

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

COMMENTING on the attitude of the South Africans' League the *Bombay Chronicle* says:—
It is a pity that the South African whites do not realise that their treatment of Indians is not purely a matter of domestic concern as they imagine, but one which is of even more than "imperial" importance. The Government of India, by their apathy and weak-kneed submissiveness all along, have given the whites in South Africa too long a rope, so to say. Whatever the outcome of the Commission, the new India who has awakened to her own rightful status, can no longer tolerate any further assaults on her dignity and the birth rights of her nationals abroad.

Among the many Draft Ordinances that are to be submitted to the Natal Provincial Council at its forthcoming session, is included the "Durban Corporation Extended Powers Ordinance, 1920." We have already drawn our readers' attention to the clauses that appear to be dangerous in this Ordinance and we have also explained that, if the unscrupulous powers that the Town Council seeks, be granted, they would be detrimental to the Indian community and their rights to trade and to live in this country would be jeopardised. We are sorry that no voice of protest has hitherto been raised in the matter and so far as we are aware, no representation has been made to His Honour the Administrator. Will not our leaders wake up and strike the iron while it is hot?

The *Natal Mercury*, in discussing editorially the Durban Extended Power Ordinance, says:—

A section which will possibly lead to some controversy is one dealing with trading licences, which provides that the Council shall have power to refuse a licence on the ground that it is not satisfied that "the locality in which the premises for which the licence is sought are situate is one in which it is desirable that the trade or business contemplated should be carried on by the applicant, or at all." This provision, if passed, will strengthen the hands of the Licensing Officer in carrying out the policy in which he recently told the Asiatic Commission he was endeavouring to follow.

The Durban Town Council has agreed that the Draft Ordinances be approved, and that the Mayor (or in his absence from the Borough, the Deputy-Mayor), the Town Clerk and the Council's Legal Advisers be authorised, on behalf of the Town Council, to take all such steps as may be necessary in the direction of framing the same before the Provincial Council during its next session.

The Johannesburg correspondent of the *Natal Advertiser*, in a message dated June 4, says:—

At the sitting of the Asiatic Commission at Volksrust the Mayor said the people view with serious alarm the gradual influx of Asiatics. Twelve years ago there were only two Indian store-keepers in Volksrust; to-day there are 23 Indian store-keepers in the town and eight in the surrounding district. During the last few

years three Indian companies, besides one formed to acquire a mosque, had been floated for the sole purpose of getting the registration of fixed properties in Volksrust. These companies purchased from Europeans, who had since left the Town, and got registration of fixed properties in Volksrust valued on the Municipal Valuation Roll at £7,645. The Council intend to take legal proceedings to have these transfers upset immediately, and stringent measures should be taken to prevent Asiatics, or Asiatic companies, acquiring properties adjoining those belonging to Europeans.

The following is a certificate given to an Indian school master of a London suburban school by the Headmaster of that school:—

"Mr.— came to me as an assistant master this term but owing to the parents of my boys objecting to him on account of his nationality, I have very reluctantly been obliged to part with him. During his short time he has been resident in my house, he has proved himself a gentleman in every sense of the word. He is an excellent teacher, and very conscientious, and it is with real pain that I am compelled to part with him. I write this testimonial with pleasure, and I can thoroughly recommend him to any one who may require his services.

Commenting on the above an Indian paper *The Searchlight* says:—

If English parents do not want an Indian teacher, well, the time will come when Indian parents in India may be able to force their dislike of English teachers on racial grounds. The question is whether this racial bar is to continue or not. If it is, then India must catch the contagion which is flourishing in East and South Africa and now comes from London itself.

During the trial of a criminal case recently the police magistrate of Colombo is reported to have made the following noteworthy observation, with reference to the work of the police there.

You police are perfectly satisfied if you get a conviction whether the defence is true or not. The police are not here to run people into court. You are here to find out the truth of the cases. That is the duty of the police. If a case is true, prosecute to the very end. If it is not true put it before the court as such. It is not your duty to get a conviction in every case you bring up.

