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Mr. J. F. Lowings, the official Labour candidate, favoured separate compulsory tram cars for Asiatics, but whether it could ever be done or not he could not say, and he also favoured the refusal to issue any further Asiatic licences in Durban and the imposition of restrictions upon their purchasing of property in the town.

THE LATE MR. TILAK

By the death of Mr. B. G. Tilak, India has suffered an irreparable loss. His fearless advocacy of India's claim for political status is well-known. The late Mr. Tilak was a great scholar. He was master of his own and the English language and was an authority on the Ancient Sanskrit literature. His efforts on behalf of education were persistent. He well knew that India could not rise to the level he wished unless the mass of the people received a liberal education. As a journalist of the highest ability, the late Mr. Tilak devoted his time and money to a propaganda which, though pure and patriotic, was nevertheless looked upon with suspicion by the Government. When confronted with the hardships and injustice of much that went by the name of British rule, Mr. Tilak's pen knew no moderation. He has been described as the Indian extremist leader. He was quite content to be known as such for he felt that India could not be saved by pleasant means. The evil must be destroyed whatever the cost. As is well-known, Mr. Tilak suffered imprisonment because of his expressed views, and it can well be said that he suffered martyrdom in the service of India. Naoroji, Gokhale and Tilak each spent a life time in pursuance of the ideal of a liberated India. Each strived for education and for Home Rule. But they have passed out of this life without seeing the fruits of their labour. Yet who will say that they laboured in vain? India is the richer for the fact that these great souls lived and died in the service of their Motherland. Much can be gained by the present generation if they will only emulate the spirit and determination of their departed leaders. We mourn the death of Mr. Tilak not because he was a clever politician; not because he was a perfect scholar; not because of his great ability as a journalist and a leader of men; but because of the sacrifices he made on behalf of his country. Throughout his life the late Mr. Tilak never wavered in his purpose and he will ever be remembered as one who did a great deal to uplift the Indian Nation. Indians of South Africa join with their brothers and sisters in India in mourning the loss of a great patriot. May the memory of his devotion and sacrifice be ever an inspiration to those who follow in his footsteps.

VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION

HOW INDIA VIEWS THE QUESTIONS

From the Indian papers we gather that there is a strongly expressed opinion against the voluntary repatriation of Indians from South Africa. The *Gujarati* and *Indian Social Reformer* in particular deal with the question rather fully and object to what they feel to be a bartering away of the right of domicile in exchange for a free passage and perhaps a bonus.

THE "GUJARATI"

The *Gujarati*, of Bombay, very strongly objects to the position and raises some important questions of principle:—

In the Union House of Assembly the Minister of the Interior stated on 12th June that a special official had been appointed and that restrictions would be partially relaxed with a view to facilitate the repatriation of Indians in accordance with the interim report of the Asiatic Commission. The haste shown by its members in issuing this interim report and the eagerness exhibited by the authorities with a view to encourage repatriation are of a highly suspicious charac-

ter, and for our own part we are not disposed to hail repatriation as the best solution of the Asiatic problem in South Africa. If the Indian settlers are likely to suffer more than they have done or sink deeper into poverty owing to harassing restrictions or other causes, it would, no doubt, be better in the interests of at least some of them to return to this country where the demand for labour is growing. But though repatriation is to be welcomed from this practical point of view at least in the case of some Indians, on principle this settlement of the Asiatic question is open to very grave objection. Those who are opposed to Indians being allowed to reside and trade in South Africa would naturally feel encouraged to make their lot intolerable by a systematic resort to oppression and persecution and thus get rid of what they regard as a nuisance under the euphemistic plea of repatriation. In so far as it is purely voluntary, there is not much to be said against it. But even this desire to return to India after many years' stay in South Africa may be brought about by the intolerable hardships and inconveniences to which Indians are being subjected. "Indians of South Africa," says Mr. Gandhi, "are able to remain in that country because of their domicile," and the proposed scheme of repatriation is likely to involve forfeiture of domicile in consideration of the Indians accepting repatriation money, i.e. passage back to India and a trifling sum as pocket money. In other words, they will lose a valuable right they have acquired. Why should the Indians, after they have acquired it, be ready to give it up and return to India after many years' residence in South Africa? Has any such measure of repatriation been found necessary to enforce as against any other immigrants? If not, why is it thought desirable in the case of Indians alone? The ultimate object of the authors of the proposals is, to our mind, perfectly clear and that is the removal of Indians, if not their expulsion, from South Africa. It appears to be a clever device that has been proposed for carrying out the object of those who have been uncompromisingly hostile to the presence of Indians and jealous of their successful competition even in the lower spheres of industrial and commercial life.

