

Indian Opinion

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INDIANS WITHIN THE EMPIRE

DR. SATISH CHANDRA BANERJI, M.A., LL.D., President of the United Provinces Congress Committee, Allahabad, has addressed a memorial to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Commerce and Industry on the position of Indians in Canada. We give below some extracts.

The question of the status of Indians within the Empire, brought into prominence by the repressive policy pursued by South Africa against her Indian settlers, has (says the memorial) been seriously agitating the public mind for a long time. It principally concerns the colonies of Canada, Australia and South Africa. The passing of the Indian Relief Act during the last session of the South African Parliament, and the promises made by her statesmen of a more considerate administration of the laws affecting Indians have undoubtedly allayed the bitterness that was aroused in this country last winter, and enabled her Indian residents to bring the campaign of Passive Resistance, on which they were forced to enter, to an honourable close, but my committee submits that the solution arrived at there cannot be accepted by India as the last word of Imperial statesmanship on the question of the immigration of Indians within the Empire. The situation is even less satisfactory in Australia. In South Africa the understanding is that the immigration laws will be so worked as to allow a few Indians to enter the colony and settle there every year, but in Australia they can be and are enforced in such a way as to effectually exclude all Indian immigrants.

Indian immigration into Canada began in 1905, and in the course of a year about 6,000 Indians landed on Canadian soil. Their number at present, however, is about 4,500. They live almost entirely in the province of British Columbia and all of them are males with the exception of three women who have been allowed to enter as an act of grace. Ninety per cent. of them are Sikhs, many of whom are retired soldiers. Their occupations are manual labour and agriculture, and by their sobriety and industry they have come to own property worth about 2½ crores in less than a decade.

It is painful to compare the stringency of the laws against Indians with the consideration shown to the Chinese and Japanese who somehow do not produce any of the evils that are supposed to flow from oriental immigration. No Indian may enter Canada, but four hundred Japanese are admitted annually on showing that they possess 50 dollars each in specie or negotiable securities, while the Chinese can gain admission in unlimited numbers on payment of a tax of 500 dollars per head. Again, after complying with the requirements of the law they can easily obtain naturalisation certificates, but, strange to say, no Indian has yet been able to do so. Further they possess the right, equally with European immigrants, of taking their wives, child-

ren and other relations with them, but in the case of Indians only three women have so far been allowed to enter and that too as an act of grace. The South African Government refused to recognise Indian marriages celebrated in accordance with the religious tenets of the contracting parties because Hinduism and Mohammedanism permit polygamy, but in Canada the Chinaman may have several wives and may live in polygamous relations with all of them without any protest on the part of the white inhabitants, while the Indian who is a "monogamist by tradition" is not permitted to ask his wife and children to come near him. The result is that the Japanese and Chinese, who are the subjects of a foreign Government, are admitted on easy terms, while Indians who own allegiance to the same King-Emperor are, in practice, entirely excluded. It is a cruel irony of fate that British citizenship should be a disqualification in Canada.

A deputation waited on the Minister of the Interior on behalf of the Indians in 1911 to bring to his notice the serious disabilities under which they laboured. The Minister promised that their representation regarding the admission of their wives "shall be immediately attended to, and the other parts also settled in a just and straightforward manner." But so far nothing has been done to redeem this pledge, nor is there any sign of any action in the direction promised being taken in the near future.

Having proved unsuccessful in securing an amelioration of the condition of their brethren in Canada by their own unaided efforts, Indians naturally turn to the Government of their country for help at this juncture. They regard it not as a mere channel of communication between India and England, but as their own Government, which is identified with their interests, which will be their mouthpiece, and which, as His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to observe in his speech in Council on the 8th September, will put the good of India, of which her material welfare is only a part above all other considerations in framing its policies. They gratefully acknowledge the support they have received from the Indian Government in the past in their efforts to secure their just rights in the colonies. The noble advocacy by Lord Hardinge's Government of the cause of Indians in South Africa and His Excellency's intervention to prevent the use of armed force against the unfortunate passengers of the *Komagata Maru* are still fresh in their minds, and they have the fullest confidence that they can count upon the same unwavering support in future.