Reuter, Allahabad, telegraphs that a joint Khilafat conference of Hindu and Moslems, after prolonged deliberation, decided on a policy of non-co-operation with the Indian Government policy. This decision, which is a protest against the Turkish Treaty, will be enforced after a month's notice has been given to the Viceroy.

Reuter, Simla, telegraphs that the Committee of the All India Congress at Benares, has reaffirmed its

demand for the trial of the persons responsible for the Amritsar riots and also the recall of the Viceroy.

DURBAN'S DRAFT ORDINANCES

IN our issue of the 2nd April last we called attention to an Ordinance, drafted on behalf of the Durban Town Council, for the purpose of obtaining additional powers in regard to the issue of trading licences, etc. The said Ordinance and another dealing with the regulations of Tram Cars within the Borough have now been gazetted after being approved of by the Town Council. It will be remembered that power was sought to endorse trading licences with conditions agreed to by the applicant, the failure to comply with any one of which would render the licence null and void. As pointed out by us, it can easily be imagined how this power may be abused by Licensing Officers who, like the Licensing Officer of Durban, have adopted a policy of restricting Indian licences to certain parts of the town. Licensing Officers, we think, have already too autocratic powers and they should certainly not be increased.

We have now before us the Ordinance relating to Tram Cars. The Council seeks power to set aside separate vehicles, tram-shelters or other premises intended for the convenience of travellers for the sole and exclusive use of persons of European descent, Natives or Asiatics, and to prohibit their use by any but the class of persons for which they are set apart. It is also sought to prohibit the use of trams or shelters by any person who is "likely on any ground whatsoever to inconvenience or to be objectionable or offensive to any other persons in or upon, or about to enter, such vehicle, tram-shelter, or other such premises." Several attempts have been made, year by year, to introduce such racial restrictions into Municipal legislation, but, so far, all attempts have been unsuccessful. We should expect that His Honour the Administrator would do as he had done before, draw his pencil through these unfair and unjust clauses. But it would be foolish for the Indian community to imagine that their rights and privileges will be safe-guarded for all time if they do not so much as lift a finger against the present proposals. If, as a result of apathy, the rights they enjoy as burgesses and rate-payers are taken away, they will have themselves largely to blame for it. Every intelligent person who goes about with his eyes and ears open knows that there is a strong feeling on the part of many Europeans in favour of reducing the rights of Indian passengers or at least of adopting a racial discrimination. If, therefore, no voice is raised against the proposals contained in the Draft Ordinance we fear that there is every possibility of colour bar being introduced into the Borough Bye laws. After it has become an established fact, it will be useless to cry out against it. We shall then either have to accept the conditions or refrain from using the trams, which, after all, belong just as much to Indian as European rate-payers. We shall then have tacitly accepted an inferior status which will disgrace us in the eyes of all. We offer this note of warning before it is too late. It remains for the Indian leaders to take action at once and lodge their protest with the Administrator of the Province.

DURBAN'S DRAFT ORDINANCES

IMPORTANT EXTRACTS

The following clauses are taken from the Draft Ordinances to be submitted to the Natal Provincial Council :—

The Town Council may refuse to grant a licence to any applicant if not satisfied.

(a) that the locality in which the premises for which the licence is sought are situate is one in which it is desirable that the trade or business contemplated should be carried on by the applicant or at all, and

(b) that such premises are in every respect suitable for the purpose of such trade or business.

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

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 impressed 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.

No person shall sell, trade or exercise any calling of any kind in any Municipal Indian Market or Bazaar established by the Town Council without a licence so to do from 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 to 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 the said Market or Bazaar for the use thereof or of any portion thereof in addition to a licence fee as authorised by this Section.

