

Indian Opinion

No. 14—Vol. XVIII.

FRIDAY, APRIL 2ND, 1920.

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

NOTES AND NEWS

THE Administrator of the Cape Province, in opening the new session of the Provincial Council last week, made a most important announcement regarding the education policy in that Province. The Administrator announced that, in view of the unanimous desire of all parties in the Council, they would have free primary education, with free school books and requisites, as from July 1, 1920, for European, coloured and Native children. The expenditure involved would be approximately £275,000 sterling, and taxation proposals to meet the increased expenditure would be introduced in due course.

The Cape has always been more liberal than the other Provinces of the Union, and we are glad that it has been decided to take this bold step in the matter of free education for all races. No mention is made of Indians, but we believe that they attend school with Malays and other coloured children and therefore they will be included. Why should not the other Provinces follow suit?

His Excellency the Governor-General, in his opening address to Parliament said:—The development of the Native races and their increasing importance in the economic life of the Union tend more and more to the raising of questions of a complex character for the Government of the Union. My Ministers consider that the time has come to introduce reforms in our system of Native administration which will include the establishment of a standing Commission to advise and assist the Government on questions of Native policy as well as the creation of Advisory Councils in the large Native areas, which will help to keep the Natives in touch with the Administration of the country.

No mention was made of Indians, neither was any reference made to the Commission which is now sitting.

London, March 22.—In the House of Commons, Mr. Bennett (Coalition Unionist, Kent, Sevenoaks Division) asked the Under Secretary for the Colonies to give instructions for the removal of the limitations against the purchase by other than Europeans of the sixty plots of Government land at Nairobi, which were being sold on April 7. Col. Amery said the only information he possessed was that shown to him in a telegram to the East African Indian deputation now in London. He stated he was not prepared to order a direct reversal of the long-standing policy of the Protectorate Government until Lord Milner returned.

From what we understand of the position in East Africa we should say that Col. Amery is under a misapprehension. In any case it is bad treatment towards people who have done so much in developing the country.

The South African Labour Party is somewhat shaky on the colour question. Whilst some of its members are honestly willing to abolish the colour-bar and make their stand on the rate of wages, others still stick to the old racial prejudices. In the House of Assembly the other day, the labour members revived the topic of the Namaqualand labourers, and there arose out of it (says the *Natal Mercury* correspondent) the chief debate of the sitting. Sir D. Harris spoke in his most caustic vein on "the solicitude of the Labour Party for the coloured worker." He endorsed, he said, their strictures on the behaviour of the Copper Company in suddenly leaving its employees helpless in a district where no work was procurable, the more so as the company had placed some hundreds of thousands of pounds to its cash reserve. But he expressed himself puzzled to know what better the Government could have done than bring the stranded workers to Capetown.

In simple words, which carried deep meaning, he added that it could certainly not have sent them to Johannesburg. The innuendo was not lost on the House, which roared out a cheer, while the Labour men started as if stabbed. Afterwards he put his thought explicitly by contrasting the indignation manifested by Labour in the House over a pittance of half-a-crown a day, with "all found," as paid to coloured labourers, with the action of the trades unions of the Rand in throwing coloured men violently off their jobs. He here referred, it seemed, to the occasion of the building strike, when the coloured labourers were neither permitted to work nor assisted with strike pay.

Mr. Madeley replied that the Labour Party did not at all object to coloured men getting work, provided always they were paid the European wage. Mr. Stuart, however, intimated some scepticism upon this declaration, and informed the House how, when he was giving evidence before the Low Grade Mines Commission, and urging that 3s. a day was an insufficient wage for a Native minor, a member of the Commission took strong exception to his view. This member, said Mr. Stuart, was Mr. Pohl, an organiser of the Mine Workers' Union. Col. Creswell and several of his colleagues at once repudiated Mr. Pohl as being in any way representative of the Labour Party, or qualified to speak for them.

Reuter from Bombay reports Hartul (?) is being observed this year throughout India by the Moslems and Hindus alike in order to emphasise the Moslem feeling as regards the settlement of Turkish questions. There have been no disturbances.

Delhi, March 26.—The Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, in closing the debate in the Legislative Council, announced that it would be the last time that the Viceroy would preside over the Council, owing to the scheme for the reform of the Government of India. Henceforth the Viceroy would only attend the Council to deliver an occasional ceremonial speech.—Reuter.

DURBANS' NEW ORDINANCE

THE Durban Town Council has had drafted an Ordinance to grant additional powers to itself.

Like its predecessors, this latest attempt at legislation needs careful watching. Whenever the Durban Town Council seeks further powers, one may be perfectly certain that those powers, if granted, would be detrimental to the Indian community. The clauses which appear to be dangerous are the following:

Sec. 11. The Town Council may without any consent of the Governor-General, the Administrator or any person whomsoever, being necessary, but otherwise, in the manner provided by Section 77 of Law 19 of 1872 grant leases for a period not exceeding 99 years of any land belonging to the Corporation of Durban, upon such terms and conditions as it thinks fit but for residential purposes only, and no holder of any lease granted hereunder shall, in any circumstances, have any right whatever to avail himself of the provisions of any law granting lessees from the Town Council rights to the addition of renewal covenants, to renewal, or to conversion into freehold unless his lease shall expressly otherwise provide. Sub-section 3 of Section 6 of Ordinance 11 of 1918 is hereby repealed, in so far as it confers any powers upon the Town Council.