There is a feeling among Indians that the Colonies have been influenced in their conduct towards Indians by the idea that the Government of India, being subordinate to the Government of England, has no power to protect the interests of Indians and to obtain for them a recognition of their just rights as fellow-citizens of the common Empire. India is a dependency whose affairs must be managed in accordance with the wishes

of Great Britain, and, until lately the Indian public was ignorant of the humiliation Indians were subjected to outside their country. The Government of India was therefore unable to secure a proper hearing for its representations. The Colonies, on the other hand, are self-governing units with a strong and well-developed public opinion behind them, and consequently with the freedom to enact such laws as that public opinion demands and the power to make their voice effectively heard in the mother country. And conscious of this advantage and the great influence they wield thereby, in the councils of the Empire, they have until very recently, steadfastly ignored the wishes and sentiments of the Government of India. But Indian public opinion has in the meantime been growing, and, happily for India, her noble Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, has read the signs of the times aright and recognized the necessity of pressing for a just solution.

Immediate relief can and should be given to the Canadian Indians by permitting their wives and children to join them, but the only true and just solution of the larger question involved would be to allow that all fellow-subjects who own allegiance to the King-Emperor should have the fullest freedom to establish themselves in any part of the Empire. This right is at present enjoyed by European subjects alone, and all that is necessary is that it should be extended to Indians also.

The memorial concludes by saying that if equality cannot be secured for Indians on the basis of equal rights, it is possible at least on the basis of common disabilities. If Indians are received on a footing of inferiority in the Colonies the Government of India should impose corresponding restrictions and disabilities on Colonial immigrants into India.

The Late Mr. Gokhale and South Africa

India of the 26th Feb. contains a number of important memorial notices of the late Mr. Gokhale, and it is interesting to note therefrom the extent to which the late Mr. Gokhale's work for and visit to South Africa appealed to public imagination.

In its leading article, *India* says:—

"For racial arrogance he had no room; for pitiful acquiescence in disabilities nothing but scorn. Whether in India or in South Africa, he exhorted his countrymen to rise to the full level of their political manhood, and spared no pains to win recognition of their claims."

His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, at a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, Delhi, on the 23rd Feb. expressed the view that the solution of the thorny problem of South African immigration was largely due to Mr. Gokhale's tactful statesmanship.

In a memorial article by Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I., he says:—"I do not forget the innumerable spheres of labour Mr. Gokhale prescribed for himself, and how he toiled on behalf of education in India and of his fellow countrymen in South Africa."

The Right Hon. E. S. Montagu, M.P. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and formerly Under Secretary of State for India, says:—"Like all men gifted with the spirit of reform, he was always on the alert to unearth and state the problems which others would be content to leave half-hidden beneath the weight of administrative machinery; but it would never have occurred to him to rest satisfied with the bare statement of the problem. The vital point in his view was to arrive at the solution, and to that end he would bring to bear all the resources of his fertile mind and all the great influence of his personality. If any illustration of his way of setting to work were needed, we turn most naturally, perhaps, to his visit to South Africa, the effects of which, in view of what has since happened, may well be said to be incalculable."

Mr. Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, C.S.I., the Mahomedan member of the Council of India in London, writes:—

"It was an inspiring spectacle to see this high-souled patriot hurrying to South Africa to bring about some amelioration in the lot of the Indians there, while the relentless grip of death was already tightening around him."

Mr. D. A. Khare, late joint General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, writing on "Mr. Gokhale as a Statesman," says:—"He had succeeded in inspiring Englishmen of all parties with full confidence in his loyalty, and the proposals of reform which he put forward were invariably, therefore, received with sympathy. This was Mr. Gokhale's greatest claim to admiration. This position was exemplified in a very marked degree when he was accepted, unofficially though it was, as an intervener in the controversy between Indians and Europeans in South Africa. To my mind this phase in Mr. Gokhale's political activity appealed more than any individual attempt of his in the direction of reform. This was the central idea which underlay all his work."

What's in a Name?

Though "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet," there is evidently much more truth in the proverb that "a good name is worth more than a golden girdle," (says *A.P.O.*) So it would appear from the reply given by the Minister of Lands in the House to a question by Mr. Sampson. "I would also point out," said the Minister, "that the figures given (the extent of land purchased by Natives from Europeans), are based upon the names of transferees, and if, therefore, any transfers have been passed to Natives who have adopted European names, they are not included."