The Town Council is hereby empowered :—

To set aside separate vehicles, tram-shelters, or other premises intended for the convenience or use of persons travelling or intending to travel in their vehicles, or to set aside any portion of such vehicles, tram-shelters, or premises, for the sole and exclusive use of persons of European descent, Natives or Asiatics, or of any one or more of such classes of persons, and to prohibit the entry upon or use of any vehicle, tram-shelter, or other premises or any portion thereof, set aside for the convenience or use of any one or more of such classes of persons, by persons of any other of the said classes.

To prohibit the entry upon or use of any vehicle, tram-shelters, or other premises intended for the convenience or use of persons travelling or intending to travel in their vehicles by any person who is :—

- (i) Unclean in his person, dress, or in habits,
- (ii) Suffering from an infectious or contagious disease,
- (iii) Under the influence of liquor or drugs,
- (iv) Likely on any ground whatsoever to inconvenience or to be objectionable or offensive to any other persons in or upon, or about to enter, such vehicle, tram-shelter, or other such premises.

WHY MR. GANDHI HAS JOINED THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes the following article in *Young India* dated April 28:—

An esteemed South African friend who is at present living in England has written to me a letter from which I make the following excerpts:—

"You will doubtless remember having met me in South Africa at the time when the Rev. J. J. Doke was assisting you in your campaign there and I subsequently returned to England deeply impressed with the rightness of your attitude in that country. During the months before war I wrote and lectured and spoke on your behalf in several places which I do not regret. Since returning from military service, however, I have noticed from the papers that you appear to be adopting a more militant attitude.....I notice a report in *The Times* that you are assisting and countenancing a union between the Hindus and Moslems with a view of embarrassing England and the Allied Powers in the matter of dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire or the ejection of the Turkish Government from Constantinople. Knowing as I do your sense of justice and your humane instincts I feel that I am entitled, in view of the humble part that I have taken to promote your interests on this side, to ask you whether this latter report is correct. I cannot believe that you have wrongly countenanced a movement to place the cruel and unjust despotism of the Stamboul Government above the interests of humanity, for if any country has crippled these interests in the East it has surely been Turkey. I am personally familiar with the conditions in Syria and Armenia and I can only suppose that if the report which *The Times* has published is correct, you have thrown to one side your moral responsibilities and allied yourself with one of the prevailing anarchies. However, until I hear that this is not your attitude I cannot prejudice my mind. Perhaps you will do me a favour of sending me a reply."

I have sent a reply to the writer. But as the views expressed in the quotation are likely to be shared by many of my English friends and as I do not wish, if I can possibly help it, to forfeit their friendship or their esteem I shall endeavour to state my position as clearly as I can on the Khilafat question. The letter shows what risk public men run through irresponsible journalism. I have not seen *The Times* report referred to by my friend. But it is evident that the report has made the writer to suspect my alliance with "the prevailing anarchies" and to think that I have "thrown to one side" my "moral responsibilities."

It is just my sense of moral responsibilities which has made me to take up the Khilafat question and to identify myself entirely with the Mahomedans. It is perfectly true that I am assisting and countenancing the union between Hindus and Muslims, but certainly not with "a view of embarrassing England and the Allied Powers in the matter of the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire." It is contrary to my creed to embarrass governments or anybody else. This does not however mean that certain acts of mine may not result in embarrassment. But I should not hold myself responsible for having caused embarrassment when I resist the wrong of a wrong-doer by refusing assistance in his wrong-doing. On the Khilafat question I refuse to be party to a broken pledge. Mr. Lloyd George's solemn declaration is practically the whole of the case for Indian Mahomedans, and when that case is fortified by scriptural authority it becomes unanswerable. Moreover, it is incorrect to say that I have "allied myself to one of the prevailing anarchies" or that I have "wrongly countenanced the movement to place the cruel and unjust despotism of the Stamboul Government above the interests of humanity." In the whole of the Mahomedan demand there is no instance on the retention of the so-called unjust despotism of the Stamboul Government; on