Sec. 18 par. 4. The Town Council may grant any licence it has power to grant, subject to such conditions or restrictions as may be concurred in by any applicant; such conditions or restrictions shall be endorsed on the licence, and a failure to comply with any or all thereof shall ipso facto render the licence null and void.

Sec. 19 par. 2. The Town Council, or its Licensing Officer as the case may be, may refuse to grant or renew any licence issuable by it or by him until satisfied that the applicant is not contravening or does not intend to contravene any prohibition or limitation imposed by such Bye-Laws provided that no renewal shall be refused on the grounds above stated until six months after notice drawing the attention of the Public to the provisions of this Section and of the said Bye-Laws shall have been given on behalf of the Town Council, by publication in not less than six issues of a newspaper circulating in Durban, the said six months to run from the date of the last publication.

Sec. 23. No person shall sell, trade or exercise any calling of any kind in any Municipal Indian Market or Bazaar established by the Town Council, which Licence the Town Council may issue or revoke on such conditions and under such restrictions as it thinks fit, and for which it may charge such sums as it may from time to time prescribe, with power to fix differing sums in respect of different callings. Persons holding such a licence shall not be bound to apply for or obtain a Licence under Act 18 of 1897 or any Act amending the same, or under any other Law or Ordinance (save this Ordinance) in respect of anything done by them within the said Market or Bazaar. Nothing in this Section contained shall preclude the Town Council from charging persons selling, trading or exercising a calling in said Market or Bazaar for the use thereof or of any portion thereof, in addition to a licence fee as authorised by this Section.

We contend that no Municipal Council should have powers to restrict trade on such terms and conditions as it thinks fit. The terms and conditions under which a licence should be granted or refused ought to be

definitely fixed by law. It is right that the Sanitary Inspector should give his report, and that it must be favourable if a licence is to be granted. It is also necessary that the Building Inspector should certify that the building is of the required standard. Information as to an applicant's moral character or business integrity may be obtained in the proper quarters and likewise taken into account. But, after receiving favourable reports from all these sources, it should never be in the power of a Licencing Officer or Town Council to refuse a licence or do anything concerning the liberty of the citizen upon terms and conditions as it thinks fit.

This appears to us to be an ingenious way of circumventing the common law, whereby the rights of the individual are protected, and gives to the public bodies, which may be used to oppress a section of the population, without any redress being available from the Courts.

Sec. 18(4), quoted above, is a clever device to trap the unwary trader into agreeing to conditions the breach of which will spell ruin to him. The more ignorant a man is, or the more desperate his need, the easier it will be for a clever Licencing Officer to insert conditions which will be endorsed on the licence. If one of these is not carried out, the licence can be cancelled without question. This is a most extraordinary thing. It fits in with a policy of extermination and is no doubt well calculated to be most effective. But it is not honest, and we do not believe that the Provincial Council will pass the Ordinance as it stands. However, to avoid any dangerous possibilities, it is necessary for the Indian leaders to make representations to His Honour the Administrator without delay.

THE ASIATIC COMMISSION

REPORT OF ITS SITTINGS AT CAPE TOWN

The first public sitting of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission at Capetown took place at Marks Buildings, Parliament Street, on the 18th of March.

Mr. C. L. W. Mansergh, Provincial Secretary of the Cape of Good Hope, who was the first witness examined, stated that the issue of licences to general dealers in this Province was dealt with under Ordinance 14 of 1916. All applicants for general dealers' licences had, in the first instance, to apply for a certificate to the local authority. An appeal was allowed to the Administrator in case the reason given for refusal by the local authority was that there were already sufficient of a trade at work in any particular area.

The Chairman: A municipality can refuse a certificate without giving any ground for their refusal?

Witness: Yes.

Is that provided for in the Ordinance?

—Yes, in clauses 2 and 4.

As far as the Ordinance is concerned, witness added in reply to another question, it seems that there are only two things to do—grant or refuse.

“Have you had many cases in which difficulties have arisen?” asked the Chairman.

Witness replied that there had been appeals, but he had no specific numbers.

“As far as you know, there has not been much difficulty in carrying out the law referring to the issue of licences to Asiatics? You have not heard of any serious grievances?”

Witness: No, except the ordinary grumbles that come up under any piece of legislation. I do not think it has been specially acute, as far as my knowledge goes.

Colonel Wylie: Has a licensing officer any power to refuse a renewal once a licence has been granted?

Witness: Not as far as I know.

"Suppose a man habitually sells short weight, can you cancel his licence?" asked Mr. Hofmeyr.

"Witness: No, I think he must then be dealt with under municipal or her laws."

"Colonel Wylie: If a renewal is refused, is there an appeal to the Supreme Court?"

"I take it there would be under the common law," replied the witness; "it is not provided for in the Ordinance."

