

Indian Opinion

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EDITORIAL NOTICES.

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CORRESPONDENCE.—Letters and other communications should be written on one side of the paper only. When articles or "Correspondence" are signed with the writer's name or initials, or with a pseudonym, or are marked "Communicated," the Editor must not necessarily be held in agreement with the views therein expressed. In such instances, insertion only means that the matter or point of view is considered of sufficient interest and importance to warrant publication. Space being a consideration, correspondents are requested to be brief and to the point. Letters should be addressed:—The Editor, "Indian Opinion," Phoenix, Natal.

Indian Opinion

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14TH, 1908.

What the Transvaal Thinks

THERE is no doubt whatever of the great impression that has been produced upon the public mind by the now famous Johannesburg Mass Meeting. We are assured that the speeches made by the European friends who attended the meeting have evoked a quite remarkable display of interest and enthusiasm on the part of many Europeans who have hitherto been content to remain silent sympathisers. We are more than confirmed in our belief that the allegedly hostile attitude of the vast majority of the white inhabitants of the Transvaal is purely a myth. We believe that most people are indifferent to the claims of British Indians, an indifference that is due to ignorance of the true bearing of the case, but that is a very different thing from active or even passive hostility. We can never get away from the fact that the white inhabitants of the Transvaal are the most important supporters of the Indian trader and hawker. Surely, if the alleged hostility really existed, it would be easy to work upon that feeling, by a proper appeal to race-pride, and thus indicate to the Indian passive resister that his claims did not meet with the approval of his white fellow-Colonists.

It is difficult to read Mr. Cachalia's dignified appeal to the European public without feeling keen regret that the *Rand Daily Mail*, which has hitherto been not entirely unsym-

pathetic to the Indian cause should have gone out of its way to misinterpret the present situation. That a responsible journal should insist that "the law must be a fetish" is an absurdity that could be perpetrated only in such a country of absurdities as South Africa.

Why, too, the *Mail* should have been more sympathetic to the Indians when they demanded more than they do now, it is difficult to discover. One would have thought that the very moderation of the Indian claims would have evoked a proportionately greater degree of sympathy. But we have to realise that, in this struggle, it is hopeless to look for reason and logic on the other side. Our contemporary has asked; what would happen supposing the coloured people and the natives took a leaf out of the Indians' book and refused to pay obnoxious taxes, because they were unrepresented and voiceless. Our reply would assuredly be that the unrepresented peoples would have to be given some form of representation, or they would have to be freely and fully consulted before legislation affecting their many interests was initiated. Lord North might have asked a similar question of the North American Colonists in 1775. The Colonists put the matter in a very plain way. "No taxation without representation," they argued. And so Indians reply: "No legislation without consultation."

The *Star*, which has lately become much more moderate in its expressions of opinion, puts a new gloss upon the situation. If only Indians behave themselves and cease their wicked ways, says our contemporary, in effect, everything, can be satisfactorily arranged. No doubt! But British Indians in the Transvaal are wary birds to day, and are not to be caught by spraying their tails with a saline solution. They absolutely refuse to trust the Government. They are not going to meekly close their eyes and open their mouths and see what the great General Snuts will send them. They prefer to trust to themselves and their own sense of right. Our contemporary makes a curious suggestion and an important admission. The Transvaal trouble must really be settled by the Inter-Colonial Convention. Well, if the *Star* admits the right of the other Colonies to interfere on behalf of General Snuts, it must also be conceded that the Natal Indians and those in other Colonies have also the right to assist their Transvaal brethren in the present struggle. That they have already done and will continue to do. Meantime, the last word is not with the Convention, but with the British Indians themselves. We have no doubt what the outcome will be.

IN A LEADERETTE COMMENTING UPON the petition forwarded by Where its Barberton Correspondent, We the *Transvaal Leader* says: Agree:—"The section of the people dealt with incidentally includes Asiatics. There is nothing to which any reasonable person can object in adjusting conditions of competition in the way proposed; because such an amendment of the law would not discriminate against British Indians. If it includes them that cannot be helped." We entirely agree with the principle that Indians should be bound by general legislation, and that has always been the argument of the Indian community. There is no objection to legislation affecting all sections of the community alike. It is when there is differential legislation based upon race and colour that British Indians object strenuously. The principle of general legislation was enunciated by the Indian community many years ago, and not later than this year it was re-affirmed at the time when the community willingly accepted the Early Closing Act, which was framed so that it operated against and in regard to all sections of the community. If all legislation throughout South Africa were based on this principle there would be no fear, we are sure, of a recrudescence of passive resistance.

THE JOHANNESBURG MUNICIPALITY IS notoriously reactionary in the carrying out of its An immoral colour policy. Its latest Replacing exploit is to dismiss the Indians employed in the Johannesburg Parks and Cemetery, on the ground that they are defying the Registration Law. In point of fact, for all practical purposes, beyond attending meetings and lifting up their voice on behalf of their brethren, the Municipality's Indian employees are taking no active part in the present struggle. They are not in a position to do so. They may have burnt their voluntary registration certificates, but, seeing that they do not need them for the purpose of their work, seeing that it is unnecessary for them to produce these documents, in view of the fact that they do not require licences of any kind, it is very difficult to understand the motive of the Johannesburg Municipality in pursuing the course that it has adopted. We may, however, suggest one plausible reason. The registration question has been used as a blind. The real reason for the dismissal of these hard-working Indian employees is that tremendous pressure is being brought to bear upon the Town Council to employ white labour only wherever this can possibly be done. There are many white un-

employed in Johannesburg, and it is in order to give these people work that the Indian employees are being dismissed. It is true, no doubt, that charity commences at home, but, to our mind, the methods of the Johannesburg Municipality seem in the nature of robbing Peter to pay Paul. The Indian community, which has suffered so severely in pocket for the last two years, cannot afford that the Johannesburg Municipality should be generous at its expense. Of course, Indians are not voters, though they are rate-payers, and are, consequently voiceless, but we should prefer them to be voiceless than that, were they occupying the place of the present Municipal Councillors, they themselves should be guilty of blackmailing others on the ostensible reason that they are, as Mr. Smuts has called them, conscientious objectors. We had always thought that matters of conscience and politics were outside the sphere of Municipal affairs. The Johannesburg Municipality appears to consider otherwise. We cannot congratulate that body upon its sudden assumption of virtue.

THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF TRUTH and a great deal that is unjust in the *Natal Witness's* comments on the terms of employment offered by the Natal Railway Administration. We can sympathise entirely with our contemporary when Colonial-born European lads are dismissed the service for no fault of their own, but from a desire on the part of the Government to retrench. But what else can the Government do, when these lads are paid 6s. 6d. a day, when the same work can be done by an Indian receiving 10s. a month? We do not think it can be justly said, as does our contemporary, "these lads, who are competent and experienced cleaners cannot be found then, and in their place unreliable Indians will have to be obtained." If the Railway Administration found Indians to be unreliable they surely would not be employed. Moreover, the work of cleaning locomotives and rolling stock is not of such a highly technical nature as to require that degree of skilled knowledge which even Colonial-born European lads may be presumed to possess. If, instead of growling at the Indian, our contemporary would realise, as we do, that the economic position of this Colony can never be a stable one so long as semi-servile labour at semi-servile wages is employed, it will be doing an immense service to Natal. We have again and again, of our own accord, and representing the views of the vast mass of Natal Indians, urged the Colony to cease this importation of chattel labour, which is unworthy of a free people, and not to base their greatness and to organise their evolution on so treacherous a foundation. We fear that until this vital truth is

realised throughout the Colony, there can be no peace in the land, and it is hopeless upon such a foundation to endeavour to build a great nation. So long as selfish interests predominate, closer union, in the real sense of the term, is an impossibility.

THE RECENT OUTRAGES AT CATO Manor indicate a very serious condition of affairs in the neighbourhood. From various reports, it would appear that Cato Manor is the habitat of two gangs of desperadoes who terrorise the Indian inhabitants of the place. The police supervision seems to be entirely inadequate, and very little seems to be done to deal with the resulting crime. We learn that the Indian cultivators are so terrified that they are leaving their holdings in large numbers. The facts alleged are sufficiently startling as to need the closest attention and investigation on the part of the authorities. In any case, better police protection should be afforded, and we look to the Congress to press this matter in the proper quarters.

New Licensing Regulations for Natal.

A Government *Gazette* Extraordinary, published on the 25th ulto., contains the following:—

1. The rules published under Government Notices Nos. 676 and 712, 1907, are hereby repealed, without prejudice to any matter proceeding at the date of the publication of these rules.

2. In these rules

"Licence" unless otherwise specified, means either a wholesale or retail licence.

"New Licence" means a licence in respect of premises for which there is not at the date of application an existing licence similar to that applied for, or a licence in favour of a person who does not at the date of the application hold a similar licence in the division, borough or township, as the case may be.

"Board or Council" means, as the case may be, the Licensing Board of the Division or the Town Council of a Borough, or the Local Board of a Township.

APPLICATIONS FOR LICENCES.

3. Every person desiring to obtain a new licence or a renewal or transfer of an existing licence shall lodge at the Magistrate's office or Town office an application addressed to the Licensing Officer in the form of Schedule A.

An applicant for a licence for premises not licensed at the time of making the application shall attach to his application a ground plan, drawn to scale, of the premises sought to be licensed.

Except in the case of boroughs and townships, all applications, and any plans which may be required, shall be lodged in duplicate, and one copy thereof shall be forwarded by the Magistrate to the Licensing Officer.

In the case of an application for a new licence or a transfer of an existing licence the applicant shall also publish a copy of the application twice in a newspaper published or circulating in the district, the first of such publications to be not less than fourteen days and the second not less than six or more than ten days before the Licensing Officer shall consider the same.

Applications for licences to take effect at the beginning of the year will be received at the Magistrate's office of the division in which the licence is sought to be obtained on and after the 1st day of the preceding November, and will as far as possible be dealt with in the order in which they were lodged.

4. Upon receipt of an application for a licence the Licensing Officer shall be at liberty to obtain from the Health Officer or Sanitary Inspector of the division, borough or township, a report for his guidance in respect to the sanitary arrangements of the premises proposed to be licensed.

5. The applicant shall, if thereto required by the Licensing Officer, appear personally and produce to the Licensing Officer his books of account or such other documents or evidence as may be necessary to show to the satisfaction of that officer that he is able to fulfil the conditions laid down by section 7 of the Act as regards the keeping of such books of account in the English language as are usual and proper in the business to be carried on, and any other evidence that he may desire to bring in support of his application, a note of which shall be taken down in writing by that officer.