the contrary the Mahomedans have accepted the principle of taking full guarantees from that Government for the protection of non-Muslim minorities. I do not know how far the condition of Armenia and Syria may be considered an 'anarchy' and how far the Turkish Government may be held responsible for it. I much suspect that the reports from these quarters are much exaggerated and that the European powers are themselves in a measure responsible for what misrule there may be in Armenia and Syria. But I am in no way interested in supporting Turkish or any other anarchy. The Allied Powers can easily prevent it by means other than that of ending Turkish rule or dismembering or weakening the Ottoman Empire. The Allied Powers are not dealing with a new situation. If Turkey was to be partitioned, the position should have been made clear at the commencement of the war. There would then have been no question of a broken pledge. As it is, no Indian Mahomedan has any regard for the promises of British Ministers. In his opinion, the cry against Turkey is that of Christianity vs. Islam with England as the leader in the cry. The latest cablegram from Mr. Mahomed Ali strengthens the impression, for he says that unlike as in England his deputation is receiving much support from the French Government and the people.

Thus, if it is true, as I hold it is true, that the Indian Mussalmans have a cause that is just and is supported by scriptural authority, then for the Hindus not to support them to the utmost would be a cowardly breach of brotherhood and they would forfeit all claim to consideration from their Mahomedan countrymen. As a public-server therefore, I would be unworthy of the position I claim, if I did not support Indian Mussalmans in their struggle to maintain the Khilafat in accordance to their religious belief. I believe that in supporting them I am rendering a service to the Empire, because by assisting my Mahomedan countrymen to give a disciplined expression to their sentiment it becomes possible to make the agitation thoroughly orderly and even successful.

BRITISH PARLIAMENT AND DYER

Mr. Spoor (by private notice) asked the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been called to an interview alleged to have been given by General Dyer to a Press representative, in which the statement is made that General Dyer has been requested to resign his appointment; whether this statement is correct, and, if so, whether this action on the part of the Government is consequent upon their consideration of the Hunter Committee's Report.

The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Montagu): I am informed that the Commander-in-Chief directed General Dyer to resign his appointment as Brigadier Commander in India. The whole matter is now engaging the consideration of His Majesty's Government. I hope that full documents will be available to Parliament within the next fortnight, and I hope honourable members will be content to delay discussion until they have full information.

Colonel Wedgwood: If General Dyer is allowed to resign his commission, does that mean he will not be court-martialled for these massacres?

Mr. Montagu: This is a very serious question and very difficult to discuss by way of question and answer when, unfortunately, no papers are before the House. I am prepared to answer all these questions when the time comes for the Debate, and I hope that the House, which has been so patient so long, will wait the few remaining days in order to get full information.

Colonel Wedgwood: Can we be assured that the question will not be prejudged by General Dyer being allowed to resign?

Mr. Lambert: Will the papers circulated include Lord Hunter's Report on the subject?

Mr. Montagu : Yes, certainly; the papers I propose to lay are Lord Hunter's Report, the evidence taken before Hunter Committee, and the resolution of the Government of India on the subject.

Colonel Wedgwood : Will they include all the evidence that was given, or will Sir M. O. Dwyer's evidence be omitted?

Mr. Montagu : My hon. and gallant friend knows that certain evidence was taken in camera for public reasons, and it is not proposed to publish any evidence which the Committee thought ought to be heard in private.—*India.*

WILL THE INDIANS GO?

COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS

We take the following from the *Star*, Johannesburg.

The interim report of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission makes it clear that there is a considerable portion of the Indian community in the Union, who would willingly return to India if only the opportunity was afforded them. As the law stands there is nothing to prevent the departure of such Indians, but the opportunity is not considered suitable in Asiatic circles, in so far that the facilities offered are not sufficient to enable the very class who desire to avail themselves of it to do so.