Answering Mr. Hofmeyr, witness said that, apart from East London, he had no knowledge of any segregation of Asiatics in the Cape Province. Speaking from observation in the Peninsula, he should say that there was a tendency amongst Asiatics to live in a particular area.

Replying to the Chairman, he stated that where the municipal authority had refused to authorise removals to other premises, there had been appeals by the licencees to the Administrator, but not in many cases. In each case the Administrator had allowed the removal and reversed the decision of the municipality.

Commission was then adjourned till the next day.

PETITION BY CAPE INDIANS

The Commission resumed its sittings at Marks Buildings, Parliament Street, on Saturday March 20th, when a petition was presented by a deputation from the Cape British Indian Council.

Sir John Lange presided, and the other members present were Col. J. Scott Wylie, Mr. W. Duncan Baxter, and Mr. H. J. Hofmeyr. Sir Benjamin Robertson watched the proceedings on behalf of the Indian Government. The deputation consisted of Messrs. M. Yodsoot, A. Ishmail, M. Holim, A. Ganie, Mr. Parshotam, S. Dawood and H. Hassar; and was introduced by Advocate Alexander, M.L.A., and with him was Advocate Percy Jones, instructed by Messrs. Frank and Warshaw.

The petition made certain representations relating to legislative enactments affecting the granting, removal or transfer of trading licences and the administration of these legislative enactments in the Province of the Cape of Good Hope.

Broadly stated, it is provided in the Licences (Consolidation) Ordinance of 1916 (Cape) that the granting removal or transfer of licences to carry on the trade or businesses of a baker, butcher, general dealer or green-grocer is under the control of the local authority, which is either the Municipal Council, Village Management Board or Divisional Council, according as the place where the business is to be carried on falls within the area of a municipality, Village Management Board or Divisional Council, and in case there be no Municipality, Village Management Board or Divisional Council in or for the area in which the licence is sought, the granting or refusal of a licence rests with the Magistrate or Assistant Magistrate of the district to which the business is sought to be carried on. It is further provided that no application for a licence shall be considered unless there is satisfactory proof that the premises are fit and suitable for the business proposed to be carried on, and that there is no reason why the licence should be refused on the ground of public health, and further unless inquiry has been made from the senior officer of police from the area if anything known against the applicant, that should be brought to the notice of the Council, Board or Magistrate, as the case may be. The grant or refusal of the licence sought is entirely at the discretion of the Council, Board or Magistrate, and in case of refusal there is no obligation on the Council, Board or Magistrate to give the reasons which induced the refusal, the result being that it is sufficient for the Council, Board or Magistrate to state the application was considered and refused.

LOCAL OR JUDICIAL AUTHORITY

"This," the petitioners went on to say, "has, we respectfully submit, resulted in the provisions of the Ordinance being administered with undoubted severity towards Indians, as was found to be the case by the Indian Inquiry Commission in 1914, where the enact-

ment in force was Act 35 of 1906. Such a condition of things, we respectfully submit, calls for an amendment of the existing legislation so as to accord to all sections of the community equal rights with other sections trading and carrying on business in order to support themselves according to decent and honest standards. We suggest, with all due submission, the following amendment to the law, viz.: (a) That the control of the granting or refusal of licences to carry on the business of bakers, butchers, greengrocers and general dealers be removed from the local authorities where such is the case; (b) that the power to consider and to grant or refuse such licences be vested in the Magistrate, Additional Magistrate or Assistant Magistrate of the District or Sub-District where the premises in respect of which the licence is sought are situated; (c) that the consideration of any application be guided by certain rules and regulations; (d) that such rules and regulations indicate with certainty the matters to be taken into consideration in deciding upon the grant or refusal of an application special regard being had to the requirements of public health and the character and reputation of the applicant; (e) that the objections to the granting of any application be allowed to be made by the Court hearing the application or by any other person interested, reasonable opportunity being given to the applicant to meet such objection; (f) that in cases of the refusal of any application, the Magistrate, Additional Magistrate or Assistant Magistrate may be required within a fixed time to furnish in writing his reasons for such refusal; (g) that there be a right of appeal, both on the law and the facts, from the decision of such Magistrate, Additional Magistrate or Assistant Magistrate to the Provincial or Local Divisions of the Supreme Court having jurisdiction."

