

# Indian Opinion

NO. 32—VOL. XX. FRIDAY, AUGUST 1<sup>ST</sup>, 1922.

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

## INDIANS IN THE COLONIES

### IMPERIAL CONFERENCE RESOLUTION A "SCRAP OF PAPER"

GRAVE WARNING BY MESSRS. ANDREWS AND POLAK

THE following statement with reference to the position of Indians overseas has been issued in India over the signatures of Mr. H. S. L. Polak and Mr. C. F. Andrews:—

#### A SERIOUS CRISIS

The news which has recently come to us both from South and East Africa and also from Fiji is of so serious a character, that we venture to appeal through the Press to the people of India to take up the cause of Indians abroad with greater energy and determination in order to save them from impending disaster. A crisis now faces them of unexampled magnitude and it appears to us very largely to depend on the full and emphatic expression of public opinion in India, whether the Imperial Conference resolution with regard to equal status passed at London in July 1922 is to be made effective or not.

In South Africa, the key of the situation is Natal. The bulk of the Indian Community is concentrated in that Province. Natal actually owes its prosperity to the Indian labourers, who were brought in to save it from insolvency. The majority of Indians there are now Colonial born. All fresh Indian immigration has been stopped. In a short time the whole Indian population will be South African by birth. The European population, on the other hand, is continually being reinforced by immigration from England and elsewhere. This constant stream of fresh immigration from Europe (while immigration from India is closed) makes it quite certain that the European population in Natal will soon largely outnumber the Indian. In the other provinces of South Africa, the Indian population is negligible roughly speaking about 21,000 as compared with nearly a million and a half Europeans. Even this disproportion is growing greater at every census because of the rapid increase of Europeans owing to immigration.

#### NATAL'S INDEBTEDNESS TO INDIA

Yet in spite of the facts (1) that Indians were invited to come over in the first instance, (2) that they made Natal prosperous, (3) that the majority of them are now South African born, (4) that no further Indians are allowed to enter, in spite of all these facts, the Europeans with louder and louder voices are increasingly demanding either (1) that the Indians should be as far as possible repatriated, or else (2) that those who

Sir John Lange's Commission acknowledged these facts. Nevertheless even this report made recommendations which, if put into practice would have seriously curtailed the very few existing Indian rights. The South African Union Government, however, realising the importance of the issue in the large world, outside South Africa, was able to postpone any threatened anti-Indian legislation, and *status quo* has so far been with some difficulty maintained.

But the anti-Asiatic party in Natal has now repeatedly attempted to force the hands of the Union Government. It has captured the Provincial Council and induced it to pass legislation, which would deprive Indians of several of the most important rights which they still retain. This has been done in the hope either of compelling by public pressure the assent of the Governor-General in Council, or else of obliging the Union Government, while withholding assent, to pass the desired anti-Asiatic Legislation, on its own account.

But section 147 of the South African Act of 1909 was passed expressly in order to prevent provincial legislation in Asiatic affairs. For it was recognised that provincial narrowness might involve South Africa in a complicated international situation. Section 147 was designed to reserve the entire control from beginning to end of all matters specially or differently affecting Asiatic to the Governor General-in-Council, that is to say, the Union Government itself.

#### ANTI-INDIAN LEGISLATION

What is the legislation which the Natal Provincial Council is trying to force through?

(1) There is an ordinance to substitute for a licensing officer from whom there is a right of appeal upon certain conditions, a licensing Board in rural areas, whose membership will be confined to Europeans. This Board would have final powers of decision in all matters relating to the issue and transfer of licences, thereby, in substance, though not in set terms, depriving Indian traders of their former right of appeal on questions of law.

(2) There is an Ordinance which would prevent Indians in future from acquiring the municipal or urban franchise. This would mean a clear breach of an official promise made as long ago as 1896, and the disfranchisement for all time of Indians born and bred in the Province.

(3) There is an ordinance whose object is to segregate Indians in Durban by making it legally impossible for them to buy or occupy municipal land in an area earmarked for Europeans, or to sell such land to Europeans earmarked for Indians. This is the first time that compulsory segregation has been attempted in Natal.

All this is ~~apparently~~ only the beginning of the campaign of the Anti-Asiatic Party.