McLeod, who is proud of being an aboriginal native, is, according to the statement of the Minister of Lands, not a Native when he buys land, because he has a European name. How delightfully farcical! The absurdity of the Coloured problem was further exposed by the Minister of Defence on the same day, when he replied to Mr. Fichardt that "no armed Natives or Coloured persons were employed to assist in the suppression of the rebellion." Had General Smuts known the ancestry of many of those who were on commando as well as we do, he would have qualified his reply just a little. The Defence Force is full of Coloured youths. Indeed, it would be a matter of impossibility to raise a pure white corps, unless it were composed entirely of men born outside of South Africa.

During the past six weeks, a unique opportunity occurred for an ethnological study as the various units passed through Cape Town to G.S.W. Africa. No one could mistake the Natal Contingents or the Johannesburg squads. They looked as if they were of "pure European descent," at any rate as far as Colour goes, though we would not vouch for the purity of the blood that flows in the veins of every member. But as for the Transvaal and Free State burghers, the men who had chased rebels, there couldn't be the least doubt that very many of them are descendants of African Natives. Their dark complexion, the kink in the hair, the broad flat nose—these all betray their ancestry. In the Bloemhof Commando we espied a member of the *A.P.O.* In the Cape Province he appears on the voters' roll as a Hottentot. About twelve months ago he went to Bloemhof to try his luck on the diggings. On the outbreak of the rebellion he joined the commando, and is proud, so he told us, of having had an opportunity of serving his King and country. He is now in G.S.W. Africa. Of course, Willie—thus he is known to us—belonging now to the Botha Burgher force, is a white man, though none of us would ever mistake him for a European. There are hundreds of Willies in the Burgher forces.

All this goes to show the absurdity of the Coloured problem, and how difficult it is to classify South Africans according to the colour of their skin. For the purposes of the Natives Land Act a Native is not a Native if he has adopted a European name. For the purpose of

chasing rebels a Coloured man is not a Coloured man if he is so slightly tinted that he may get in the burgher forces, though, as in the case of Willie, both his parents may be Coloured.

From the Editor's Chair

PLURAL WIVES

MR. POLAK has been officially notified that the Minister will not consider individual applications for administrative protection of plural wives and their minor children. A period of six months from the 1st March and ending the 31st Oct. 1915 is given for the submission of names to the Government, either through the local organisations or direct, after which the Minister will be in a position to know how far, if at all, he can afford protection administratively for plural wives and their minor children. We therefore strongly recommend those persons who wish to avail themselves of this protection to submit their names and all details to the Secretary of the Interior either through the local organisations or direct.

STILL JOHANNESBURG TRAMS

We publish in this issue the report of a somewhat humorous debate that took place in the Johannesburg Town Council on the 30th ultimo. We call the debate humorous because it is quite clear, first that some members of the Town Council are absolutely incapable of realising what the legal position is to-day with reference to the use of the trams, in spite of the arduous efforts of distinguished Counsel to din the legal facts into their heads (we understand that this is practically what happened at the recent special secret session of the Council), and secondly by reason of the extraordinary suggestion that the Europeans should boycott the tram-cars. Mr. Mulvey certainly was under no illusion on the point, for he suggested boycotting all coloured persons so long as they rode the tram-cars, and Mr. Allen, the Chairman of the Tramways Committee, who all along has seen the dangerous position in which the Council might be placed by any illegal act on its part, hastened to make the legal and actual position quite clear. If Johannesburg Europeans would really boycott the tram-cars, or even boycott coloured persons because they use the tram-cars, we should hold them in higher respect for their genuineness of feeling, though we should have no great admiration for their intellectual gifts. But we are convinced that no such thing will happen, and this for a number of reasons, principal among which are, first, that there is not sufficient feeling on the question in the European community; secondly, that that community is not in the least likely to deprive itself of the conveniences of an excellent tramway service, and thereby cut off its nose to spite its face; thirdly, because Europeans are so largely dependent upon the services of non-Europeans that a boycott of the latter by the former is an absolute impossibility. We have heard several suggestions that violence might be used towards non-Europeans, "coolies" for preference, we understand, by Europeans, should these unfortunate people determine to exercise their legal rights. We can only say either that these threats are not seriously intended, or, if they are, that they are uttered by persons of a cowardly nature who do not anticipate any retaliation on the part of their victims, simply because they are coloured. Possibly were these victims Gurkhas there might not be so much talk of the use of violence. It is again asserted in some quarters, that the non-European section of the public is not entitled to the same use of the cars as the Europeans, because they have paid nothing for their up-keep. They have never had the opportunity. Not only that, but a public service is a service for the public, and not for a selected part of it which happens

