

Indian Opinion

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DURBAN INDIANS OFFER PRAYERS TO ALMIGHTY

A MASS MEETING of the Indians was held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress at the Royal Picture Palace, Victoria Street at 5-15 in Durban on Tuesday the 20th September for the purpose of offering prayers to the Almighty God with regard to Mahatma Gandhi's fast unto death.

Prayers were offered by Mr. Abdool Haque Kajee, Swami Bhawani Dayal and Rev. B. L. E. Sigamony. The whole audience stood when the prayers were recited.

The President Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee in his address said:—

"Kunwar Maharaj Singh, Ladies, Gentlemen, and Children,—We have to-day met here to pay our homage to the greatest living person in the world, Mahatma Gandhi, and to offer our humble prayers to the Almighty so that He may endow Mahatmaji with strength and health in his fast which he has begun at noon to-day.

"Those of us who have followed the activities of Mahatma Gandhi both in South Africa and in India know the enormity of his sacrifices for humanity. We are aware that he has on more than one occasion fasted, but on this occasion the fast is to be of such a character that we have to look to his latest sacrifice with considerable anxiety.

"No national figure in India, has done so much for India as Mahatma Gandhi. To-day India is Mahatma Gandhi and Mahatma Gandhi is India. He lives for India and her people. He has been consistent to sacrifice his all—and at the present to sacrifice even his life—for our country.

"During the last few days the press has published news in regard to Mahatma Gandhi's fast. I shall be reluctant to admit that the determination of Mahatmaji has been brought about wholly by the action of the Imperial Government. Whilst the caste system as obtaining in India is a blot on Hindu Society and is a factor that contributes to the present struggle I cannot but state with emphasis that the Ramsay MacDonald award on the Representation of the depressed classes is by far the larger factor.

"Whilst we recognise that the caste system in India is like a mill-stone hanging round the necks of Hindu Society, we know also that steps are being taken by responsible Hindu leaders to eradicate this social evil. And no person has contributed so much to its eradication as the Mahatma himself.

"It will be obvious therefore that the award of Ramsay MacDonald has not only set back the clock

but it will also tend to split Hindu Society which will certainly not be conducive to the best interest of India.

"I do not, however, desire to enter into any controversy on the matter, as our primary work is to offer our sincerest prayers.

Mahatma Gandhi has begun his fast. He has said that it will be unto death. Our prayers to-day will be that the Almighty may bless Mahatma Gandhi, that He may Grant him strength and health so that the Unity of the nation might be preserved. Let us pray that God may guide the Imperial and Indian Governments and the caste Hindus of India to alter their decision so that Mahatma Gandhi may not carry out his determination.

"Mahatma Gandhi is pursuing a righteous course and in that course he will have divine guidance."

The chairman asked the Agent-General, Kunwar Maharaj Singh, to say a few words. Kunwar Maharaj Singh said, "Mahatma Gandhi, who has been rightly described as one of the greatest men now living, has decided after no doubt great thought and consideration on the extreme step of his life. For the next week and perhaps for many days after our thoughts and the thoughts of millions of human beings will be centred on that solemn, pathetic figure. He has undertaken a solemn duty at this time when we hoped that there would be a general improvement in India, the solemn duty of suffering for others and for our grievous errors.

"It is we, the people of India, who are to be blamed. Let us hope against hope and each one of us pray constantly and daily that this most precious life may be spared."

Resolutions

The following resolutions were passed by the meeting:—

(1) That this Mass Meeting of the Indians held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress earnestly prays that the Government of India will release Mahatma Gandhi unconditionally from his incarceration and further prays that our countrymen in India will unite in all that they undertake so that Mahatma Gandhi may be relieved of his vow.

Proposed by Mr. A. Christopher, seconded by Mr. J. W. Godfrey and supported by Messrs. Rooknudin, B. M. Patel, Pragji Desai and S. R. Naidoo.

(2) That this Mass Meeting of the Indians held under the auspices of the N.I.O. sends its love to Mr. Gandhi in her hour of trial.
(From the chair.)

LONG LIVE MAHATMA GANDHI

IN this article we give below the words uttered by Mahatma Gandhi in the Yerowada prison and which are cabled out in this country:—

"I am anxious to live. God will keep me if He wants me. But I felt impelled by a voice within to fast unto death—to offer resistance with the whole of my being.

"I am still a prisoner, because I declined to accept a conditional release. My fast has no connection with politics in any shape or form. It certainly may produce a great political effect, but the fundamental thing is its religious and moral aspect.

"I take my religion in the broadest sense, because I am tackling untouchability at its very root. The political constitution would be a deadweight if the hope was not engendered in the breasts of the down-trodden millions that the burden of untouchability was going to be lifted.

"I want untouchability eradicated root and branch. The sacrifice of my life is but a poor penance for the atrocious wrong heaped on the countless and helpless untouchables.

"When one fasts one broods over things. One wants to cry and to go to the Almighty. No other course appealed to me.

"I urge my friends not to hold sympathetic fasts. I have told them that they must not do such a thing, as I will be able to live on water for a prolonged period.

"Like a prophet of Islam and like Jesus, I, on a humbler scale, have undertaken a tussle for justice. As my fast continues, my human cry will rise to the heavens of God Almighty.