If it succeeds, it will certainly be followed by further legislation. This in the end must either reduce the Indian population in South Africa to political, social and economic servitude, or else drive it from the country.

#### DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

At the last Imperial Conference the hope was expressed that by means of direct negotiations between India and South Africa "some way can be found, as soon as may be, to reach a more satisfactory position." The fact that direct negotiations have now been opened leads one to presume that it is not the desire of the Union Government to precipitate a rupture with India. But the Indian Government will suffer greatly in making its own position clear to the South African Government, if it has not the united strength of the people of India behind it. We would venture, therefore, to urge that on this question the unity of all thinking people in India with the Government is essential in order to obtain a successful end to such direct negotiation.

#### POSITION IN EAST AFRICA

In East Africa, we meet a situation which if anything is more dangerous even than that in Natal. Kenya is not a self-governing, but a Crown Colony. Constitutionally, the administration is nothing more than a branch of the Colonial Office in London. The Governor is a subordinate taking orders from the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Great Britain is directly responsible.

At the Imperial Conference, Great Britain accepted the Imperial Conference resolution with regard to equal Indian status. Mr. Winston Churchill was Chairman of the Special Committee that drafted this resolution. He himself accepted the resolution on behalf of the Colonial Office. What followed is almost inconceivable. Scarcely had the ink of his signature dried upon the paper than the Governor of Kenya was sent back by Mr. Winston Churchill himself with a secret document containing proposals fundamentally opposed to the very resolution of the Imperial Conference, which he himself had just signed. If this document had been accepted by the Indians in Kenya and had become law, it would have perpetuated the inferiority of Indians to Europeans in almost every particular. It would have made racial differentiation and racial segregation a part of the law of the land.

#### DISABILITIES OF INDIANS

There are four primary disabilities under which Indians labour in Kenya.

(1) They may not acquire transfer of agricultural land in the Highlands.

When the Indians protested against this invidious distinction, they were told that the Colonial Office had made a pledge to the Europeans, which could not be broken. The so-called pledge referred to is that of Lord Elgin in 1908. Lord Elgin's Despatch, however, needs to be read as a whole. The local officials are told to issue the original Crown grants of land "for reasons of administrative convenience" solely to Europeans. But he added that His Majesty's Government would not countenance legislation differentially affecting the Indian population. It will be seen at once, that no bar was placed upon the open transfer of the original Crown grants at any future sale to any purchaser, who had rights in the country. The Indians had the right of purchase. An act of the legislature would have been required to take those rights away. But His Majesty's Government had expressly stated that no such racial legislation would be countenanced.

#### SO-CALLED PLEDGE TO EUROPEANS

The so-called pledge to Europeans has been amply fulfilled, for we have been told on official authority that practically all the original Crown grants in the Highlands have now been made, and Europeans have had them all. But the actual documentary promise to Indians that legal differentiation would not be countenanced by His Majesty's Government has been callously broken. For in 1916 during the war, when the Indian community was helpless under Martial Law, an ordinance of the legislature was passed empowering the Governor to veto the transfer of land in any part of the Protectorate between persons of different races. This had been unfailingly exercised against Indians who may desire to acquire legal transfer of land in the Highlands.

(2) It is part of the declared policy of the European settlers to enforce strict compulsory segregation, both residential and commercial.

(3) The European Convention of Associations is endeavouring to deny Indians equal franchise on a common electoral roll.

(4) Finally, in order to make Kenya "a characteristically and distinctively British Colony"—to quote Mr. Winston Churchill's phrase,—and in the so-called interest of the native the Colonial Secretary purposes to "regulate strictly",—in other words to prohibit,—Indian immigration.

In this last clause lies the most urgent peril to the Indian community. If further immigration can be prohibited and if Kenya can be forced to look economically "towards London" rather than Bombay there the European settlers are well aware that they will be able to control permanently the unprotected Indian domiciled residents, merely granting them such minor concessions as would do no harm, from their point of view. The sinister significance to India of this last proposal lies in the fact, that it is intended to cut India completely off from its age-long contact with East Africa; and Mr. Churchill has openly declared

his desire to establish a great administrative unit, consisting of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, and having a common policy.

#### MOVEMENT LIKELY TO SPREAD

When we turn to Uganda we find the same anti-Indian influence of the Colonial Office clearly at work in the recent decision about Kampala, which enforces racial segregation.