TAKING REFUGE IN WORDS

Your petitioners respectfully suggest that the rules and regulations referred to in paragraph 8 hereof, subparagraph (d), should be such as are provided in section 90, clauses (a), (b), (c) and (d) of Transvaal Ordinance 13 of 1914; we submit that the provisions of clause (e) of the said section, wherein it is provided that a licence may be refused to an applicant who, in the opinion of the Council, is not a desirable person to hold such a licence, are too vague. The local authorities in the Transvaal sought refuge in the words of this clause when dealing with applications made by Indians, with the result that there were numerous appeals in accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance to the local Magistrate, who in almost every instance came to the conclusion that the power given to the local authority of refusing applications on this ground was being exercised and made use of against Indians upon insufficient grounds. As a consequence, the provisions of sections 130 and 131 of the Transvaal Gold Law of 1908 were availed of to prevent the exercise by Indians of any trading rights they may have acquired, thereby causing great dissatisfaction on the part of a considerable section of this community. Their rights have now been protected by Act of the Union Parliament (37 of 1919). We feel that the safeguards provided in clauses (a), (b), (c) and (d) of section 90 of Transvaal Ordinance 9 of 1914 referred to in the preceding paragraph hereof are sufficient, and that the addition of clause (e) thereof is wholly unnecessary and is likely to be productive of unsympathetic and severe treatment towards Indian applicants. The provisions as to suitability of the premises, the good character of the applicant and his habit of living, we respectfully submit afford sufficient safeguards. Your petitioner further humbly submit that the law be so amended as to facilitate on application to the Magistrate, Additional Magistrate, or Assistant Magistrate, the granting of the transfer or removal of a licence to another person or to other premises as a matter of right subject always to the safeguards prompted by consideration of public health and the good fame and character of the transferee. We further respectfully submit that all legislation should deal equally with all

sections of the community irrespective of race colour or creed."

DIFFERENT COUNCILS' DIFFERENT VIEWS

Addressing the Commission, Mr. Alexander said that briefly the only point was that they were asking that each application should be considered on its merits. Different Councils, he said, took different views. In Cape Town, as far as transfers were concerned, the Council gave these transfers, although the law did not compel it. At Wynberg quite a different view was taken, and ordinarily it was difficult to get a transfer passed. It was felt that the reason why they could not get these facilities was due to the fact that the applicants were Indians, and that was why they wanted the matter to be dealt with by a judicial officer. The law at present did not compel local authorities to give a reason for their refusal, but where such a reason was inadvertently given he had shown that the refusal was due to applicant being an Asiatic.

Sir John Lange: This clause applies generally to Europeans, but the complaint is that it is being specially used against Indians?

Mr. Alexander: Yes. But I may say that the position of Indians in the Cape is infinitely better than in the other Provinces. Here an Indian is allowed to hold land. As an alternative to vesting in a judicial officer, the granting of trade licences they asked for the adoption of the Transvaal Ordinance, with this difference, that specific grounds must be given for refusing to grant a licence.

Mr. Mahomed Yoo-soof, Chairman of the British Indian Council, said he had been a trader in Wynberg for ten years. A considerable time ago he bought a property at the corner of Constantia and Gabriel roads for the purpose of opening an additional grocery business. He had been refused a licence without the Council giving a reason. He had, however, been told by a member of the Council that there was nothing against him except that he was an Indian. There were three other similar cases. There was also the greatest difficulty in getting renewals and transfers.

Sir John Lange: Indians have not the same difficulty in Cape Town?

Witness: They don't get new licences, but there is no difficulty about transfers and removals.

INDIAN TRADE AND LIVING

By Mr. Hofmeyr: The Council does not give a reason when a European is refused. Witness sent all his spare money to India. He had properties in the Peninsula valued at £1,200, £700, £625 and £300 respectively. He had no property in India. He was not an importer, but was supported by the large firms, who gave him the usual 90 days' credit. His children were not allowed to go to the public schools, but they were under no other special disabilities than that applied to coloured people.

It is said that you undersell the white trader because you live more cheaply than he can and by paying your assistants less?

Witness: No. We live more economically and are content with small profits. We sell small quantities, which the white trader will not do. We have no delivery expenses and give very little or no credit. They did not live on rice, as generally supposed, but had three good meals each day. They paid their assistants from £10 to £15 per month, and this included board, lodgings and clothes.

Mr. A. Ismail, a sweet manufacturer and butcher, replying to similar questions, said that three-fourths of the Indian community lived better than the ordinary class of European. He spent from 8s. to 10. 6d. per day for food in restaurants. He admitted that Indians sold a little cheaper than others, but it was to the advantage of the poorer people. He instanced the case where a city firm had been charging 1s. 9d. per lb. for prunes, while Indians sold the same quality at 1s. per lb.

Mr. Hofmeyr: It has been suggested that Indians should live in separate townships?

Witness: That is out of the question entirely.

Supposing you could have a garden township, is there any root objection to living together as one community?

It is a question of rights. If others have the right to live in the city we object on principle to being segregated.

The deputation then thanked the Commission and withdrew.

LICENSING APPEAL

BEFORE THE DURBAN TOWN COUNCIL

On the 4th December, 1919, Messrs. Naranjee & Co., applied to the Licensing Officer, Durban, for a retail license in respect of the premises No. 110 Victoria Street. The circumstances detailed demonstrate the difficulties placed in the way of respectable Indians carrying on business in Natal and the disabilities under which they suffer.

On the 14th January, 1920, Applicant appeared before the Licensing Officer. The evidence and written testimonials produced by Applicant shewed that he held excellent references both as to his character and abilities; that the premises were suitable and that no objections had been lodged to the application.

The Licensing Officer, however, refused the application on the grounds that he did not think that he should grant the license especially as it was evident Applicant could get a license in Pietermaritzburg, and that Applicant should apply there for a license; also that he did not wish to increase the number of Indian licenses in Durban. The Licensing Officer refused the application.