"I am not fasting for sympathy. Tears will be useless after a few days. Be assured, however, that I shall make a super-human effort to retain my grip on life, for I am as anxious as anybody to continue to live."

We have full faith in Almighty God that He will preserve the life of Mahatma Gandhi. We have also this faith in Him that He will now inspire every Hindoo, nay, every Brahmin to take untouchables in his fold and take him in his house, feed him, and repent for the sin that the Hindoo Society committed. Let every Hindoo from this day treat untouchables as his own brother and thereby purify himself. If the Hindoos wish that Mahatma Gandhi should live then it is their duty also to give assurance to Mahatma Gandhi that they will treat untouchables as their own brothers. Long live Mahatma Gandhi.

MEN FIRST AND SUBJECTS AFTERWARDS

THE Right Hon. V. S. S. Sastri sent a cable to the Agent of the Government of India in this country in which he appealed to Mr. Rustomjee and the South African Indian Congress not to adopt Passive Resistance against the Asiatic Land Tenure Act. Mr. Rustomjee gave a statement to the Press and made his and the Congress position quite clear. We published his statement in our issue of the 9th inst. The South African press has also given publicity to Mr. Rustomjee's statement. The *Natal Advertiser* in its issue of the 8th inst. in a leading article under the caption 'Courageous or Obstinate' gave cheap advice to Mr. Rustomjee and the Congress to the effect that the Indian community must first obey the laws of the land; that the Indians must realise that one of the first principles of democracy is the loyal acceptance of the law of the land; that 'Passive resistance' is illegal in its considered and deliberate defiance of the law; that a moment's thought would or should convince them that no government can yield to intimidation or defiance from one section; that a Government's job is to govern, and so on. At the end it appeals the Congress not to prove altogether deaf to Mr. Sastri's appeal.

We can see that our contemporary does not know the A.B.C. of Passive Resistance. Should the Indians like mute animals submit to the unjust and oppressive law of the land, in framing of which no consent of the Indian community was ever sought? A Passive Resister is not bound to obey laws which are unjust and oppressive. He is bound to honour Truth and Right. A Passive Resister believes that under an unjust Government the best place for him to live in is jail. A Passive Resister first wants to be Man and Subject of any Government afterwards. For a Passive Resister "to see what is right and not to do it is want of courage." As President of the S.A.I.C. Conference Mr. Rustomjee with his colleagues after examining the Tenure Act in all its aspects felt that the Act is not only unjust but oppressive and it takes away the manhood of Transvaal Indians. Under the circumstances if he had not given the advice that he rightly did then in our judgment Mr. Rustomjee would have been lacking in courage.

We would like to ask our Contemporary that believe for a moment that the Transvaal Province is under a Dutch Republic Government, and the Republican Government of the Transvaal Province pass a legislation to-morrow prohibiting every Englishmen who live there that they can hold no land in the Province, that they cannot reside and occupy on proclaimed land, not only that but the Act gives power to the Minister of the Interior to set apart areas in Johannesburg in which alone the Englishmen could live and trade and set apart locations in other towns where the Englishmen will be ordered to go and live and the Republican Parliament of the Transvaal Province passes the English Land Tenure Act just on the line of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act we would like to ask the Editor of the *Natal Advertiser* what advice would he give to his English countrymen? Would he say to the Transvaal Englishmen that as the Act has already been

passed, it is the duty of every Englishmen to submit? Mr. Rustomjee does not want to see his countrymen live as cowards when one after another insults have been thrown at them and that they are deprived of their last vestige of self-respect. Mr. Rustomjee and the Congress want every Indian in this country to care for his self-respect first. If the Asiatic Land Tenure Act deprives the Transvaal Indians of their primary rights and treats them like helots then they should fill up the jails of the country by disobeying the Act as they have done in the past and prove that they are *men first and subjects afterwards*.

News About Mahatma Gandhi

London, Sept. 15.

Gandhi, who has decided to "fast unto death" from Sept. 20 as a protest against the Government's solution of the "depressed classes" problem, will be released from Yeravda Gaol, where he is at present undergoing an indeterminate sentence.

The statement issued by the India Office says that Gandhi has made it clear by correspondence with the Prime Minister that he proposes to starve himself to death not as a protest against his detention or against the measures taken to deal with civil disobedience generally, nor with the object of securing his release, but on a point of principle which is not related to the civil disobedience movement.

It has been decided that as soon as Gandhi actually begins to fast he will be removed from gaol to a suitable private residence. The only restriction that will be imposed on him there is that he should be served with an order directing him to remain there. It is hoped that it will prove unnecessary to impose any further restriction, but this is a matter that will depend primarily on whether the liberty accorded him is found to lend itself to the promotion of civil disobedience or to affect the maintenance of law and order.—(Reuter).

Simla, Sept. 15.

The Viceroy granted an interview with the Assembly representative of the depressed classes, who yesterday appealed to all parties to make an effort to save the life of the "greatest Indian of our time." The Hindu leader, Pandit Malaviya, has summoned a conference at Delhi in the hope of preventing Gandhi from embarking on his fast.—(Reuter).

London, Saturday.

