

Indian Opinion

NO. 13—VOL. XX. FRIDAY, JUNE 9TH, 1922.

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

TOWNSHIP FRANCHISE ORDINANCE

THE CASE OF INDIANS

THE following is the text of the statement made by Mr. William Doull (Messrs. Livingstone and Doull, Durban) at the Bar of the House of the Natal Provincial Council on Tuesday, May 30th, in support of the petition of the Natal Indian Congress against the Townships Franchise Ordinance:—

Mr. Chairman and members of the Provincial Council:

I have been instructed on behalf of the Natal Indian Congress to appear before the Council to-day to present to the Council the objections held by the Indian community to the Townships Franchise Draft Ordinance. The Indian community regret that the matter was not referred by this Council to a Select Committee so that they might themselves personally have expressed their objections, but they do appreciate the fact that the Council has afforded them this opportunity of laying their objections before you. The Ordinance in question purports to amend Law 11 of 1881, but it is obvious from the terms of the Ordinance that in effect it repeals the right of Franchise presently held in Townships by the Indian community. The repeal of that right is regarded with the utmost concern by the Indians. They feel that the taking away of this right, which is practically the only right of representation which they held in this Province, is one which causes not only to themselves but to their successors a grave injustice. They feel aggrieved by the proposed Ordinances in view of the fact that they consider the removal of this right constitutes a great injustice to them; and in considering whether they have any justification for that grievance I propose shortly to refer to the circumstances under which the Indians have come into this country, because one must take into consideration these circumstances in ascertaining whether the proposed Ordinance is equitable or otherwise.

It is known to all the members of the Council that the Indians have not come voluntarily to this country but came originally at the express invitation of the then Natal Government. At the time in Natal, when the original decision was arrived at to import Indian labour, it was unanimously agreed amongst all the leaders of the Industries of Natal that without satisfactory labour it was impossible for this country to make progress. Negotiations were entered into between the Government of Natal and the Government of India, and ultimately arrangements were made for the importation of Indians as labourers. They have come here, settled here, have had children here, and at the present time the bulk of the Indian population consists

of the descendants of the men who were invited to come here for the country's benefit. Not only were the Indians originally asked to come and specially imported under Government supervision but so anxious was the Government of that time that the Indians should come here that inducements were held out to them by the offer of free grants of land to settle in the country, and a number of grants of land were actually made in some instances. It is true that the offer did not continue in existence for many years but the fact that it was made shows that at the time when the importation commenced there was an intention to allow them to remain in the country. At the present time, as I have before stated, the bulk of the Indian population consists of those immigrants and their descendants, and those descendants are now, I believe, representing the fourth generation in this country. The only country they know now is Natal. India to them is little more than a name, and if the Ordinance in question is passed the result will be that men who were born in this country will be deprived of a right, which it is contended, is not prejudicial to the Europeans. Now, so far as is known to the Indian community, there is no direct evidence before this Council of any objection to the present Law, viz: that the Indians shall have the right of Franchise in Townships, but on the other hand if the Ordinance is passed there will be, and there is, a serious objection on the part of the whole of the Indian community to the passing of that Ordinance, and as I believe the Indian community represent something like one-half of the population—possibly a trifle more—the result will be that at least one half of the population will labour under a great grievance. In so far as the Law of 1881 is concerned, the Indian community submit to you that, no injury or prejudice has at any time been sustained, European or otherwise, as a result of the power held by Indians. I believe I am right in stating that there is one Township in Natal, Stanger, where the Indian vote predominates to the extent of 75 per cent. against the European 25 per cent., and it is significant that in that particular Township none but Europeans have ever been elected to the Local Board. That shows that the Indians are not abusing the power which they held, and one would expect that until there is some abuse of power or that grave injury is being occasioned to any section of the community, matters might be allowed to continue as they are. That the Indians have been of great economic value to the Province is admitted by practically everybody. Many industries which have been