Against this decision, Messrs. Naranjee & Co., appealed to the Durban Town Council and retained Advocate W. Burne, K.C. to prosecute the appeal.

The appeal was heard on the 27th February, 1920, and, at the hearing, Advocate Burne strenuously urged the granting of the license. The points raised by Counsel were that the premises had been passed by the Sanitary Department as suitable; no objections were made to the application or to the Applicant except as to his race; the premises were in a part of the town where a European is rarely seen; until then the premises had been occupied by an Indian who had held a license therefor; the Applicant produced excellent references as to his character and abilities; and that the Licensing Officer had refused the license solely on the ground that Applicant was an Indian, and had not only not exercised the discretion which the law allows him but had refused to exercise such discretion.

The Licensing Officer replied and strenuously opposed the granting of the appeal, and urged that it was not desirable to increase the number of Indian licenses in Durban.

After a short retirement, the Town Council, by a majority of 8 to 2, upheld the appeal.

THE AMRITRAS TRAGEDY

Mr. Henry W. Nevinson writes in *India* :—

Amritsar, like Waterloo, will become one of those milestones by which people mark the criminal stupidity of our governing classes. To fire without warning into the thick of an unarmed crowd as fast as men could jam in cartridges seems an almost incredible crime to everyone who has not consorted with the baser type of Anglo-Indian. I daresay the officer was neither more cruel nor more stupid than the average, but very probably he had been steeped in that common and mean kind of Anglo-Indian tradition which regards the "native" with mingled timidity and contempt. So when a crisis came he had neither the cool nerve nor the human feeling to restrain him, and flustered excitement drove him to an act which will impair our reputa-

tion throughout the world, and will stultify any attempt on our part to protest against the brutality of other nations.

INDIAN LABOUR IN NATAL

(BY C. F. ANDREWS)

II.

With regard to Indian workers in Durban and other towns in Natal,—their conditions differ very largely from that of Indians on the sugar estates in the country districts. In the towns, there is every practical possibility of strong Indian unions growing up in the different industries and trades. These could also combine in a single union for obtaining better rates of pay and better hours of work for Indian workmen as a whole. They could also try to come to honourable terms with the European unions.

It has been one of the most cheering and hopeful things which I have seen in Natal, that the Indian workers in Durban have at last combined together, in several different trades, and that there is the promise in the near future of a single Durban Indian Union which shall deal with all the larger Indian trade issues. There can be no doubt at all, that, in the past, an immense amount of sweating went on, and that Indian employers of labour were no better than the Europeans in this matter. Unprotected labour is always unsafe. Human nature is the same, whether Indian or European, when it has power over the bodies of men. Profits are certain to be made out of the very weaknesses of the labourers themselves, unless they are protected.

But, in the case of the Indian trade workers in Natal, a peculiar complication enters owing to competition with the Europeans. Here, at once, the questions of underselling and cheap labour come in; and there is no final hope of betterment, until the European and Indian workmen, in the same trade, come to terms. Indeed, a step still further must be finally taken, and the one union of Indian workmen (belonging to different trades) must co-operate with the one Union of European workmen. Otherwise the underselling and the cheapening of labour on the one hand, and the setting up of a privileged class of labour irrespective of good work on the other, will be perpetual. The employer will always be able to utilise, for his own selfish ends, the racial divisions among the workmen.

When I was travelling through Australia and New Zealand, I was delighted to find that this labour question had practically been solved by the amalgamation of European and Asiatic trades unions. The Asiatic labourers had lodges of their own, to decide their own internal questions, but they followed in every respect the same Trades' Union laws as the Europeans and had a voice in the passing of those laws.

It has been brought to my notice again and again in this country by Indian workmen, (such as shop-assistants and others), that, if the Indian Trades' Unions come under the same laws and the same scale of wages as the Europeans, then, first of all, the European scale of living is much higher than the Indian. Therefore while the Indian can afford to take a lower wage, the European cannot. With this radical difference, it is impossible to equalise wages. Secondly, if the employer has to choose between a European and an Indian, at the same rate of wages, he will choose the European everytime; because the prestige of the European is greater than that of the Indian, and it is always a business asset to be able to announce to the public that only Europeans are employed.

I grant the force of these two objections; I grant that both these things make the odds against the Indian at first somewhat serious to contemplate. On the other hand, the gain is out of all proportion to the loss. For the principle is recognised. The fundamental basis of human equality, apart from colour, race and creed is affirmed; the principle of equal pay for equal work is established.

Let us further take these two objections and examine them in detail. It may be true, that the Indian workman *can* live on less than the European,—but why should he? Cannot he improve his standard of living, in good and wholesome ways,—e.g. by giving his children the best possible education etc. etc.? Furthermore, in the great majority of cases, the European workman's family is not so numerous as the Indian workman's family, so the Indian has to spend more than the European in that way. Or again, the Indian may have to send money back to India,—all these incalculable elements come in, and it is impossible to say, one way or the other, whose expenses are really the greatest.