6. Objections to any application for a new licence or for the transfer of a licence must be lodged at the Magistrate's office or Town office, addressed to the Licensing Officer, not less than four days before the expiry of the two weeks during which the application is required to be advertised under rule No. 3.

In any case where objections have been lodged the Licensing Officer shall appoint a date for the hearing of the application and objections, and notice of the hearing shall be given to the applicant and the objector not less than four days before the appointed date.

7. The Licensing Officer shall endorse upon each application for a licence his decision as regards the issue or refusal of a licence.

8. The record of each case shall comprise the application, the report, if any, of the Health Officer or Sanitary Inspector, the objections, if any, the decision of the Licensing Officer, and all notes of evidence and other documents which shall have been laid before him.

9. The Licensing Officer for the Colony shall keep a record book in which he shall record all applications for licences, with the particulars thereof, and his decisions thereon.

10. A licence shall not be issued until the necessary stamps are tendered or the money paid.

11. A licensing officer may require any applicant for a licence to sign the counterfoil of the licence, and to make his thumb print, or finger print, in such manner as may be directed upon the counterfoil or elsewhere, as the officer shall instruct.

II.—APPEALS.

12. The applicant, or any person interested may, within two weeks of the decision, give notice in the form of Schedule B, to the Clerk of the Board or Council of his intention to appeal against the decision of the licensing officer.

With the notice of appeal shall be lodged the sum of twelve pounds ten shillings (£12 10s. 0d.) sterling, which shall be applied by the Clerk, so far as may be necessary, in paying the travelling expenses allowed to members of the Board or Council, and any other expenses incurred in connection with the meeting or meetings of the Board or Council; and anything remaining over shall be returned to the appellant.

If more than one appeal is brought before the same meeting of the Board or Council the expenses shall be divided equally among the several appellants.

13. A notice of the day fixed for the hearing of appeals, together with a list of the appeals, in the form of Schedule C, shall be fixed to the door of the Court House or Town Office for at least five days before the appointed date.

14. The Clerk, immediately upon receiving notice of appeal, shall require the licensing officer to forward to him the minutes of proceedings, and documents or copies thereof, together with the reasons for his decision, all of which shall be open to inspection by the appellant.

15. The proceedings of the Board or Council shall be open to the public.

16. The Clerk shall keep minutes of the proceedings.

17. The record of the application shall be read before the Board or Council.

18. The appellant, and any person interested, shall be entitled to be heard upon the appeal, by himself, or by any person acting under his written authority, and shall be entitled to bring forward such evidence as he may think fit in support of the appeal.

Should any interested party be opposing the appeal he shall be entitled to the same rights as to appearance, and production of evidence as the appellant.

19. The Board may adjourn the hearing of an appeal either for the purpose of the production of further evidence, or to consider their decision upon the appeal.

“British Indians in the Transvaal”

Important Memorandum

Issued by the London Committee

(Concluded)

The European Press report regretfully that efforts to avoid a breach of the settlement have proved unsuccessful. They report Mr. Gandhi's interview with the General; that he was permitted to peruse the Draft Amendment to the Immigration Restriction Act proposed by the Government; and that General Smuts intimated that it was his intention to repeal the Asiatic Registration Act.

The *Star* reports having received a statement from the Colonial Secretary that the latter was willing to meet the Indian community and repeal Act 2 of 1907, and to treat Indians in future coming into the Transvaal as prohibited Indians under the Immigration Act if the leaders of the Asiatic community would agree to the amendment of the Act which the Colonial Secretary proposed. These amendments were submitted to Mr. Gandhi and they did not at all satisfy him for various reasons which he advanced.

JUNE 27, 1908.—General Smuts having contended that his interpretation of the Immigrants' Restriction Act excludes Indians with educational attainments, it is decided to bring a test case in the name of Mr. Shapurji, a well educated Parsee Indian of Charlestown.

Rand Daily Mail (June 18th). “It is certain however that the Indian community believe repeal had been promised and it appears equally certain that a week or so ago, the Government had not contemplated to repeal but on the contrary were preparing merely to legalise the voluntary registration under the Act.”

JULY 2nd, 1908.—Mr. Gandhi writes to the Transvaal Press pointing out that to his letter of the 22nd February there is not one word of repudiation of the promised repeal. Of his allusions to the promise in the correspondence that took place after suspicions were aroused there was no repudiation. His pointed questions were evaded; he makes the further statement that, “Immediately after the assault committed on me as a result of my acceptance of the compromise, Mr. Chamney saw me at Mr. Doke's house and he and I drew up a notice for publication in Asiatic languages that the Asiatics complying with the compromise, the Act would be repealed. This notice Mr. Chamney said, would be taken to General Smuts and then published. He returned the next day or the day after and informed me that Asiatics were registering and enquired whether in view of that fact, it was necessary to

publish the notice, I never dreaming of recantation on General Smuts' part, said it need not be published. I challenge him to produce the original draft if it is still in existence.”

JULY 5th, 1908.—Mass Meeting of Indians followed by representations to the Colonial Secretary protesting against their being expected to be consenting parties to the deprivation of the rights of Indians with educational attainments as the price of repeal of the Asiatic Law Amendment Act. It is pointed out that according to their interpretation, it is at present open to that class and that Shapurji who had entered to test such interpretation is being prosecuted under the Asiatic Law Amendment Act.

JULY 8th, 1908.—The Shapurji case. The prisoner is prosecuted under the Asiatic Law Amendment Act and not the Immigrants' Restriction Act.

The Editor of INDIAN OPINION writes to the European Press declaring that immediately after the compromise the Registrar of Asiatics assured him within the Registration Office that of course the Law would be repealed immediately Parliament met if voluntary registration had been satisfactorily completed.

JULY 11th, 1908.—INDIAN OPINION publishes report of application (*Atwat v. Chamney*) for return of application form for voluntary registration, including Affidavit by Mr. Gandhi swearing that repeal of the Act was promised.

JULY 13, 1908.—*Transvaal Leader* of that date recites letter issued by Registrar of Asiatics to Town Clerks of Municipalities:—

“Sir,—I have to inform you that it has been decided that Act 2 of 1907 is to remain on the Statute Book, consequently all Asiatics applying for licences to trade, must be required to produce a Registration certificate issued under the Act or in the form of a voluntary certificate, specimen of which is attached, and to furnish a clear impression of their right hand thumbs for examination in this office.”

Transvaal British Indian Association enters a protest against this action.

The Rev. Doke and five other prominent Europeans appeal by a letter to the Colonial Secretary to concede the points asked for by the Indians.

JULY 14th, 1908.—Mr. Gandhi is informed that General Smuts is willing to recognise the Dutch £3 registration certificate holders if proof given of their *bona-fides*.

JULY 18th, 1908.—British Indian Association learn that General Smuts has agreed to waive his conditions in regard to excluding the three classes of Asiatics but that on the question of amending the Immigration Law to exclude even educated Asiatics, General Smuts remained obdurate.

Merchants become hawkers and trade without licences, these being

refused them although licence money is tendered. This done so that the wealthier Indians shall bring themselves into line with the poorer.

JULY 20th, 1908.—Shapurji finally convicted under the Peace Preservation Ordinance (not the Immigrants' Restriction Act) to one month's hard labour.

JULY 20th, 1908.—Mr. Gandhi in a letter to Mr. Chaplin, points out in reply to a letter that, "The Indians did not ask for anything new at all under the Immigrants' Restriction Act. Indians with educational attainments can enter not as a matter of form, but as a matter of right. It is General Smuts who now asks Indians to consent to an alteration of that Law so as to make such Indians prohibited immigrants."

JULY 21st, 1908.—Meeting of South Africa British Indian Association, Capetown, sympathising with their fellow-countrymen in the Transvaal.

JULY 21st, 1908.—Leung Quinn, Chairman of the Transvaal Chinese Association, in a letter to the Colonial Secretary points out that as co-signatory with Messrs. Gandhi and Naidoo to the letter that was addressed to the Colonial Secretary from the Fort Johannesburg, he signed the letter only after he was clear that compliance with voluntary registration would mean the repeal of the Act. He points out further that it was for that reason that certain alterations in the draft of the letter were made and concludes that he observes with intense surprise that the Registrar of Asiatics has issued a notice instructing Licensing Officers that:—

"It has been decided to retain the Asiatic Act on the Statute Book and that Asiatics whether voluntary registrants or otherwise, must comply with the requirements of the Act in order to receive their licences."

He holds this to be a distinct breach of the compromise.

JULY 21st 1908.—Mr. Gandhi in a letter to General Smuts, points out that while so many of the rank and file of the community are suffering imprisonment under the Registration Act, he himself, who has also not taken out a certificate and is the chief instrument in his countrymen having done what they have, is still at large. He asks, "Is it courageous to leave me alone and to harass poor Indians?" He re-asserts his eagerness to serve the people of the Transvaal generally as to serve his own countrymen.

JULY 22nd, 1908.—The case of *Laloo v. Rex*.

Laloo appeals against the judgment against him, he having been charged with contravention, Section 25 of the Immigrants' Restriction Act, in that he, being unable to write in European characters, having insufficient means to support himself and being the child of a prohibited immigrant, was himself a prohibited immigrant. Sir

William Solomon in giving judgment said his (Sergeant Mansfield) evidence was that the prisoner could not write any document in an European language and there was no denial of it. Sergeant Mansfield could only have obtained the information either by asking the accused to write or by the accused telling him that he could not write, in which case, it would have been a farce to call upon him to write a document in English characters.

Mr. Gandhi in commenting upon this judgment points out, "It will, therefore, be seen that according to the learned Judge, the Immigrants' Restriction Act does not debar Asiatics possessing educational qualifications from entering the country."

In the light of this judgment the British Indians' contention is absolutely upheld and strengthened by the incarceration of Mr. Sorabji who lawfully entered under the Immigrants' Restriction Act, but became a criminal because he would not submit to the Asiatic Act.

"There is, therefore, nothing new in the claim brought forward by the British Indian community in insisting on the retention of the right of entering on the part of educated Asiatics under the Immigrants' Restriction Act. It is General Smuts who demands from British Indians their consent to an abrogation of that right."

JULY 23rd, 1908.—Mass Meeting of Indians to protest against Government's action.

General closing of Indian businesses throughout the Transvaal as a mark of respect towards Chairman of the British Indian Society and other Indian leaders who had been sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for hawking without licences as a protest against the Transvaal Government's alleged breach of faith.

Meeting of over 1500 persons in the precincts of the Mosque, Fordsburg.