built up in Natal have unquestionably been built up as a result of the importation of the Indians. It is respectfully submitted that, bearing in mind that the Indians have been specially invited here, that they have been specially invited to settle here and that they are unquestionably a big asset to at least some of the industries of Natal, it is not to be wondered at that if this Ordinance should be passed there will be a feeling of grievance on the part of that particular community. From the speeches of members of this Council at the second reading of this Ordinance, it would appear as though the Council had been influenced to some extent by what is called the Disloyalist Movement in India, and I have been specially instructed to draw the attention of the Council to the misapprehension under which those members are labouring who expressed such a view. Assuming that there were a Disloyalist Movement in India one might point out that that might merely be a symptom of the general unrest prevailing throughout every country in the world. South Africa is not free from that unrest as is evidenced by the fact that during the past seven or eight years we have experienced two open rebellions. The participations in those rebellions are not being penalised by taking away from them the right of Franchise. However that may be the Indian community state that there is no such movement in India as a Disloyalist Movement. The movement in India, on the propaganda of Mr. Gandhi, is a movement for Dominion status within the Empire—it is not a movement for the breaking away from the Empire, and I respectfully submit to you that a movement for Dominion status cannot possibly be characterised as a Disloyalist Movement. The movement in question is undoubtedly supported by the Indian community in Natal; they frankly admit that, and in doing so they support it to a very large extent for what they consider their own self-preservation. The feeling is held among the Indian community in Natal that owing to the absence of electoral representation they are powerless against any legislation which might be passed in this country. Self-preservation is a law of nature. They say that if India attains to Dominion status, whatever grievance they may have they may be able to submit them to India for the purpose of having the support of that country towards their rectification, and it is for that reason more than any other that the movement in India is supported. In any case it is submitted that whether there is a Disloyalist Movement in India or not does not affect the question of the passing of this Ordinance. If there is a Disloyalist Movement in India, surely it is not suggested that the passing of this Ordinance will kill it. If anything it would tend to create a Disloyalist Movement in India, would it not? If there is no Disloyalist Movement in India, then the passing of this Ordinance will mean the punishing of people here for a misapprehension by this Council as to the true state of affairs in India. With regard further to the question of disloyalty, it is in evidence that in every war in this country since the entrance of Indians to Natal they have participated. In the late War, as early as the 31st. August, 1914, they held a mass meeting in Durban at which it was decided that they should offer their services to the Government either as combatants or any other capacity. That offer was duly transmitted to the Government which turned it down for the time being, but in the

following year notified the Indian community that it was prepared to accept their services as Stretcher Bearers. A number were speedily enlisted and served in one of the African campaigns. After their return they again offered their services to the Government either in Europe or in any other part of the world. At first they were accepted for Europe but were afterwards transferred to East Africa. So far, therefore, as the local Indians are concerned there is ample evidence to show that they have been in every way loyal and have offered assistance to the Government to the utmost of their ability. In view of these facts one can readily understand their concern that so soon after the termination of hostilities there should be a proposal to dispossess them of the only civic right which they possess. It is submitted further by the Indian community that the Ordinance in question cannot be passed without the abrogation of principles which have been enunciated by practically every public man in the country. In other words the proposed Ordinance would have the effect of taxing the Indian community without giving them representation. Practically all parties are agreed that there should be no taxation without representation. It is contended by the Indian community that there is no substantial ground whatever for the proposed Ordinance. On the other hand they have shown themselves law-abiding and loyal. They are not asking that something new should be granted to them, but merely that the rights which they have enjoyed for the past forty years and which they have at no time abused shall be continued. The feeling has crept in amongst the Indians that the Ordinance in question is based on class prejudice or colour, but even assuming that to be the case it is submitted to you gentlemen that some prejudice should be shown to exist to some portion of the population before a measure such as this is passed. Until it can be shown that someone is prejudiced or injured by the rights at present enjoyed, then it is submitted respectfully to you that there is no justification for the passing of the Ordinance in question.