Secondly, it is *not* true that the European would be preferred every time, even now, as things are to-day. And it may not be true at all in a few years time, when these racial harshnesses and bitterness have decreased. It may be true, that, in a large shop, the employer would at first take advantage and make profit out of the present dislike to Indian shop assistants, if he could always get a European shop assistant on equal pay, but he may find on the other hand that the European shop assistant (who would be paid equal wages with Indian shop assistants) is less efficient, less trustworthy, less obliging, less reliable, than the Indian. He may desire soon to change him for an Indian and risk losing, by doing so, a few racially prejudiced customers. The Indian may show that, in spite of the initial odds against him, he is *better* than the European.

Wherever we turn in life, we are certain to find hardships, unfairnesses, difficulties, in equalities. We must not mind these, if we can get down to fundamentals. Race prejudices of the present day may be one of those harshnesses and roughnesses in life which have to be surmounted. What is needed is to refuse to admit such race prejudice as an eternal, ultimate principle.

What I would point out is this, that in Australia and New Zealand these very labour difficulties themselves have been overcome and race bitterness among workmen has died down. This has been entirely owing to the Indian amalgamating his union with that of the European and agreeing not to undersell the European. The Indian, by sticking to this principle, may have found it hard at times at first to get work, but he has gained in the long run. What is infinitely more, he has upheld the honour of his own race; he has upheld the principle of race-equality; he has upheld and proved workable the fundamental basis of all labour, namely, equal pay for equal work.

I would urge, therefore, the Indian workers in Durban not to amalgamate or co-operate with European workers on any other basis. For instance, if an attempt is made to limit certain jobs, such as foremen's jobs, to Europeans, and to allow Indians to take up only the inferior jobs, there should be no trifling at all with such attempts at compromise on a racial basis. For compromises of this kind can only lead to evil,—evil, that is to say, to *both* parties, not to the Indian only.

I trust that little by little the amalgamation of Indian, coloured and European unions will take place, on the one secure basis of equal pay for equal work. And if at some future date, the African native is sufficiently intelligent to take up the skilled work as well as the unskilled, he also should be admitted into the skilled Workers' Federation on the same non-racial basis of equal pay for equal work.

What is needed meanwhile, on the part of Indian workers is to raise their own position as skilled workers side by side with Europeans; to avoid underselling of labour, even as things are, as much as possible, to endeavour to meet with the leaders among the European workmen as often as possible and never to despair about coming to terms with them. Last of all, as a guiding principle the supreme need is to eliminate 'race' altogether from labour and make it purely 'human.'

MR. MAHOMED ALI ON THE KHALIFAT QUESTION

Mr. Mahomed Ali who is now in England as one of the members of the Khilafat deputation spoke thus at a meeting held at Bombay:

"That, ladies and gentlemen, leads me to think of the occasion that has brought us together this evening. You are aware we are supposed to be on the point of sailing for England during the next couple of days. The errand on which we are going is popularly known as the Khilafat question. I would like every man and woman present here, and all our friends outside, to have a very clear idea in their minds of what the Khilafat deputation means, what is the object of our mission, what we stand for, and what we are going to try in England and do. Let there be no erroneous impression in regard to this matter, because it is already not merely a Mahomedan, but an Indian question. (Cheers.) And it is the duty of every Indian who wants to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of his country to realise the matter in all its bearings. Ladies and gentlemen, the first thing that I would like to impress upon you in regard to the Khilafat is the fact that to-day it is really not merely a Mahomedan, but an All-India question. (Hear, hear.) If there is one man more than another to whom the credit for that consummation is due, it is Mahatma Gandhi. (Renewed cheers.) And I have no hesitation in saying, taking a long view, that the Mahatma has earned the gratitude not only of all Mahomedans, but of all Indians, in so far as he has made all India a national unity a reality in a more real sense than it has been the case before. (Hear, hear.) Now ladies and gentlemen, I would like you to consider why the Khilafat question has become an all-India question. What was the assumption, what was the conviction on which Mr. Gandhi proceeded in this matter, in laying down the gospel that he did lay down? Mr. Gandhi took up this line that if it was a fact that the Khilafat question is a matter affecting the lives and deaths of seven crores of Mussalmans who are also Indians, then the Khilafat question could not possibly be a matter of indifference to the 23 crores of non-Mussalmans who are also Indians. (Cheers.) That is the fundamental plank upon which the Indian national unity is being built up and has got to be built up. Just take the converse proposition. If there is any single question that involves the happiness, the lives the honour, and what is most important perhaps of all, the religious faith of our Hindu brethren in India, then it becomes a matter of national honour and national obligations for Mahomedans who also call themselves Indians to feel for the Hindus as well as the Hindus themselves. (Cheers.) That is the basic reason why the Khilafat question to-day is not, in the sense of political cant or camouflage, but in a genuine sense, an all-India question, because I take it our Hindu friends are not prepared to see that any act derogatory to the faith of the Mussalmans shall be done to them. They are not prepared to sit idle by and look on, what time the most deeply cherished sentiments and more than sentiments of the Mussalmans of India are being trampled under foot. This, ladies and gentlemen, put briefly, is the foundation of the fact that the Khilafat question is an all-India question."

