protest to  
 the Indian and Colonial Offices,  
 owing to 300 Indians from the Lobito  
 Bay Railway being compulsorily sent  
 back to India, instead of being al-  
 lowed to remain in Natal.

## Transvaal Supreme Court

### Trading in a Municipal Location

#### A White Hawker's Appeal Dismissed

Adolf Smith v. Germiston Municipality.—Judgment was given in this  
 matter, which was argued on the 13th  
 inst. The appellant, who held a white  
 hawker's licence issued by the Germis-  
 ton Municipality, appealed against a  
 conviction by the Assistant Resident  
 Magistrate, Germiston, for (1) contra-  
 vention of Section 30 of the Germis-  
 ton Municipal Location Regulations,  
 in that he traded in the Germiston  
 Municipal Location, and (2) contra-  
 vention of Section 33 of the same regula-  
 tions by failing to satisfy the superin-  
 tendent of the location that he was  
 there lawfully, and refusing to leave  
 when ordered to do so. The Magis-  
 trate on the first count imposed a fine  
 of £3, or three days' imprisonment  
 with hard labour; on the second  
 count the accused was cautioned and  
 discharged.

Sir Wm. Solomon, in delivering  
 judgment, dealt first with the objec-  
 tion taken by Dr. Krause on behalf  
 of the appellant that it had not been  
 properly proved that the Lieut-Governor  
 had signified his approval of  
 the Municipality's assumption of control  
 over the location, in terms of  
 Section 1 of Ordinance 17 of 1905.  
 His Lordship held that the section  
 had been complied with by the notifi-  
 cation of such approval in Government  
 Notice No. 918 of 1907, and the  
 subsequent passing of a resolution by  
 the Municipality assuming control of  
 the location in terms of that notice.  
 Dealing next with the contention that  
 the regulations for contravention of  
 which the appellant had been con-  
 victed, his Lordship said section 37  
 of Ordinance 58 of 1903 empowered  
 the Council to lay out locations for  
 natives, and gave power to the Lieut-  
 Governor to make regulations (1) for  
 the proper carrying out of the provi-  
 sions of the section, and (2) for the  
 effectual supervision of locations.  
 Power was given to the Council to  
 set apart an area of ground and lay it  
 out for the occupation of natives;  
 and the fact that it was to be so set  
 apart and laid out implied, in his  
 Lordship's opinion, power to set it  
 aside for the exclusive occupation of  
 natives, and, with it, power to prohibit  
 persons other than natives from oc-  
 cupying the location. It was therefore  
 within the powers conferred on the  
 Lieutenant-Governor to provide, as  
 provided in Regulation 30, that no  
 person other than a native should  
 reside within any location. But the  
 regulation went further, and provided  
 that no such person should trade in a  
 location. A location was an area set  
 apart for the exclusive occupation of  
 natives, though his Lordship was not  
 prepared to say that it was an area  
 for the exclusive use of natives. The  
 power given to the Lieutenant-Governor

ernor to make regulations for the  
 effectual supervision of the location  
 obviously included the right to re-  
 gulate and control to some extent the  
 conduct of individuals within the loca-  
 tion, and also, consequently, to res-  
 trict their liberty of action. It had  
 been argued that there was no power  
 to make regulations affecting persons  
 outside the location, and that, conse-  
 quently, there was no power to pro-  
 hibit such persons from entering the  
 location for legitimate purposes. The  
 question was whether the regulation  
 was reasonably calculated to attain  
 the object which the Legislature had  
 in view, namely, the effectual supervi-  
 sion of the location, or whether it was  
 so clearly unnecessary for that pur-  
 pose, and so unreasonable, that it  
 could not be supported by a Court of  
 Justice. On that part of the case his  
 Lordship would like to refer to the  
 remarks of the late Lord Russell,  
 L.C.J. of England (1898, 2 Q.B. 91).  
 His Lordship read the L.C.J.'s judg-  
 ment, and said that in his opinion the  
 regulation in question was not, to use  
 the words of Lord Russell, "such an  
 oppressive or gratuitous interference  
 with the rights of those subject to the  
 regulations as to find no justification  
 in the minds of reasonable men." It  
 was probable that in framing such a  
 regulation the Lieutenant-Governor  
 had in mind the consideration that it  
 would be extremely difficult to super-  
 vise the conduct of natives in locations  
 if white persons were freely allowed  
 to trade there, and that the constant  
 presence of an inferior class of white  
 traders might have a prejudicial effect  
 upon the natives and militate against  
 their effectual supervision. In his  
 Lordship's opinion the regulation was  
 not so unreasonable as to justify the  
 Court in setting it aside. It was with-  
 in the power of the Lieutenant-Governor,  
 and the accused was properly  
 convicted of contravening it. In re-  
 gard to the conviction on the second  
 count, it was clear that if the accused  
 had no right to trade in the location,  
 he was not there for a good and suffi-  
 cient reason, and that under the re-  
 gulations the superintendent was justifi-  
 ed in ordering him to leave, and,  
 when he refused to do so, in charging  
 him with contravention of Regulation  
 33. It had been argued that that  
 regulation was "ultra vires," because  
 it gave arbitrary powers to the super-  
 intendent. But if persons were to be  
 excluded from the location it was  
 clear power must be given to some  
 person to call upon them to leave the  
 location if they had no right to be  
 there. The mere fact that such  
 powers were conferred upon the  
 superintendent of the location did not  
 make the regulation unreasonable and  
 therefore "ultra vires." The appeal  
 must be dismissed, and the conviction  
 and sentence confirmed.

His Lordship then read a concur-  
 ring judgment by Mr. Justice Mason;  
 Mr. Justice Bristowe also delivered  
 a concurring judgment.—*Transvaal*  
*Leader.*

## Maritzburg's New By-Laws

We take the following from the amended By-Laws of the City of Pietermaritzburg, as passed by the Municipal Council on the 24th December last, and now appearing in the *Gazette* :—

281. No person, company or firm shall trade or deal in goods within the Borough, or carry on any business or exercise any privilege for which a licence is required, without having previously obtained the requisite licence therefor. Persons or firms occupying more than one shop or store must take out a licence for each shop or store so occupied by them.