to be white. The Judges of the Supreme Court held that view of the pretensions of the Municipality and we cannot improve upon it. One thing is absolutely certain, that the non-European elements of the population will not accept special cars or any regulations allowing the Municipality to set aside certain portions of the cars for any section of the population, by name. This is pure racial legislation and intolerable. We would warn our readers of one thing, that is, that the community is not in any way committed to any limit as to the numbers who may be allowed to ride on any particular tram-car. The number five, about which so much fuss has been made, is simply an arbitrary number that has been selected for purely temporary purposes, in order to cover the period between now and the Administrator's decision, having regard to the fact that the non-European sections of the community have of their own accord decided to refrain in the mass from using the cars during this period. We do not think that anything more can usefully be added to the discussion at this stage.

Boksburg Bazaar Regulations

In our issue of the 23rd December last, we published correspondence between the Transvaal British Indian Association and the Government, on the subject of recent and proposed regulations affecting Indian Locations in certain Transvaal towns, and we also published a brief report of a test case decided in the Transvaal Division of the Supreme Court with reference to one of the Boksburg Regulations. It appeared that the Municipality was within its legal rights in making permission to reside in the Location dependent upon the furnishing of information that it was on other grounds undesirable to submit. We are now able to print for our readers' information further correspondence in this matter.

On the 17th February last, the Acting Secretary for the Interior replied to the Chairman of the British Indian Association as follows:—

"With further reference to your letter of the 18th December last on the subject of the Boksburg Asiatic Bazaar Regulations, I have the honour to inform you that your representations have received careful consideration by the Minister who instructs me to say in respect to paragraphs numbered 2, 3 and 5, that the Regulations were duly approved by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council. The Regulations are of a provincial nature, inapplicable to any other Province, and the fact that they were published in the *Provincial Gazette* does not render them *ultra vires*.

"2. As to paragraphs 4, 7, 8 and 9, I am to say that the practice of employing Inspectors is not new but has been in vogue for years past and without opposition. Experience has proved that it is advisable, in the interests of the Asiatics themselves, and necessary for the purposes of the Local Authorities, that there should be Inspectors in all Bazaars where Asiatics take up their residence in considerable numbers. The best available officers are selected and their appointments are approved by the Government, who have further retained the power of cancelling such appointment. Were such occasion to arise, the Government would avail themselves of the advice of the Registrar of Asiatics who, as you rightly admit in your letter, is a Union official vested with authority to enter a Bazaar at any time and enquire into complaints that lessees or residents may make against the Local Authority. That you should, under these circumstances, refer to the Inspectors as 'autocrats' and 'petty tyrants—practically answerable to nobody' is not understood.

"3. With regard to paragraphs 10, 11, 12 and 13, I would invite your attention to the preceding paragraph of this letter. I would also point out that Bazaars have been established, at considerable cost, for the benefit of the poorer class of Asiatics. They are not compelled to reside therein, but, when they voluntarily

do so, they are granted stands at low rentals and allowed to trade. In the latter respect they enjoy a monopoly as no person other than an Asiatic can trade in a Bazaar and are even debarred from residing there. In view of these facts, it is not unreasonable to expect that accepted residents should conform to Regulations, framed for the proper control of the reserved area, which have been assented to by the Governor-General in Council.

"4. The Germiston regulations have not yet been forwarded to the Government. They will be carefully considered in the light of your letter and of this reply."