MR. ANDREWS STATES THE POSITION

Mr. C. F. Andrews, in the course of a letter to the *Indian Social Reformer*, thus states his view of the matter:—

It seemed to me obviously right to let those who so pathetically wished to go back again to India, have an opportunity. No Natal Indian would dream of taking the free passage and bonus, who was prospering, or likely to prosper in Natal. Indians, who have been knocked about from pillar to post, as Indians have been in Natal, have certainly learnt one thing. They are no fools. They are not taken in another time, as they were taken in, the first time, by the recruiters, when they were villagers. If they wish to stay in Natal, they will stay; and there are all sorts of influences at work, good, bad and indifferent, to induce them to stay. But if they are really submerged, and hopeless of improving their condition, as very many were, whom I saw, then are we to shut the door in their face and say "No,—Go back under indenture; go back to the plantations, do anything, but you must not come back to India?"

It is this consideration, which moved me in 1913-1914 to obtain, with Mr. Gandhi's consent, a free passage for them back to India, if they wished to go back home and not to return. And since that date nearly ten thousand have come back. Many more would have come, so Mr. Dick told me, if only ships had been provided. What I have suggested, in my evidence, and Mr. West has suggested in his, is nothing new or revolutionary. It is simply that they should not go back quite destitute. The Union Government is probably ready to provide a small

bonus in addition to the free passage. In all these years, since 1914, no Indian has been forced to take the free passage; and no one now will be forced to take the bonus. Indeed, it is all the other way. The difficulty has been to keep out of the clutches of the sugar estates recruiters,—to keep, for instance, from getting drunk in a liquor shop one night and finding next morning that you have been inveigled into signing on again to a sugar estate, with your pockets empty. The sugar companies, with their huge vested interests, are only too anxious to keep every Indian labour in Natal. It is on that side, that the veiled compulsion would come in,—not to repatriate, but to prevent this very voluntary repatriation from taking effect.

What I am trying to explain,—but what is difficult to explain in a letter,—is, that things look here in India so different at a distance, from what they look like on the spot in Natal and one has to face hard, bed-rock facts. If I could take you out of Durban and up the coast, where the sugar plantations are, I feel sure I could convince you, that the Indian cause in South Africa will not suffer, but be strengthened, if these submerged Indian labourers, who wish to leave the country, are allowed and even encouraged to do so. They are leaving the country, as it is. They are taking the free passage home, as it is,—having made up their minds not to return. Are they to be prevented from receiving some compensation for all they have suffered, if they like to take it? Are they to be prevented from receiving the offer of a bonus, on their arrival in India, if they like to take it? I am not a politician and certainly shall never be one. I never could understand the politician's point of view. I leave the political question entirely on one side, but I do ask, and ask again is not the humane reason a strong one for allowing them to exercise their own free will and take this offer of a free passage back to India, with a bonus, if they wish to take it?

"INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER"

In reply to Mr. Andrews, the editor of the *Social Reformer* writes in his paper:—

Mr. C. F. Andrews' communication which we publish to-day puts the case for "voluntary repatriation" of Indians in Natal in its strongest and most effective form. We are unable to recognize any hard-and-fast distinction between practice and theory. The question, as it strikes us, is this: Those Indians who are to be induced to "voluntary repatriation" themselves have toiled and sweated for Natal and its capitalists. They have served under indenture and are domiciled in that colony. Mr. Andrews has told us that his expectation that the abolition of indentures would automatically improve the position of the labourers, has not been fulfilled. We had no such expectation. When the slaves were liberated in America, the immediate effect of emancipation on their economic position was to worsen it. The slave-owner looked after his slaves much in the same way as he did after his cattle—that is to say, in his own interests he maintained them in a condition of physical efficiency. The freeman has nobody to look after him. It is no wonder that the indentured labourer on being released, finds his freedom to be an embarrassment rather than a boon. This, we say, is nothing surprising to those who have studied the history of emancipation. That is by the way. The point here is that these men, having given of their strength and vitality to Natal, are, for their reward, rendered destitute and are sinking to the level of the Zulus. We accept Mr. Andrews' testimony as to that fact. What is the remedy? They are told to go back to whence they came and the inducements offered are a free passage and, perhaps, a few pounds. What Mr. Andrews slurs over is that these men are expected to renounce their right to re-enter the colony where they