In Fiji, as a recent telegram has announced, the European residents, who form less than one fiftieth of the population, have openly declared that they are unwilling to accept and are determined to resist the local application of the Imperial Conference resolution regarding equal Indian status. There can be little doubt, that this movement of revolt against the resolution will spread further.

We are of the opinion that nothing could be more disastrous in India at the present time than a wide spread conviction, that the Colonial Office is determined to reduce so vital a document as that embodying the Imperial Conference resolution of July 1921 with regard to equal Indian status to a mere "scrap of paper." The time appears to us to have come for the Indian Government itself to declare, that there is no possibility of the people of India being willing to remain permanently within the British Commonwealth of Nations except upon the terms of actual and not merely theoretical racial equality. Such a declaration would clear the air. It would show more plainly than anything else to the Colonial office in London and to the South African Union Government, that by these perpetual humiliations and disabilities to Indians abroad they are forcing an issue from which they themselves may well recoil.

#### A PRACTICAL PROTEST

**M**ESSRS Sorabjee Rustomjee and Manilal Gandhi were discharged from prison last Monday after serving a term of seven days imprisonment with hard labour to which they were sentenced by Mr. F. J. Clark for alleged contravention of section 144 of the Harbour Regulations. They were given an option of a fine of £5 but they refused to pay the fine and chose to go to gaol. The choice they had made, though surprising to a layman, was not without reason and it was simple enough for those who knew the circumstances of the case to understand it. The case in itself was a trifling one—so trifling that it is difficult for one to understand how the court could possibly allow such cases to be brought up and how it could afford to waste so much time over them. One would think the court had no other important work to do. However, trifling as the case was, there was, for the Indian community a principle involved in it. The treatment meted out to Indians at the wharf at the time when the sailing of Indian mail boats took place was scandalous. Those who went to see their friends and relatives off were constantly obstructed by the police officers who stood in between the boat and the people on the wharf and the position was made such that they could speak to the passengers on board as though they would be

speaking to prisoners. Behind this treatment were the Customs authorities. They had issued instructions to the Water Police to prevent the smuggling of gold coins. The duty of the Customs authorities really was to keep a watch and prosecute those particular persons whom they found to be the real offenders. But, no, they did not want to be put to all that trouble for the sake of mere Indians! They were after all dark-skinned men, and dark-skinned men in this country could be treated in any way. Their feelings were not to be considered. Respect to them was an unessential thing. The Water Police had therefore the whole control in their own hands of dealing with Indians and they treated them like sheep and goats. Instead of keeping a watch they forcibly kept back all Indians to such a distance from the boat that they could only shout to the passengers. While this was the case with Indians the Europeans were not interfered with. No wonder they were not, because they would not tolerate such treatment. It was this treatment meted out to Indians as a community in general that was daily causing great resentment in the minds of self-respecting Indians. While this practice was still in vogue it was in November last, now nine months ago, that Messrs. Sorabjee and Gandhi with many other friends were at the wharf to bid farewell to some of their friends and relatives sailing by the s.s. *Karagola*. Being pushed back without any cause whatsoever and having seen with their own eyes the differential treatment meted out to them and to their brethren they felt the humiliation of obeying such an arbitrary order and they felt that the only honourable course for them to adopt was to disobey such an order and suffer the consequence. Thus they were arrested and together with them hundreds of others were also arrested; but the latter were all set free and Messrs. Sorabjee and Gandhi were charged. They were found guilty and sentenced to a fine or imprisonment. They had knowingly committed the offence and they had to accept the punishment. They were therefore right in choosing to go to gaol. Their action was nothing more than what should be expected of every self-respecting Indian. By doing what they did they have lodged a practical protest against the differential treatment meted out to Indians in this country.