born Graduate Passive Resister), Mr. Royceppan (A Barrister-Hawker), Indian Volunteer Stretcher-Bearer Corps, Three Transvaal ladies as passive resisters (Mrs. Sivprasad, Miss Minnatjee and Mrs. Somar). Mr. Ameeroodin Fajandar, Mrs. S. Mehtab, Asiatic Ordinance (A Chess play Cartoon) India's Great Loyalty (Cartoon), The Late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. Ratan J. Tata, Mrs. R. M. Sodha, Sir William Wedderburn, M.L., Pioneer Settlers of Tolstoy Farm, The Late Count Leo Tolstoy, The Late Rev. Joseph J. Doke, The Late Mr. S. Nagappan, The Right Hon. Lord Amptill, G.C.I.E., The Triumphal Arch outside Park Station (Mr. Gokhale's Visit), Shri Satyaji Shrinikandan, Mr. Sorabji Shapari of Adajan, Hanifa Bibi, H.H. The Amir of Afghanistan, Mr. Kallenbach, Mr. Kallenbach as seen walking from the Tolstoy Farm to Johannesburg, Mr. Henry S. L. Polak, M.L.C. Party at Tolstoy Farm, The Late Mr. H. Nazir, Shri Gopal Lal Hindu Temple, Verulam, The Late Mrs. Valliamah Moodaliar, Sons of the Empire (Indian Soldiers), The 60 Indians Deported to India by the Transvaal Government, The Indian Monument in Johannesburg, The Late Mr. Hajee Hossen Dawad, Indian Merchants who suffered imprisonment at Standerton, Babu Bahadra Nath Tagore, The Late Hon. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., Right Hon. Syed Anwar Ali, C.I.E., Sir Benjamin Robertson and Staff, Some of the Addresses presented to The Hon. Mr. Gokhale, Vrededorp Properties, The Late Mr. Abdulla Ladi Adam, Indian Strikers in Durban, (Three Pictures).

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

"Indian Opinion" Supplements

We have the following supplements on art paper for 25c. the shilling per dozen, post free.

The Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. V. A. Chettiar (Chairman, Tamil Benefit Society of Johannesburg), Mr. Budjee (Vice President of the Transvaal Indian Association), The Late Mr. Narayansamy, South African Indian Stretcher-Bearer Company, Hon. Mr. Gokhale's visit, taken at Heidelberg station, Mr. L. Hans Raj B.A. (Hon. Principal D.A. V. College, President Lahore Arya Samaj), Mr. Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer, Mr. Omar Haji Amod Johari, Mr. Joseph Royceppan B.A. (A Natal

વિચારના ગુજરાતી પુસ્તકો
સ્વામી વિવેકાનંદના પત્રો
રામાયણ રહસ્ય
અર્વાચીન શાસ્ત્ર અને શાસ્ત્રીય વિચાર
મૃત્યુકે માસાદી સુદર ક્રીડા પદ્ધતિ, નીલુ, પ્રમુખતા
પદ્ધતિ, મુદ્રા
મીત્ર
મલાયલમો સોમેરી અર્થ
શ્રીમદ ભગવત ગીતા ગુજરાતી મહાત્મક ભાષાંતર
જેકાદશ રહસ્ય
શ્રીમદ ભગવદગીતા પાંક પુસ્તકો
મેહનદાસ ક. મયરકે ગાંધીજીના જન્મ જ્ઞાતિ
પદ્ધતિ ગુજરાતી ગુજરાતી મુદ્રાપત્રા પ્રમુખ મહાત્મક
મેહનદાસ ક. મયરકે ગાંધીજીના ભાષાંતર
ગાંધીજીના ભાષાંતર
આરિયતા વિષે સામાન્ય જ્ઞાન ભાષાંતર
સામ્ય સવરો
ગેલના કાવ્ય
મુસ્તફા કેમલપાશાનું જીવન ચરિત્ર
આરિય વિષે સામાન્ય જ્ઞાન ભાષાંતર
ટાલસ્ટોયની વાર્તાઓ
ગુજરાતી ગીત રામાયણ
નીતિના કાવ્ય
મુસ્તફા
સવેદ્ય
પાશીરામ કાશ્યપી
મનહરપદ ગુજરાતી અને હિંદીમાં
વધરામ બિંધી કાવ્ય
સત્યાગ્રહના પીલુ, કમ્પો નથી
હિંદીના શાળા અને પાઠશાળાઓમાં સાતલાખાદાર
શિક્ષણ
પુસ્તક અને પશ્ચિમ
જીવનદોરી
સત્યાગ્રહ બી. મેરીસના લખાણો તરજુમો

BOOKS FOR SALE

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

We have just received the following books from India. The prices given include cost of postage:—