A conversation with a prominent member of the Indian community elicited the information that half a dozen Indians resident in the Transvaal who endeavoured to leave this country were directed from pillar to post and met with such official indifference to their desire that they are still residents. It is not so easy, said this authority, for the Indian who is practically without resources to leave this country. In the first place, the rate of exchange is against him, and the little money he may contrive to land with suffers a diminution that reduces him to beggary. This is a hopeless proposition for the people who have been 20 or 30 years from their own country and know nothing about new conditions or even if old friends and acquaintances are in existence.

The desire alluded to is, however, chiefly expressed by the Natal Indians, whose conditions are entirely different to those in the Transvaal. As long as the sugar planter or farmer can obtain a sufficient supply of Asiatic labour at a suitable price he is quite satisfied, but when those who have served become his competitors on the land, trouble arises. But in the Transvaal, where the Asiatic population is only about 12,000, the trading competition has not been left in the same measure. Though, anticipating the results of past legislation, many licences were taken out by Asiatics, not more than a dozen or so businesses have been engaged in by the holders.

Our informant went on to point out that the Asiatic engages in trades which the European does not care to undertake and in which, where tried, he has proved to be a failure. Particularly noticeable in this respect was the usefulness of the "Sammy," who is an itinerant supplier of fruit and vegetables, and the speaker stated he would be willing to see the experiment tried of keeping the Asiatic from the market for a brief period, to convince the house-holders of how well they are served by them, and how necessary a part they have become of the domestic commissariat. The conditions attached to this business are not suitable to European competitors and the failure of the attempt to render it otherwise in 1909 thoroughly proved this. The Indian workers are learning the benefits obtained for employees by trade unions and the fear of an unhealthy competition need not trouble the European employer much longer. It is not possible to get an Asiatic store assistant to work longer to-day than his European equivalent, and the Indian traders

are quite prepared to fall in with the hours and wages conditions that exist in other establishments.

This, in brief, was the opinion of the authority alluded to, who in answer to what suggestions he had to offer replied that in the case of the very poor Indians whom it is desirable to repatriate, the Government must be prepared to send such free of charge, and even see to it that they are not landed penniless in a country which has grown strange to them. Many of these people have been kept in the housing depots for four or even six months, and this experience does not conduce to render the proposition favourable to the Indian eye.

The remedy suggested is the transference by the Government of powers to deal with the whole question to some authority that will be in close and constant touch with Asiatic interests.

INDIANS ABROAD

The following article appears in *Young India* dated April 21 :—

The prejudice against Indian settlers outside India is showing itself in a variety of ways. Under the impudent suggestion of sedition the Fiji Government has deported Mr. Manilal Doctor who with his brave and cultured wife has been rendering assistance to the poor indentured Indians of Fiji in a variety of ways. The whole trouble has arisen over the strike of the labourers in Fiji. Indentures have been cancelled, but the spirit of slavery is by no means dead. We do not know the genesis of the strike, we do not know that the strikers have done no wrong. But we do know what is behind when a charge of sedition is brought against the strikers and their friends. The reader must remember that the Government that has scented sedition in the recent upheaval in Fiji is the Government that had the hardihood to libel Mr. Andrews' character. What can be the meaning of sedition in connection with the Fiji strikers and Mr. Manilal Doctor? Did they and he want to seize the reins of Government? Did they want any power in that country? They struck for elementary freedom. And it is a prostitution of terms to use the word sedition in such connection. The strikers may have been overhasty. Mr. Manilal Doctor may have misled them. If his advice bordered on the criminal, he should have been tried. The information in our possession goes to show that he has been strictly constitutional. Our point, however, is that it is an abuse of power for the Fiji Government to have deported Mr. Manilal Doctor without a trial. It is wrong in principle to deprive a person of his liberty on mere suspicion and without giving him an opportunity of clearing his character. Mr. Manilal Doctor, be it remembered, has for years past made Fiji his home. He has, we believe, bought property there. He has children born in Fiji. Have the children no rights? Has the wife none? May a promising career be ruined at the bidding of a lawless Government? Has Mr. Manilal Doctor been compensated for the losses he must sustain? We trust that the Government of India which has endeavoured to protect the rights of Indian settlers abroad will take up the question of Mr. Doctor's deportation.