are domiciled, in return for these terms. As practical men, we ask, suppose these men on coming to India find that their prospects here are not so rosy as they imagined; that their Natal life has put them out of touch with Indian ways; or that, after a few years in this country, they long to go back to the land to which they gave the best years of their life: is it just that they should find the door closed and barred behind them? The central fact we cannot get out of our minds is that this "voluntary repatriation" is primarily intended to get Indians out of the colony and not to improve their economic position. That these men would lose their domicile in Natal is the only thing certain about it, and the only thing that the Union Government are anxious to be certain about. There are other points in Mr. Andrews' letter which call for notice, but it is well to await the publication of the full details of the scheme, before commenting on them.

MR. GANDHI

In the course of a letter to the press in India, regarding the Asiatic Commission report, Mr. Gandhi says:—As it reads, the report seems to be harmless. Even the word repatriation does not occur in it. It is a cautiously worded document....At the same time there is no mistaking its intention. Indeed, they have not even attempted to conceal it, for, they ask His Excellency the Governor of South Africa 'to appoint an official well-acquainted with the Indian mind and their methods to act in a sympathetic manner and lay before the Indians the advantages of immediately returning to India.' The case for the scheme is that the Indians are anxious to return and that the scheme satisfies that anxiety, whereas the anxiety seems to be all on the part of the Commission and their return is to be stimulated by placing its advantages before our sorely tried countrymen. The working of the scheme will, however, require ceaseless watching. There should be no compulsion of any kind whatsoever and no forfeiture of rights of domicile. I was pleased to notice absence of any reference to such forfeiture in the interim report. One however never knows what undertaking may not be taken from the poor returning Indians against the grant of a free passage. If the scheme is benevolently intended to relieve the present distress the Union Government will simply facilitate the return of those who are unable to support themselves in South Africa without bargaining for the forfeiture of domicile. To insist upon the loss of that valuable right would be to take a mean advantage of the distressful condition of some of our countrymen in South Africa.

I SHALL NOT STAND FOR ELECTION

Under the above heading Lala Lajpatrai writes an interesting article in his Urdu paper, *Bande Mataram*:—

At the publication of the M. C. Scheme of Reforms a hope dawned in my mind. I felt the day was perhaps nearing for my unfortunate country to achieve her long cherished freedom without bloodshed....It pains to say that this hope has gradually faded away. Whatever little there was has been destroyed by the Hunter Committee report and the Secretary of State's despatch. When the rumours were abroad as to what the report was likely to be, I felt it was difficult for me to stand for election for the new councils, under the circumstance. This feeling has been strengthened by the report and I have resolved after much deliberation that I shall not stand for election.....My reasons for this decision are these:—

(1) The decision of the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the Hunter Committee report implies that the entire policy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer was right, and except that a few officers here and there exceeded the bounds of propriety individually,

there was nothing wrong with it. This means that the grievances of the educated community of the Punjab against Sir Michael O'Dwyer were baseless and meaningless. In my opinion this decision negatives the possibility of the participation in the new scheme by the educated community of the Punjab with any appreciable enthusiasm or hope. Sir Michael looked upon the educated community of the Punjab with contempt. He cast his eye of favour only on these 'raias' and zamindars who to please him thought of the educated men of the Punjab as so many 'noisy frogs.' The rules framed by the Punjab Reforms Commission under the Act with the sanction of the Lieut. Governor breathe the same spirit, which simply means that though Sir Edward Maclagan has, on account of his courteous nature, somewhat changed the outward appearance of Government policy, on principle the same old policy still continues without any change.