The Indians are here and we have to make the best of it. If this Ordinance is passed, we are going to create a discontented section of the population; a section which is represented by a large proportion of the population, and as I have already stated until it can be shown that the right enjoyed at the present time is detrimental and prejudicial to the European population, it is surely better to allow that right to continue than to create a feeling of grievance among a large proportion of the community of the Province.

It is further submitted that the present time is particularly inopportune to raise a question such as the passing of the Ordinance. It is within the knowledge of all of you gentlemen present that Parliament will at an early date be dealing with the Asiatic question. When the question of the Asiatic Enquiry Committee report comes to be dealt with, very much larger issues have to be gone into. It is quite possible that the investigation and settlement of this question will create a feeling on the part of the Indian community, and I suggest that it would be to the interests of all concerned if a minor matter such as this could have been postponed until the larger issues had been dealt with, and satisfactorily or otherwise settled, and this small matter delayed until they could approach the

Union Government in regard to the larger issues that have to be raised. In view of the fact that the Union Government will soon have to be dealing with much larger issues, it is surely in the interests of all parties that this matter be shelved until the larger issues have been determined, and that issue not approached while labouring under the grievance concerned in this particular Ordinance. There is also a further aspect of the case which I think it right to bring to the notice of the Council, and it is the Imperial aspect. At the present time the question of Township Franchise is of comparatively small importance to the European, but if taken from the Indian, you may be fully satisfied that the matter will not rest there. They are bound to bring this as a further grievance before the Government of India. That they will have a grievance will certainly be considered by the Government of India, and what is to-day a comparatively trivial and unimportant matter may lead to grave complications between the Imperial Home and possibly the Union Governments. The removal of this right, practically the last right of the Indians in Natal, will be keenly felt by the Indians. If it is reported to India the matter is bound to be taken up there. We should know the conditions with which the Imperial Government has to contend. Here we will have a further cause by genuine grievance, and I would urge upon you that no valid reason has been given for the taking away of a right which they held; the taking away of a right which will probably cause grave Imperial complications. If there were evidence before the Council that the holding of the right is prejudicial to the population, then the Council could say it was bound to cancel this right, because of the prejudice resulting from it. No prejudice can so far be shewn. They have shewn they are not desirous of abusing their privileges, in many towns and townships they can put a large number of names on the voters roll than actually exists, but now the voting power which they enjoy will be taken from them. And until it can be shewn, that they are abusing the power they hold, then the Council is premature in endeavouring to take away the right in question. Stanger is a large township and no Township approached it so far as the Indians are concerned and it has almost come to be regarded as a centre of the Indian population. Now if the other Townships approach the Township of Stanger and until it is shewn that the Indian is abusing the power which he holds, I would submit to you that the taking of a right from the Indians is unjustified and at any rate premature. There is also the question of the legality of the proposed Ordinance, but, as I understand from the Newspaper reports that, apparently the Council has been advised that they have the necessary authority to pass the Ordinance I do not propose to lay particular emphasis on the point. I suggest that very grave doubts exist as to whether the Council has the right to pass the Ordinance or not. I take it that the Council is acting under the provisions of the Financial Relations Act of 1913, which gives the Council power for the establishment and Administration of Townships. To establish a Township is one thing, to maintain one is another, but neither to establish or maintain can give power to take away. That is in fact, what the Council propose to do by the passing of the Ordinance. There is little doubt that if the Ordinance is passed the legality of it will subsequently be contested in the Court on the grounds that the Council

is acting *ultra vires*. If the Council has been advised then it is idle for me to argue the point. If there is any doubt of the power of the Council to pass the legislation then it is another factor which should be taken into consideration, when deciding whether this Ordinance should be further proceeded with or not. Finally I would just like to emphasise that the passing of the Ordinance would be a very grievous injury indeed to them. You will be taking from them a right which they have enjoyed for many years and never abused, or caused any injury to any of the population of Natal.