Nor is Fiji the only place where the spirit of lawlessness among the powerful has come to the surface. Indians of (the late) German East Africa find themselves in a worse position than heretofore. They state that even their property is not safe. They have to pay all kinds of dues on passports. They are hampered in their trade. They are not able even to send money orders.

In British East Africa the cloud is perhaps the thickest. The European settlers there are doing their utmost to deprive the Indian settlers of practically

every right they have hitherto possessed. An attempt is being made to compass their ruin both by legislative enactment and administrative action.

In South Africa every Indian who has anything to do with that part of the British Dominions is watching with bated breath the progress of the commission that is now sitting.

The Government of India have no easy job in protecting the interests of Indian settlers in these various parts of His Majesty's dominions. They will be able to do so only by following the firmest and the most consistent policy. Justice is admittedly on the side of the Indian settlers. But they are the weak party. A strong agitation in India followed by strong action by the Government of India can alone save the situation.

THE ASIATIC QUESTION

ANALYSIS OF VITAL PROBLEM

(By C. F. ANDREWS)

VIII

South Africa is now in great danger of becoming a caste-ridden country. At the very period in history when India, after untold futility and misery, is at last trying to throw off the caste habit (just as China is trying to throw off the opium habit and America the drink habit). South Africa, with all the feverish haste of youth and inexperience, is seeking to impose the caste system, not on others, but on herself. Nature is saying silently to her, "You should try to understand." But, like a wilful child, South Africa appears to be determined to defy all History, to make the same old-world's mistakes, and to repeat again, in a new civilisation, the failures of the past. It is only another instance of the saying, that there is nothing new under the sun. For this race-segregation, which is being spoken about in South African politics to-day, as though it were a new discovery, was really invited in India somewhere between 1700 B.C. and 1000 B.C. It has been the curse of India ever since. It is the Caste system, pure and simple, masquerading under a new name.

WHAT IS CASTE?

It may be said, without any qualification, that the most convincing proof which can be offered to South Africans as to the futility of race-segregation, is the age-long experience of India which tells directly against it. To any one who has any doubt upon the subject, I would give one golden piece of advice—Read Indian History.

For the caste is nothing extraordinary, nothing mysterious, nothing peculiarly "oriental". It is simply the same word as "colour" or "race." India is the one country in the world which has been through every phase of the problem of the "white race," the problem of the race which tries to keep itself apart and not become mixed in blood with other races. India also was the one nation in antiquity which tried to do this by civilised methods and refused to employ barbaric methods of extermination. That is why Indian History is so supremely important on this subject. Let me try to explain this matter accurately, while avoiding all technicalities.

THE HISTORY OF CASTE

The actual Sanskrit word, which has been in daily use for some thousands of years, as the equivalent of "Caste," is "Varna," meaning, literally, "Colour." The exact definition of "Varna" is fortunately undisputed by all scholars. To "keep Caste" (Varna) is to keep the Colour bar—to remain unmixed by marriage. Caste is nothing else than that.

The word "Varna" was first applied to the difference between the white Aryan race, which entered

India from the North as the conquerors, and the dark aboriginal races with which the white invaders came into contact. It is with a strange feeling of the unity of history that we remember how the situation in the Indian continent, nearly four hundred thousand years ago, must have been in striking respects similar to that of Africa to-day.

For the Aryans who entered India were a highly intellectual and civilised white people, while the aboriginals had not passed beyond the savage state. The other point of resemblance, which I have already mentioned, is this, that the Aryans quickly reached that humane stage at which the solution of the race problem by methods of extermination becomes impossible and unthinkable.

From the Hymns of the Rig Veda, we learn that the settlement of the white men in the plains of India was very gradual. Wars against the savage tribes were constant. Then came a period of settled occupation, during which the white and dark races lived side by side together.