On the 27th February, Mr. Cachalia again wrote to the Acting Secretary for the Interior as under:—

"Your letter of the 17th instant, No. 26/27532 has been placed before the Committee of my Association, and in reply thereto I am desired to thank the Minister on behalf of my Association for the careful consideration that he has given to my Association's previous letter of the 18th December last on the subject of the Boksburg Asiatic Bazaar Regulations.

"The principal reason that my Association referred to the fact that these regulations had been published in the *Provincial* and not the *Union Gazette* was to emphasise that in its humble opinion they were, whilst being applicable only to this Province, of a nature contemplated by section 147 of the South Africa Act, and therefore within the jurisdiction not of the Provincial Administration, but of the Union Government.

"My Association has nothing to say against the practice of employing Inspectors to supervise Asiatic Bazaars in places where Asiatics take up their residence in considerable numbers, of which practice it has been aware for several years past. What was objected to was the vesting in these Inspectors of powers of a very arbitrary nature with which, my Association respectfully submits, they should not be vested. It is generally known that the Municipalities of this Province, in common with those of other Provinces, are endeavouring more and more to obtain control over the Asiatic residents within their respective jurisdictions, and bearing this tendency in mind, my Association is anxious that the Union Government shall realise the strong objection that it has to the conferring of greater or more extended powers upon Municipalities and their officers who are in practice dependent upon them and not upon the Union Government. Moreover, my Association can quite well understand how difficult it will be in the event of disputes between a Municipality and the Indian residents within its area, for the Registrar of Asiatics, or any other Union official, to intervene without creating very strained feelings on the part of such Municipality—Boksburg is a case in point—and whilst no doubt the Registrar will do whatever circumstances may permit, my Association ventures to submit that experience will show that he will be unable, in an increasing degree, to interfere effectively on behalf of Indian complainants. My Association, too, appreciates the fact that the Union Government must, in the nature of things, become increasingly chary of intervening in matters that, by the corporations concerned, are regarded as Municipal matters. The Indian community has had considerable experience of the difficulty of doing more than tender advice where self-governing institutions have been granted. In practice, therefore, seeing that the Local Town Council is near and the Registrar of Asiatics is far, and knowing also that Municipalities have advantages in making their views heard over those of Indian residents or their representatives, my Association feels that it was not going beyond strict fact in referring to Inspectors vested with the powers conferred by the Regulations in dispute, as 'autocrats' and 'petty tyrants'—'practically answerable to nobody.'

"With reference to paragraph 3 of your letter, for all practical purposes the Indian residents of Boksburg are obliged either to reside in the new Location or the old, and as they can obtain no security of tenure in

the old Location, the tendency would ordinarily be for them to remove to the new Location.

"My Association has no objection whatever to the promulgation of regulations for the proper control of an Asiatic Bazaar, but it claims that the regulations in question go far beyond this and that there is absolutely no reason why regulations of the type that have hitherto been in force effectively in, for example, Pretoria, should have been departed from.

"The fact that these regulations have been assented to by the Governor-General in Council, renders it all the more incumbent upon my Association to protest against them, having regard to the fact that they were so assented to without the Indian community being heard on the subject, and the Union Government will no doubt remember how important a factor the question of consultation was in the late Passive Resistance Struggle.

"In these circumstances, my Association earnestly trusts that the matter will be re-considered by the Government in due course.

"My Association learns with appreciation that the Germiston Regulations, when forwarded to the Government, will receive careful consideration in the light of the representations that have been made by it."

On the 8th March a reply was received, stating that the matter was receiving consideration.

On the 24th March the following from the Acting Under Secretary for the Interior was addressed to the Association:—

"With reference to your letter of the 27th ultimo regarding the Boksburg Asiatic Bazaar Regulations, I have the honour to inform you that the correspondence that has passed on the subject has been reconsidered, but the Minister regrets he is unable to depart from the decision already conveyed to you."

The Tramway Fight

The *Rand Daily Mail* and *Transvaal Leader* of the 31st ultimo contain reports of a meeting of the Johannesburg Town Council, the previous evening, at which the tram question was the main topic for discussion. In order to give as complete a report as possible we amalgamate the two.

At last night's meeting of the Johannesburg Town Council, the Chairman of the Tramways Committee (Mr. T. F. Allen) was bombarded with questions anent the departmental instructions to allow Coloured people and Indians to ride on the Municipal trams.