Those officers who in the martial law regime took a prominent part in disgracing and dishonouring the educated community of the Punjab, are still adorning their thrones. Col. O'Brien who perpetrated unspeakable horrors on the pleaders of Gujranwala, Major Bosworth Smith who with his stick raised the veil of Indian ladies and addressed them in the most contemptuous of tones, are still occupying their offices. Mr. Thompson, chief secretary, is about to come. Similarly other officers who were the right hand men of Sir Michael O'Dwyer have either come to occupy their old offices or about to do so. These officers will be the official members of the Punjab Council. I have no special enmity against them, nor have I suffered any personal wrong at their hands. But any Indian member going into the Council will be in duty bound to meet these officers. He will have to deal with them every day and it would be improper for him to keep himself studiously aloof from them; because the very object of going into the Council is to serve one's country and countrymen thereby and to co-operate as far as possible and work harmoniously with Government officials and to oppose them wherever necessary. But the wounds inflicted by martial law on the Punjab are so fresh that I am myself unfit for the task. My heart is utterly broken. I do not want to go into the Council with this 'wounded heart.' Although I have personally sustained no wrong at their hands my self-respect does not permit me to cultivate friendship with those who harshly caned my brethren, who contemptuously laughed at and tainted them, and who otherwise disgraced them in many ways.

These new Councils can only prove beneficial to us when and if the Indian and official members work in amity and concord and together solve problems of state by mutual consultation. Yet in the present circumstances of the Punjab there is no prospect of the fruition of this hope. If the *Civil and Military Gazette* correctly represents the views of the Punjab officials (European), then I have no hesitation in saying that the time has not come for Indians and Europeans to work together for the good of the country. I heartily desire that the time should soon come, but to say that the time has come is to shut our eyes from facts. Up till now they are the rulers and we are the ruled. The Punjab Publicity Committee which is a confidant of the Government says the same thing. As long as that relation continues it is very difficult for us to work together. They suspect us and we suspect them. In my view therefore I cannot be useful to my country from inside the Council and it is better therefore that I should not go into it.

MR. GANDHI'S STATEMENT

Mr. Gandhi writes to the press in India.

"Needless to say that I am in entire accord with Lala Lajpat Rai on the question of the boycott of the reformed councils. For me it is but one step in the campaign of non-co-operation and as I feel equally

keenly on the Punjab question as on Khilafat, Lala Lajpat Rai's suggestion is doubly welcome. I have seen the suggestion made in more quarters than one that non-co-operation on the reforms should commence after the process of election has been through. I cannot help saying that it is a mistake to go through the election farce and the expense of it when we clearly do not intend to take part in the proceedings of these Legislative Councils. Moreover, a great deal of educative work has to be done among the people. And if I could I would not have the best attention of the country frittered away in electioneering. The populace will not understand the beauty of non-co-operation if we seek election and then resign. But it would be a fine education for them if the electors are not to elect anybody and unanimously to elect whosoever may seek their suffrage that he would not represent them if he so sought election so long as the Punjab and Khilafat questions were not satisfactorily settled. I hope, however, that Lala Lajpat Rai does not mean to end with the boycott of reformed councils. We must take if necessary every one of the four stages of non-co-operation if we are to be regarded as a self-respecting nation. The issue is clear. Both the Khilafat terms and the Punjab affairs show that Indian opinion counts for little in the councils of the Empire. It is a humiliating position, we shall make nothing of the reforms if we quietly swallow the humiliation. In my humble opinion therefore the first condition of real progress is the removal of these difficulties in our path. And unless some better course of action is devised *volens volens* non-co-operation must hold the field."