That right, the last right of representation which the Indian holds in Natal and the passing of the Ordinance will create a feeling that there is an effort by the Europeans which will crush them utterly and make their lives intolerable in this country. If that feeling is created they are bound to appeal to the Government of India, and if they appeal to India their case will be taken up by the Government of that country and it is likely that the Government of India will consider that the Indians have a just grievance and the matter will be taken before the Imperial Government. I would like to urge upon you on behalf of the Indian community to carefully consider the whole of the circumstances surrounding the proposed Ordinance. It is felt by them that if the present right is allowed to continue, no one will have any grievance but if the right is taken away they will have a just grievance which they feel particularly keenly. I trust therefore that the Council will carefully consider the case from the Indian aspect of the case, and decide that the matter be proceeded with no further. I thank you for allowing me to appear before you to address you.

NOTES AND NEWS

A DEPUTATION, representing Natal Indians, consisting of Mr. Amod Bayat (president Natal Indian Congress), Messrs. Shaikh Ameer and C. Nulliah (Vice-Presidents), Messrs. A. Christopher and Sorabjee Rustomjee (Hon. Secretaries), Mr. S. R. Naidoo (Hon. Sec. Maritzburg Branch), and Mr. L. Panday, left last Sunday night for Capetown to interview the Minister of the Interior, who has kindly consented to grant same, in connection with the Townships Franchise Ordinance which passed through the Provincial Council last week and other matters affecting the existing rights of the Indian community.

The members of the deputation are the guests of Mr. and Mrs. J. M. H. Gool and family, 7, Buitencingel, Capetown.

A Reuter's message from Perth (Western Australia) dated June 3, states:—

Mr. Sastri, the Indian delegate, received a civic welcome on arrival, and was entertained to luncheon at Government House. He afterwards met a deputation of Indians, which submitted a series of grievances.

According to his programme as published in the Indian papers the Right Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri accompanied by his Secretary Mr. G. S. Bajpai I.C.S.,

will be staying in Australia for nearly a month. He leaves the Commonwealth on 5th July, arriving New Zealand on 10th July. Here, he stays till 27, when he leaves by s.s. "Makura" for Canada. He lands at Vancouver on 16th August and stays in Canada for about a month. After completion of his dominion tour, he possibly goes to United States before returning to India.

TOWNSHIP ORDINANCE PASSED

WE notice with very great regret that the Township Franchise Ordinance has passed through its third reading in the Natal Provincial Council at its sittings on the 1st of June. So far the Natal Indians, through their Congress, have left no stone unturned in their efforts to prevent the Ordinance from being passed. All their appeals to the Provincial Council have been in vain. Leave alone the injustice of the Ordinance itself; but the injustice of even the procedure adopted by the Council in getting the Ordinance passed is most remarkable. Notwithstanding the petition made by the Natal Indian Congress, no opportunity was given Indians to be personally heard nor even to tender evidence before a Select Committee on an Ordinance so vitally affecting the Indian community. The only opportunity that was afforded, and that too not without an objection in the Council, was to state their case through a legal practitioner before the Bar of the House of the Provincial Council. Even this opportunity was welcomed, with thanks to the Council, by the Indian Congress, and Mr. Doull of Messrs. Livingstone & Doull was appointed on behalf of the Indian community to state their case before the Bar of the House and to urge upon the members the inadvisability of taking the unworthy step they had contemplated. Mr. Doull, in his statement, (the full text of which will be seen in another column), has dealt with the case of Indians in all its aspects, but to the Council it has apparently been but a waste of time and words, for, the next thing we were able to see after the statement was, that the Ordinance was passed through. Thus all the efforts at persuading the Council have failed, and it has been naturally so, seeing that the Council had determined to take the step without the least concern about the consequences. As one of the hon. members in the Union Parliament had stated, they were determined to save Natal, whatever happened to the Empire they did not care. It is advisable for one to think a thousand times before granting increased powers to a Provincial Council which already possesses so much power. The community has, however, not become disheartened at the action of the Council. They have still some hope for success and that is from the Union Government. A deputation is at present in Capetown to wait upon the Ministers to urge upon them the advisability of that and other Ordinances of a racial character and aiming at depriving Indians in this country of their existing rights not being assented to by the Governor-General-in-Council. We fervently hope that the Union Government will not fail to consider the question in a more statesmanlike spirit and that they will also consider what amount of discontentment will prevail amongst a very large section of the population of the Union if such a measure as proposed by the Natal Provincial Council were to be allowed to pass.