Mr. Treu asked by whose authority Coloured people were to-day travelling on the trams. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. T. F. Allen (Chairman of the Tramway and Lighting Committee): I gave that authority.

Mr. Treu: By whose authority did you give those instructions?

Mr. Allen: I took the responsibility of issuing the notice.

Mr. Treu thereupon moved the adjournment of the Council.

Mr. Young asked if Mr. Allen were aware of the fact that on Saturday five coloured people boarded a Yeoville tram, with the result that every European on the car left it.

Mr. Allen said he was not aware of that.

Mr. Mulvey: Isn't it a fact that coloured people are travelling on the trams by an order of the Supreme Court of the country?

Mr. Allen: That is so. That is where my authority came from.

Difficult to Keep Cool

The adjournment of the Council was again moved, and Mr. Treu said that at its last meeting the Council moved certain resolutions which had to be sanctioned by higher authorities before they could become law.

When the Finance Committee was sitting, the Chairman of the Tramway and Lighting Committee came in and, saying that there was trouble brewing, asked if he might take legal advice. This was agreed to but no action was authorised to be taken in a matter of so serious a kind as this. But action had been taken, and it now appeared that instructions to the tram conductors were already in the making a day or so before the incident he had mentioned. He could only now draw attention to the seriousness of the step taken by the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Tramway Committee. The right thing was to have called the Council together in committee in a case of difficulty. This matter touched a very soft spot in the bosoms of many people in Johannesburg. He was not quarrelling with the law, but he held that the Chairman of the Tramway Committee should have taken the Council into his confidence and obtained its consent to whatever line of action he proposed to taken in so serious a matter. It was difficult to keep cool, but he had to say that it was wrong for a man who came from overseas, and who did not know the traditions of the people of the Transvaal, to break those traditions ruthlessly and without consulting his fellow-members on the Council. He did not speak with animus of those who came from elsewhere, but they should take into their confidence those who were born in South Africa. The majority of the Council would then decide upon a policy, and everyone would obey.

A Wrong Start

But a wrong start had been made, and he had no hesitation in saying that the people of Johannesburg as a whole were not satisfied with this business. There was evidence that on Monday the instructions to the tram conductors were being considered, and on Tuesday it was decided to consult a committee or the lawyers. There was no necessity to rush the matter through in five minutes, with the result that a hornet's nest had been raised. However, if the Council should suffer, the blame was not his (Mr. Treu's).

Mr. Hugo seconded the adjournment of the Council, which, however, was lost by a large majority.

Mr. Partridge asked the Chairman of the Tramway Committee if it was on an order of Court that the Council should carry Indians on the cars or that provision be made to carry them, and that the Council had passed by-laws making provision which had not been agreed to by the Provincial Council.

Mr. Allen held that this was purely a legal question. However, it was a fact that the existing by-laws which excluded Coloured people from trams were *ultra vires*.

Mr. Mulvey asked if Mr. Partridge were not aware that at a meeting of the Council in committee two eminent counsel said that there was no power to stop Coloured people travelling on any part of the cars.

Mr. Allen said that such advice had been given but there had been no opportunity of advertising it.

Mr. Hugo: Why not keep them off the present cars and provide Indians with special ones?

Conductor's Powers

Mr. Allen: A conductor has no more power to put off a coloured man than to put off a white man.

Mr. Scott: And didn't the High Court, after saying that the by-laws were *ultra vires*, ask the Council to make provision for Coloured people?

Mr. Allen: No.

Mr. Deys asked what policy the Tramway Committee intended to pursue in the future in dealing with white and black.

Mr. Allen: As soon as the by-laws are passed we shall be able to deal with the matter.

Mr. Deys: And will they see that trailers are added to cars instead of having coloured people travelling among whites?

Mr. Allen: We will certainly consider it.

Mr. O'Hara: Isn't it a fact that the circular issued

to tram conductors on Tuesday night was different from the one prepared on Monday?

Mr. Allen: It is altogether different.

Mr. Light: And if trailers are put on, will that enable us to keep coloured people off the trams?