281a. No licence granted under these By-Laws shall extend to a longer period than one year, and every such licence shall terminate on the 31st day of December of the year for which it has been granted, irrespective of the date of issue.

281b. No holder of any licence shall, when requested so to do, refuse to produce to the Licensing Officer or any duly authorised official or Police Constable, his licence or badge.

281c. No person, company or firm shall carry on any trade or business in the Borough without previously causing his or their name or designation to be painted or posted up in English characters outside his or their place of trade or business fronting the public street.

281d. No person, company or firm shall trade or carry on business in any open space of land or in a passage, whether public or private.

281e. A wholesale dealer shall be deemed to be a person or firm selling in bulk, or in original packages, or selling to retail dealers for re-sale by them. A wholesale dealer's licence will cover a retail dealer's carried on by the holder in the same premises.

281f. A retail dealer shall be defined as any person who barter, trades, or sells by retail, goods or produce to be used or consumed by purchasers; provided that a person who trades only as a Hawker, under a Hawker's licence, shall not be deemed to be a retail dealer, nor shall a vendor who hawks milk, fish, poultry, garden produce or goods manufactured by him.

282. Any person desirous of obtaining any licence of the following classes, to wit: Dealer, Butcher, Baker, Hawker, Billiard Table, Place of Public Entertainment, Eating House, Boarding House, shall make application to the Licensing Officer in writing stating his full name, address and occupation; the class of licence required; the nature of description of the business proposed to be carried on, and shall be bound to satisfy the Town Council or the Licensing Officer that any premises on which the applicant proposes to carry on business are suitable for the purpose,

whether as regards their situation or sanitation or character of the building structurally or otherwise. In the case of an application for a new licence a plan of the premises sought to be licensed must be furnished by the applicant. The Town Council or the Licensing Officer may, for any reasons to either of them appearing sufficient, refuse to issue any licence.

283. Every person carrying on business within the Borough shall be obliged to keep his shop and premises in a clean and wholesome state, and the Town Council may appoint the Inspector of Nuisances or other fit person or persons to visit shops and premises from time to time in order to ascertain whether the same are kept in a clean and wholesome state.

284. A European Eating House shall be deemed to be a building or place (other than an Hotel licensed for the sale of liquor) where articles of food and drink are sold for consumption on the premises; a Boarding House or lodging house shall be deemed to be a building or premises in or upon which accommodation for five or more boarders or lodgers is provided.

285. A Native Eating House shall be deemed to be a building or place (other than a building licensed for the sale of Kafir Beer) where articles of food and drink are sold for consumption on the premises by Natives or persons other than Europeans.

286. No person shall, in a European Eating House, serve or supply any Native or person other than a European with articles of food or drink.

287. No licensee of any Eating House shall use for the accommodation of persons obtaining food or drink any room not properly lighted and ventilated.

288. No licensee of any Eating House shall permit or allow any person other than himself personally to conduct or carry on the trade or business, unless such person has first been approved of in writing by the Town Council.

291. No licensee of a Native Eating House shall permit the same to be open between the hours of 9 p. m. and 5 a. m.

292. No licensee of a European Eating House shall permit the same to be open between the hours of 12 midnight and 5 a. m.

302. No person shall hawk within the Borough any goods, wares, or merchandise (not including milk, fish, poultry, or garden produce, or goods manufactured by the vendor) without a hawker's licence, and every person hawking shall wear on his arm above the elbow a badge, or exhibit such badge on his basket or pack. Such badge will be supplied by the Council under security of the deposit of the sum of Five Shillings for its safe return. Such badge shall bear on it the word "Hawker" and a number corresponding with the distinguishing number of the licence. The licence and badge shall not be transferable, and any hawker who shall transfer

his badge and any other person who shall use same, shall both be deemed to have contravened this By-law.

302a. No licensed Hawker shall be permitted to employ any servant or other person to vend goods unless such servant or person has a separate licence and badge of his own.

302b. No person holding a Hawker's licence shall take up any fixed or permanent stand, station or position; but must be an itinerant vendor of his goods, which he may vend only on the public roads of the Borough.

303. No licence shall be transferable from the holder thereof or from the licensed premises to any other person or premises without the consent of the Town Council through its Licensing Officer.

303a. The following is the tariff of Licences issued by the Town Council under these By-Laws :—

	Per Annum.
Wholesale Dealer ... ..	£ 5
Retail Dealer ... ..	3
Butcher ... ..	3
Miller ... ..	5
Bakers, including Confectioners	3
Boarding and Lodging Houses	3
Refreshment Rooms ... ..	3
Native Eating House ... ..	3
Public Billiard Tables ... ..	10
Theatres and Places of Public Entertainment ... ..	10
Hawkers ... ..	3
Manufacturers ... ..	3

303b. Any person or firm, grinding, milling or crushing grain, produce or other commodity, and whether for food-stuffs, manures, or otherwise, shall be deemed to be a miller for the purpose of these By-Laws: Provided, however, that persons or firms milling, crushing or grinding by hand power only, shall not be deemed to be millers.

303c. Persons and firms shall be deemed to be manufacturers who, not being in possession of wholesale or retail licences, shall make, prepare, fashion, or construct articles or goods of any sort to be sold, traded or bartered: Provided, however, that persons in possession of hawker's licences making goods or articles of any sort which they personally sell, trade or barter shall not be deemed to be manufacturers for the purpose of these By-Laws.

COLONIAL-BORN INDIAN'S SUCCESS. We congratulate Mr. Abdul Hamid Gool, son of Mr. J. M. H. Gool, of Capetown, on his recent success in the prosecution of his medical studies in London. Young Mr. Gool entered for the Michael Harris Competition Examination in anatomy, and secured the second place, being granted a special certificate. He was also awarded one of the junior proficiency prizes valued at £10.