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS PETITIONS DRAFT ORDINANCE TO CREATE AND REGULATE CERTAIN LICENCES

RACING AND BETTING LICENCES

The following is the text of the Petitions of the Natal Indian Congress in connection with the Draft Ordinance to Create and Regulate Certain Licences, and the Racing and Betting Ordinance, addressed to the Chairman and Members of the Provincial Council of Natal:—

The Petition of the undersigned humbly sheweth:

1. That your Petitioners are the President and the Honorary Secretaries of the Natal Indian Congress having its headquarters in Durban.
2. That the Natal Indian Congress with its Branch at Pietermaritzburg represents the British Indian community in the Province of Natal.
3. That your Petitioners strongly protest against the Draft Ordinance to create and regulate certain licences in so far as:

(a) that a licence granted under Act No. 43 of 1898 shall not be capable of being transferred to any person not already named therein or that the name of any person shall not be added to a licence;

(b) that the licences for Bakers and Butchers are brought within the operation of Act No. 18 of 1897 and its Amendments, and

(c) that the Administrator shall have the power to appoint an officer to prevent the exhibition at any theatre of any performance or scenic or pictorial representation which may in his opinion be of a dangerous tendency for any class of persons which Petitioners fear may be applied on racial grounds to prohibit performances or representations which though not objectionable to Europeans may be held by the Officer appointed in that behalf to be objectionable for exhibition to Indians.

Your Petitioners pray to be heard in support of this Petition, or to be permitted to give evidence before a Select Committee.

Wherefore your Petitioners respectfully pray that the said Ordinance in its present form be rejected.

And for which your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

Dated at Durban, this 3rd. day of June, 1922.

The Petition of the undersigned humbly sheweth:—

1. That your Petitioners are the President and the Honorary Secretaries of the Natal Indian Congress having its headquarters in Durban.

2. That the Natal Indian Congress with its Branch at Pietermaritzburg represents the British Indian community in the Province of Natal.

3. That your Petitioners while approving the Draft Ordinance for the Regulation of Horse Racing and the Restriction and Regulation of Betting and to impose taxation in connection therewith, strongly protest,

(1) against the power given to a Racing Club in Sub-Section (c) of Section 7 of the said Ordinance to exclude from the Course such persons or classes of persons as its rules may prescribe, which power your Petitioners venture to submit may be used to exclude British Indians from the Course, and

(2) against Section 18, which restricts membership in a Betting Club Room to persons of European descent to the exclusion of Indians on racial grounds.

4. The proposed Ordinance with the amendments suggested in the preceding paragraph, if passed, will make for the abolition of Bucket Shops and other forms of gambling which have become a curse to the poorer sections of the Indian and other communities.

Your Petitioners pray to be heard in support of this Petition, or be permitted to give evidence before a

Select Committee.

Wherefore your Petitioners respectfully pray that the said Ordinance may with the Amendments urged by them be passed.

And for which your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

Dated at Durban, this 3rd. day of June, 1922.

AMOD BAYAT
President.

A. CHRISTOPHER
S. RUSTOMJEE

Hon. Secretaries, Natal Indian Congress.
169a Grey Street,
Durban.