Pandit Mohan Malaviya, the Indian Congress leader, has issued a call to all Indians to spend to-morrow fasting and praying for Gandhi's life, says the Bombay correspondent of the *Daily Herald*. Raja Gopal Achari, one of the Gandhi's principle lieutenants, has also issued an appeal to the nation to observe Tuesday—the day Gandhi propose to begin his "fast unto death"—as a holy day.

Meanwhile Gandhi adheres to his decision and resolutely rejects all appeals to postpone his fast. In a letter to his millionaire follower, Mr. G. Birla, he says: "There is no cause to be upset, but every cause for rejoicing that a God-given opportunity has come for offering a final sacrifice for the down-trodden. I am quite certain the fast must not be postponed."

Gandhi, it is understood, will be released from Yeravda Gaol at midnight on Tuesday, but will not be allowed to come to Bombay. He will most likely be taken to Ahmedabad.

According to the *Daily Express* (says our correspondent) a large number of Indian students and business men in London have decided to begin fasting on Tuesday in simultaneous with Gandhi for at least a week.

Poona, Sept. 18.

Gandhi has already started preparing for his great fast. He has cut down his staple diet of milk, reduced his fruit and vegetables and dispensed with physical exercise in order to conserve his energy as long as possible.

The beginning of his fast, on Tuesday, is not likely to be a dramatic occasion, as Gandhi will probably not accept any of the conditions attaching to his release.

Peace Efforts

It is expected that he will remain within the precincts of the gaol, but will be freely accessible to visitors, and facilities will be given for the mediatory efforts of his friends, who are anxious to prevent his carrying out his determination too far.—(Reuter).

Gandhi Begins His Fast

Poona, Tuesday.

Having refused the Government's terms for a conditional release from prison, Gandhi started his great fast in his cell in Yeravda Gaol at noon to-day. The Government removed the embargo on visitors and the Mahatma was seen by representatives of the Hindus, including the untouchables.

An Ahmedabad message states that the beginning of the fast coincided with ugly demonstrations by orthodox Hindus at the gates of the temple with the object of frustrating the proposal to admit untouchables. The police dispersed the angry crowd.—(Reuter).

Gandhi Not Well

Gandhi is reported to be indisposed and the doctor has advised him not to seek any more visitors at present, says a Reuter's message from Poona.

Mr. Manilal Gandhi Went To India

Mr. Manilal Gandhi, the Editor of this journal, went to India per *s.s. Taira* on the 19th September, 1932, Monday. As Mahatma Gandhi decided to fast unto death he felt it his duty to immediately leave South Africa for India and be near his father. Mrs. Manilal Gandhi and the daughter also accompanied him. We wish them a happy voyage and pray to the Almighty that a satisfactory solution may be arrived at amongst the different parties in India so that Mahatma Gandhi may not have to fast unto death. Mr. Manilal Gandhi hopes to return in December.

Cable From Devdas Gandhi

We have received the following cable from Benares from Devdas Gandhi:—

"Bapu wrote Hoare March 11th reminding statement London resist with life separate electorates depressed classes which disastrous for them disrupting Hindu unity. Issue predominantly moral religious informed Government decision fast unto death if separate electorate created. Hoare replied formally after award Bapu intimated fast commencing September 20th until Government voluntarily or under pressure withdraw decision. Premier replied claiming award provided joint electorates maintained Hindu unity imputing deliberately motive hurt depressed classes interest Government decision unalterable except conditions award. Bapu replied stating extreme steps itself would falsify Premier's imputation. He not against even over-representation depressed classes but against statutory separation from Hindus Government decision would arrest progress work Hindu reformers adhere decision fast God sustains us this crisis country responding bravely."

The Ethics Of Passive Resistance

All truth is safe and nothing else is safe; and he who keeps back the truth, or withholds it from men, from motives of expediency, is either a coward or a criminal, or both.—*Max Muller.*

I.

Nineteen centuries ago one of the greatest moralists of the world laid down his life in passive resistance to constituted authority in what was then a great centre of spiritual activity. The ground for the resistance was unquestionably valid, as it has continued down to this day a memorable and living example of loyal submission to human law, where such submission was not in direct conflict with the higher law of conscience. The resistance had reference to an injunction that a living faith in a superhuman or divine power was to be abjured, and a claim to spiritual kingship over a certain race of people was to be renounced in favour of the temporal power then existing. "We found this fellow perverting the nation and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, saying that he himself is Christ, a King." To Pilate's question, after asking him whether he put the question of himself, Jesus said: "My Kingdom is not of this world: if my Kingdom were of this world then would my servants fight." His death on the cross has ever been a unique episode in the world's history—a magnificent example of what disobedience to the law really meant. There was no question as to the doubtful character of the authority which sought to enforce the decree of death by crucifixion. The illegal nature of the punishment was not in itself a matter of dispute. It was harsh; it was unjust; it was rigorous in the extreme; it was wholly unmerited. But he who found himself placed in subjection to the law as it then operated, and the authority which asserted itself in carrying out that law, deemed it within his right, in obedience to his conscience, to resist both, but in a passive manner: there was no idea of resisting it by force. A combination of his servants and followers against the law would have been a direct condemnation of his faith. A concerted action to enforce his claim by physical means would have been derogatory to his moral character and to his high mission. And so the man who had the most powerful force behind him, by virtue of his transcendent moral sway—a force irresistible in its inherent strength, and overwhelming in its ultimate result, if put into effect—preferred to resist the law by submitting to the dread decree pronounced against him for breaking the laws' (to him) unlawful demand.