Another Meeting of Indians of Cape Town and suburbs for the same purpose as that held on the 21st. July.

JULY 25th, 1908.—More hawkers sentenced for trading without licences, these having been refused because applicants declined to register. Among these being Mr. Gandhi's son.

JULY 27th, 1908.—Further letter from Mr. Gandhi to Mr. Chaplin. Complains of the inadequacy of the Draft Validation Bill. Refers to the Immigrants' Restriction Act Amendment Bill which he was invited to Pretoria to discuss and which was printed by General Smuts, urges the adoption of his original suggestion that validation should take place by amendment of the Immigration Restriction Act.

JULY 27th, 1908.—Mr. Gandhi in a letter to Mr. Cartwright criticises the Registration Validation Bill that has been shown him in that it indirectly puts voluntary registrants in the same category as those who have accepted the Act.

AUGUST 13th 1908.—Bill to validate voluntary registration has been published.

Petition forwarded to Transvaal Legislative Assembly by Chairman of the British Indian Association pointing out that whilst nominally the Bill does not make British Indians who have voluntarily registered submit to the said Act, in reality there is no distinction between the incidents of voluntary registration to be legalised under the said Bill and registration under the Asiatic Act, and that in other respects it fails to fulfil the conditions understood by the British Indians when they accepted the compromise.

AUGUST 14th, 1908.—Letter from Mr. Gandhi to General Smuts approaching the Colonial Secretary once more on the eve of "what promises to be an interminable struggle." That over 90 have been imprisoned since the renewal of the struggle. That on Sunday registration certificates are to be burned, 900 having already been sent in for destruction.

"I appeal to you once more, therefore, to revert to the Draft Immigration Restriction Bill that was shown to me and to accept the amendments suggested by me leaving the question of educated immigrants open unless you can bring yourself to so amend the Act as to keep the door open for educated Indians, being professional and university men. I ask you to study carefully the petition to be presented to the House and to answer yourself whether the Bill published does not break the compromise in almost every particular. I ask you then to go back to the interview we had before voluntary registration started and to what you used to say. I ask you further to accept my assurance that there is absolutely no wish on my part or on the part of the leaders of the Indian community, to seek for anything more than fair treatment of those who are *bona fide* residents of the country."

Mr. Gandhi suggests that Mr. Smuts sees a few Indian leaders with a view to an acceptable arrangement which will carry out the spirit of the compromise and end a painful situation.

AUGUST 14th, 1908.—Mr. Gandhi to Sir George Farrar writes on the eve of another opening of a very fierce struggle because he considers it his duty to lay before the leader of the Opposition, the gravity of the position, to set out the points of his objection to the Validation Bill and requests consideration of them.

AUGUST 20th, 1908.—Mr. Gandhi to Mr. Lane (for General Smuts) writes that he has placed before his community for the third time the terms that the Government are prepared to offer which he considered reasonable if in addition some provision were made for highly educated Indians, and for Mr. Sorabji's reinstatement. He thought that the meeting would not listen to anything

other than the repeal of the Asiatic Act and the recognition of highly-educated Indians under the general clause of the Immigrants' Restriction Act, but that he had persuaded them to accept the principle of administrative discrimination against educated Indians so that only the most highly-educated Indians would enter, the statutory right being recognised.

Transvaal Press on the Situation

The *Transvaal Leader* on the 5th inst. wrote as follows:—

The numerous attended and unanimous meeting at Fordsburg yesterday afternoon should serve both to show the Government the necessity of further considering the situation affecting the Indians, and to add to the growing number of European citizens who feel that, in view of the Imperial aspect of the case, they must join with the Indians in asking the Government for reconsideration. Whatever doubt may have existed before in Britain or here, the Indians have now made it clear that all they ask for is the promise of action next session to the extent of admitting not over six educated Indians in any one year, and proposing the formal repeal of the old Act, which the Government has confessed is unworkable. If it be said that the Government could not keep a check upon six, the reply is that in that case it cannot keep a check at all. We should bear in mind that Canada has accepted this principle of limitation of number as regards the Japanese—and Japan is to Canada a foreign nation, while India is a fellow-member with us of the British Empire. We should also remember that even great nations continually import educated men—preachers, doctors and the like. Only lately, America imported Dr. Aked and Dr. Sanday, from Britain. Australia imports educated men freely. As Mr. Dallow aptly reminded yesterday's meeting, not long ago the white people of the Transvaal imported educated men from Holland. We are so far from desiring this Colony to be overrun with Asiatics that if it were proposed honourably and straightforwardly to buy out the Asiatics' rights we would vote for it enthusiastically, even though it meant increased taxation. But if that be impossible, the only logical policy from the standpoint of the welfare of the whites, to say nothing of anything else, is to allow the Indian community to raise itself, because in that way it increases its wants and so becomes a fairer competitor with our white people. Certain citizens who are unhappy owing to the present position of the Indians cannot conscientiously support them, because, they say, passive resistance is ethically wrong. No doubt it is, where a Parliament representing all sections passes a law and a minority defies the law; but here

the people concerned are not represented at all in the Legislature. What other course can they take? We hope that, if only in honour of the British Indian jubilee and the King's gracious message, the Government will make a renewed effort to obtain a settlement. We decline to believe that a man of General Smuts's humane instincts finds it pleasant to read in his paper this morning that boys of 10 and 12 are being sent to prison under the Asiatic laws. It is fortunate that the lead in the protest movement, as far as Europeans are concerned, has fallen to Mr. Hosken, for that gentleman showed the same sturdiness in supporting and praising the Government last session that he is showing in supporting the Indians now. This should convince the Government that no party feeling, but the feeling that the Government is acting in a manner unworthy of itself, is actuating those who protest.

The *Rand Daily Mail* of the 6th inst. has the following comments:—

We cannot congratulate Mr. Hosken and his handful of pro-Asiatic followers upon the part they are playing in supporting a section of the community engaged in openly defying the laws of the Transvaal. The *Transvaal Leader*, which is palpably sagging towards the passive resisters, declares that "it is fortunate that the lead in the protest movement as far as Europeans are concerned, has fallen to Mr. Hosken, for that gentleman showed the same sturdiness in supporting and praising the Government last session that he is showing in supporting the Indians now." There may be a considerable amount of "sturdiness" about Mr. Hosken, but on this question it is displayed chiefly in inconsistency. Not many months ago he sturdily supported the new Act in Parliament as a reasonable compromise, and urged the Indians to accept it. Now he comes forward with equal sturdiness and applauds the Indians who are resisting it. We much fear that it is this exhibition of sturdiness on the part of Mr. Hosken and the *Transvaal Leader* which is keeping the law-breaking agitation alive and providing Lord Ampthill and the British Indian Committee in London with fresh ammunition for their campaign of abuse against the white people of this Colony.

The Asiatics now declare that if the Government permit six educated Indians to enter every year under an education test they will be satisfied. But in their petition to the Imperial Government only a few weeks ago it was declared that "if the old Act were removed from the Statute-book it would seem that there would be no hindrance to educated Asiatics being placed on the same footing as His Majesty's other subjects, so far as immigration is concerned." Moreover, in their protest against the Immigration Restriction Act it was complained that "it does not recognise any of the Indian languages as part of the edu-

cational test required by the Bill." And Mr. Ritch who speaks for the Transvaal Asiatics in England wrote not long ago that the Indian "contents, however, that the educational test imposed upon prospective immigrants should be reasonable and not pointedly directed against Indians. He claims, for instance, that Hindustani and Gujarati should be placed on at least an equal footing with Yiddish." Suppose the Government repeal the old Act under these conditions, is it certain that even with the moral support of the local Asiatics, it could limit Indian immigration to six men a year? It seems to us that if the test was such that twelve or twelve hundred Asiatics could pass, there would be no power to say that six only of the number must come in. But it is argued that all the Asiatics want is to be allowed to receive a certain number of teachers, doctors, and lawyers to minister to the needs of the community. But an education test would not of necessity give these people admission. It would not be impossible to devise a test which would keep out the most highly educated Asiatic who ever landed on South African soil. If the Asiatics really want more doctors and lawyers and teachers there is nothing to prevent them having them by obtaining temporary permits, and it would probably be easy for the Asiatics to arrange for a guarantee from the Government that these temporary permits should be renewed again and again, so that for all practical purposes the educated men would be quite as secure in their profession in the Colony as they would if they came in under an education test.

And when the *Transvaal Leader* defends the passive resistance movement on the ground that "the people concerned are not represented at all in the Legislature," it seems to us it is advancing a most pernicious doctrine. Presumably if the coloured people of the Transvaal all refused to pay taxes on the ground that they had no representation in the Legislature, they would receive the sympathy and support of our morning contemporary. This is also a form of "sturdiness" which will hardly meet with the approval of the people of the Transvaal. It emphasises the point we raised some time ago, that if the Government give way before a passive resistance movement, it will simply be inviting the coloured people and the natives to organise a similar campaign later on to force political concessions from the white population. The truth is that the Asiatics with their usual cleverness have deceived Mr. Hosken and the *Transvaal Leader* as to the really vital point at issue. There is no need for them to be unhappy lest the Asiatic community may lack the services of a teacher or a doctor. We have sufficient confidence in the common-sense of the Transvaal Government to feel sure that if the Asiatics sent Mr. Smuts the names of these much required gentle-

men they would receive permission to cross the border to-morrow and remain in the Colony as long as they wished. The real issue is whether any section of the community is to be allowed to indefinitely defy the Government, and, by the simple process of deliberately breaking the law of the land, to wring any concession it wishes from the Administration. No country in the world could afford to admit such a principle—South Africa least of all. Carry it to its logical conclusion and all government becomes impossible. We hope that Mr. Hosken, and the *Transvaal Leader*, and the other pro-Asiatics will reconsider their attitude, and devote any sturdiness which they may have left to supporting the law of the land. By their present course of action they are sowing seed which may one day produce a terrible harvest for South Africa.

A Way Out?