THE IMPRISONMENT, AND AFTER

(BY MR. C. F. ANDREWS)

Mahatma Gandhi has written to me from Sabarmati Jail a letter which begins as follows:—

"At last I am having a quiet time. It was bound to come. The calm that prevails to-day in India is surely a mighty triumph of Non-violence."

It has indeed been a mighty triumph! We have only to compare what happened in 1919, on April 10, when the news of Mahatmaji's arrest reached as far as Ahmedabad and the Punjab, with the quietness that has just been witnessed to realise the difference of atmosphere in India then and in India now.

Only a few months ago,—who could have dared to hope, that the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi would be accomplished without a single sign of violence from one end of India to the other? And the second test came rapidly following upon the first, when the sentence of six years' imprisonment was pronounced. Again there was not a trace of violence. On other occasions, I was in the North of Calcutta in Barabazaar, at the time the news reached the public, and witnessed with my own eyes its effect upon the crowd. I saw groups of poor, illiterate people eagerly bending over each person who held the newspaper sheet in his hand and could read out the news. Friends came to me later in the house, where I was stopping, and the tears were in their eyes as they spoke of what had happened. There was a gloom that was profound in all hearts. Then in the streets, when I went out again later in the evening, I witnessed careless laughter. The conventional round of life seemed hardly to have been stirred beyond a ripple on the surface for a moment. But it would have been altogether wrong to infer, that men's hearts had not been deeply moved and shocked. The shock had been too deep for words.

There was no noise or shouting. There was no serging crowd. There was not a sign, as far as I myself could observe, of race hatred or race passion. The lesson of Mahatma Gandhi's over-repeated fasts, his acts of penance, his humiliations, had not been in vain. The whole gathering strength of the movement, which he had inaugurated, was seen when put to this supreme test, and the joy expressed in his letter to me, at the 'mighty triumph of Non-violence,' was justified by the event.

There is a beautiful passage in the letter of Hakim Ajmal Khan in answer to Mahatma Gandhi's letter—"I can feel happy" Hakimji writes, "at your arrest, Mahatmaji, only when I find that, as a mark of the profound respect that the country has for you, it takes still greater interest in the national movement than it did when you were free." It gives me infinite pleasure to see, that the country observed perfect peace on your arrest. This is a clear sign of the spread of the spirit of Non-violence in the country, which is as essential for our success as pure air is for life."

I was present in Delhi with Hakimji on those terrible days in that city, which succeeded April 10th, in the

year 1919. Night and day, with heroic efforts, he struggled unceasingly to preserve his own beloved Delhi from any outbreak of violence, which would have given an occasion, eagerly desired by many in the Punjab, to put Delhi itself under Martial Law. Only by the supreme efforts of Swami Shradhdhanand and Hakim Ajmal Khan was violence avoided. There is no truer champion of the creed of Non-violence than Hakimji in the whole of India to-day.

He goes on: "The question naturally arises; how are we to achieve this living and lasting unity between the two great communities in India? I can find only one answer to that. We can only achieve it by the sincerity and purity of our hearts. Not until every one of us has drawn selfishness out of his mind will our country succeed in achieving its object."

In those words, we find a true echo of Mahatma Gandhi's own teaching. No better leader of the movement, could be found at the present moment, than Hakim Ajmal Khan. I can write with the knowledge behind me of eighteen years, uninterrupted and intimate friendship, which has grown deeper with every year that has passed. Himself the recognised leader of his own religious community in the North of India, he has inherited that high tradition of Hindu-Muslim friendship which the greatest of the Mogul Emperors established. Hindu-Muslim unity has not been with him a growth of a few months or years, but a life-long impulse, which his father and grandfather also cultivated long before he himself was born.

The words that Hakim Sahib writes about untouchability are equally clear and to the point. He shows, that it is not merely a communal, but a national question, 'as much a Muslim question as a Hindu.' And he points to the one great national weakness in his own religious community, which must be swept away—even as untouchability must be swept away from Hinduism, by the steady flow of the movement itself. That weakness is the lack of education among the Mahomedan masses. If untouchability can be banished from the Hindu community, and mass illiteracy from the Muslim community, then there is hope indeed for a great constructive work of the nation building and national unity, such as will itself be a stepping stone to Swaraj.