During the same epoch of Christian history, and but a few months after the consummation of Christ, a holy man met martyrdom at the hands of his adversaries. His offence was "speaking blasphemous against Moses and against God." He, however, proved a passive resister. His detractors proceeded to open violence. He was dragged out of the city and stoned to death. Upon the removal of Stephen a general persecution was raised against the Church people at Jerusalem. Men and women were haled and committed to prison. Thus passive resistance obtained Divine sanction, and men had recourse to it as the only effective weapon against tyranny and injustice and oppression. As martyrdom was a penalty of self-consciousness, born of the deepest convictions, in religious life, so in civil life those whose minds and whose consciences revolt against oppressive laws, against laws which seek to take away the best of manhood and to degrade humanity, adopt passive resistance as the most effectual salve to their outraged consciences,

II.

"What kind of Society is it which, at this period, has for its base, inequality and injustice? The hell of the poor makes the paradise of the rich. Not only has happiness not come, but honour has fled." We should be sorry to think with Victor Hugo that this is so. And yet Tolstoy and Hugo shine as two of the greatest minds which have probed into the depths of humanity in our time. Thoreau, one of the greatest of American moralists, the author of "The Duty of Civil Disobedience," was a martyr to his principles—principles dictated by the highest sense of duty to the State as well as obedience to conscience. Human convictions may be right or wrong, but there is always a limit to human endurance in the fulfilment of human law. No man to-day will pretend to deny to a modern Japanese the highest form of personal courage and the severest form of moral rectitude. They have been apparent to us of late years in many ways. To us his "Bushido" may seem a blind fetish, but its true meaning, its deep significance, is understood and appreciated by the deepest thinkers of our day. They know it touches the deep chords of humanity. When we have grasped the true moral of Japanese ethics, and realise to ourselves what a changed being a cultured Japanese has become under the law of evolution, it will be easy for us to understand why at any moments of great trial—when the spirit of patriotism and family relationship is in the ascendant—he passively resists the admonitions of the inner monitor, refuses to save his life, and creates for himself a moral injunction as it were for physical extinction so as to reach up to a spiritual life of national redemption and regeneration.

Passive resistance as a political weapon and a moral action has, therefore, the fullest possible justification behind it. To offer physical force against recognised authority which seeks to enforce any law, good or bad, would be morally wrong. When you however resist the law, not actively but passively, you hereby imply that what is good and just law to some may be bad to others. While human institutions continue imperfect men of strong conscience and rational ideas will adopt this mode of expressing their protest against iniquitous ordinances.

Under any form of government power is relegated to a group of men to judge in righteousness and to rule with equity and justice. It does not follow that because men are called to power, and are invested with authority to enact laws, they must be considered immaculate or infallible. Too often the best men—the most humane, the most just, the most practical, the most considerate—remain subjects, and do not become rulers or framers of laws for their fellowmen. Similarly, too often those who attain to power are inconsiderate, tyrannical, unjust. If proof were needed it will be found ready to hand from almost every country and from every age. To take a recent case in point from a nation in the forefront, I would cite the passive resistance offered by a large section of highly educated people in England against the last Education Act. Here we have a form of government which has undergone a purifying process during centuries of civilisation—a government which, by common admission, has reached almost the highest limit of advanced democracy, in which power is attained by a just and equitable process—by sheer force of intellect and reason—a government which bears on the face of it every element of moral right and expediency. Yet we see a law promulgated apparently in the best interests of the whole community, but which proves in its operation, directly antagonistic to, and unacceptable by a large, intelligent and otherwise obedient section of that community. Numerous laws are in operation to which it gives will and unquestionable obedience, but, owing to reasons which

have swayed humanity in all ages, it finds that its conscience revolts against the new measure. The new enactment caused a serious conflict in their minds: it warred against their sense of right. It therefore simply declined to do the law's bidding and accepted the consequent penalties.

Laws are said to be made for the safety, the security and the protection of the interests of the people: they are not made to chastise and oppress. They must be guided by reason, necessity, expediency—in the interests of all. They must injure none: they must not remorselessly override the domain of reason and conscience. They must act with justice and circumspection. "Render unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's" does not mean that men should assign themselves body and soul to the law, at the law's bidding. Three times within my knowledg has a high-minded, law-abiding and intelligent citizen met the laws' injunctions by paying the required fine instead of complying with the law which demanded that he should have his child vaccinated. On moral grounds he was right not to set aside his conscientious scruples. To salve his conscience he became a passive resister. In the words of Thoreau, this was a man first and a subject afterwards. He obeyed the law of conscience before blindly complying with the alternative of man-made law. "It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right."

III.

Passive resistance is indeed an extreme course with an honest man; he is generally driven to that course by the stress of physical power, and hence his action is not unjustifiable on moral grounds. If passive resistance on the part of a minority in a state becomes an imperative necessity, then the majority cannot continue strong for long; it is bound to weaken and become effete as to its action in the matter of enforcing its power or its authority against that minority.