Mr. Allen: Provided the Provincial Council and Parliament are willing to agree to those by-laws.

Mr. Partridge: Isn't it a fact that Indians and Coloured people have positively refused to use trailers, if they are put on?

Mr. Allen: Up to the present they have.

Mr. Deys: But that is not binding on us. Isn't it sufficient if the Council simply provides travelling facilities for them?

Mr. Allen: By-laws have to be passed giving us power to compel them to ride on the trailers. By-laws were passed some weeks ago to put five Indians on the back seats but they have not been passed by the Provincial Council and Parliament.

Mr. Partridge asked if the damage was not done last week before the committee were consulted.

Mr. Allen: No damage was done. The laws of the country were complied with, if that is damage.

Indifferent Europeans

Mr. Deys: In view of the statement that the Chairman considers trailers unsatisfactory, isn't it his opinion that if he does not clearly divide whites and blacks, the trams will be boycotted by the white people?

Mr. Allen: There is a possibility, although, in my opinion, it will not be so. I don't think the white people are sufficiently bound together to boycott the trams.

In reply to Mr. O'Hara, Mr. Allen said that the trailers that were once put on southern suburbs cars for coloured people were a failure because the Council had no power to compel coloured people to use them.

At a later stage Mr. Mulvey moved the adjournment of the Council in order to make the position clear. There was not a single councillor present, he said, who wanted to see the coloured people mixing with the whites. Certainly there was not one on the Tram Committee. They had been told that the chairman took upon himself the responsibility of allowing the Indians to travel. That was not true. The chairman had no option in the matter whatever. He had nothing to do with it. They had before them the opinion of two eminent counsel that they had no power whatever to keep Indians or Coloured people off the cars so long as they were clean. He personally felt a little bit sore at not being consulted, but he was quite satisfied that no other course could be adopted. He was quite prepared to forgive the chairman for a circumstance over which he had no control. It was ridiculous to talk of special cars and trailers, etc. The remedy lay with the people of Johannesburg themselves. He heard with pleasure that because five coloured people boarded a Yeoville car the whites got out. Good luck to them. But, alas! they would see other good people of Yeoville riding in motor cars and traps beside Kaffirs. His system of boycotting them was quite different. They had 14,000 Coloured and Indians in Johannesburg. If they had to run special cars for that small section of the people it would be a bad business for the council. Out of these 14,000 at least 10,000 of them lived on the whites. They directly got their living from the whites. They never dealt among themselves, but always with the whites. His way of conducting the boycott would be that the whites should boycott the coolie and give him to understand that as long as he (the coolie) travelled in their cars they would have nothing whatever to do with him. There would soon be no Indians left. But let it be clearly understood that the Council had no power in this matter whatever.

The discussion ended without any resolution being submitted.

Tribute to Passive Resistance

Mr. G. A. Natesan, the Editor of the *Indian Review*, writes on "Mr. Gandhi's Home-coming" in the January number of that interesting monthly. We give below a summary of the article, deleting some portions which, though suitable for the *Indian Review*, are, owing to their personal references to the "central figure," not reasonable for reproduction here:—

It was at a supreme moment and at a most critical juncture in the history of the South African Indian question that Mr. Gandhi, for the first time perhaps in the history of the world, resolved to employ the weapon of passive resistance to win the struggle in which he and his countrymen had thrown themselves heart and soul. It was a bold and unprecedented step which Mr. Gandhi took at the moment. He and his countrymen were to fight the plutocracy of gold hunters in South Africa not with vituperation, not with violence, not with organised riots and revolutions but by the supremacy of soul-force. The soul resistance of Indians was pitted against the brute-force of the Whites in South Africa. Indians who joined the struggle in hundreds and thousands refused to obey the law and suffered in their own persons the consequences of such disobedience, and the spectacle afforded India and the world a magnificent example of self-denial and suffering in their own persons for the sake of a peaceful and orderly agitation.

Mr. Gandhi and his brave band have asserted the right of Indians in South Africa to be consulted in all matters affecting their welfare and, more than all, have made the authorities remember that an Asiatic has rights and that the British Indian subject carries with him the elementary rights of British citizenship, and even a selfish band of Colonials are bound to respect them to some extent at least.