At this stage, the white race became seized with a passion that was almost equivalent to a fanaticism to maintain the purity of the white race at any cost. Intermarriage was forbidden by law. And since religion was, at that early-stage of man's history, the strongest form of law, it was agreed to make intermarriage religiously illegal.

But, again, since social intercourse might lead to irregular marriage or co-habitation, the religious disability was put, not only upon inter-marriage, but upon all social intercourse also. Eating food together was prohibited, and, in certain cases, the aboriginals were segregated in locations.

This, then, is the meaning of Caste. It has never changed its character during all these thousands of years. To repeat what I have said, for clearness—the central structure of Caste is the refusal to intermarry. The two buttresses, supporting this Central structure, are (1) the prohibition of social intercourse; (2) the prohibition of domicile in the same area.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CASTE

Gradually, as other races entered India from the North, the problem of race purity became more complicated. Certain rules of intercourse became relaxed among the higher races and their descendants, but the aboriginals remained outcaste and untouchable. Thus, water might be taken from the hands of any member of the higher races, but not from the hands of an aboriginal. The higher races might live side by side, but the aboriginal must be segregated in a location. These higher races and their descendants have multiplied and covered the land, and among them, at the present time, the amenities of life are not greatly interrupted by the caste system. Inter-marriage is still not observed between the different higher castes. Taking food together is also still uncommon. But the direct insult of race-segregation and untouchability is reserved for the out-caste people only; it is never applied to the caste people, who are all of them "touchable."

THE UNTOUCHABLE

If you go into any Indian village to-day, you will find the houses of the village itself grouped closely together and the people of the different castes living side by side, though not inter-marrying.

But, take a walk to a little distance and you will find a location, where the untouchable Indian lives—the Indian who does scavenger work or some other menial occupation. If you look into his face, you will probably see the signs of the aboriginal—the low forehead, the broad nostrils, the dark skin—and you will understand why, century after century, that fate of being born a scavenger has been thrust upon him, with no chance of rising to anything else or of marrying into other than a scavenger's family. This is

how human life has become stratified in India. This is India's curse.

THE FESTERING SORE OF INDIA

Along with very beautiful and humane ideals in other directions, which have gone far to raise Indian life very high among the nations of the earth, there has been going on unheeded, for centuries, this festering sore in the body politic—the unhealed wound of the untouchable. Just as the drink curse, in England, seems impossible of remedy, in spite of all the noble efforts that have been made to overcome the evil, so, in India, age after age, the greatest heroes and saints and prophets and men of righteousness have directly opposed this evil caste custom and have championed the cause of the untouchable even to the death. They have eaten and drunk with them; they have gone to them and embraced them; they have welcomed them into their own religious communion. But, again and again, the social life of India has fallen back into the same old rut. The race-segregation has become almost as complete as before. Often I have seen in these locations, men and women who have sunk down to the semi-animal stage owing to these centuries of untouchability. Often again, owing to some freak of nature or some inter-mingling of blood, I have seen, in these very locations, some beautiful child faces, with bright and high intelligence written in their eyes; and it has made my heart ache to think of man's inhumanity to man in allowing this hideously inhuman system to continue all these years without radical reformation.

THE DANGER IN SOUTH AFRICA

And yet it is the very caste system which many are feverishly attempting to build up within the South African Union. If any one doubts it, let him go and live, as I have actually done, in the Pretoria Indian Location. By an awful Nemesis, the Indians themselves, often Indians of the higher caste—have been made the "untouchables" of Africa.

(To be Continued)

INDIANS IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA

Mr. D. B. Desai an old resident of British East Africa has addressed the following letter to the Press in India, on the disabilities of British Indians in East Africa:—

Sir,—I shall feel greatly obliged if you will kindly allow me some space to put before the public the subject of East African Indians, their grievances and what steps should we take for their redress.