## Sir Percy Fitzpatrick on Black and White

### "The White Men Must Justify Himself"

Speaking to a motion at the Progressive Congress last week, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick said:

They found a suggestion as to the statutory limitation of the sphere or the ratio of white and coloured labour in the mines. Not on the farms. Not in any other industry or walk of life. An industry, a development, an aim, might be encouraged by one of two processes—either the legitimate facilities given for its growth or by the restriction of competition. In their (the Progressives') judgment it had been desirable to foster those conditions which would promote the growth and welfare of the white peoples.

### Coercive Legislation

A suggestion was now made that a further step should be taken to restrict the activity of the coloured people. That was a cardinal point to which their attention had to be given. Personally, taking the long view and not the view of to-day, looking to the whole of South Africa, not even going so far as to look at present to Imperial obligations, but looking to the whole of South Africa, and to the probabilities and almost the certainties of the future he would tell them that he had no faith either in the wisdom or in the feasibility of coercive legislation founded upon race or colour distinctions. The problem before them was a difficult one in any case, but it was complicated by this that there arose side by side and insuperable two considerations to be dealt with. The first was to increase and to maintain a larger and ever growing white population. The second to restore that confidence in the foreign investor which would give them back the capital wherewith to create the expansion by reason of which alone they could increase or even maintain the white population of this country. It was the failure to realise that there were there two considerations to be recognised that caused the trouble. Look back upon what had been attempted. Every measure brought forward had some little element in it which could disturb or retard the growth and restoration of the confidence in this country which would give them the expansion that was necessary. What was the use of talking about increasing the white population if simultaneously they were robbing themselves of the means of maintaining it?

### Race Differentiation

Now, to another phase. Supposing that these measures which were hinted at or suggested could be carried out, he would tell them that he thought they were building up hopes that would again be shattered. He thought they were promising the impossible. At any rate they with him who felt

and thought on this subject must have before them in their minds such facts as were available, and must then think like men, without fear and without bias. Why were these things impossible? Why was differentiation on the ground of race or colour impossible? He would tell them why in his opinion. But he would begin by pointing out to them that such differentiation did actually occur to-day and had been allowed as Mr. Duncan pointed out yesterday. The law which had given rise to this discussion—the Squatters Law—differentiates on the ground of colour. It was on the Statute Book passed by the Imperial Government. It was an old law. He had his doubts whether, if that law was introduced for the first time to-day, it would pass without the veto. Last session they tried in connection with the Game Preservation Ordinance to prevent or to practically tax out of existence the Kaffir's hunting dog, and there was justification because the Kaffir preserved no game and owned no game. He had no right to hunt. Why did he want the hunting dog. The answer was how could they differentiate between the Kaffir dog and the white man's dog. Now, if that be true—in principle it was true—how could they differentiate between the Kaffir himself and the white man? Surely he was more important than the dog and with more rights. Under their Constitution when those who desired to legislate in advance for the free white electorate of this country, to safeguard their interests against the Chinese, had certain clauses inserted they had over-reached themselves. Not that the clause referring to native affairs was unusual, but that the prominence given to these racial distinctions and colour distinctions, the advertisement given to that question, the passion aroused upon it, the appeal made to a party which was already indisposed or unable to realise their point of view, were such that the difficulty previously existing was stupendously increased. (Hear, hear.) That day they had to face a deliberate placing upon the Statute Book of a law which violated the spirit of the Constitution and they had to seek the approval of the Imperial Government. Did they think they would get it? They might or they might not. They talked of federation and of unification. More than half the white population was within the limits of the Cape Colony.

### The Native Franchise

In three States in South Africa the right of the native to obtain the franchise was recognised in the Constitution—Cape Colony, Natal, and Rhodesia. Did they believe that under that federation or unification at which they were aiming it would be possible to propose or to carry that without the sanction—the assent—of the Imperial Government to laws which their common sense would tell them were unworkable in practice and

unfair in principle, laws differentiating between different classes upon the ground of colour?

### The Colour Line

We would tell them why they were unworkable in practice. No man living—and many had tried—had been able to draw the colour line yet. Instances would come to their minds to show them that that line had been passed and repassed many times in every sphere of life in South Africa. They could not go back. The natives of South Africa outnumbered the whites enormously. Many of them were qualified to vote, and many of them were being educated. But all the coloured people of South Africa were in a stronger position still. There was to-day nothing in the law which would permanently exclude the coloured people in the future State of South Africa from participating in industrial rights. The native had shown himself not incapable of education to a considerable extent. The native had acquired considerable skill in trade and very considerable skill in farming. What was lost sight of was that the native was of the soil. It was the indigenous South African native who was in permanent rivalry with the white man, and not the yellow labourer or any other imported labourers, who could go back to their own country. (Applause.) The native loved his country as they did, and he loved his surroundings. It was not a matter of love alone. It was a matter of ignorance. The white men could go to any country because they knew something about it; but to the native this was his world. Compulsion was the only thing which would turn him out, or the suggestion which he hoped was not seriously meant—the hint in the report he had referred to. He did not think that the rum and gunpowder argument would commend itself to anyone. The points he was bringing forward to-day were submitted to the Executive some weeks ago. Yesterday, or the day before, he saw a reference to an article in the *London Times* showing that there would be great interest in native affairs when the question of federation came up. He also read hurriedly portions of what seemed to him a most admirable paper by Mr. Howard Pini. He recommended them to study it and think the facts over.

### Realising the Inevitable

Do not attach much value to the suggestions which were built upon the hope that they could pass legislation securing with ease the white man in certain spheres or ratios. It was not to be relied upon. He was not advocating a policy. He was not saying do not attempt it; but for heaven's sake call their reason to their aid and ask whether that could be obtained and whether it could abide. He did not believe it could. He believed they had to come to bed rock and the white man would have to justify

himself. Let them face it to-day. They lost nothing by it but gained enormously. Let them not wait until they were helpless and hopeless at the mercy of the inflowing tide. Let them not put their little sand wall against the waves. If necessary let them get back and build their break-water.