The treatment above described is not confined to the wharf alone. It is daily increasing in every department. New racial legislation is being introduced and passed every year. When there is differential treatment without legislation it is to be imagined what the position will be when it is sanctioned by legislation. The authorities have adopted the course of administering slow poison to the Indian community for their ultimate extinction from this country and it will be well for our brethren to realise this fact. There is now before us the Durban Land Alienation Ordinance passed and sanctioned by the Union Government. After all appeals and petitions have failed there is but only one course which we can adopt to get our grievances redressed and that is passive resistance. Indians in this country have been trained to the use of this weapon and know it to be the strongest and the surest one. The action of Messrs. Sorabjee and Gandhi is but a small demonstration of the feeling of the Indian community against the humiliations they are being

subjected to, and it should not be expected that they will for all time take the beating lying down. Mr. H. S. L. Polak has sent a timely message to Indians in South Africa through Pandit Bhawani Dayal and we cannot do better than quoting it here:—

**“It is my firm belief that now, and not later, it is for South African Indians, and, in particular, those born and bred in the country to stand firmly and unitedly in defence of their rights and their future, and of the honour both of South Africa and of India. If they should fail now, they cannot make up the loss except by almost superhuman sacrifice. They can count upon today, but not upon tomorrow. If to-day's work is well done, tomorrow can look after itself.”**

**W**E publish in another column an account of the sufferings to which Messrs. Sorabjee Rustomjee and Manilal Gandhi were subjected during their seven days imprisonment in the Durban gaol. Their demands were such that even criminal prisoners would be justified in claiming as their legitimate right. How a request to approach the highest authorities for an injustice they may consider to have been done to them could be refused is beyond us. We cannot but consider the ways of the Superintendent most autocratic and the position grave enough to require the intervention of higher authorities with a view to remedying it.

#### MAHATMA GANDHI IN JAIL

The following is the interview which Mr. Mathuradas, who had accompanied Mrs. Gandhi and her two sons to see Mahatmaji at the Jeravda Jail, had with the *Bombay Chronicle* representative:—

Q.—I understand you accompanied Mrs. Gandhi to interview Mahatma Gandhi?

A.—Yes. Besides myself her two sons and nephew also went with her.

Q.—How is Mahatmaji?

A.—There is no positive improvement, as was expected, in his health. At the same time, I may say he is not suffering from any particular ailment. Some time ago he suspected some trouble in his liver and he got himself examined by the doctor. And this probably gave rise to the rumour that he was suffering from pain in the liver.

Q.—How is he kept?

A.—He has creature comfort but no human comfort. He with Shrijut Shankerlal is confined in seclusion which deprives him of the sight of and communication with other prisoners. He has to live within the precincts of a small courtyard and that is his world. Even for exercise he is not taken out of it.

Q.—Has he been given books?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And writing materials?

A.—Yes, he is provided with writing materials, but letters he wrote were censored by H. E. the Governor himself and Gandhiji was asked to remove “objectionable” portions which he could not do. Once he wrote a long letter for Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi and family which contained some description of jail discipline. A second short letter he wrote for Hakim Ajmal Khan. Both these letters started a common fate and were not despatched to their addressees. Since then he has not attempted to write any more letters. He has also prepared a model vernacular text book which he desired to send to his friends for their opinion. That too was disallowed.

Q.—Does he get newspapers?

A.—Not at all. They may disturb his solitude. He is not allowed even such a paper as may be opposed to India's aspirations.

Q.—Is there anything to be said about his food?

A.—In this case at least, I can say he gets sufficient digestible food.

Q.—How does he pass his time?

A.—In carding, spinning, and reading. He devotes at least three hours to carding and spinning, and he would like to give more time to them if his physique would allow him.

A.—I can speak of the Superintendent. He was courteous to us and does not seem to be harsh. But it appears that so far Gandhiji is concerned he has little power to act: Government directly looks after him. He is not allowed a lamp.

#### SEVEN DAYS IN DURBAN GAOL

##### HOW WE WERE TREATED

(BY MANILAL M. GANDHI)