And passive resistance of subjects, who are not even legal units of a lawful or legally-constituted Government, has all the more reason for its action, in a given case, since such a Government cannot justly impose burdens or restrictions on units which had no voice in its creation. Such imposition of burdens on one particular section of a community would be tyrannical, and must ultimately tend to endanger to political fabric of that community. The very *raison-d'être* of the Government would, in these circumstances, become open to question.

There is so much force in what Thoreau has written on the ethics of passive resistance that I make no apology for introducing here some of the relevant passages bearing on the subject of civil disobedience. "Unjust laws exist; shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavour to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once? Men generally under such a government as this, (United States) think that they ought to wait until they have persuaded the majority to alter them. They think that if they should resist, the remedy would be worse than the evil. But it is the fault of the government itself that the remedy is worse than the evil. It makes it worse. Why is it not more apt to anticipate and provide for reform? Why does it not cherish its wise minority? Why does it cry and resist before it is hurt? Why does it not encourage its citizens to be on the alert to point out its faults, and do better than it would have them."

"Action from principle; the perception and per-

formance of right, changes things and relations; it is essentially revolutionary, and does not consist wholly with anything which was. It not only divides states and churches, it divides families: ay, it divides the individual, separating the diabolical in him from the divine."

Speaking of the inconsistent side of the aggregate intelligence placed in authority and power, he says: "After all, the practical reason why, when the power is once in the hands of the people, a majority are permitted, and for a long period continue, to rule, is not because they are most likely to be in the right, nor because this seems fairest to the minority, but because they are physically the strongest. But a Government in which the majority rule in all cases cannot be based on justice, even as far as men understand it."

Again: "I think that it is enough if they have God on their side without waiting for that other one. Moreover, any man more right than his neighbours constitutes a majority of one already."

Under a government which imprison any unjustly the true place for a just man is also prison."

Modern conditions have altered the whole face of State administration. The voting system under a party government often, however, places an illiberal group of men in place and power. To meet conditions of this kind Thoreau exhorts all honest men in this wise: "Cast your whole vote, not a strip of paper merely, but your whole influence. A minority is powerless while it conforms to the majority then; but it is irresistible when it clogs by its whole weight."

(To be continued)

The American Negro

Dr. Phelps Stokes' Lecture

The Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, the visiting professor of the Carnegie Corporation for 1932, gave a most interesting address to a fairly large gathering in the Chamber of Commerce boardroom when he was in Durban last week on "The Present Status of the American Negro." The meeting was held under the auspices of the Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, with Mr. Maurice Webb in the chair.

Dr. Stokes described the wonderful strides made by the American negro since the days of slavery, and showed clearly how valuable an asset the negro had turned out to be under the influence of education, which had made him at the same time a greater producer and a greater consumer. Students of native affairs, as well as those who think the native in this country should be "kept in his place," would have found his lecture more than enlightening.

Among those present were the Agent of the Government of India, Kunwar Maharaj Singh and the Kunwarani. The Agent took a keen interest in the address and asked several questions.

Problem Of Adjustment

Mr. Stokes said the problem in the United States was the problem of adjusting the activities of some 12,000,000 negroes to the activities of about 108,000,000 Europeans. There were more African negroes in the United States than there were in Africa south of the Zambesi, although the proportion of natives to Europeans in South Africa was much greater. Only 15 per cent. of the negroes in the Northern States and 10 per cent. in the Southern States were coloured, the remainder being pure

negroes. Intermarriage was practically a thing of the past and was heavily frowned on.

In the U.S.A. all the negroes spoke English and were Christians. At the close of the Civil War all persons born or naturalised in the U.S.A. were declared citizens and their rights were equal. Legally, therefore, the negro had all the privileges of the European.

At present there was one negro member of the United States Congress, there were several in the Consular Service, there were hundreds of thousands in the police force, in clerical employment, in the Army and elsewhere.

Partial Segregation

Socially in the South there was segregation in the public conveyances and in some States there was absolute separation in the schools. There was some difficulty over theatres and hotels, many of which observed the colour bar.

One of every five negro families in Washington owned a radio set, and Mr. Stokes considered wireless of great value in breaking down racial barriers.

The negro had made simply amazing progress in the business field. There were 51 negro banks and the average negro had a purchasing power which was two-thirds that of the average European. This was vitally important as the economic prosperity of the negro was in the interest of the whole community and added enormously to the welfare of the nation. There were 100,000 negroes who were members of trade unions and there were some trades in which negroes were particularly efficient, such as carpentry and building. There was, when times were bad, a tendency to give preference to Europeans, however.

The number of businesses conducted by negroes was 70,000 and the accumulated wealth of negroes was to-day 520,000,000 dollars. It was, however, probably as contractors and builders that they did best.

The majority of negroes were still poor, in spite of their amazing economic progress.

Education

Last year over £12,000,000 was spent on the education of negroes and many States were spending more on this than they had 10 years ago spent on negro and white together. The U.S.A. had come to the conclusion that it was extremely dangerous for the Commonwealth to have any large group of uneducated people in its midst. Everyone needed education to enable him to give and take the high values of his life and career.