#### Whites must Outwork the Natives

They were faced—so they were told by representatives of the Government—with competition on equal terms. They must work—they must outwork the native. That was practically what it meant. They could do it. The white man had proved it all the world over, but he had the profoundest misgivings, with the policy which had brought the white man down to 3s. or 4s. a day, when the cost of living had not been proportionately reduced, that it would be to the advantage of the country. He felt that a sacrifice was necessary. That they must go through the fire sometimes. But it did seem to him to have been a terrible plunge to make, and with little security for a good result. Look what it meant. The intermingling policy began industrially. The next step would be politically, and then socially, and then racially, and it was an inevitable progression unless they made their stand. If they made their stand they should let their defences be real and upon merit. They should not rely, they should not lean upon the broken reeds nor listen to illusionary safeguards and proposals. It would require all the will and all the power of a united people, and to-day they who had to bear the white man's burden, they who represented those who began the building up of this civilisation, and who would have to carry it through, were not united. They were busy seeing whether they should have equal rights or whether one should have a privilege over another. The question was not yet clear for the federation or unification of South Africa. He had given a warning as strong as he could about what that tendency was and where it would end. It would end in aracial commingling if they did not make a determined effort in some direction. It must not be passive resistance, but actual. They should see whether they could not fulfil their mission and how. Because he considered it as essential to the welfare of the native as of the white man that the white man should be able to bear his burden and to carry it through.

#### The Moral Consideration

There would be some who would criticise the absence of the moral consideration, or the religious consideration. He would face that too. If there was a man amongst them who was prepared to talk of the equal rights of the white and black man, equal in the sight of God, his answer to him was: "That is as it may be interpreted by you, but each man will

interpret the idea of his Maker." But that all men were equal in the eyes of man was not true. They made their laws for their criminals. They made their laws for their children. The native races of South Africa were not criminals; they were children. He said to the man who made that his standpoint—morality or religion—"Look down the vista of the years to come—not so far—and see your sister or your daughter married to a black man. Answer me. Are you comfortable? Look back and think what it would have been had your mother been married to a black man. Would you have the same satisfaction in your blood and position as you have to-day? Would you have the same confidence? If so, go forward, sir; you are a sincere and believing Christian, and God speed you. At any rate, if you have not my support you have my profound respect. But if in your blood there be one crinkle of fear, go home and hide your diminished head, because your morality is for others and not for yourself." That was the test for those who talked of equal rights and equality of all men. Apply the test to their own people, and if they shrank from it they should hide their diminished heads because they were imposters of the worst kind.

#### The Future

What were they going to do for these people in the future? What was to be their political right? Who had faced it honestly and thoroughly? None that he knew of. His conviction was, children as they were, that they would have to treat them as children. The control of those who were children must be as children; the control must be tempered by patience, sympathy, and accessibility, but it must be firm, with the determination that the white man's burden should be faithfully borne. Secondly, an outlet would have to be found for those whose legitimate aspirations would otherwise be cramped and killed, whose capacity would make them fit to be leaders, whose sense of injustice would be a permanent danger to the future peace of South Africa. They must face it; they could not sit for ever upon the safety valve. He begged them to think of it on the lines of what he had said that there was no question in his mind as to the possibility of equality between black and white as a whole. The remedy, the chance before them, were given in the reply by their executive:—"Education; technical training in trades and farming; equal and liberal facilities for land settlement; irrigation and scientific aids to farming; cheaper transport; cheaper living; unrestricted development of mineral resources, and reasonable and legitimate facilities and aids for other industries; in fact, progress in government and expansion in industry. These are the means which will help the white people to that position

in status and in numbers which your executive have unbounded confidence it is their destiny to achieve; but these to be effective should be immediate in order that the white people may profit by their position to-day and not wait a generation until the flowing tide of coloured invasion will have grown to such dimensions as to be irresistible and overwhelming." He had nothing to add to that. They must come down to bed-rock.

The white man must justify himself. What he said was "Give him all the chance they could to justify himself." Let them have that progress in government and expansion in industry which was essential to them. Give the white man a chance to-day. Do not hold it back. Let them be united in one effort, and it would demand all the efforts and patriotism of all the white people in South Africa. If he had spoken to them strongly it was because he was convinced of the importance of this subject. It was paramount, and nothing had ever been, or would ever be, equal. Look down the years and make your efforts to-day. Otherwise God help them.—*Star*.

#### Maritzburg Hindu Young Men's Association

At the weekly meeting of the above Association held at 481 Church Street, on Sunday last, there was a very large gathering of members and Mr. Ramalingam Pillay, the chairman, presided. A fine selection of Tamil songs was sung by Messrs. M. Pather and K. Chettyiar.

This Association has opened a Tamil School, which was established nine months ago. The Association room is used for teaching, and a Head Master, an Assistant Teacher and an Inspector are provided and paid by the Association. The present attendance at the School is 125.

TEMPERANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA. We have received the annual report of the South African Temperance Alliance for the year ended September 30th, 1907, adopted at the meeting of the Executive Council held at Cape Town on the 3rd February last. From a perusal of the pamphlet, it is obvious that the activities of the Alliance are widespread and more than that, unfortunately, its efforts to secure an amelioration of the social condition of the inhabitants of South Africa, coloured and white, are being largely nullified by vested interests such as those which are making such tremendous efforts at Home to secure control of public opinion. We wish the Alliance every success, and trust that it will attract many adherents to the cause.

## "Colour in Natal"

Under the above heading, the *Globe* (London) writes:

The important news announced from Natal this morning, that the Colonial Government will shortly introduce a Bill to fix a date after which Indian immigration would be illegal, and that the licences of Arab traders would be cancelled ten years hence, should be of deep interest to many in this country who are watching the gradual settlement of Imperial racial questions by the self-governing States of the Empire.