Under the above heading the *Transvaal Leader* on the 7th replied as under:—

The *Rand Daily Mail* is sometimes described as "a Government organ." It would be interesting to know whether there is any, and, if any, how much, truth in this—shall we say?—compliment, in view of our contemporary's article yesterday on the Asiatic difficulty. Especially is this the case when it is recalled that the Ministerial Chief Whip paid a visit to the *Rand* a few hours before the article appeared. The article makes a point, not unfairly, of the circumstance that although the Indians now declare that if the Government permit six educated Indians to enter every year they will be satisfied, they said in their petition to the Imperial Government that if the old Act were repealed educated Asiatics would be placed on the same footing as His Majesty's other subjects. The inference is that the Indians would not be content with the six. But we point out to the authorities that the Canadian law does not in set terms exclude all or any Japanese, or even refer to them. Yet Canada and Japan have agreed to a limitation of number. That is a detail of diplomatic action. We admit in advance that such an arrangement is nearly unprecedented. But the whole set of circumstances is unprecedented. We are only beginning the East and West difficulty, and have scarcely any precedent to guide us. The *Rand Daily Mail* dwells upon the point that Mr. Ritch, in London, says something different from what the *Rand Asiatics* and their sympathisers say. We do not think the Government need concern itself with this. What we wish to see agreed to by the Government are terms of settlement which will commend themselves to reasonable-minded members of the Empire, here and elsewhere. Some of these, we know, feel that the Colony is not discharging its responsibilities as a member of the Empire—by the might of whose forces, never let us

forget, we here live and thrive in peace—in placing a fellow-member of the Empire, India, in a worse position, as regards the treatment of its people, than that in which Canada places a foreign nation, Japan? Let us add that nothing is further from the thoughts of those who have felt constrained to differ from the Administration than non-realisation of its difficulties, not to speak of desire to "score off" the Government. The latter attitude is detestable in any controversy. It would be doubly so here, in view of the Government's many pressing problems, its newness to office, and the fact that other Governments have found this an extraordinarily difficult business. If the South African Asiatics showed any inclination to go back upon a settlement once agreed upon, the Government would have no more earnest supporter than ourselves.

Dealing with the point that all the Asiatics ask for is to be allowed to receive a certain number of teachers, doctors and lawyers, to minister to the needs of the community [and by that process, let the whites never forget, to increase the Asiatics' wants and thus make more tolerable competitors], the *Rand Daily Mail* makes the remark that there is nothing to prevent this, as "it would probably be easy for the Asiatics to arrange for a guarantee from the Government that these temporary permits should be renewed again and again, so that for all practical purposes the educated men would be quite as secure in their profession in the Colony as they would if they came in under an education test." If the expressions quoted represent the mind of the Government, it seems to us that a more hopeful stage has been reached. Everything would depend upon the nature of the suggested guarantees. Fortunately, we have under the Immigration Law such wide powers of expulsion for sedition, treason and other felonies that the Government, if it be minded to act in the spirit of the *Mail's* suggestion, ought to find no insuperable obstacle to an early settlement. Thus it would put an end to an injurious agitation not only here but in Britain—one capable of developing in the latter country into a movement inimical to the Government's programme on Closer Union. Something is said by our contemporary as to the dangers of passive resistance where there are unrepresented natives. But if the natives had adopted passive resistance we should have saved tens of millions of money and tens of thousands of lives. It is just what they have not done. They have actively resisted, when they have found laws or conditions intolerable—hence our tale of native wars. The worst that could happen to us if the natives adopted passive resistance would be that before passing laws dealing with the unrepresented we should have to consult them. That is the method of Britain

in India. Is such a method not good enough for the *Rand Daily Mail*? Where passive resistance is censurable and contemptible is where, under equal rights, a minority, being honestly and fairly outvoted, defies the law. But as our chief taxation is in Customs we need not fear that kind of thing. Such passive resisters could only end in starving themselves to death.

To return to the main point, we welcome the suggestion thrown out by the *Rand Daily Mail*, and trust that the Government will act upon it. Oddly enough, we are not sure but that General Smuts had at the outset some such idea as that now put forward. We find that in the House of Assembly on August 21, when Mr. Hoken said that to refuse full residential permits to qualified persons was "a narrow interpretation," the Colonial Secretary said, "We don't do that." Reference to Mr. Hosken reminds us that our contemporary accuses that gentleman of inconsistency, and says that he "sturdily supported the new Act in Parliament as a reasonable compromise." If our contemporary will consult page 1,882 of Hansard it will find that Mr. Hosken specifically told the Government that he differed from it on this point, and that in this respect the Act was not likely to be acceptable. The amusing thing is that it is our contemporary which is inconsistent; for on August 13 it said:—"We have not always been enamoured of the Transvaal Government's Asiatic policy—or, rather, the way in which they have carried out their policy. We believe that if they could begin all over again they would proceed by somewhat different methods." To-day, so far from thinking temperate criticism allowable, our contemporary describes as "pro-Asiatics" those who venture to remind the country of its Imperial responsibilities. Possibly there are men in the Government who recollect that when a section of Britons criticised another policy, some years ago, they were styled pro-something else. And when in France an Act of brutal injustice was attempted, and partly consummated, those who protested were styled pro-Jews. The device is an old one. It would be waste of words to characterise the mental and moral tendencies which resort to it usually indicates.

THE CHURCH AND THE COLOUR BASIS. A resolution of the recent Anglican Synod in Natal states: "All races and peoples, whatever their language or conditions, must be welded into one body, and the organisation of different races living side by side into separate or independent Churches, on the basis of race or colour, is inconsistent with the vital and essential principle of the unity of Christ's Church."

The Mass Meeting Speeches

Strong European Sympathy

Chairman's Speech

The following are the speeches delivered at the Mass Meeting held in Johannesburg on the 4th instant:—

Gentlemen, Delegates, and Friends,

Since I last had the honour of addressing a large gathering of my fellow-countrymen within the precincts of this holy Mosque, we have been faced with a situation that has become, in certain respects, even more difficult than existed on that occasion. We have had to combat, perhaps, in a sense, to accept, a sudden revival of the spirit of persecution which the Transvaal Government has unfortunately seen fit to infuse into its administration of anti-Asiatic legislation. We have lately learnt, from the lips of legislators sitting upon the Government benches, something of the deep and hidden intention of that legislation, and whilst we have been officially assured that its only object was to fix and safeguard the rights of those British Indians lawfully entitled to reside in this Colony, it is difficult indeed to come to any other conclusion than that the real and inward object of the Asiatic legislation of the last two years has been that it might operate so harshly against long-resident British Indians as to compel them, to the pressure of its incidence, to leave the Transvaal, since, as we were informed a few days ago, on good authority, "they could not be thrashed out of the country as they were under the King, and were British subjects." It is scarcely a comforting thought that, but for the fact that we share the protection of the same flag as our rulers, we should run the serious risk of being "thrashed out of the country" which most of us have made our home for many years past, and would have done in an even greater degree, had it been possible for us to exercise the most ordinary, the most elementary, the most fundamental civil rights without which the proper growth of a community must necessarily be seriously checked, without which the community's equilibrium must be of the most unstable. More and more has it been borne in upon us that the harassment of the last two years has been designed, at least in part, to divert our attention from the ever-present need of internal reorganisation and development, by compelling us to listen to the temporarily insistent demand that we should defend our very hearths and homes from the attacks of those who, had they fully realised their duties as trustees of the interests of the helpless and unrepresented, should have been our natural protectors.

I venture to submit, too, that we have successfully resisted the charges

of public dishonesty upon which this legislation was ostensibly based, and I do not fear to claim emphatically that we have fully established, in the minds of all unprejudiced men, our good faith and our sense of honour as a community. It has, in point of fact, been our success in meeting these charges in an honourable, peaceful, and self-sacrificing spirit that has opened the eyes of many European friends, who to-day frankly sympathise with our moderate demands, to the iniquity of the attacks made upon our communal integrity. And I feel convinced that that is one of the principal reasons that have led some of them to encourage us by their presence here to-day.

I do not know whether I need recapitulate our modest requests afresh. They should, by this time, be too well known to need constant reiteration. And yet, perhaps, it would be unwise to ignore the sound advice of that ardent Imperial statesman whose too early loss is, in a sense, responsible for many of our present disabilities, and whose voice in the Council Chamber was ever uplifted on behalf of those whose training and education, whatever their colour, entitled them to assume the responsibilities natural to their degree of development and culture. "If you have anything to say to the public," said Mr. Rhodes, "repeat, and repeat, and repeat!" And so I repeat yet again that our essential demands, so far as this movement of passive resistance is concerned, are reduced to two only, all else being subsidiary and a matter of administrative detail. The first is the repeal of the Asiatic Law Amendment Act. We have been told, in certain quarters less well-informed than they should be, that, if this be granted, the country will be powerless to prevent the illicit immigration of British Indians into this Colony. But that is a gross fallacy, for the interests of the white community are fully safeguarded by the Immigration Act and the new Validation Act, a fact of which the Government are themselves satisfied, seeing that they have allowed us to believe that, with these two Acts upon the Statute Book of the Colony, the old Asiatic Act may be regarded as a dead letter, so far as registration and its incidents are concerned. It was we ourselves who suggested to the Government that all the necessary machinery of the old Act should be re-incorporated in the new Validation Act. We did this to safeguard our European fellow-colonists, and to protect ourselves from the possibility of renewed attack on the score of illicit Indian immigration on a large scale. Yet this was interpreted as dictation to the Legislature, a more misleading suggestion than which it would be difficult to imagine! The old Act, however, whilst totally needless for the protection of European interests, is a standing menace to the liberties of our community, whose

religious susceptibilities it wounds in a manner so subtle as almost to defy description. We thought that this obnoxious measure might be expunged from the Statute Book. That is still the aim and object of this our struggle, and until we are assured that this reasonable request will be granted, we should be less than men were we to abandon the struggle.

The second point is the admission of highly educated Indians under the general immigration law of this colony. We claim that we are at present entitled to demand this as a matter of right. It is no new thing; it is contemplated by the existing law. We have demanded that the interpretation of the law shall be left to the decision of the Supreme Court, but the Government have not seen fit to accede to so reasonable a request, and whilst, by refusing it, they have impliedly admitted the correctness of our contention, they have gone out of their way to foster the belief, both here and in England, that we are asking for a right which we do not already possess, whereas, in truth, we are merely saying that we may retain a right that we do possess to-day. Least the impression might get abroad that we are seeking to flood the country by opening the back door to an infiltration from India on a large scale, we have publicly consented that the principle of administrative restriction, under the education test, which is at present accepted by all Governments in South Africa, notwithstanding hypocritical outcries to the contrary, shall operate against an unlimited entry of educated Indians, and we have agreed not to ask for the free admission of these beyond six in any one year. These we require to minister to our needs, as doctors, lawyers, teachers, priests, lest we sink into the mire of ignorance and moral turpitude that threatens to swallow us up in the near future, owing to our acceptance of the principle of the most stringent restriction of future immigration from outside this Colony, in view of the existing objection of our European fellow-colonists. An attempt has been made to show that our needs can be met by the provision of temporary permits, to be issued by the Governor-in-Council to such persons as make application therefor, and whose applications are considered and accepted. But we have urged that this proviso, which is not new to us, is totally inadequate for our purposes. The principle implied by the system of temporary permits is that they are issued to their holders as an act of grace. They confer no rights, no sense of liberty or responsibility, and may be withdrawn at any time at the whim of the issuing authority. They leave their holders in the position of prohibited immigrants, the penalties incurred by whom are temporarily suspended. They place cultured Indians, professional men or University graduates, on the level of ticket-of-

leave holders, who must report themselves from time to time, and apply, as an act of grace, for a renewal of these precious documents. These gentlemen will be unable to procure the licences necessary for them to practise their professions. They will be entirely at the mercy of a despotic authority, who may cancel their permits at any moment. Those Indians that are admitted to residence in the Transvaal should, we claim, enter as of right. We do not ask for acts of grace, we do not press for privileges. We do not want our cultured men to enter by the back door of favouritism. They must enter by the front door of indubitable right, even though but one man may be so admitted. And this is a right that we already possess. It is the Government that seeks to raise a new point by endeavouring to compel us to relinquish that right. This we will never do. We should then be committing communal suicide, a thing that is abhorrent to our best instincts, and, we are sure, to those of the more reasonable elements amongst our European fellow-Colonists.