From a beginning of 600 negro teachers there were now 56,000 and the number of negroes in the schools of the United States was now 2,200,000.

There were 4,000 licensed negro physicians, 2,000 licensed dentists, thousands of nurses and the like.

Mr. Stokes gave a long list of American negroes who had risen to the highest positions attainable in the United States.

The negro was deeply religious and Booker Washington had told him that he had never known a negro who was an atheist.

People in the U.S.A. were now seriously studying the negro problem. He considered that the greatest step taken in recent years. Many had devoted their lives to the uplift of the negro and the white man and the coloured were getting together to solve their difficulties. — *Natal Mercury*.

Rabindranath Tagore On Art

The following address delivered by the Poet at a reception given to him by the Library Societies of Teheran in May, is reproduced from the *Modern Review*.

Friends,—I thank you for this invitation from the literary club of Teheran. It is natural that I the Poet from India should find my place in your midst. Let me hope that you do not expect a regular speech from me, formal and decorous, that you agree with me that it is as absurd to make a poet deliver speeches as to use a flute for a fishing rod or a fencing stick. I am reminded of a similar occasion in China, when the literary people of Peking, invited me to a picturesque garden on the hill and after lunch was over asked me to tell them about my ideas on art and literature. I spoke simply sitting in their midst, I was not condemned to be banished to a high platform aloof from my listeners. My place is with you, and not above you, so that I wish to-day also I could sit with you on the same level in this beautiful garden, and tell you what is in my heart.

It is not at all easy to define fundamental facts of existence such as is art. It is as indefinable as life itself. We only know that the spirit of life that manifests itself in a rose gives a definitely concrete form and character to an impulse which is indefinite and abstract. It has no other ulterior purpose than to fashion a unique form from elements that are amorphous like those of carbon, nitrogen, hydrogen and others having no resemblance whatever to their final result. But this form of a rose is not important in itself, the form which is a limited fact that can be measured and analysed. It is a mysterious dynamic quality imported to it that helps to make the rose transcend all its immediate facts. In this it is not only a thing but it is a thing which has its significance of beauty, inexplicable and measureless. A value has been given to it and not merely a substance. This value, this ineffable quality of delightfulness is maintained by a perpetual rhythm which creates a synchronous rhythm is our own consciousness.

The meaning of art is like that of life itself. Its inner impulse offers its ultimate explanation only in its outer manifestations. That they have come into being like a rose, like a star, and have compelled our recognition of them as an inevitable expression of reality is enough. Like life art has its expressions that are dynamic, they constantly give an impetus to our minds and create ripples of various patterns in them, which we call emotions. These are artistic emotions, being pure and having no consequences in life beyond their activities in our imagination. Art like life revels in a rhythmic play of appearances for its own sake.

Before I had come to you, possibly some of you had heard of me, read my writings and admired them. In fact, you had already been acquainted with that aspect of mine which was most significant. Yet when you heard that I was coming to your country, an expectation must have been aroused in you which gave you an eagerness of delight. But what is the reason? It must be this that a knowledge about myself was not enough but an image of me was needed for your complete satisfaction. By that nothing could be added in your mind to all the important factors about myself; only the several ideas about a poet of my name that you already had possessed are going to be focussed in a centre and formed into a definite image of reality. This image is not absolutely similar in all your minds and its emotional reactions are also varied according to your temperaments. But its unique definiteness gives satisfaction to your faculty of imagination, which seeks to realize its visions in completeness. After the sight of me the picture that is impressed in your mind is an inner work of art, it is a mental image that has a living character.

But of what use is this image of a poet to you? If I were an engineer or a politician you could fix in your memory my figure with an association of some immediate usefulness, such as building of bridges or carrying on diplomatic missions. But the image of a poet can have no appeal of utility in your mind.

In fact, all true images that are vivid give us a disinterested satisfaction even if their biographical associations have no importance. The sense of reality which is pure became detached from facts that either compel our recognition for urgent purposes of life or are overlooked because of their apparent insignificance, is delightful. In our storehouse of imagination, we have such innumerable images of all that have been significant to us for their own sake, that have added wealth to our consciousness, making our life richer for us, even when they are mingled with the memory of sorrows and sufferings. In fact, these are the materials out of which our life is truly built up—the life of ideal reality. The images which have found their permanence in our minds through the selective process of life, in other words which are most real for us give us our individuality of character. Human art is also busy creating images of ideal reality; our history reveals its character by producing these images and making its choice from them for its treasure of undying worth.

This world is a world of images. The clouds, the skies, the mountains and rivers are part of a common being to which we belong. The trees stand silently around giving us the delight of an intimate companionship, we enjoy the pageantry of leaves and flowers and fruit; the colours and forms in which they abound. We enjoy them because they are not vague; they are real and delightful to us. Because they have some quality of harmony which we call beauty, which makes their reality impressively inevitable and immediate to our minds. We take joy in the springtime blossoming of new life not for any virtue which we know as usefulness but simply because through a fulness of reality it rouses response of reality within us. It delights us by the sheer facts of its existence which is co-extensive with ours.