The difficulties and dangers in the way of repatriating the Asiatics cannot be ignored. The Arabian traders in Natal are not indeed British subjects, and their expulsion therefore—if it comes to that—need not trouble us excessively. But the Indians are subjects of the Empire, and they may on that account quite reasonably look for protection. And they may look for it with the more expectancy, since we protested against their exclusion from the Transvaal when that country was under the Kruger régime.

And they may in addition urge that while their exclusion from Canada is natural, since the Dominion is practically and must remain an all-white country, yet in South Africa, where a large native race outnumbers the whites already by some nine to one, the Indians might be suffered to remain.

The argument in their favour appears unanswerable; but those who are the most ready to admit that will also admit that the Colonial States in question have decided that the Indian trader has to go. And since those Colonial States possess self-government, the power to decide lies with them and not with ourselves: for such is the essential and obvious meaning of self-government.

A stronger and better directed Colonial Office could, it is true, do much in a quiet way to minimise and smooth over the difficulty, as Mr. Chamberlain did some ten years ago in regard to the very same matter in Natal. We have not many hopes of the present heads of the Colonial Office, in view of their continued ineptitudes; but it is to be hoped that they—as well as the officials at the neighbouring and better-equipped India office—will do what they can to lessen the soreness among the British Indians caused by a policy which we are powerless to prevent.

That some consolation should be given to the British Indians who are to be deprived of their livelihood is only just; and apart from that, it would have considerable effect in India, where Imperial policy on this matter of Asiatic immigration is being carefully watched, with anxiety by the loyal majority, and with eagerness for the purpose of mischief-making by

the seditious element. What form the consolation should take is at present a matter of discussion; but it must be remembered, and especially by those who are at present working so steadfastly and well for the cause of the white nations within the Empire, that India is an integral, and in some respects, an older portion of our realm; and that our gift of British citizenship to the Indians, if it must be hampered by some necessary limitations in various communities, may be compensated by privileges elsewhere. One may hazard the suggestion, for example, that the Indians who are not allowed to pursue their trade in South Africa should have their attention directed to Uganda as a rich, promising, and fitting soil for their activities; and the possibility of pecuniary loss to them might be lessened by paying for them the comparatively slight expense of transportation thither. To this latter question we may return for fuller discussion later: at present it is enough to say that the spirit in which the Natal and Transvaal Governments set about their task of eliminating the Indian element in South Africa will be at least as important as the exact letter of the laws by which they intend to carry their point.

In reply to the above, Mr. L. W. Ritch, Secretary of the South Africa British Indian Committee, writes as follows:—

Apropos your article of the 28th ult., under the above heading, will you permit me to point out that while the contemplated stoppage of indentured labour importation into Natal has long been advocated, and will be gladly welcomed by the majority of thoughtful Indians throughout the sub-Continent, the proposed further step to expatriate some seventy thousand British Indians, many of whom have been settled in the colony as long as thirty and forty years, have established business and raised families there, is regarded with the utmost alarm. Natal owes so much to Indian labour—Sir Liege Hullett recently remarked in the Natal House of Assembly, that "Durban was built up on Indian labour"—that the policy now deemed expedient indicates a regrettable obliviousness on the part of the colony to its obligations. Moreover, while compensation is hinted at, past experience teaches that the Dealer's Licences Act of Natal can be so directed against Asiatics as to effect their total elimination by refusing to renew their trading licences, well this side of ten years. I am afraid that the proposal to console the members of established Indian business houses in the principal towns of Natal by permitting them to settle in Uganda or some other equally remote district, will hardly be appreciated by the people principally concerned, nor yet be considered an altogether equitable transaction by the Aga Khan, Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta and other influ-

ential loyalists in India, whose deep indignation was but recently expressed in respect of the contemplated degradation of their fellow countrymen in the Transvaal.

May I add that the proposed step is, moreover, one that can hardly be regarded with indifference by lovers of fair play in this country, and that after all it is to the Government of this country that India looks for the protection and fair treatment of her children?

## Indentured Labour in Natal and Federation

### A Rand Comment

Writing editorially on the resolution passed at the recent meeting of the Natal Agricultural Union, the *Rand Daily Mail* says:

The public of Natal must frankly recognise that by adhering to the policy of Indian labour, they also determine to stand aside from the federation movement in South Africa. One of the conditions of closer union would be that the Federal Parliament controlled immigration. The Australian Colonies laid down this principle, and it is difficult to see how it could be ignored in South Africa. It is certain, too, that under a scheme of confederation, the other Colonies would not consent to any further importations of Asiatic labour. It would be absurd to arrange a protective tariff at the coast for the express purpose of building up South African industries and then allow one Colony to import Asiatic labour in order to undersell the factories of the other Colonies. If the governing party in Natal mean to adhere to their importation policy, they will have to refuse to enter a federated South Africa; and if they stood aside the other Colonies could not afford to grant inter-colonial free trade to a community existing upon cheap indentured labour. It seems to us, therefore, Natal is steering a course which can only lead to very serious dangers. As time goes on the presence of an Asiatic population far out-numbering the European will produce grave difficulties. Attempts to enforce a repressive policy must fail, it will be more and more difficult to withhold the franchise from a class which will ever become more wealthy and more powerful and ultimately the question will arise whether a Colony of such a type can be allowed to retain the privilege of self-government. Natal may be prepared to accept all these risks rather than give up her coolies. She may even try to persuade the other Colonies that her methods are the best.

ANOTHER STUDENT FOR ENGLAND. We learn that Mr. Hoosen Haffajee of Ixopo intends sending his eldest son, Ajum Haffajee, to England at the end of next month, to study for the Bar.

## A New Socialism

We take the following letter from the *New Age* :—

Your correspondent, "T. F. R.," of Pretoria, propounds what is assuredly a New Socialism. Indeed, were it not that in the course of his letter he twice uses the word "Capitalists" it would have been hardly capable of differentiation from the orthodox protestation of the petty white trader against Asiatic competition.