Thus after the imprisonment, there has come an immediate resumption of the fundamental work, which Mahatma Gandhi himself left behind him to be done by countless workers. The outward inspiration of the central figure, may now be lacking, but the inward inspiration remains. "What is needed is, that each worker should feel the burden of responsibility placed upon his own shoulders so as to carry out in an atmosphere of peace Mahatma Gandhi's constructive programme to the end.—*Young India*.

WATER THE ROOTS, NOT THE LEAVES

(BY DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE)

Many critics and some friends of Mahatma Gandhi have found fault with his desire to introduce simpler methods of spinning and weaving and to do away with much of the complicated machinery of Modern Civilisation. The reason why they object is that they fear such methods mean not progress towards a higher state but relapse into a primitive condition of civilisation or even of barbarianism. His denunciation of the age of Machinery and of the Industrial System has been criticised by many as the ravings of a visionary and of one who is merely an 'impracticable idealist. This is a strange criticism to come from those who give their allegiance to a form of civilisation or 'Culture' which has led to the unprecedented horrors of the late European War and the century-old disgraces of the Industrial System. Is this present modern civilisation so very desirable that we should wish it to continue in perpetuity? Every civilisation in the 'History of Man

has reached a certain point after which there has been one possibility only for it and that was absolute relapse into semi-darkness in order to give place to a new and higher civilisation. The common starting point of all civilisations is a kind of Night-time. In order that the Babylonian (or Despotic) Civilisation might give way to the Roman (or Heroic), and the Roman give way to the Modern (or Intellectual) Civilisation, it was necessary for each in turn to sink completely into this common Night-time. Without this entire destruction of the ancient structure, there would have been only a patchwork of the old, and not a harmonious building of the New. As Christ said: "Ye cannot put old wine into new bottles." The debris of the Past has to be cleared away in order to make way for the structure of the Future. Now with regard to Modern Civilisation, all the signs of the times show that it has failed lamentably and is gradually tottering to a dishonoured grave. Why make any attempts to prop up what Nature so evidently has decided to throw on the scrap-heap? Such attempts are contrary to the teaching of past history. But anything, which tends to reach the common roots of all civilisations, should be encouraged. In order that the spiritual civilisation of the Future may have a real chance of growing in an atmosphere congenial to it Mahatma Gandhi's demonstration of the right path should be welcome. His emphasis on simplicity of life and on the simplification of the machinery of living must be realised as a supremely essential condition of the coming of the new Era. In the civilisation of the Future, an Era of natural harmonious living will be inaugurated, and artificial, luxurious and pompous living will be entirely rooted out.

Simplicity of life being a condition of spiritual perfection, we may look forward to an Era of Civilisation in the Future, greatly superior to all the civilisations of the Past, if only we accept simplicity of life as the best method of living. The failure and decline of Western or Modern Civilisation need not alarm us; for the experience of History is full of similar declines of once powerful cultures. When Babylonian Civilisation had reached its height, it had to come down to what we may term the zero-point of all civilisations from which Roman Civilisation had made its start. But when Roman Civilisation had reached its zenith, it was much superior to the zenith Civilisation of Babylon, as the zenith Babylonian was superior to the zero-civilisation. And so also of full-fledged Modern Civilisation. We may say that until it returns to the common zero-point, there is no hope of a full and perfect development of a civilisation moulded by spiritual ideals.

Let critics of Mahatma Gandhi then look to History before they condemn him for trying to bring this much belauded Modern Civilisation down to the common starting point of all great civilisations. We are at dawn of a New Era, and Mahatma Gandhi is the one leader who shows to us the right path. He at least is watering the roots, while all others who try to keep alive the Civilisation of the Western nations are like foolish gardeners who lavish water on the withering leaves of a dying tree and never think of watering its roots.—*Young India*.