I had some knowledge of Persia even before my coming. I had read something of your history and geography, and formed some idea of your people and your country. My imagination was aroused through your great poets whose call had come to me even though I had no direct access to them. I used to dream of a Persia where *bulbul* made love to the roses, where in dreamland gardens poets sat round their wine cups, and invoked visions of ineffable meaning. But now that I have come to your country my dream has been formed into a concrete image finding its permanent place in the inner chamber of my experience. It is a definite gain added to the store of all my things of beauty that are joy for ever. I have visited Saadi's tomb; I have sat beside the resting-place of Hafiz and intimately felt his touch in the glimmering green of your woodlands, in blossoming roses. The morning sun coming through the iron lattice work wrote its shadow scripts over his tomb; it was the same sun that lighted up the face of his beloved centuries ago. It felt upon my forehead with the memory of an eternal love episode in which we all seemed to have taken part. The past age of Persia lent the old world perfume of its own sunny hours of spring to the morning of that day and the silent voice of your ancient poet filled the silence in the heart of the poet of Modern India. Altogether it was an image which waited for its perfection in my mind since the far off days when I was a boy and listened from my father to the cadenced music of your great poet.

Every individual has something of a poet within his heart seeking fulfilment through experiences which give a sense of ultimate reality. Man is glad because the sky is blue, because water flows and flowers blossom;

not because they are useful and profitable like cheque books and motor cars, but because they are what they are. Our gift of imagination is satisfied through them, they are real to us though we cannot explain them.

God as poet inspires us—the poet within our hearts. In his sunrises and sunsets, green grass and living water he speaks to us as a comrade seeking our response in joy. And I am sure he is glad as a mortal poet is when we enjoy his creations. His great work is to delight our heart, not to convince us of the usefulness of things.

I have always felt that when I do useful work for my fellow-beings God praises me, but when I sing to them I win his love. The world of utility we must recognize, its laws we must understand. If we fail to do so we shall be punished. But the world of beauty waits and waits;—and even if we pass them heedlessly by the roses will smile, and be beautiful, and wait silently for our auspicious recognition. We are not punished if we callously ignore the ceaseless service of love, the master poet is happy. He has given us freedom to be apathetic, to accept his creations or to reject them. When the great moment arrives, when our sensitive mind is moved by the fulness of reality, the music which flows from his infinite love reaches us, and our deepest purpose of being is fulfilled.

And then we also come out with our gifts of love, with our creations of beauty which we offer to him for his delight. When I saw your great ruins, Persepolis, your great architecture in Isfahan, your paintings and frescoes I felt that this was the homage of humanity to the Great Poet; the answer of man to God's call of love.

Poets and artists seem to bring their greatest gift, and ask—"Art thou satisfied, my Master? Thou hast made us partners in thy joy, pouring thy gifts of love upon us; now we have come to offer thee our best from the depths of our own love for thee."

And the answer comes from Him to us—from our Master who is also our Friend:

"I have used my power for millions of years in fixing the foundation of this world, burned it in fire, hammered it with earthquakes. After ages of toil came the first flower, the birds sang, life appeared on earth—then was my dream fulfilled. And yet I waited. My joy sought the confirmation of your delight, the answering creations of your love."

His world of beauty surrounds us, our life is his gift of love. The play of love begins—*lila* as we call it in India—now is to be the union of our human civilization of beauty with God's own world of creation, and be blessed.

My friends, let us not bring discord into this beautiful world, something which is perverse and disharmonious with creation. Roses and nightingales, sunshine and green foliage, they are tuning up the harp of creator—let us join with them. Let us not be greedy, ugly and destructive, ruled by passions which belie our nature. It has gone on too long, this decreation of our sacred world, which bears the touch of God's own hand. Do you not see how man is creating suffering, tightening the bonds of slavery on weaker nations, exploiting hospitality and kindness for cruel diplomacy? Do these harmonize with starlight, and wide fields, the call of eternity which comes from far horizons? Our deeds are an insult and un-aid injury to the world fashioned by our Master, and we have to bow our heads in shame for what man has done to man.

God wishes man to manifest his greatness. Science has entered nature's storehouse and is successfully utilizing the wealth of its resources. For that we have to be proud. But what have we done to the world of beauty? Have we been equally successful in exploring its inner significance and making accessible to all its endless wealth of delight, fertilizing the toil-hardened desert of destitution? No! on the contrary—the more

we add to our machiner, and our mechanisms of utility, the more we are being alienated from the eternal world of truth and beauty. We lose our heads over our mechanical achievement, we miss our right to be happy. We have learnt to tyrannize and destroy. We have failed to win our freedom by surrendering to love.

This, my friends, is all I have to say to you, I who belong to the brotherhood of a useless tribe called poets. You must use your wisdom in mastering mechanical power, there you have a great field of work. But let me remind you of your responsibility in the human world of love. I claim no right to advise you, to speak from a higher platform, but I claim a corner in your hidden heart where I can talk to you as a friend. If I am fortunate you will receive me there and recognize me as one who seeks to fulfil God's own dream of love.