It is a fact that Indian coolies were first brought into South Africa by the Natal Government some forty years ago. It is equally true that this was done in the interests of the coast planters as also that, like all slavery and quasi-slavery, the principle as well as the incidence of the system of indenture, are thoroughly repugnant to accepted British ideals. The more thoughtful South Africans deplore the system, while the more thorough advocate its prompt termination. Quite obviously a colony, and consequently the Empire of which that colony forms part, must suffer in morale from the continuance of a system which includes the "importation" of human beings, their transfer from master to master, their retention during service as quasi-chattels with none of the civic rights indispensable to the status of free men, and their repatriation at the conclusion of their indentures as an alternative to re-indenture or the payment of a special prohibitive tax.

It is, however, quite safe to affirm that no anti-Asiatic agitation would have ever arisen in South Africa had the patient Indian been content to remain the white man's serf, and had it not been for the immigration of some few hundreds of the Indian trading community.

The statement by your correspondent that "year by year the Asiatic population of this colony is increasing" is only partially true, and such increase as has lately occurred has been due to continued importation of indentured labour.

The danger of subversion of white supremacy in this colony may best be gathered from the fact that no Asiatic may acquire either the political or municipal franchise; may own fixed property; and is liable to segregation in separate compounds.

After their recent manly opposition to the Asiatic Registration Act, during which numbers of them—merchants, shop-keepers, and little hawkers—sacrificed, not only their liberty, but every material asset for the sake of their communal self-respect and the honour of their motherland, your correspondent's gratuitous assumption of inherent superiority of the Kaffir, not to say of the white community, is perhaps not altogether convincing. My friend, Mr. Harold Cox, is well able to speak for himself, but he will, I know, permit me to employ a pronouncement of his to which, I submit,

closer attention might, with advantage, be paid, as well by people styling themselves Socialists as by professed Individualists :—

"The strength of our Empire ultimately depends not upon the supremacy of the English race, but upon the maintenance of English principles. However proud we may be of our English blood, we cannot study the history of our country without learning that the population of England has been recruited from many countries and that this readiness to receive and absorb other races has been one of the many causes of our national expansion. Aliens have come here; they have imbibed our traditions and learned our language, and have become English in soul without a drop of English blood in their veins; and then they and their sons have gone forth to build up the Empire."

With all of which I thoroughly agree.

L. W. RITCH

## Indians in East Africa

### Views of Mr. Archibald Colquhoun

In the course of a paper read by Mr. Archibald R. Colquhoun before the members of the Royal Colonial Institute, on the 10th ulto., the author expressed his views in the following terms :

A great deal of our empire has been won by the sword; other parts are ours by prior right of occupation. East Africa came to us in quite a different way. From very early times considerable intercourse was kept up between the East African coast and Western India, and this connection led to a British protectorate over Zanzibar, since the beginning of the nineteenth century under Arab rule, and later a strip of the Arab coast.

If we inquire how and why we became the possessors of this great slice of Africa, we find two main determining factors. First, the connection with India—trade flowed naturally across the Indian Ocean, *via* Zanzibar, fostered by the trade winds which blow from shore to shore, and this trade was being rapidly developed by steam communication.

Besides the natives, there are in British East Africa some 30,000 Indians, while an undetermined number of Eurasians, Portuguese, Goanese, and the residue of the trading population of pre-British days, are included in the 2,500 who are counted as "white population."

We are gradually arriving at the answer to the question, Why cannot East Africa develop as New Zealand or Canada have done; by a simple process of colonisation by white men and a rapid growth of political independence? The truth is that East Africa is sharply divided into a region which appears to be

eminently suitable for white colonisation, where the white man might reasonably expect to build up a society on the political and social lines with which he is familiar, and another (and the greater) region where the white man must live only as a ruling class, and where political and social growth must be on entirely different lines. The problem is how to co-ordinate the aims and ambitions of these two sections and work them into an harmonious whole. No such problem, fortunately, has had to be faced by any other white community bent on establishing itself in a new country. The enormously difficult racial problems of South Africa have taken a different form, since even the tropical regions like Natal offered permanent homes within easy reach of the sea to the white occupiers.

There is another class of missionary at work both in German and British East Africa, and as this individual is the subject of considerable controversy I propose to give you Herr Dernburg's view of him—I refer to the Indian retail trader. The 30,000 Asiatics in the country are by no means all coolies. There are a number of merchants of good standing (whose firms have been established for generations) with their employees, and there are a much greater number of small retail traders. Practically the whole retail trade is in Asiatic hands, and the Indian pedlar is not confined to the towns but is at work all over the country. It is advanced by those who are opposed to Asiatic immigration that these retail traders make white competition impossible and prevent the growth of an all-white community even in the highlands. Of course, if we could regard the highlands as absolutely apart from the rest of the country, and destined to develop independently, it might be possible by restricting immigration and by a gradual process of confiscation to eliminate the Indian element and replace it with a white one. But, apart from the ethics of such a course, the difficulties in the way of such a conclusion are considerable. Indians already possess a great deal of property at Nairobi—their methods have rendered the rapid growth of that town possible. Moreover, large sections of the line which ties Nairobi to the coast and to the great lake are worked by Indian coolies, and the government as well as the railway are partly administered by Indian subordinate officials. The latter might be replaced by a much more expensive article but the former could not, since natives cannot live in some of these regions. I believe that, even in the uplands themselves, Indian coolie labour may be necessary for development, and this especially if public works such as roads, railways and bridges are to make rapid progress.