BOOKS FOR SALE

To be obtained from the *Indian Opinion Press*, Phoenix, Natal. Postal Orders to be made payable at Durban.

The Hon. Mr Gokhale and the Indenture System	2	0
My Indian Reminiscences by Dr. Paul	2	6
Speeches on Indian Affairs by John Morley	3	9
The Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Tour in South Africa :		
Special INDIAN OPINION Souvenir.	2	6

The Ethics of Passive Resistance	3	0
Indian Home Rule, by M. K. Gandhi	1	6
A Book—and its Misnomer	1	0
Bhagavad Gita, Mrs. Besant's Translation	2	6
Asiatics Registration Amendment Act (1908) in English and Gujarati	0	6
Shri Madhwa Charya		6
Position of the Women in the Vedas	2	6
Improvement of Indian Agriculture	2	6
The Tragedy of Empire	1	9
Hindu Social Ideals, by P. J. Mehta	2	0
Rise and Growth of Bombay Municipal Govt.	4	6
Agricultural Industries in India	2	6
The Story of the Ramayana, the Epic of Rama	2	0
A Study in Indian Economics by P. Bannerji	4	5
The Indians of South Africa, by H. S. L. Polak	2	6
Life of M. K. Gandhi (in Tamil)	2	6
" " " (in Hindi)	2	0
The Golden Number of "Indian Opinion"		
Paper covers	2	6
Bound in cloth	3	6
Sri Ramaswajacharya	2	6
Sri Sankaracharya	2	6
Mr. Gandhi's Speeches and Writings—1896 to 1917	3	3
The Indian Demands, by G. A. Natesan	2	6
Nation Building, by Annie Besant	2	0
Warfare in Ancient India	2	6
BIOGRAPHIES OF EMINENT INDIANS :—		
Aggressive Hinduism	2	6
Aspects of the Vedanta	2	6
Indian Industrial and Economic Problems, by Prof. Kale	3	6
Essays on Indian Economics, by Ranade	4	9
Essays on Nationalism, by Dr. Coomaraswamy	2	6
Sri Sankara's Select Works	3	6
King George's Speeches	2	6
For India's Uplift, by Annie Besant	3	6
Vaishnavite Reformers of India	2	6
India's Untouchable Salts	2	0
The Governance of India, by Govinda Das	7	6
FRIENDS OF INDIA SERIES:—Lord Morley, Sir Wm. Wedderburn, Rev. Dr. Miller, Sir Edwin Arnold, Chas. Bradlaugh, Edmund Burke, Lord Minto, Sister Nivedita, Henry Fawcett, John Bright, A. O. Hume, Sir Henry Cotton, Lord Macaulay, Lord Ripon, Kam Mrs. Annie Besant — A Sketch of her Life	1	0
BIOGRAPHIES OF EMINENT INDIANS :—		
Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Rabindranath Tagore, M. K. Gandhi, Bndruddin Tyabji, Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, The Right Hon. Sayed Amir Ali, H. H. Shri Sayaji Rao Gackwar, Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, H. H. the Aga Khan, Swami Rama Tirth, V. Krishnarwami Aiyar, Kristo Das Pal, Dewan C. Rangachari, W. C. Bonnerjee, A. M. Bose, Ravi Varma, Lala Lajpat Rai, Kashinath Trimbak Telang, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Swami Vivekananda, Toru Dutt, Ishwar Chander Vidyasagar, Sir Salar Jung, V. P. Madhava Rao, D. E. Wacha, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Rahimtulla Mohamed Sayani, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, Nawab Mohain-ul-Mulk, Sir C. Sankaran Nair, Lal Mohun Ghose, Raja Ram Mohan Roy.		each 1 0

Printed and Published by Manilal M. Gandhi at Phoenix, Phoenix Settlement, Natal.