REPATRIATION

The Union Government's repatriation scheme has been the subject of comments in the press in India. The papers are surprised at the haste shown by the members of the Asiatic Commission in issuing their interim report and the eagerness exhibited by the authorities to encourage repatriation. They consider the scheme adopted by the Union Government to be of a doubtful character. That they do so is not altogether surprising. As has been already stated by this journal there is nothing new about the general question of offering free passages to those who desire to leave this country, as this privilege has been extended since the passing of the Relief Act in 1914. Many have taken advantage of the privilege and have left the country having renounced their rights to re-enter. But lately owing to restrictions with regard to gold exportation and owing to the shortage of shipping many who desired to leave the country have not been able to do so. The only thing that was necessary for the Government to have done was to remove all the restrictions and make the necessary shipping facilities. The Government, however, have not stopped at that, but according to their scheme the people are now to be induced to be repatriated and advantages of returning to their motherland for good, are to be preached to them. This is what has created the doubt into the minds of Indians as to what the Government are driving at. Of course it has always been the cry of the Anti-Asiatics to buy out the Indians and get rid of what they consider to be a "pest." The central fact we cannot get out of our minds, says the *Indian Social Reformer*, is that, this "voluntary repatriation" is primarily intended to get Indians out of the colony and not to improve their economic position. That these men would lose their domicile in Natal is the only thing certain about it, and the only thing that the Union Government are anxious to be certain about." Comments that have been offered by the South African press in favour of the scheme go to show that the main point that pleases them is that, "it will be well for the future of South Africa that this alien race should be eliminated." Mr. Gandhi in a letter to the press in India, on the interim report of the Asiatic

Commission describes the report as seeming to be harmless. "At the same time," he says, "there is no mistaking its intention. Indeed they have not even attempted to conceal it, for, they ask His Excellency the Governor of South Africa to appoint an official well-acquainted with the Indian mind and their methods to act in a sympathetic manner and lay before the Indians the advantages of immediately returning to India. "The anxiety, says Mr. Gandhi, "seems to be all on the part of the commission and the return (of the Indians) is to be stimulated by placing its advantages before our sorely tried countrymen. The working of the scheme, however, will require ceaseless watching." Mr. Gandhi thus concludes his letter: "If the scheme is benevolently intended to relieve the present distress the Union Government will simply facilitate the return of those who are unable to support themselves in South Africa without bargaining for the forfeiture of domicile. To insist upon the loss of that valuable right would be to take a mean advantage of the distressful condition of some of our countrymen in South Africa."

Mr. Wynne-Cole the Repatriation Officer in explaining the Government scheme has definitely stated that once these Indians go out of the Union they will never be able to enter again, which of course means that those who accept the offer of a free passage from the Government will do so by forfeiting their rights of domicile in this country. It has also been stated that no compulsion will be made but that the scheme of the Government will be thoroughly explained to the Indians and those who choose to accept it will do so at their own wish. If this is how the scheme is going to be carried on, there remains little to be said against it. But from what we have gathered from the information that has reached us is that the paid recruiters of Mr. Wynne-Cole are warning the Indians that if they do not consent to be voluntarily repatriated the time will come when they will be forcibly sent back to their own country. If this information be true, it does not reflect any credit on the recruiters nor their employer. However, it will not do for the Indian community to sit quiet. We know that the scheme is not benevolently intended to relieve the distress of the Indians but it is intended to decrease their numbers. The community will do wise, therefore, in being just as active as the Government are in the matter, and it is for the educated and intelligent class of our countrymen to see that their uneducated, poor and innocent brethren do not unknowingly fall in the snares thrown by the agents appointed by the Government. Will our leaders move in the matter?

X

INDIANS ABROAD

The following letter has been addressed by the Secretary of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association to the Secretary, the Government of India, Commerce and Industries Department, Simla:—

A meeting of the Managing Committee of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association took place on the 17th inst. to consider the Indian situation in South Africa, Fiji and East Africa. The Committee have directed me to submit the following for your consideration in these three matters:

SOUTH AFRICA

My Committee has seen Reuter's cable referring to an interim report of the Commission investigating certain aspects of the Indian question in South Africa. The cable in question states that the interim report advises voluntary repatriation. My Committee is unable to come to any definite conclusion upon this very grave information. I have therefore been directed to ask that the Government of India should secure at the earliest possible moment, full information regarding the proposed repatriation scheme and publish the information that may be received by the Govern-