Madressa Mazaheer Ul-Ulum Ul-Fateh

The Committee and members of the above Madressa situated at Brickfield Road, Manning Place, acknowledges with grateful thanks donations from the following gentlemen towards the payment of the purchase price of a certain piece of land for the above Madressa:—

DURBAN: E. M. Paruk £2 and one Janaza, A. M. Lockhat £1 10s., M. S. Randeree £1, Hoosen Cassim £1, A. H. Moosa £1, D. M. Timol's Sons £1, Estate of Hajee Moulai Fateh Mahomed £1, D. M. Seelal £1, Kathrada Bros. £1, Bassa Ltd. 10/-, M. L. Sultan 10/-, S. H. Kharwa 5/-, Shaik Hoosen Saib 5/-, E. D. Motala 5/-, Hassen Essop 5/-, M. B. Mayet 5/-, M. A. Kajee 10/-, B. Hoosen 5/-, Amod Dawood & Co. 5/-, M. Antonie £2 2s., Fakir Ebrahim £1, Omardeen 10/-.

MANNING PLACE: Shaik Hoosen £10, M. D. Moola £1, S. Abdool £1, S. Hassen 10/-, M. A. Hassan 10/-.

NORTH COAST: M. Maether £1, Amod Kathrada 10/-, M. E. Vawda 5/-, Iyab Sacoor 5/-, Ismail Ebrahim 5/-, A. I. Mahomed 5/-, Darnall Trading Co., 7/6, Kajee Sadrooden 16/-, Lila collections £2 17s.

SOUTH COAST: S. E. Jadwat 10/-, H. I. Vawda 2/6, Mahomed Banoo 2/6, I. E. Ally 7/6, M. M. Suleman 5/-, A. A. Sarcot 5/-, Balim 5/-, Hoosen Suleman 2/6, Lila collections £1 2s 6d.

MAIN LINE—Pinetown: All Lila collections amounting to 19/-, Abdool Ebrahim 10/-, Essack 9/-, Badat 6/9, Amod 10/-, A. C. Rawat 10/-, Ahmedie Tea Room 5/3, Royal Passenger Service 5/-, Thajooobdeen 5/-, Cassim Amod 8/-, M. Haffejee 2/6, Lila collections in Maritzburg £3, Y. A. Cassim 5/-, A. Mahomed 2/6, S. Dawood & Son 5/-, S. A. Hajee 5/-, E. E. Akood & Son 5/-, E. Haffejee 7/6, Abdool Rahman 10/-, Narsooden 7/6, A. M. Jada 5/-, M. M. Amod £1 1s., Ismail Mahomed £1, Moosa Hajee Ayoob £5 5s., Ayoob Noor Mahomed £2 2s. Osman Alarik & Sons £3 3s., Green Store 15/-, A. H. Ismail 2/6, Ohacha 10/-, Shaik Abdool £1 10s., E. S. Vawda £1, Lila collections £1 3s. 6d., Asmal £1 1s., Lila collections £2.

Total amount collected	£70 15 0
Expenses incurred for	
Motor car, oil & Petrol	15 18 6
Paid for general expenses	
for upkeep of the Madressa	10 17 0

Paid Rates & Taxes	1 0 0	
Paid for land	34 0 0	61 15 6
Balance on hand		£8 19 6

The committee also thank the following gentlemen for their generosity in providing them with food and accommodation during their stay in the respective districts and for assistance given to their representatives during their visit, viz: Messrs. Kajee Sadroodeen, Tugela, Amod Bayat, P. M. Burg, A. M. Jada, Glencoe Junction, Moosa Hajee Ayoob, Dundee, Shaikh Abdool, Dannhauser.

The debt on the property has now been reduced by £74 in all leaving a balance of £276 plus 6% interest. In order to settle the amount still owing on the property the committee again appeals for donations. Representatives will be appointed for this purpose at the next meeting who will tour the country for donations which the committee trusts will not be in vain.

S. M. AMBER,
Hon. Secretary.

Mr. Kailas Prasad Kichlu, I.E.S. (retired), has given the following donations for educational purposes in India:—

1. Agra University (for building scheme)	10,000
2. Benares Hindu University	4,000
3. Allahabad University (for scheme of building a Women's Hostel)	2,000
4. Theosophical Women's College and Girls' School, Benares	2,000

Total 18,000

Mr. Kichlu is well-known to the South African Indians. When the Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri was acting here as Agent-General the Provincial Council of Natal appointed a Commission to make inquiry into the educational problem concerning the Natal Indians. The Government of India sent Mr. Kichlu and Miss Gordon from India to help the Commission. The work that Mr. Kichlu did in connection with that Commission will ever remain fresh in the minds of the Indian community. We congratulate Mr. Kichlu for the splendid donation that he gave for the furtherance of education in India.

Notice

INDIAN UNEMPLOYMENT

Will employers of Indian labour kindly notify the undersigned of any vacancies in their establishment.

WRITE: Hon. Secretary, Sri Kurma Reddi Unemployment Relief Committee, 175 Grey Street, Durban, or Phone Central 3506.

Indian Child Welfare Society Centre

150, BROOK STREET, DURBAN

Open daily, Monday to Saturday, 8-30 a.m. to 11 a.m. Infants, young children, nursing and expectant mothers.

Lady doctors give free attendance.

Tuesday morning 8-30 o'clock. Friday afternoon 2 o'clock.