One should have thought that in His Majesty's Gaols treatment towards political prisoners would be much better than criminal prisoners. But the experience Mr. Sorabjee and I had during our seven days incarceration in Durban gaol was quite different. Even if we were not considered as political prisoners, as criminals too, the treatment we received was as bad as if not worse than, the worst criminals. Our experience began from the moment we stepped within the prison gate. Mr. Sorabjee was ordered to remove his head gear. He took objection to doing so as Parsees were, according to their religious custom bound to keep their heads covered and even when they are in bed they are supposed to have their heads covered. They are not allowed to speak, eat nor drink with their heads uncovered. This seemed to be of no concern to the gaol authorities who said, we were now prisoners and had to abide by the gaol regulations. Mr. Sorabjee's cap was removed forcibly. From this moment Mr. Sorabjee stopped speaking. We were then given prison clothing. Mr. Sorabjee again had trouble over his sacred garment and thread. These are also essentials which Parsees are, by their religion, forbidden to part with. Being deprived of these articles Mr. Sorabjee was rendered incapable of performing even his ordinary daily ablutions and it was impossible therefore for him to eat. As a staunch follower of his religion Mr. Sorabjee could not but act as he did. Before we were locked up in our respective cells we were given the opportunity of seeing the Superintendent. Mr. Sorabjee being unable to speak I made a request on his behalf that he should be allowed his sacred garment and thread. But the request was not granted. We were told that we were in gaol and had to abide by the gaol regulations and we were ordered to be taken to our cells. We now know whom we had to deal with. We were marched to the kitchen with other prisoners where we refused to take our food and we were then locked up in separate cells. In clothing we were yet given only short niccers and a jumper and two blankets and a mat were given us to sleep on. The following morning, that is on Wednesday we refused to take food again and we again saw the Superintendent and requested him to grant us permission to wire to the Ministers and the Director of Prisons about the sacred garment and thread. An emphatic “NO” was the reply from the Superintendent. On this day we were examined by the Doctor to whom we made a request for sandals and after examining our feet these were granted us. We were also given the red shirt, cap and a towel. Handkerchieves are given only to European prisoners and not to Indians and Natives. They have to make use of the towel for all purposes. We thought we would now be taken out for work, but

we were kept locked up in our cells the whole day with the exception of a half an hour in the morning and evening when we were taken out for exercise. On inquiring from our Warden we were informed that his instructions were to keep us locked up in separate cells and give us the work of picking coir from rope. When we were taken out for exercise we were ordered to walk on opposite directions and not allowed to speak to each other. This treatment is usually given to those who had committed any prison offence. But we were subjected to it without any offence. Thus we passed Wednesday without eating. On Thursday Mr. Sorabjee alone approached the Superintendent and again asked him for permission to wire to the Minister of Justice or to see the Chief Magistrate but it was blankly refused. This day was also spent without food. The cells in which we were locked up the whole day and night were about 8 ft by 10 ft in size with cement floor and never a ray of sunshine had entered the cell. They were naturally therefore damp and in addition to the pangs of hunger we had to suffer the dampness. On Friday morning the doctor was sent to us presumably to see if we were still alive. Then came the Superintendent for his usual visit. I asked him once more if he would reconsider his decision regarding the granting of our request and "no" was the prompt reply. I asked him the reason for keeping us in solitary confinement without committing any prison offence and the reply to that was: "You will stay where I put you." About half-an-hour later, however, our Warden took us to other cells where there was more light and were no doubt much better than where we were at first. We were thankful for this small concession. This day was also passed, as usual, without food and in the evening when all the prisoners were locked up we were taken to the office and informed that the sacred garment, thread and book would be granted. We were glad to find that our suffering had its reward after all. But on our release we of course found that some prisoners who had seen our action and were discharged before us had given the information outside and the community having moved in the matter the Director of Prisons had sent a wire granting our request. After our request was granted we were asked if we wished to take our food. We expressed our desire to see the Doctor before we could eat as after the long fast we could not digest the ordinary prison diet. We were told that we could not see the Doctor until the next morning. So that night too we had to pass without food. On Saturday morning at about 10 o'clock we saw the Doctor who prescribed milk, sago, and barley water and bread for us and the first time we were able to take something from the time we were put in gaol was a mug full of barley water and milk at about one o'clock on Saturday afternoon. On this day we asked the Superintendent for a mat in our cell as the cement floor was very cold and this was immediately granted. Saturday and Sunday we passed without any special incident and on Monday morning we were discharged at 8-15. We wondered why we were discharged so early but we learnt on getting out that many people were to have come to receive us and this was a dodge on the part of the gaol authorities to prevent any demonstration outside the prison gates. We were also informed on our release that when enquiries were made from outside as to whether our requests had been granted the gaol authorities refused to give any reply. During our seven days imprisonment we were able to see that the behaviour of the Warders generally, from the Chief Warden downwards, though they were dutiful to their Master, which they were bound to be, was not wholly unsympathetic. Many of them realised that we were not the same class of prisoners they had to deal with always, and their treatment towards us was likewise milder. But if we had come across the worse person it was the Superintendent in whom softness was not to be seen, who seemed to be totally

void of any feeling and who could be described as a tyrant.