ment in the Indian Press. Meanwhile my Committee desires me to state that as a general principle, it is opposed to any scheme of state-repatriation whether compulsory or voluntary. The Government of India must be aware that repatriation is by no means a new idea in South Africa. It has been often enough considered as a solution by the Anti-Asiatic party in South Africa and has been equally often rejected by the Indian settlers, who have always held that repatriation will be humiliating and an admission of the weakness of their case. Moreover, my Committee will not be able to reconcile itself to any scheme of repatriation that carries with it forfeiture of the right of domicile in South Africa. My Committee therefore trusts that before coming to any final decision on this very important question, the Government will publish all the available information and await full discussion by the Press and representative bodies. My Committee, further feels that the manner in which things are moving in South Africa, is not at all hopeful, but relies upon the Government of India to protect to the full, the civil rights of the British Indian settlers in South Africa, not merely from the point of view of abstract justice but in strict conformity with the settlement of 1914.

Fiji

Regarding Fiji my Committee has perused papers in its possession and information supplied to the Press with respect to the recent so-called riot in Fiji, *with the gravest apprehension*. My Committee, however, reserves to itself the right to revert to this matter when full and official information is available which it is hoped, the Government of India will publish at the earliest opportunity. Meanwhile one thing seems to stand out clearly, namely, the need for providing transport for those unfortunate Indians who are waiting to leave Fiji. My Committee holds that it is the obvious duty of the Government of India to procure early facilities to enable these Indians to return to India, and I hope that you will be able to issue a reassuring notification regarding this very urgent matter.

EAST AFRICA

With regard to East Africa, my Committee hopes in the near future to make a full representation about the status of British Indians in the East African Protectorate. Meanwhile, it may be pointed out that the question in East Africa is, in one important respect, totally dissimilar to the question in the other parts of His Majesty's Dominions. Whereas the Indian settlement in these other parts has followed white emigration and has resulted from the introduction of indentured labour, Indians were earlier settlers in East Africa and have therefore the right of priority in that part of African Continent. Any legal or administrative differentiation therefore, adverse to the Indian settlers, will be totally unwarranted and will be strongly resented by Indian public opinion. My Committee looks to the Government of India, the guardian of the rights of Indian settlers abroad, to jealously protect the full status of British Indians in East Africa.

THE PUNJAB ATROCITIES - ATTITUDE OF MISSIONARIES

We publish the following letter which first appeared in the *Indian Social Reformer*:—

As a missionary, may I say how thoroughly I believe we deserve not the gentle criticism you have meted out to us, but the severest condemnation for our moral ineptitude in the matter of the Punjab atrocities. Once General Dyer had given his evidence, the crime of massacre was proved up to the hilt, whether it was he or the civil authorities that were guilty. But we should have known it from the beginning if we were living amongst the people, for the sake of the people, and should have proclaimed

the facts as seen. We have lost, and deservedly lost, the confidence of the people by our contemptible inaction and inaction. And we are blood-guilty in that we have by our silence condoned the crimes committed in the Punjab.

But the silence over the Amritsar massacre is not to my mind as astounding as that over atrocities such as those committed by Mr. Bosworth-Smith. Mr. Wathen, not a missionary, spoke out, and Mr. Andrews, who does not live in the Punjab, add some missionaries, showed sympathy with the people. But our body was silent as against machine-gunning villagers, thrashing school boys chosen at random, and worst, insults to women. I cannot conceive how any missionary living near a district in which such things were done could avoid his duty of making inquiries and protesting against such crimes, especially if he belonged to a free nation himself.

The plea has been advanced that the brutality saved a greater conflagration and so many lives. It may have done so far for the time being, but I do not believe that brutality ever yet was really even expedient in the long run. Germany has not proved it so, nor Turkey. But even were it expedient it is none the less evil, and no missionary should excuse it on such a ground. True, in the New Testament, we are told that judicial and judicious murder to save other lives is wise, but it is Caiaphas and not Christ that says so; and the adoption of his principle crucified Christ.

I believe our silence in this matter has crucified the Son of God afresh and put Him, through us, to an open shame.

As to the punishment of the arch-criminals, your attitude as voicing Indians is right and noble, but those of us who belong to the race that is guilty must best endeavour to wipe the stain from our shield, and to endeavour to exact such punishment as may serve as a deterrent for the future.