The Franchise, land settlement, Racial disqualifications, fear of Asiatic Exclusion, and the denial of the rights of British citizenship, are a few of the principal grievances of the East African Indians.

The history of the connection of Indians with East Africa dates back from the fifteenth century. They had gone there with the Sultan of Zanzibar, who was the brother of the Sultan of Muscat (an Asiatic), as traders and Bankers. The coastal line of Africa belongs to the Sultan of Zanzibar, who has leased the same to the British Government on an annual payment of rent to the former. Most of the traders, most of the subordinates, servants, (the Asiatics are refused high official posts under Colonial Office Regulations) and the Majority of citizens are Indians, who have played, and are playing still, no mean part in conquering the interior of East Africa from the natives, in pacifying them, and also in developing the Protectorate by (1) trade, (2) construction of railways and roads, and (3) building offices, houses etc., etc.

There are about 35,000 Indians, and about 11,000 whites of all nationalities in that Protectorate. Every non-native male adult has to pay per annum to the Government of B. E. A. a non-native poll tax of

Rs. 15/-. The traders have to pay, in addition to the above tax, a fee of Rs. 150/ for a license of each business place. Further the Nairobi Municipality, which is the only Municipality in B. E. A. is paid by the traders of the Nairobi Township a fee of Rs. 30 for each trading license. Beside the above taxes, the ordinary taxes of the Government and the Municipality are also paid.

From the above figures of population, it cannot be denied by any sane and reasonable man that Indians are paying a larger share in taxes both to the Government and to the Municipality, and it would become impossible for an honest and a good Judge to refuse them what is their due. But the Government of B. E. A. which is a cat's paw in the hands of the white settlers of that Protectorate, denies to apply to Indians the maxim of "no taxation without representation." This was the maxim for which the great American War of Independence was fought, and its result is known to every Britisher, who is conversant with the history of the world, and I wish the B. E. A. trouble may not result in the same way.

There are, so to say, three representative public bodies in that Protectorate, and they are the (1) Executive Council, (2) the Legislative Council, and the Nairobi Municipal Committee. In the Executive Council, there are seven members including the Governor, who is the Preside, 4 being Government European official and 2 non-official nominated Europeans. In the Legislative Council there are 25 members including the Governor, 10 being Government European officials, 11 non-official Europeans, elected by the European community, 2 non-official Indians nominated by the Government, and 1 Arab official also nominated. On the Nairobi Municipal Committee there are nineteen seats which are divided as follows: 1 Government European official, 15 non-official Europeans elected by the European community, 2 seats for Indians to be nominated by the Government (which seats are not accepted by the Indians, as a protest against the refusal of Government to give them seats in proportion to the population and the payment of taxes etc), and 1 seats for the Goanese.

The land trouble began in 1907, in which year the land Board of that Protectorate passed resolutions recommending that Indian immigration into that Protectorate be discouraged, and that no crown lands be leased to Indians. While forwarding the resolutions, the Hon. Commissioner of lands thought his duty to make the following recommendations for the Indians: (1) Indians have been in the country for many generations, and came long before the Europeans. (2) The Uganda Railway (the greatest factor in the development of the country) was constructed by Indian labour, but for which it would never have been constructed at all. [It must be noted however here that in the Economic Commission's Report, we find "the employment of Indian labour for this work was due, it is believed, purely to considerations of convenience, and here it is instructive to note that not only did the capital cost of the Indian-built Railway worked out excessively high, more than double the sum for which a reputable firm of British Contractors had offered to execute the task with African labour." It is doubtful whether this statement is true or otherwise there being no official evidence to support it.] (3) most of the trade of the country is in the hands of the Indians, and finally (4) Indians are British Subjects. Lord Elgin who was then the Colonial Secretary, laid down in a despatch his views on the matter. He wrote "with regard to the granting of land to Indians, it is not consonant with the views of His Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions on any particular section of the community, but as a matter of administrative convenience grants should not be made to Indians in the Upland areas" This was the sanction for the mischief.

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