#### TRANSVAAL BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

A mass meeting of Indians under the auspices of the Transvaal British Indian Association was held in the Patidar Hall on Tuesday last the 1st inst., to celebrate the Anniversary of the death of Lokmanya B. G. Tilak and to protest against the recent promulgation of the Durban Land Alienation Ordinance, and the unwarranted hostile attitude of certain Municipal Councils in the Transvaal.

Mr. E. I. Aswat presided who delivered the following speech:—

"Fellow Countrymen:—I do not think that we could have met on a more auspicious and solemn occasion than this. At times we have met to rejoice, but on this occasion we have assembled together for a three-fold purpose. Firstly to commemorate the anniversary of the passing away of the greatest Nationalist leader who was so true and so attached to the mother-country. Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak did not confine himself only to the political uplift of his countrymen, but devoted himself to the social, spiritual and educational uplift also. As father of Indian Nationalism he had imbued in us the spirit of Swaraj. From the moment, he had unfurled the banner of freedom for India years gone by, he never counted the cost, the danger nor refrained from putting forth at any time, the whole of his energies and his great-hearted devotedness. He was first and foremost an Indian Nationalist. There were great Indians before him and during his time and great Indians may come after him, but Lokmanya Tilak will remain enshrined in every Indian heart as the founder of Indian Nationalism. So devoted was he to the cause that he breathed his last with 'Swaraj' in his mouth. Where can such a not another patriot as this be found among our countrymen, who can replace him in the political and spiritual life of our beloved country. He was truly a great, and dignified self-sacrificing servant of the mother-country. What can we do to perpetuate his memory? There could be no greater nor nobler way than to continue his great work until the goal is reached and invoke the Divine Essence in His infinite Mercy to shower peace on the departed noble soul.

Coming to the second point we are to rejoice that it was on the very date of the passing away of Lokmanya, that the great non-violent non-co-operation movement was launched to achieve for India what she rightly and richly deserve full responsible Government under the unassailable and irreproachable leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Although, one has for ever departed from us and the other is confined within the prison walls of a temporal Sovereign, I have no doubt, the spirit of the one and the watchful eye of the other are hovering over us urging us to push forward our claims. I ask you therefore, to raise higher and higher the sacred banner, that was unfurled by our departed and leaders.

The third point is to take stock of our own position, and to have an introspective view of the administration and enactment of certain measures, that vitally affect our interests, and to safeguard our rights as citizens of the Empire. I do not know how far I am correct in styling ourselves as "Citizens of the Empire." In my humble opinion I have no hesitation in saying, the term "Citizen" as applied to the Indian is a misnomer and a deceit. Just recently a powerful deputation on behalf of the South African Indians waited upon the Viceroy. Our representative were optimistically referred back to the magnanimity of the Union Government, and the Union Government's reply to that was the promulgation of one of the three anti-asiatic measures introduced by the Natal Provincial Council. When the great passive resistance struggle ended on the 30th June 1914, judging from the correspondence