It would be purposeless to labour the point further. I would briefly refer to the arrest and imprisonment of the honoured Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society, Imam Abdul Cadir Bawazeer. This heroic man has sought imprisonment a second time. I say "sought" advisedly, for it was never thrust upon him. He refused to remain at liberty whilst his brethren were being punished, and, though he is an authorised and registered resident of the Transvaal under the scheme of voluntary registration, his registration having since been legalised by the new Validation Act, he has allowed himself to be sentenced as a prohibited immigrant, feeling that, under existing circumstances, gaol is preferable to liberty. We have recently learnt, too, how, when, in obedience to the behests of the Transvaal Government, the Natal Government illegally detained at Durban Transvaal-returning Indians from India not because they had broken any Natal enactment, but because they were suspected of desiring to passively resist the Transvaal Government's administration of unpalatable legislation, the Natal Supreme Court did not hesitate to animadvert upon the monstrous suggestion that a British Court of Law should become subject to the dictates of political expediency, rather than be bound by the ordinary rules of the interpretation of the law. We have seen, again, how little children have been imprisoned and deported, have subsequently courageously returned and been re-convicted. Our children are more than worthy of us. They are setting us a noble and inspiring example. I am glad to be able to say that, though some of our leaders may, at times, have displayed a lamentable and quite unnecessary hesitancy, the rank and file have become steadily stronger and stronger; they

have become more determined, and more resolved of purpose. Since the commencement of this new phase of the struggle, there have been nearly 800 sentences of imprisonment imposed against British Indians, whom Mr. Smuts himself has called conscientious objectors. Some of these have gone to gaol again and again, and are aggrieved that it is necessary for them to go through the formality of re-conviction. It is an excellent prognostication. When all the people are leaders, leadership becomes easy, and victory is certain.

One word in conclusion. We have heard within the last day or two, and, as loyal British subjects, we gratefully rejoice at the fact, that His Majesty the King-Emperor has graciously been pleased to issue a proclamation to the people of India, forecasting the extension of representative institutions in India, in celebration of the jubilee of the direct administration by the Crown of "the dome of the Empire," as Lord Curzon once called that vast continent. Indians in the Transvaal, however, may perhaps be pardoned for sometimes emphasising the strange contrast of the lofty principles the expression of which is incorporated in the famous Proclamation of the late Queen-Empress on which British administration has been professedly based, and the treatment accorded to British Indians in this and other South African Colonies flying the British flag. They fail to reconcile so beautiful a principle with so offensive a practice. Circumstances have increasingly led them to believe and it has hurt them to think, that political expediency may conceivably weigh more with Imperial Ministers than the sanctity of well-weighed promises. But British Indians in this Colony may rightly and dutifully celebrate the jubilee of modern India. They are achieving self-government in the greatest and most glorious sense of the word. By the grace of God, they have been enabled to display such a wealth of self-sacrifice, to undergo such a magnitude of suffering, that they are now at length beginning to realise the true meaning of life—that a man should learn to govern himself, that he should refuse to impose upon others needless suffering, that he should develop his own higher nature. That is what Indians have always understood by self-government, and whilst they are undoubtedly far from attaining to that lofty ideal, the movement which we call, for want of a better term, passive resistance, is teaching them to raise their eyes to it, and is evoking in them the desire to achieve it. We have been told that the doctrine of passive-resistance—to resist not evil with evil—is one of the fundamentals of the faith taught by the great Christian Master. It is, of a certainty, a cardinal doctrine of the religious conceptions of the peoples of Hindustan.

I thank you, and, on your behalf, the European friends who are here

to-day, for attending this meeting, and I ask you to consider the resolutions that will presently be put before you, and accord them your unanimous approval.

Rev. John Howard:

I count it a great privilege to-day to have the opportunity of speaking to this vast assemblage of my fellow-British subjects. I account it a privilege to be here to support the action that you are taking on this great question. It may reasonably be asked why some of us have not taken action before to-day. But I think there are fair reasons for that. We are British subjects, and we believe in British fair-play and British justice, and we have been confident that, sooner or later, sooner rather than later, the Government would see, and the people of the country would see, the justice of your claims and, without any embarrassing agitation on our part, they would grant those requests that you have made. When, now some time ago, this agitation began, we found that the Government and the people of this country were determined, as they are determined to-day, that there should not be any great immigration of Asiatics from India into this country, but when we realised that the community, the Indian community of this country, accepted that, some of us felt that the Government ought to bring the matter to a close. We rejoice that, mainly by the action of that splendid hero and patriot—I would almost say saint—Gandhi, by the action very largely of that great man, the compromise was affected, and, whatever the Indians believed, many of us Europeans believed that the Government was pledged up to the eyes to repeal the Law if you gave voluntary registration. You gave that; they have not repealed that Law (Shame), and we believe that you are, therefore, justified in appealing to the King-Emperor and in appealing to the British people all over the world and in appealing, above all, to the sense of justice and righteousness among the Europeans in this country for the repeal that was promised to you some time ago. What, then, is it, so far as I understand, that you want? It is simply this: the repeal of an Act which the Government itself admits to be unworkable, the repeal of an Act in which you had no voice, and which was passed in flat opposition to your united protests. We realise that that is the first thing you want, the repeal of that Act. And, secondly, you want six men to come into this country, six of the educated and cultured men who shall attend to your moral and spiritual and intellectual needs. Indeed, Sir, this is no longer an Indian question, if that is what you want; this is a British question, it is a Christian question, it is a question which no one who respects his fellows of whatever colour they may be can fail but sympathise with, for the

Indians do a right. The objection, the endeavour to keep out these six men, is not an effort to keep out, I submit, is not an effort to keep out men, it is an effort to keep out education, it is an effort to keep out culture, it is an effort to keep out those moral forces which are necessary for the development of your community, nay, which are necessary for the development of the whole nation in its relation to your community. And I say that no government, I am proud to believe, no government can permanently resist an appeal so moderate as that, an appeal so just and righteous, and appeal which has to come home to the heart of every just man the wide world over. For our own sake, as Europeans, if we are to live side by side with you, it is essential that there should be permitted to come into this country those who can and will direct you in the highest walks of life. And on these grounds, therefore, it is with great joy that I stand side by side with you and urge you to go forward in this agitation against the injustice which I cannot help but feel is only the result of a temporary blindness on the part of your rulers. I recognise, and I think the European community throughout this country are beginning to recognise, the splendour of your self-sacrifice, the great and noble way in which you have laid down yourselves for the interest of righteousness, the interest of justice, the interest of your community, of your children, of the future; and I sincerely trust it is not far distant now when victory will crown your splendid efforts, and these two simple requests, these two fair demands that you make of the Government, will be granted to this community.

Mr. Wm. Hosken M.L.A.:

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen, Fellow-Subjects of the British Empire, I would first like to congratulate you for this magnificent demonstration that you are making this afternoon. I think your gathering together in such numbers and on such short notice is immensely to your credit. For myself, I would like to recognise it. But this is a small thing compared to the strength you have shown throughout all this unfortunate struggle, that is now continuing. I cannot adequately explain to you what I feel regarding it, how much I deplore the misery that has been inflicted on the Indian people of the Transvaal, and how urgently I look forward to the time when this day of stress and difficulty shall cease, and the Indian people shall be recognised as a people worthy of recognition, and as you deserve to be recognised. Now, then, the resolution which I have been asked to support, it seems to me, should recommend itself to everyone of us. In its very beginning, it refers to the fine message of sympathy, of hope, and encouragement, that has been sent by our King, the King of the

Indian people as well as the King of the English people, to the people of India, recognising, and, I think, rightly recognising, the great advance that has taken place in India, socially, morally, and intellectually, since the British Empire took practical charge of the affairs of the country, and also recognising the loyalty, the proved loyalty, of the Indian people to the British Empire time after time. And I want, to frankly recognise all those high sentiments. And I am entirely in accord also with the concluding part of the resolution, which calls attention to the fact that, on the very day that a message such as that from the King is sent to the three hundred million people of India, the Indian people in the Transvaal, in another part of the British Empire, are being subjected to racial disabilities that are discreditable to the British administration. I feel this acutely, and have endeavoured from time to time, possibly with great feebleness, but constantly from time to time to show that the spirit of an administration that endeavours to degrade a people, as something has been done in our legislation to bring about the degradation of your Indian people, should be resisted to the uttermost. Further, I frankly say that your attitude of passive resistance is not only justified, but should be encouraged, and that, if you persist in it, it is inevitable that success and victory will ultimately come to your cause. The sentiment, after all, that is underlying the resolution that has been submitted to you is the extraordinary position that, whilst in India recognition is being made of the advance of the people there with the promise made not only of full liberty (because I think we can say that the British administration in India has always given liberty, has always provided justice, has called, and rightly called, for the loyalty of the Indian people, because, above all things, the British Government in India has desired the welfare of the Indian people—that is the very crux of the matter, that in India the British Government and the British people have striven earnestly to provide for the well-being, for the welfare, for the uplifting of the people of India—) but self-government, we find another principle at work, and legislation on different lines being established in another part of the British Empire; and, therefore, I think that you do right, and we do right to sympathise with you, in trying to bring about a state of affairs that shall remove the difficulties that have arisen, and remove these disabilities which you, as self-respecting people, are now called upon to undergo. I would, therefore, say that I trust that you will go on with this movement; and, personally, perhaps you will permit me to say that there is every call, so far as I am concerned, to encourage you in this line of action. Before the unfortunate war that swept over this country in