The same conditions govern the labour market here as in other parts of Africa. In the absence of any

stimulus from cold, hunger, or ambition the native will not leave his home to work in any large numbers or for any extended time. Add to this the fact that he is absolutely raw material, and it becomes evident that he cannot compare for the purposes of pioneer work with the Indian. The employment of Indian labour in the uplands does not, however, imply the settlement of Indians on the land; and there is no reason why such territory as is best adopted for white colonisation should not be reserved for it. When we turn to the coast and other lowlands we find a different state of affairs. Here I believe the Indian to be an essential part of the population, and one which must become permanent. The tropical cultures on which the lowlands depend demand an amount of skilled labour which is not to be got from native sources. Little by little the native will be drawn into the economic scheme, but the process must be too slow for our ambitions—we do not want to move at the rate of our most backward member. At the present moment attempts are being made, with some success, to induce the natives to grow cotton on the coast; but the culture demands a care, method and skilful handling which can hardly be attained in one generation without a more strenuous discipline than we are prepared to give. The influence of the churches has supplied the stimulus in Uganda but elsewhere, in the coast-land especially, it is most difficult to get satisfactory results from native growers.

This native source must be progressively used, but it needs to be supplemented with Indian labour. For public works in the lowlands the coolie is essential, and as a retail trader he is equally necessary. As to the last point, Herr Dernburg has come to some very interesting conclusions in the German sphere. The Indian trader is, he says, the indispensable medium for trade with the natives. He can penetrate where no white man could and trade on terms impossible to us, terms which are nevertheless the only possible ones to the natives. The Indian trader is, therefore, a true missionary of civilisation, since he introduces the black races to the needs of civilised life and creates wants which they have never felt before. No white class could be brought in which would fill the place now occupied by the Indian trader in the economics of East Africa, and the German Colonial Minister deprecates the introduction of any but an independent and superior class of whites on the grounds that to bring in a poor white class would be disastrous. Having had the opportunity, in more than one continent, of seeing the evils arising from the presence of a "poor white" community in the midst of a coloured one, I can endorse this view of Herr Dernburg with conviction. We have here a cogent reason against un-

restricted white immigration into East Africa, and one which must influence our whole policy in the development of that country.

A legitimate objection to the presence of Indians among a native population is their practice of usury, but this can be guarded against by legislation. An illegitimate one, in my opinion, is the reference which I have more than once seen to their probable evil moral influence on the innocent native. Such expressions as "corrupt religions" and "licentious rites" are entirely beside the mark. The Indians are on a much higher plane both of morality and intelligence than any African race, and objection to Asiatic immigration, either to East Africa or elsewhere, is aroused by what in another people would be considered virtues—industry, frugality and enterprise—and not by their vices. If East Africa were simply and solely a tropical dependency we should not have heard anything about the problem of the future status of the Asiatics. So long as the protectorate remains under the Imperial Government that question will not arise, and with a white population of only fifteen hundred or so it is perhaps premature to raise it. But the enthusiasm which the highlands have inspired in the pioneer settlers, and their desire to secure this fine country from future difficulties, as an unhamp-ered inheritance for our race, make it natural that they should try to profit by the experience of other white colonies and avoid pitfalls. I am not prepared with *obiter dicta* on this knotty point. I can only point out that historically, and to a certain extent economically, this country is an offshoot of our Indian Empire. A great portion of it will not be developed without Indian help. We have no right to act dog-in-the-manger. The issue of the great world struggle which seems imminent—the attempt by Asia to reverse, or at all events to reform, the terms of her intercourse with the West—it is impossible to predict, but I feel very strongly that in the interests of those who will come after us we should avoid prejudicing that issue by acts of injustice or illiberality. The peculiar physical conditions of the country cannot be ignored in the attempt to establish an artificial homogeneity. There is room for all, as Mr. Churchill has already said, and the elasticity of our political methods, on which we pride ourselves, should enable us to evolve a *modus vivendi* for white, brown and black in East Africa, although it may involve a new departure in our colonial experience. I am aware that this view will not please the majority of those white settlers whose ambitions (despite the paucity of their numbers) already reach out to the rapid acquisition of self-government. My view of East Africa is that the conditions are opposed to any rapid development in that direction.

## Krugersdorp Asiatic Trading

### The White League

The Krugersdorp correspondent of the *Leader* writes:

Last week witnessed the inauguration of the White League at Krugersdorp. The members composing the society are principally storekeepers and others who are interested in the commercial welfare of the town. Resolving themselves into a "White League," the members are bent upon performing the task of facing Asiatic competition within the Municipal limits. The League is understood to favour a somewhat drastic propaganda, and even talks of a boycott by Europeans, so as to render Asiatic competition unprofitable. The League will strive to enlist the support of influential persons, and an effort is being made to secure the attendance of Mr. Lionel Phillips at the first public meeting under the auspices of the League, and that gentleman will be invited to deal with the necessity for co-operation among Europeans, both tradesmen and consumers, in order to combat the ill-effects which are produced by Asiatics in the commercial world of the Transvaal.

Certain evidence has been secured by the Roodepoort Chamber of Commerce to which prominence was given in this morning's issue of the *Transvaal Leader*, which goes to show that certain Europeans are willing to lend their names to Asiatics in order to allow the latter to hold land contrary to law. I am given to understand upon unimpeachable authority that certain Asiatics trading in the Krugersdorp Municipality are also holders of land and property, but only in the names of those Europeans who, for considerations which are best known to themselves, permitted their names to figure upon certain legal documents. In the light of the facts presented by the Roodepoort Chamber of Commerce, this arrangement amounts to a scandal, and it remains for those who are interested in the aims of the White League in Krugersdorp to institute enquiries in regard to the holding of land within the Municipal area.

Judging from the list of members of the Krugersdorp White League it appears to be composed of a body of men fully capable of dealing with a difficult situation. Competition among white traders in Krugersdorp and district is very great, and it is obviously necessary to oppose any attempt to render business enterprise more precarious than it is at the present time.

INDIAN MAILS. For Colombo, Madras and Calcutta, per *S.S. Umfuit*, on or about the 11th inst. Also for same ports, per *S.S. Umkuzi*, on the 12th instant.