that passed between the Government and Mahatma Gandhi, it was hoped to be one of sympathetic administration of existing laws, and the gradual elevation of the Indian to live in honourable existence and extend him the status of citizenship. Now what do we find? While the great War was raging the attempts of our enemies to deprive us of our rights were frustrated on the plea that it would be indiscreet at that stage, to introduce a controversial subject. No sooner had the war ended successfully the very point that was previously rejected was introduced, when we went begging for protection to the Union Government against the drastic operation of another measure. The outcome was the Land and Trading Act. This new measure was followed by the Municipal Disfranchisement Bill of Natal. The latter I am glad to say was vetoed. Undaunted by this defeat the Natal Provincial Council brought in three new anti-Asiatic measures. One of this one received the Royal assent and was recently promulgated. The introduction of the Land and Trading Act deprived us of the right of acquiring landed properties in the Transvaal, in indirect though perfectly lawful methods. Since this Law was brought into operation the poor people who have reconciled themselves to the humiliating position of segregating themselves in the Bazaars under the control of the Municipal Councils in the Transvaal, are given no place. They are subjected to such persecutions and humiliations that one's blood is roused to boiling heat when thought of. I shall give you a few instances for you to judge yourselves. One Municipal Council wanted to fence in a location with a gate to control the ingress and egress of the residents as if they were a lot of wild cattle or hardened criminals. The ground adduced for this attitude by the Council was to have control over the residents. This led to litigation. Though the standholders were successful in obtaining a perpetual order restraining the Council from fencing in the Bazaar, it had cost the poor people a very heavy sum. Another Council has successfully refused to grant the residents of a certain Bazaar the right to trade on the pretext, that the Bazaar is on mining grounds, but the monopoly of trade is handed over to a white trader. We have no objection to any European trading there, but what I do maintain is, whilst the European is given the right to trade in the Bazaar, the poor Indian for whom this place was reserved should also enjoy the same right. Again another Council allowed a certain Indian to acquire certain rights and establish himself in the Bazaars for over seven years, and suddenly woke up to the fact that this particular person had acquired a number of stands, and erected buildings thereon without the consent and approval of the Council and are now endeavouring to impose on him such conditions as are wholly unacceptable. I could go on quoting instances after instances of hardships imposed upon us.

In conclusion I exhort you to do your duty. The outlook is dark and it behoves every one of us to be prepared for the worst. Only by the closest union can we hope to meet the situation. I appeal to you to stand united.

To this effect resolutions will be put to you for which I request your careful consideration.

#### RESOLUTIONS

1. This mass meeting of Indians held under the auspices of the Transvaal British Indian Association has read with much alarm and dismay the promulgation of the Durban Land Alienation Ordinance, and records its solemn and emphatic protest against same which is in direct conflict with both the spirit and letter of the 1914 Settlement and the recommendation of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission, and unanimously resolves to afford all the assistance, and co-operate in any legitimate means the Natal Indian Congress may adopt to have the Durban Land Alienation Ordinance repealed. Proposed by Maulvi Vallywoolla, supported

by Mr. R. S. C. Pillay and seconded by Mr. R. V. Patel.

2. This mass meeting hereby enters its emphatic protest against the high-handed and repressive measures adopted by certain Municipal Councils towards indigent Indian residents of the Bazaar laid out within their jurisdiction, and appeals to the Hon. the Minister of Interior to cede and put an end to this continued source of harassment. Proposed by Mr. B. C. Patel, supported by Messrs. Kara Fakir and P. S. Joshi and seconded by Mr. A. A. Mirza.

3. This mass meeting earnestly appeals to H. R. H. the Governor-General to veto the remaining two Natal Provincial Ordinances reserved for further consideration, inasmuch as they are reactionary and in direct conflict with the 1914 Settlement, and urges upon H. R. H. to exercise the prerogative vested in him under Section 147 of the Union Act; and take such steps as may be necessary to secure the disallowance of the Durban Land Alienation, recently assented to and ventures to submit that the three Ordinances aim at nothing short of delivering the death blow to the Indian community, including those born in the Union of South Africa who know no other home. Proposed by Mr. E. M. Patel, supported by Mr. P. P. Patel and seconded by Mr. P. K. Naidoo.

4. This mass meeting authorises the Chairman, Secretary, to forthwith despatch the foregoing resolutions to H. R. H. the Governor-General, the Hon. the Minister of Interior, the Indian and Imperial Governments and to all whom it may be deemed necessary. Proposed by Mr. P. P. Patel, supported by Mr. M. P. Farcy and seconded by Mr. F. S. Joshi.

Messrs. Sorabjee Rustomjee and Manilal Gandhi wish, through these columns, to express their sincere thanks to the many friends who have sent them messages of congratulation on their release.

## 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	1 0
My Indian Reminiscences by Dr. Paul	1 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 6
Indian Home Rule, by M. K. Gandhi	1 6
A Book—and its Misnomer	1 0
Bhagavad Gita, Mrs. Besant's Translation	2 6
Asiatic Registration Amendment Act (1908)	
in English and Gujarati	0 6
Shri Madhwa Charya	1 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 5
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

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