1899, and years before that period, personally, perhaps, it is not known to many of you, I was an active worker regarding the status of British Indians under the Boer regime. I constantly appealed to the British Resident in Pretoria, to the representative of British authority and government in this country, and called upon him time after time to say whether British Indians were going to be deserted in this land of the Transvaal, and, therefore, so far as I am concerned, I feel that I would be disloyal to myself, to my every conviction, if, in a time like this, when a political change has come about, and there is another government in the land, and a government that should be and ultimately will be with the people and by the people and for the people, because the basis of our government is true democracy, and when we come to true democracy, to greater democracy than in former days, then we are bound to recognise manhood, civilisation, and the right of the people to rise, and not only their right to rise but to claim that the government of the day shall aid them in every possible manner to lift them up in the social scale. And so I say that because of my former action and record I am to-day found with the British Indian people in the protest they are making against this law which has been so harshly administered against them. And I think that the requests that you put forward are reasonable and moderate and call for favourable consideration. When we find that you only ask that six highly-trained and educated Indians should be admitted yearly so as to minister to your higher needs, surely this is a very moderate request in itself, and I understand and accept with you prohibition of further immigration into this country. I think that probably you recognise, as I recognise, that the political forces in the country to-day would not submit to unrestricted immigration, and, therefore, we have all of us decided to agree to that. We agree to prohibition of future immigration, but, in every land, in every civilised land, in every country where law and order obtains, those who are established as residents have ever been recognised as residents, and in that respect you have every precedent in your favour. You are old residents, established residents, peaceable citizens, and, therefore, you have every natural right and every legal right to claim that you shall remain undisturbed in possession of your domicile that is your right not only naturally but legally. And so in that respect whilst you demand this, so far as I am concerned, I shall be ever with you. I go further, and say that it is necessary to our well-being, to the well-being of the children growing up amongst us, that we have these six leaders and teachers, doctors and priests to come in as a right and not only as a privilege. Then I say that is also a just

and righteous claim, and should have the support of all just and righteous men. I, therefore, say what an auspicious day it is immediately after this grand proclamation from the King, immediately after the celebration of the establishment of British rule in India with its fifty years of record, of progress, of peace, of justice, of liberty, of the uplifting of the Indian people—I think you will agree with me that that is the record, the right record, the true record, of British Government in India—immediately after this offer was made, to meet in the Transvaal to protest against whatever forms of administration may degrade and debase the manhood of the Indian people, and I say that we do the right thing; and, so far as I am concerned, I may say I wish you all godspeed, I wish you great success, I wish you all courage, and patience such as you have shown in this; and I trust it is near when victory will rightly come to you because of your just and righteous cause.

Mr. Albert Cartwright:

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen, I think it an honour to be asked to second a resolution which Mr. Hosken has proposed in such a fine way, in such fine words. Gentlemen, we cannot strip this business here of an Imperial aspect. We are a member of the British Empire, we live and carry on our business here, and we cannot strip ourselves of the responsibilities of membership of the Empire. We see, when we read the papers, that all through the East there is a great political and social and intellectual awakening just now. And I think it is most reasonable that at such a time the Indian community here has accepted the suggestion that was made by one of their friends that they should limit their request to not more than six educated leaders per year. If it be said that the Government cannot admit those men because it cannot keep a check on them, then I say if you cannot keep a check on six you cannot keep a check on any, if you cannot regulate the admission of six you are powerless to regulate any at all. I look upon this merely as a way of consulting the honour and dignity of the Indians in the Transvaal, and, to that extent, a reasonable and workable proposition. I feel that there must be some to many of us understandable influence between General Smuts and this question, because we find him on so many other matters so fair and liberal and just that we cannot but think that some influence comes between him and you, and he is not allowed to see the true facts. I know it is said by some of our European friends, who do not agree with us on this question, "You cannot expect the Government to allow one section of the people it governs to say to it that it must give way, it must, to use an odious expression,

climb down." We do not ask anything of the kind. That good friend, that sturdy friend, that independent friend, who has just spoken to you, Mr. Hosken, has your entire confidence and I make bold to say that he has the confidence of the Government, because he has shown in Parliament in criticising and praising the acts of the Government the same sturdy independence that he has shown against them on this question, and, therefore, it is quite within the resources of very ordinary diplomacy to approach Mr. Hosken or some other trusted friend of yours—there is none better than he—and make such terms and give such assurances to him as would satisfy you and enable the Government to carry on the administration until such time as the law could be altered. All that we ask of the Government is that it should admit two things, and I think these are most reasonable things. I do not think, Gentlemen, that there should be unrestricted Indian immigration into this country. I do not think it is good for Indians or Europeans to have any man in this country whom you cannot make a full citizen of this country. For my part, I would gladly pay whatever additional taxes were necessary, if the Government could come to you and honestly buy you out, and compensate you for your rights in this country. That is out of the question; it is not going to be done. The only other logical policy is to allow you to raise yourselves to become full citizens in course of time. The only way to do that is by allowing you to have your leaders. I put it to the European colonists that the only way in which you can be made fairer competitors with them is by raising every Indian in the country and by applying to him the same standard as to themselves. That is the reasonable way of taking things. We cannot logically and with dignity continue the course we are bent upon now,—that is neither the honourable course of compensation nor the honourable course of raising you, but the unworthy course of harassing you and subjecting you to unfair treatment in the way that is now done. Indeed, I feel that what has been put before the Government cannot have been, as I say, fairly understood by them, because I am quite sure that when the people of the country—the Dutch-speaking people and the English-speaking people—, who are, on the whole, fair and just and only want fairness and justice, see the case as we see it, they will not ask for anything at all unjust. I think there is a special duty on these people, of whom Mr. Hosken is such a distinguished, and manly, and sturdy a representative. Mr. Hosken has just referred to the times before the war. Well, now, we all know that at that time the English speaking people here represented very strongly the grievances to which you were subjected. Well, I put it to them they cannot use you as a political pawn in that way, and

then after the country has been put under British dominion, to be true to themselves, see you ill-treated in the way you are being ill-treated now. They will see that it is their duty as men to stand by you in your reasonable requests, and I do feel that what you have requested is most reasonable and most workable. And I sincerely hope that the effect of this meeting to-day, coming at the time it does in the fortunes of India, will be such as that the Government will in some sort of reasonable way, which, by those experienced in public life, can easily be found, meet your wishes and we shall have an end of this unhappy business, in which we all most deeply sympathise with you.

Rev. J. J. Doke:

Mr. Chairman—and my Indian Friends, I very cordially support this resolution. We are here this afternoon in order to show openly that we believe that your moderate requests are just and reasonable and the natural issue of the position in which the Government has placed you. We are not here, as you have heard, to claim an unrestricted influx of Asiatics. We accept, as you accept, the Colonial determination that an unrestricted immigration shall cease. But we stand on this platform here and join with you in a strenuous endeavour to gain an honourable settlement for the Asiatics who are here and for those who have a right to be here, and to claim for them a position and power that will enable them to rise and become a useful moral and religious force in South Africa. It appears to us that the two things you claim are an absolute necessity. The repeal of the old Act, which was made an inducement to you to register voluntarily in February last, has been the great aim of your struggle. It cannot remain on the Statute Book and be a dead-letter. It is now, and it always will be so long as it remains, a fruitful cause of suspicion, unrest and suffering. That Act must go. It is useless to the Colonists; it is a danger to you. The demand for the six educated Asiatics, of whom much has been said this afternoon, the demand for six educated Asiatics appears to us to be an equal necessity. These two points we counsel you to maintain. They are moderate, they are just, they are essential to a hopeful settlement, and I feel persuaded when the true meaning of your great passive-resistance movement has been realised by thinking men both here and in England that your appeal for these two concessions will be successful. I stand here this afternoon as a Christian minister, one who is pledged, irrespective of party politics, to stand by the weak, and to claim justice for all, as my Master did. I am glad to be able to tell you that a very large proportion of the Christian people of Johannesburg are with you in this struggle. Unknown to you, within

the past month, not less than ten of our prominent ministers of religion of different denominations banded themselves together in order to appeal on your behalf to the Government. They asked for a three-fold blessing. They appealed, first, for a careful inquiry into the treatment of those persons who were brought up to Barberton from Komatiapoort; they asked that the religious objections of the Asiatics to certain elements of prison diet might be respected—and I venture to say it is a shame that animal fat should be given in any of our prisons to any to whom it is abhorrent, we asked that the religious objections of prisoners to certain elements of prison diet might be respected; and we asked, further, that another earnest effort should be made to effect a satisfactory settlement. But I regret to say that the reply was unworthy of a responsible Minister of the Crown. We have been patient, we have appealed, we have waited, nothing is further from our desires than to embarrass the Government, we are loyal, we are law-abiding, but we feel now that our patience has been wasted, and that nothing remains but for us to join openly with you and fight to the end. I appeal to those Christian people who sympathise in secret, especially to ministers of religion, to throw off at last all secrecy and bring their splendid forces into the open that this painful conflict may soon be over and a brighter day attained. When Mr. Gandhi—I speak of him with reverence, I think of him to-day as away yonder wearing the prison clothes of a convict, eating the food of a native, when he is not a criminal, but a political offender—when Mr. Gandhi was sentenced a few weeks ago, a scornful article appeared in one of our papers—not, I thank God, in the *Transvaal Leader*. It was under the heading "Mr. Gandhi happy." In it these words occurred:—"It is probable that others may be found ready to assume Mr. Gandhi's mantle during his incarceration. In that case the Law Department must not hesitate to enforce the Law. With the leaders out of the way, the rank and file of the Asiatic community may be brought to a recognition of the futility of a struggle in which they have absolutely nothing to gain and a great deal to lose." Well, Sir, I have this to say in answer to that advice: The people are as strong as any of their leaders in their determination to continue until the goal is reached, and I may add, and I do it with all seriousness and a sense of the solemnity of what I say, I add that, should the shameful work of incarcerating the coloured leaders be continued, although everyone is gone, the Authorities have yet to reckon with the white leaders, who are pledged by every sacred feeling and religious instinct to see this thing through at whatever cost. Sir, and gentlemen, you have a splendid friend, a heroic guide, in Mr. Gandhi. Be true to him

If he is detained in prison, let no breath of scandal, no suspicion of wrong taint your loyalty. Be true to him to the end, and God will bless you.