## Progressives in Conclave

### Proposed Asiatic Reserves

At the annual Conference of the Progressive Party, in Johannesburg, last week, Captain St. John Cooke (Parktown) moved:—

"That this Council supports the principle of the reservation of certain areas in the Tropical portions of British South Africa (at present unoccupied by and unsuitable for colonisation by whites) for settlement by Asiatics now in the Transvaal, Natal, Cape Colony and the O.R.C.

"That grants of land be made to all Asiatics in the areas named on certain conditions, as an inducement to them to leave those Colonies; and it be suggested that indentured coolies in Natal be allowed to settle only in such reserve after the period of their indenture, and that this principle be adhered to as the counterpart of primary principle (d) of the Transvaal Progressive Federation."

The speaker contended that the Asiatic question had not been settled. He doubted whether they realised the intense feeling aroused in India over this question. Some practical scheme was required to reduce the friction between Asiatics and Europeans. Repatriation was impossible. The sugar industry in Natal depended on coolie labour, and any suggestion to stop Indians coming into Natal would be opposed by the Natal farmers. He proposed that a tract of country south of the Equator, unfit for settlement by whites, should be reserved for Indians. The Imperial and the Indian Governments would, he believed, support such a scheme as would prevent friction between the two races. They should be careful not to create trouble for the Imperial Government. He suggested that the land along the Shire River would be suitable. Only a portion of this territory—the Shire Highlands—could be colonised by whites.

After further discussion, and on the advice of the Chairman, Captain St. John Cooke withdrew his motion.

## The Colonies and British Indians

"Imperialist" writes as under to the *Saturday Review*:—

You alone seem to have the courage to point out the real significance of the action of the self-governing colonies in excluding British Indians. In your current issue you say that the luckless Indians who want to know whether they are not subjects of the King might ask with more point, Are not the people of Canada subjects of the King? Assuredly the people of Canada seem inclined to forget the fact, though unfortunately they are not alone in their attitude

towards British Indians. Australia and South Africa are also offenders in this direction. That the colonies are loyal to the Empire need not be doubted but their way of showing their loyalty is, to put it mildly, peculiar. They will take up arms in defence of Imperial interests, but they refuse to face the smallest economic inconvenience at home for a similar purpose. They are like the good wife who will abuse her husband freely herself, but will not allow anyone else to say a word against him.

Canada's action in this matter of Indian immigration is too thorough. It is indeed difficult not to regard it as a distinct imperial menace, and I know that a good many Canadians look at it in that light. The Dominion Government does not exercise the rights it takes to itself with discretion. In India the helplessness of the Imperial Government can only have the very worst effect. India would not for a second be allowed to take any action seriously prejudicial to colonial interests. Why, then, should the colonies have a free hand? The problem shows the urgent necessity for some form of imperial federation which would bring the pressure of common counsel to bear on the doings of individual members. The whole is generally considered to be greater than the part. In imperial matters it would really seem that the part is greater than the whole; at any rate as the Empire is at present constituted the part is able to involve the whole. There was a time when the advance of democracy at home occasioned misgivings as to the future of the Empire: now the danger seems to come from the colonies. The responsibility resting on Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues is great.

## Asiatic Passive Resistance

On the above subject, Mr. H. S. L. POLAK has commenced to write a book on the recent Asiatic struggle in the Transvaal.

The Book will aim at giving a complete and authentic summary of the (to the Asiatics at any rate) stirring events of the past sixteen months.

The Book will contain a bird's eye view of the whole position in South Africa with copious statistics.

The Book will contain copies of important laws and memorials.

The Book will contain photographs of the principal Passive Resisters, Sympathisers, principal Members of the South Africa British Indian Committee and others.

The Book will contain a reproduction of the historical cartoons from the pens of Mr. Holland and Mr. Lloyd as published in the Rand papers.

The Book will, therefore, be one of reference to all Indian publicists and Indian workers both in South Africa and India.

To every lover of the Empire it will be a record of events showing how the weaker members of the Empire can command justice.

To every ethically-minded man, the Book will be a demonstration of the Efficacy and Supremacy of Ethics in the political world.

To every Indian who can afford a small sum, it will be a memento or a suitable present to send to friends and sympathisers of Indians.

It is not possible for us to publish the Book, as we have not the means, unless a portion of the cost is paid in advance. We therefore ask our readers and workers in the Indian cause to send us subscriptions with the names and addresses of Subscribers on or before the 15th day of May next.

The price of the Book will be five shillings (5/-) nett.

We propose to publish the Book within six months of the date of this Notice. And should we for any reason whatsoever fail to publish the book within that time, we undertake to refund the subscription paid to us without any deduction whatsoever.

Subscriptions may be sent to the Managers, INDIAN OPINION, either at Phoenix, Natal, or P.O. Box 6522, Johannesburg.

*Note.*—Collectors and Subscribers are requested to send money orders or stamps only, or else cheques covering commission. In the event of stamps being sent one penny should be added when the stamps are not the Transvaal or the Natal Stamps. Subscribers should be careful to obtain the official printed receipt, as no other will be recognised.

DR. NANJI. At the invitation of Mr. Parsee Rustomjee, a number of Indian friends dined together on Tuesday, to bid good-bye to Dr. Nanji, who is leaving for a three months holiday in India.

"THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW". The March number of the *Hindustan Review* (Allahabad) opens with a learned dissertation on "The Din-Ilahi of Akbar," by the well-known Indian scholar, Dr. Nishikanta Chattopadhyaya, Ph.D. The writer has utilized for the purpose of his essay all the available authorities—European and Asiatic—and has presented an instructive study of a subject which is of interest to all educated Indians. Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc. writes a deeply interesting account of "Indian Music," with special reference to the musical system of Southern India. The paper will particularly interest Western students of Indian Music. The "Indian Correspondent of the *National Review*" (London) has a critical review of "The Political Situation in India." The writer—a European—has a keen insight into the realities of Indian politics and displays both sympathy and discrimination in his handling of the subject.