Yours faithfully,

A. G. FRASER.

Kodaikanal, April 22, 1920.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN LONDON

AN ADDRESS OF WELCOME

Those who know Rabindranath Tagore only through his translated works (says the *Daily News*) had an opportunity of seeing the Indian poet in the flesh at Caxton Hall, Westminster, when the Union of East and West presented him with an address of welcome.

Like a Biblical prophet out of the wilderness, with flowing beard and curling locks, and wrapped in a long mantle that added to his commanding height, Tagore presented a singular contrast to the gathering of his Western admirers.

Mr. Charles H. Roberts, in introducing him, spoke of the wide appeal of his ideas, although they were fundamentally and characteristically Indian. There were new forces at work throughout the East, Mr. Roberts said, which it was well for us in the West to understand. The external manifestation of them was the almost universal desire throughout the East to experiment in our principles of self-government.

THE POET'S REPLY

Rabindranath Tagore in replying, said that the first fifty years of his life he had enjoyed the intimate seclusion of his obscurity. He spent his youth like a solitary shepherd of the desert, watching the silent stars which never judge nor discuss our merits, nor distribute praise and rewards. This had made him unfit for accepting public applause with the grace that comes of habitual assurance. But, after all, honour, like the tombstone, was for the dead, and love, like the sunshine, was for the living, and what gave him abiding joy was the grateful feeling that he had won true friends in this land, where he came as a traveller

and where he hoped to retain his seat as a guest—not for any literary skill of his, but for some service of the heart, some harmony of the spirit. (Applause.)

Miss Carrie Tubb sang several of Tagore's "Song Offerings."

TAGORE AND MARY PICKFORD

Through a dense crowd waiting outside Kensington Palace-gardens in the hope of seeing Mary Pickford, the Cinema "Star," passed an Indian gentleman, tall and dignified, wearing a brown velvet turban and enveloped in a grey frieze cloak. He paused to scan the gathering through his gold-rimmed glasses, and stroked his long iron-grey beard, as if wondering what the gathering could signify. Then he proceeded on his way unnoticed by the crowd, who were unaware that they had in their midst an Indian poet and mystic.

He was overtaken at the entrance to his flat by a *Daily News* representative who, in the course of conversation, explained to him the meaning of the crowd. In answer to a question as to his opinion of the significance of such enthusiasm for a cinema actress, the poet replied: "I do not wish to say anything which may seem in the least disparaging to an individual about whom I know nothing whatever and who exercises such an immense power over the minds of the people. I could not have imagined the purpose of the meeting of such a crowd as I have just witnessed if it had not been explained to me. I always believed that the unsophisticated mind of the people had an instinctive wisdom which unconsciously attracted it towards the deeper needs and enjoyments of life.

In India crowds collect to have the sight of a man who, they believe has the sanctity of spiritual life. In Japan whole population comes out in spring to see the cherry trees in blossom. I have watched in Yokohama ordinary labourers gathering during short intervals of work in the wooded hills near the sea-side, not a rowdy exuberance of animal spirit, but in quiet enjoyment of Nature's beauty. I felt I had, as it were, a glimpse of the human soul in its spontaneous movement towards the eternal.

"In ancient Greece the performance of great dramas attracted not merely the men of some exclusive coteries of culture, but the common people who had the sensitiveness of mind to be able to enjoy immortal works of art. But the sight of a great course of crowds come to express their adoration for a powder that satisfies some momentary craving for sensation is disconcerting to my mind. For such large gatherings of people are their acts of unconscious worship—the kind of popular worship which in olden days created mythology.

"But all worship should be for that which has some element of permanence in it, for it is the true instinct of hero-worship which expresses and creates the greatness of a people. However, it is not for me to judge but to try to understand, being a mere spectator who finds it difficult to enter into the heart of things that are unfamiliar to him."

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.
Mrs. Annie Besant — A Sketch of her Life	0 9
Sri Ramabai Chavara	1 9
Sri Sankaracharya	1 0
Glimpses of the Orient To-day, by Saint Nihal Singh	2 3
Mr. Gandhi's Speeches and Writings—1896 to 1917	3 3
Maitreyi	0 9
Essentials of Hinduism	1 3
Aggressive Hinduism	1 5

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