Mr. H. Kallenbach :

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen. I am indeed happy to be called upon to also support this second resolution. I sincerely hope that you will all continue the passive resistance movement until this obnoxious Asiatic Act, which General Smuts himself declared to be unworkable, will be repealed. It has been my privilege to be in close contact with you, by all of us, honoured leader, Mr. Gandhi. At a time when none of us thought that there could be any doubt that the Law would be repealed—numerous discussions at that time have fixed it in my mind beyond any shadow of doubt that the Colonial Secretary, General Smuts, has promised to your leader, Mr. Gandhi, the repeal of the Act; and this has been borne out by his speech at Richmond. And you have, therefore, a full right to continue the struggle until this Act is repealed. I urge you, gentlemen, to continue this struggle, and I feel certain that every right-thinking man, of whatever race, colour, or nation he may belong to, will ultimately assist you in your just demand. You have my full sympathy, and the little I can do in order to help you to obtain what you are asking for now I shall certainly do.

Mr. David Pollock :

Mr. Chairman, Fellow-British Subjects of His Gracious Majesty King Edward, when I had the privilege of addressing you a fortnight ago last Sunday, I ventured to make a prophecy, and I said to you that I could feel that the current of public opinion was turning in your favour, that people who had been prejudiced against you were now seeing the justice of your cause, and were turning in your favour and that, shortly, you might receive help from quarters little thought of. Well now you see a platform of Europeans pledged to stand by you to the bitter end. Gentlemen, the point on which I am asked to speak this afternoon is the question of permitting the immigration of six educated compatriots of yours to come in and assist you in your struggle towards a higher civilisation; and that, gentlemen, is the point in this struggle which appeals to me far more strongly than any other; because I ask myself this question: "Is this community, this community which has an ancient civilisation of its own, to be hurled back into barbarism, or is it to be helped forward on the lines of progressive British modern civilisation?" Some of your opponents have asked "How is it that this Indian community in the Transvaal cannot find from amongst its own numbers men

of education and culture who will minister to them as doctors or priests or teachers?" Gentlemen, I say to them that no community such as yours, which has suffered such long-continued persecution as you have endured at the hands of the Transvaal Government, can, or can be expected to, furnish from its own numbers cultured men who will bestow their services upon their less fortunately placed compatriots. You have human rights, and you are, I know, determined to get those rights, you are determined that you shall get from outside men of light and leading, who will come and minister to your spiritual and intellectual needs. What is the object of the Transvaal Government to-day. That object, as Mr. Howard has told you, is to keep education from coming in contact with you. They wish to keep you dumb, and silent, and uneducated, and unable to help yourselves, because they know that education is a passport to liberty, and that is a passport which will never be given you by the Transvaal Government, not, at least, with their consent; but if you stand together, if you are united, you can obtain that passport, and if you stand together you can never be thrown back entirely, you can always rise to your feet and take a step forward. It has been said that, if any educated Indians will apply to the Transvaal Government for temporary permits, their request will receive the utmost consideration. Well, you are aware that that sort of permit is perfectly useless. You know that a man who comes in here on a temporary permit is a man who cannot be of any assistance to you, and you know that men of light and leading, men of courage and persistence, will not serve you on such humiliating terms. You can only get in educated and cultured men to help you if they are allowed to come in freely, to come and go as they please, and are treated on a footing of equality with other cultured and civilised people. That is a point upon which you cannot possibly give way. You know perfectly well that a priest who comes in on a temporary permit cannot exercise his calling, because he may be sent out of the country at a moment's notice. In the same way, a teacher would be perfectly valueless to you, unless he can come in freely without hindrance. They must come in as free men and minister to you as a free people. Gentlemen, when I have spoken to you on several occasions before, I have always come with pleasure and gone away with greater pleasure to see that your courage shows no sign of failing. Mr. Gandhi, who has been lauded to-day by all the speakers is a most magnificent leader, a leader who compares favourably with any leader of ancient or modern times of any movement of which history holds a record. You can never get another leader like him with his unquenchable courage.

There will be infused into you the spirit of his courage, the spirit animating him, and, with that Divine help which can never be long withheld from those fighting for conscience' sake, I can only say what I said before, and I hope I will not have to say often again, "Go on, go on with courage, go on as conscientious objectors, and victory must be yours, and must be yours very soon."

Mr. Edward Dallow:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, it is a great pleasure to me to have the privilege of addressing this splendid meeting. When this Asiatic Law was passed, the larger portion, I might almost say the whole, of the English community were unaware of the nature and scope of the Law. No doubt, it was published, as all laws are, in the *Government Gazette* but the *Government Gazette* is not a paper that we ordinarily take in for amusement or for pleasure. Ordinarily speaking, it is not known to the great body of the people what the law is or is going to be until it is discussed in the Parliament of the people. Now one peculiarity about this Law that perhaps you know is that it was passed in the Parliament of the people without discussion, so that the large body of the people knew nothing of what you would be subjected to. Now as one of the "imported British," as they sometimes call us, I, who have only been six or seven years in this country, bring with me from the homeland all the prejudices for liberty of thought, of speech, and of constitutional action which have grown there after hundreds of years of persistent effort. Gentlemen, I stood aside at the first opening of this question, because I saw you had efficient leaders of your own, and I thought you understood the matter from your own point of view, inasmuch as I saw no discussion of the thing had taken place in Parliament, and it was not open to me to have gained that information through the ordinary channels. Afterwards I came in contact with Mr. Gandhi, who is a personal friend of mine, I am delighted to be able to say so, and in conferences with him and with Mr. Polak here, I became enlightened as to the position you would occupy under this Act. Well, now, as a member of the large Empire, not only of the Transvaal, not only a subject of the Transvaal Government, but as a member of the great British Empire, I felt that it was an indignity to you to occupy the position which you now hold, and I felt entirely in sympathy; and I may say that, afterwards when discussing this matter with the English friends of my acquaintance, I found not one, at least so far as my own circle of friends is concerned, but felt very much perturbed, very dissatisfied with the position they occupied towards a portion of the subjects of the Empire, whom they had always learnt to

respect, who in the late war did great service to the Empire, which we never shall forget, and that service is perpetuated, as we know, by a monument whose inscription I had the felicity of reading only a short time ago. Well, gentlemen, these things are not to be forgotten, they sink deep into the heart of every ordinary Englishman. But you must recollect that the Englishman has behind him a long experience of political life and political struggle that does not belong to the people of this land or to the rulers of this land. They are comparatively new to what I call constitutional government, and it is to be expected that even with the best intentions, and I credit them with the best intentions—I think we must do that—they have blundered; but when they see that it is not only you, an unrepresented class who have no vote and who have no voice in the Government, that it is not only you they have to deal with, but that the whole body of the people here are moved to the very heart to think that this thing should go on and that there are Europeans who will not have this thing carried on to their dishonour any longer than they can possibly help, I think that the Government will incline their ear to the counsels of your friends. As one of your friends, I shall be delighted to join in any movement that may be made to represent to the Government the true views of the great part of the electors of this country, and I think that their voice will prevail. Of course it is very hard for the Government to have to what is generally called "climb down." I do not want anything to happen that will make it hard and difficult for the Government to review their position. I say that your sufferings are above praise; that you should band yourselves together in this patient and honourable way to testify to the spirit that is in you—that is just the spirit that moves an Englishman to the core. He has done it over and over again himself, and in you he admires it and will support it so long as it is carried on as you have hitherto carried it on in orderliness, lawfulness, and all respect to those about you. I am sure, therefore, that you have the entire support of all the British people here who have given any thought at all to politics, who have ever gone beyond the mere occupations of their daily life into politics, and have given some thought to those larger questions that effect an Empire and a nation. These are the men who are the foundation of any nation, and I can assure you that you have the support of that party with you today, in so far as I know them amongst my own friends, and I believe that is a sample of what is going on through the entire community. Well, gentlemen, I wish you every success in the effort you are making. I hope that you will preserve in this resolution which I am now speaking

to; that you will get amongst you the men you require to lift you in your daily life, to serve you in your religious life, to educate your children, and in every way to make you an upright, self-respecting community. The very Government now in power was unable to conduct its government in past times, but had to send to their Motherland to bring the best of her men to help them. And why should not you do the same? Does not the same principle apply now as when they were obliged to do it? We will stand by you and see that you get what you ask.

Letters Received

From ADVOCATE ALLAN C. HERSCHELSOHN: "I thank your Association for the invitation extended, but regret that a prior engagement prevents my taking advantage of it.

I need hardly add that my sympathy is with the Indians in South Africa who are constitutionally fighting for a limited recognition of their political manhood. Furthermore there should be no room for difference of opinion that an entirely erroneous policy has been adopted in treating infractions of the Government prohibitory measures as purely criminal offences.

The resistance to the Government enactment is political in its nature and the action of the authorities in herding with criminals men whose opinions and convictions have brought them into opposition is not deserving of commendation."

From the REV. CANON DIOBY M. BERRY: "I regret that an important engagement will prevent my being present at the meeting at Fordsburg on Wednesday. I should wish to express my deep regret for the sufferings of my Indian fellow-subjects resident in this Colony. If I understand their case rightly, they are taking the only means open to them of protesting against an obnoxious law. They conformed to this law on condition of its being repealed, and that condition has not been fulfilled. A clergyman should avoid meddling in politics, but he should be ready to use his influence on behalf of the oppressed, and therefore I am willing to take part in representing the case of British Indians to the Government and people of this Colony."

The Rev. Mr. GOODENOUGH sent a message of regret at being unable to attend the Mass Meeting owing to his absence in Natal.

Dr. N. A. ROSS also was unable to attend the meeting, but sent a message as follows:—"It seems to me that the points in dispute ought to be easily settled by a friendly conference."

Telegrams were received from Lourenco Marques Indians, British Indian League (Capetown), South Africa Indian Association (Capetown), Robertson Indians, Kimberley In

dians, Port Elizabeth Indians, Rhodesia British Indian Association, Natal Indian Congress, Durban Indian merchants, and from 33 Indians just arrested at Volksrust, all expressing sympathy and encouragement.

Notes on the Transvaal Struggle

Collections

Collections in various parts of the Transvaal are proceeding on behalf of the passive resistance cause. Large sums have been contributed by various sections of the people in Johannesburg, the latest being the sum of £40 contributed by the Leva Kunbi community, who number some 70 only. At Wednesday's Mass Meeting about £75 was handed over by various sections of the community from Germiston, Boksburg, and other places. Several important sums have still to come in.