The thousands of Indians who have obeyed him (Mr. Gandhi) readily without a murmur and who were ready to follow him wherever he desired, were not educated in any sense of the word. They were poor men, born of the people, brought up among the people, pursuing their peaceful and humble avocations among the people—as barbers, washermen, hawkers and traders. Neither B.A.'s nor M.A.'s of our Universities, knowing nothing of the liberalism of Lord Morley, the radicalism of John Stuart Mill, or even of the advanced socialism of Mr. Lloyd George, and indeed never having read even a single syllable about the elementary rights of man or of liberty, equality and fraternity, at the call of duty and under the guidance of a singularly noble soul, they were ready to throw themselves in the midst of a struggle which involved untold sufferings and unmentionable humiliations. Several homes were rendered desolate, several trading concerns were closed or completely ruined. And yet nothing would daunt them, nothing would prevent them from pursuing the path of duty which had been pointed out to them by their honoured leader. Long, trying and painful was their suffering and yet how willingly they subjected themselves to every kind of trouble! The very thought of the heroism and fortitude displayed by these brave and simple people makes the proudest amongst us blush. They fought, they resolutely and bravely fought for the honour and the good name of their race and their country.

The present is perhaps not the fittest opportunity to discuss in detail the large and the still unsolved question of the position of Indians in the British Colonies. Does or does not the Indian carry the right of British Indian citizenship wherever the British flag floats? This is the problem to be faced boldly and honestly in the near future. In so far as the issue raised by Mr. Gandhi in South Africa has been settled amicably, in a manner honourable alike to both the parties, India has every reason to feel proud of the great and noble achievements of Mr. Gandhi and his brave band.

Mr. Gokhale's Successor

Poona, February 27.

The Secretary of the Servants of India Society has issued the following statement to the press:—In accordance with the last wish of the late Mr. Gokhale the members of the Servants of India Society assembled at the head-quarters in Poona soon after his death and have during the last few days been engaged in making the arrangements rendered necessary by that unexpected and lamentable event. As the first member Mr. Gokhale has under the constitution held the direction of its affairs in his own hands for life. But from the beginning he had foreseen that after him the members might perhaps find it more convenient to appoint a President for a limited period only and provision had been made in the constitution to that effect. Under this provision the members have resolved that the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, senior member of the Madras Branch of the Society and Additional Member of the Madras Legislative Council, should be their President for three years. Mr. Gokhale had expressed a desire that Mr. Gandhi should also be asked to attend the deliberations. Accordingly he and Mrs. Gandhi have been staying with the members since the 22nd instant. After much deliberation it has been decided that owing to certain differences of view, at Mr. Gandhi's own request and conformably to Mr. Gokhale's intention, he should tour round the country for one year under Rule 17 of the constitution before the question of his joining the Servants of India Society should be finally settled.

News in Brief

Lord Curzon was asked to give a message to the *Daily Graphic* for its New Year symposium on "Brotherhood of Empire, shoulder to shoulder for the freedom of the world," and he writes:—

"Our people from over the seas have given to us of their best in our hour of peril. What shall we give them when the danger is overpast? That will be the test and measure of our gratitude."

On the occasion of the retirement of Mr. B. C. Clarence, Chief Magistrate of Pietermaritzburg, an illuminated address and silver tea-set were presented by the Mahomedan community. The address expressed regret at the retirement and thanks for the impartial manner in which he had conducted the affairs at the Court. The address was the work of Mr. A. K. Seepye.

The Indians of Dundee did a similar honour to Mr. J. W. Cross, Magistrate, who is retiring under the age limit.

Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras, have republished their brief "Life and Career of the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale," at four annas per copy.

In the House of Lords Lord Kitchener paid a tribute to the gallantry of the Indian troops, and read the following congratulatory message, which Field-Marshal French had asked him to transmit to the Viceroy of India: "I am glad to be able to say that the Indian troops under General Willcocks fought with great gallantry and marked success in the capture of Neuve Chapelle, and in the subsequent fighting, which was very severe. Their losses were heavy, but nothing daunted them. Their tenacity, courage and endurance were admirable, and worthy of the best traditions of the soldiers of India."