	Price post free s. d.
Mr. Gandhi's Speeches and Writings—1896 to 1917	3 3
Mrs. Annie Besant — A Sketch of her Life	0 7
Tales of Mariada Raman	0 7
The Son-in-Law Abroad	0 7
Maitreyi	0 7
Tales of Raja Birbal	0 7
Essentials of Hinduism	1 1
Aspects of the Vedanta	1 1
Glimpses of the Orient To-day, by Saint Nihal Singh	2 2
Indian Industrial and Economic Problems, by Prof. Kale	3 3
Essays on Indian Economics, by Ranade	4 4
Sri Sankaracharya	1 7
Sri Ramanujacharya	1 7
Essays on National Idealism, by Dr. Coomaraswamy	2 2
The Indian National Congress, its Origin and Growth	9 9
Speeches of John Morley	3 2
Sri Sankara's Select Works	3 3
The Life and Teachings of Buddha	12 7
Sri Madhwacharya	14 7
Vaishnavite Reformers of India	2 2
The Governance of India, by Govinda Das	6 4
India's Untouchable Saints	0 10
Aggressive Hinduism	2 4
Gokhale's Speeches	6 10
Dadabhai Naoroji's Speeches	6 8
Vivekananda's Speeches	4 7
King George's Speeches	2 2
Ten Tamil Saints	1 7
For India's Uplift, by Annie Besant	3 3
Speeches on Indian Questions, by Mr. Montagu	3 3
The Indian Demands, by G. A. Natesan	2 2
Commentary on the Bhagavad Gita, by R. V. Khedkar	1 1
BIOGRAPHIES OF EMINENT INDIANS:—	
Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Rabindranath Tagore, M. K. Gandhi, Babu Surendranath Banerjee, B. R. Ambedkar, Tyabji, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, The Right Hon. Sayed Amir Ali, H. H. Shri Sayaji Rao Gaekwar, Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, H. H. the Aga Khan, Swami Rama Tirth, V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Kristo Das Pal, Dewan C. Rangachari, Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, W. C. Bonnerice, A. M. Bose, Behramji M. Malabari, Ravi Varma, Lala Lajpat Rai, Kashinath Thimbar Telang, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Mrs. Sampurni Naidu, Swami Vivekananda, Toru Dutt, Ishwar Chander Vidyasagar, Sir Salar Jung, V. P. Madhava Rao, D. E. Wacha, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Rahimulla Mohamed Sayani, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Sir C. Sankaran Nair, Lal Mohun Ghose, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, each	0 7
Peeps at Many Lands, with 12 coloured plates — Ceylon, Siam, Burma, Home Life in India	2 10
Bhagavad Gita — Mrs. Besant's Translation	2 10
Nation Building, by Annie Besant	0 10
Warfare in Ancient India	0 7
New Indian Tales	0 7
The Story of the Raja and Appaji	0 7
Tales of Komati Wit and Wisdom	0 7
Tales of Tennakrana	0 7
Memoirs of the late J. J. Dove	2 1

The Ethics of Passive Resistance	3
Indian Home Rule, by M. K. Gandhi	6

FRIENDS OF INDIA SERIES:—Lord Morley, Sir Wm. Wedderburn, Rev. Dr. Miller, Sir Edwin Arnold, Lord Hardinge, Chas. Bradlaugh, Edmund Burke, Lord Minto, Sister Nivedita, Henry Fawcett, John Bright, A. O. Hume, Sir Henry Cotton, Lord Macaulay and Lord Ripon. each 7

Life of M. K. Gandhi (in Tamil)	1 0
" " (in Hindi)	1 0

Mahomed 'The Great Arabian,' by Meredith Townsend 3

Stories and Sayings of India, Ceylon and Burma 9

From Colombo to Almora: Lectures by Swami Vivekananda 12 10

From Colombo to Almora 12 10

Essays in Indian Art, Industry and Education, by E. B. Havell 2 4

Rabindranath Tagore, a Lecture by the Rev. C. F. Andrews of Delhi delivered at Capetown. 1 0

Hinduism, by Dr. Barnett 1 9

Letters of John Chinaman 1 9

A Study in Indian Economics by P. Bannerji 4 4

The Golden Number of "Indian Opinion"

Paper covers 1 0

Bound in cloth 6

Position of the Women in the Vedas 2 1

Hindu Social Ideals, by P. J. Mehta 2 7

M. K. Gandhi 2 7

The Story of the Ramayana, the Epic of Rama Prince of India: by J. L. P. Erasmus 7

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale and the Indenture System 6

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Tour in South Africa: 6

Special INDIAN OPINION (Souvenir) 1 0

A Letter to a Hindu, or the Subjection of India to its Cause and Cure, by Leo Tolstoy 10 10

Fields, Factories and Workshops, by Prince 10 10

Kropotkin 10 10

Unto this Last, 10 10

English Traits and Representative Men, by Emerson 10 10

Society and Solitude and other Essays, by Emerson 10 10

War and Peace, Vols. 1, 2, and 3, by Tolstoy, each 10 10

Reflections on the French Revolution, by Burke 10 10

Asiatic Law Amendment Act (1907) and Regulations, in English and Gujarati 6

A Book—and its Misnomer 2

Bhagavad Gita, Mrs. Besant's Translation 4

Asiatics Registration Amendment Act (1908) 3

Registration Act (1908) Regulations, in English and Gujarati 3

The Indians of South Africa, by H. S. L. Polak 1 0

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