Convictions and Imprisonments

On Friday, the 6th inst., at Germiston, 7 men went to Gaol in the usual way for hawking without licences. There were, on Monday last, nearly 120 prisoners at the Fort, and, at Volksrust, the gaol is overcrowded, there being at least 75 people there. Complaints have been made to the British Indian Association in regard to the treatment of prisoners at Barberton Gaol. Apparently, the Authorities have become angry at previous complaints made and are wrecking their spite upon the unfortunate Indian prisoners. Although notice of appeal was lodged in regard to them, they have been obliged to continue at hard labour contrary to the express provision of the Criminal Procedure Code. We understand that representations have been made to the Law Department on this question.

Curious Journalism

The *Sunday Times* last week contained the following in the course of a leading article commenting upon Wednesday's Mass Meeting: "The days in which it was supposed that the colour of a man's skin did not matter so long as his conscience was clean are over; the world belongs to the white races." Perhaps the Japanese may have something to say to that. The Editor of the *Sunday Times* seems to write with something of Divine Authority. It would be interesting to find out who has signed his Power of Attorney.

A Message from Volksrust

The Volksrust prisoners sent a message to their brethren at the Mass Meeting, urging them not to withdraw from the struggle until the just demands of Indians were respected,

and that the prisoners were quite firm and prepared to fight to the bitter end, no matter even if the hardship of death came upon them.

Typical

Mr. Essop Mahomed made application under the new Act from Delagoa Bay. He filled in the usual application form and impressed his fingers thereon, but he was asked by the Registrar of Asiatics to go to the office of the Delagoa Bay representative of the Transvaal Immigration Office to fill up a new form, as the impressions already forwarded were useless. This Mr. Essopji refused to do. He entered the Transvaal unmolested, and immediately instructed his Solicitor to withdraw his application and to ask for the return of the documents that he had filed therewith. The Registrar of Asiatics, however, now wishes to keep the documents, to which he is not entitled, and has refused to part with them. And still we are told that Indians are without a sense of honour, that they are slim, and have a number of other horrid vices.

At Volksrust

The Volksrust gaol is so overcrowded with Indian passive resisters that tents have had to be erected by the authorities for the proper accommodation of the prisoners. Generally they enjoy good health, being given plenty of open air exercise. On Monday, Mr. Mirza Hoosen Ahmed was sentenced to six weeks' hard labour for refusing to give his thumbprint on entering the Colony. He produced a certificate issued under the old Asiatic Act, on the 23rd May—five months after General Smuts had assured the public that registration was no longer possible under the Act! This had been forwarded to him in Natal, though, when he made application, he thought it was under the voluntary arrangement. He has now surrendered the document to the British Indian Association for destruction. On the same day three other cases were remanded for a week. The little boy Hirji Mulji is now in convict garb. General Smuts' fatherly heart must be well-satisfied with this! Mr. Gandhi has received the bad news of Mrs. Gandhi's dangerous illness, but he has refused to pay his fine, feeling that the cause comes first.

The King-Emperor's Birthday

The following message was sent to the King-Emperor on the occasion of his birthday by the British Indian Association:—"Transvaal British Indians loyally congratulate King-Emperor occasion birthday anniversary."

Germiston Arrests

At Germiston, on Tuesday, some 40 old Indian hawkers were arrested for trading without licences. I understand that this is supposed to be a

clean sweep of all the unlicensed hawkers within the Municipality. There does not seem to be much lack of spirit in the passive resistance movement, even though the *Rand Daily Mail* may be right in suggesting that what Indians want is not worth passive resistance.

Anti-Sammy, Ltd.

Under this euphonious and delicately courteous title, an Association has been formed amongst certain so-called white men in Johannesburg, for the purpose of securing the trade at present in the hands of Indian hawkers. An attempt is being made, whilst Indians are going to gaol for conscience' sake, to rob them of their custom. It is a pleasant commentary on the general methods of Europeans in regard to the Asiatics in the Transvaal, if not elsewhere in South Africa.

Replacement of Indians

The *Mail* says: "The Parks and Estates Committee of the [Johannesburg] Town Council has been reluctantly compelled, by the fact of the Indians defying the Registration Law, to adopt a definite policy of employing whites wherever possible in the town parks. Under the sympathetic guidance of the Superintendent of Parks (Mr. Stirrat), the process of making room for whites has for some months past been slowly but surely taking effect. The most important example of this of late is the fact that all the coolies formerly employed in the Cemetery finished their municipal service on Saturday last, and about thirty-five white men have taken their places.

The coolies were paid at the rate of £4 per month and free quarters, and the difficult question of overtime never arose with them. The position now is, says Mr. Stirrat, that in the event of whites proving capable gardeners the council will consider the question of increasing the wages. Personally he is strongly in favour of the change, but insists on the fact being faced that "it is going to cost the Council something."

Swami Shankeranand

A Well-Attended Lecture.

Close on a hundred Europeans and a large number of Indians assembled last Saturday night in the Congress Hall to hear a lecture by the Swamiji, given under the auspices of the Durban Lodge of the Theosophical Society. Mr. Martyn, the president was in the chair and introduced the lecturer with a few well-chosen words. The Swamiji held forth on "The Practical Religious Life," basing his teaching, as before, on the Vedas. After the lecture, questions were raised and replied to in a very able and spirited manner. Some personal introductions followed, and the meeting dispersed shortly after 10 o'clock.

An Appeal to the King

The Natal Indian Congress has sent, through the Colonial Secretary, the following messages to the King Emperor:—

"Natal Indian Congress tenders loyal congratulations His Gracious Majesty King Emperor's birthday."

"Natal Indians Congress draws His Gracious Majesty King-Emperor's attention on auspicious Ninth to fact that over two hundred Indians, including some most prominent Indians, suffering in Transvaal, imprisonment, hard labour, for conscience' sake, self-respect, and just rights. Congress respectfully prays for relief."

Replacing Indian Servants

Johannesburg Municipality's Action

Mr. H. S. L. Polak has addressed the following letter, under date the 7th inst., to the Johannesburg press:

I understand that the Parks and Estates Committee of the Johannesburg Town Council has decided to replace Indians employed by the Council by Europeans, on the ground that their Indian employees are defying the Registration Law. It almost seems as if, in order to carry out its all-white-labour policy, the Johannesburg Municipality, which has been called the most reactionary in all South Africa in regard to the colour question, has sought an easy excuse to get rid of those Indians at present employed by the Council. I have rarely heard of anything more shocking than for a public body to dismiss its servants, who have always performed their duties in a satisfactory manner, for the reason that their political and religious views do not happen to coincide with those of their employers. That kind of pressure is unworthy of British Municipal Institutions or Government Departments, but it is unfortunately becoming a common incident, as was evident from the fact that Mr. N. A. Cama was dismissed from the Post Office, not because he did not fulfil his duties to the satisfaction of his superiors, but because he dared to protest against a social injustice to his brethren.

I desire to voice my protest against this method of bringing pressure to bear upon employees. Since when have either the Municipality or the Government been the keepers of the consciences of their Indian employees? I venture to urge that no more pernicious principle can be imagined than that of a public body interfering with the conscientious objections of those whom it employs, provided that the latter fulfil their duties in an adequate and responsible manner. Whilst this particular incident may be overlooked because the victims are Indians, I would add that the underlying principle is one which will work havoc in our public institutions. We are sowing the wind, and we shall inevitably reap the whirl-wind.

Latest Telegrams from the Transvaal

[SPECIAL TELEGRAMS]

Johannesburg, Friday.

Yesterday's *Leader* contains two editorials supporting the Indian demands and strongly sympathising with the passive resistance movement. The paper says: what is obvious is that, if the temporary permits contemplated by the Government confer ordinary rights received by Asiatics, there is no point in resorting to them, and if they do not, then, though we may say to Indians we will not give even six of them per year admission as limited citizens, we cannot in honesty at the same time say to the public here and in India and London that we are offering no real bar to entrance and that, under permits, entrants would be in the same position as others. The *Leader* also says: Passive resistance in the East is as old as history, but we should like to learn of cases where it has been a terror except to evil rulers. Depend upon it, when a race is sufficiently intelligent to understand the meaning and significance of passive resistance, nothing that anybody can say to it will prevent it to resort to it if its sense of grievance be sufficiently strong. We need not fear passive resistance on the part of subject races if we are just to them.

Yesterday's mail papers to hand contain lengthy protests against the action of the Transvaal Government regarding the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi and other passive resisters. Also protests from all parts of India saying that there is a growing volume of bitterness and indignation regarding the Transvaal situation.

The appeal of the Transvaal returning Indians in Barberton Gaol is upheld by the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice in passing judgment, caustically commented on the action of the Government in issuing warrants of deportation, pointing out that old residents of the Transvaal who had visited India and returned with their wives and families were not prohibited immigrants and the action of the Government in treating them as such was absolutely unjustifiable.

Since Monday, 227 more imprisonments have taken place, including 64 at Johannesburg, 97 at Germiston and 60 at Pretoria. All refused to pay fines. Since the Licensing Officers started operations at Germiston 150 have gone to gaol in that place alone.

INDIAN MAILS. The *Umvolosi* sails for Bombay on or about the 21st instant. The *Umkuzi* sails for Calcutta on or about the 25th instant.

Hawkers and Traders

A committee of the Barberton Chamber of Commerce, says the *Transvaal Leader*, has drawn up a petition to the Government intended to bring about an amendment of the law in the sense of making hawkers bear a fairer share of the public burdens. Our correspondent's despatch gives the salient paragraphs of the petition, which, it is to be hoped, will have the careful consideration of the Government and the public. It seems to us that there is much force in the arguments employed by the Barberton committee. It is playing with words to represent hawkers as friends and necessities of the poor when they are found employing sub-hawkers and working in the organised way and on the scale of which the petition makes mention. Barberton has, to our thinking, given the Colony a practical lead in dealing with a section of people which, incidentally, includes Asiatics. There is nothing to which any reasonable person can object in adjusting conditions of competition in the way proposed; because such an amendment of the law would not discriminate against British Indians. If it includes them, that cannot be helped. If the Municipalities would rigorously apply the highest Municipal standard to Asiatic traders equally with others, and if the education authorities had power to enforce the most advanced education standards, Asiatic competition would soon be rendered less difficult to meet.

DEPORTING A WHOLE COLONY. The entire Hindu Colony in British Columbia, including more than 2,000 persons, is to be moved to British Honduras. The plan for their transference is the result of negotiations between Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Canadian Prime Minister; Lord Strathcona, the High Commissioner in London; and the Governor of Honduras. The Imperial Government will share the cost of the transportation. The Hindus are anxious to move, and will be employed in building railways. The plan was arranged in London recently at a meeting between Lord Strathcona and the Governor of Honduras.

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