

# Indian Opinion

No. 44—VOL. XX. FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3RD, 1922.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper  
Price Fourpence

## NOTES AND NEWS

**M**R. Sastri was entertained to luncheon at the Colonial Institute to-day (says a Reuter's message from London dated Oct. 26.) During the course of his speech, he declared that he regretted his tour of the Dominions had not included South Africa, whither he was not prepared to go, as he was assured on high authority that for a long time to come South Africa would not be in a state of moral or material preparedness to receive an Indian deputation. He had received in other Dominions the honour and hospitality which was due to a representative of a great Government belonging to the sisterhood of the Empire, and had found everywhere a background of mutual understanding and goodwill. He did not expect an immediate fulfilment of the objects of his tour, but he believed he had succeeded in laying the foundation for good understanding between India and the Dominions. He found the Dominions' so-called prejudice against the Indians not so much against the race and colour as based on economic grounds. He expressed the opinion that it would not be long before legislation would be passed in the Dominion which would do justice to the domiciled Indians.

The Hon. Mr. Sastri has expressed hopes and opinions. He has given no assurances. Nor did we expect that he would be able to give any assurances. We have also been living in hopes. From the attitude we have seen and experienced of the Dominions towards their Indian population, we cannot help being extremely doubtful as to whether Mr. Sastri's opinions will ever come true or his hopes be ever realised. But we hope Mr. Sastri's hopes may be realised that we may have the satisfaction that his painstaking has in all not been worthless.

The prospectus has been issued in India, (says Reuter), of the new Indian Loan of £20,000,000, at a rate of 4½ per cent. per annum. The issue price is £86, and the loan is redeemable in 1950-5.

Reuter (Simla) states:—The internal situation in India is now easier, and the feeling among the Moslems is becoming calmer with the prospect of the settlement of the Near Eastern problems. Sikh troubles in the Punjab are also dying down. The United Provinces Legislature, in view of the improvement in the situation, has passed a resolution against opposition requesting the Government to exercise clemency towards political prisoners.

We take the following from the *Tribune* (Lahore):—“Indian States sometimes out-herod Herod by going beyond the Government in British India in the matter of repression. No Government in India has ever taken into its head to prohibit Mr. C. R. Das from entering into jurisdiction, and in the solitary case in which an Additional District Magistrate did perpetrate the absurdity of issuing a prohibitory order against him, the mistake was promptly rectified. But what the British Government has not done, it was reserved for an Indian Government to do. Mr. Das has just been forbidden to enter Kashmir unless he

gives a written undertaking that he will make no speeches while there. Mr. Das never had any intention of making speeches in Kashmir, where he was proceeding with the sole object of recruiting his health, and this he appears to have intimated to the authorities. But this mere word, which would have satisfied the most fastidious authority in India, was not deemed enough by the State authorities. They wanted a written undertaking which he very properly refused to give, with the result that he was stopped from entering the territory of the Maharajah.” Is it any wonder that Indian Princes ask for protection from the Government after such acts as these?

The Estcourt correspondent of the *Natal Advertiser* states in his notes dated October 30:—

The Licensing Officer's refusal to grant a licence to an Indian named Bhayla, was upheld by the Special Licensing Court here under objections that were based on a sanitary inspector's report. It was urged that the appellant was not a proper person to hold a licence in view of the fact a half-naked baby was playing in the store in the presence of the Inspector, and that skins were at times kept on the verandah. The premises also were unsuitable. Mr. J. M. K. Chadwick, for the appellant, urged that his client's premises were no worse than others where licences had been granted, and asked the Court to be consistent. After 30 minutes discussion the Court decided by six to one to uphold the Licensing Officer's decision. The case will go to the Supreme Court for review.

*Madras Mail*, an Anglo-Indian paper of Madras, writes as follows with regard to the defeat of the Greeks in Asia Minor:—

“So ends, as all impudent ambitions should end, the attempt of King Constantine and his imperialistic minded Generals to take possession by force of lands to which they had no right. So ends also the writing of the chapter to which Mr. Lloyd George was good enough to supply the title ‘Spoils to the Victors.’ Only it has been written by the Kemalists and not, as the British Foreign Office apparently anticipated and hoped, by the Greek usurpers. The Kemalists' victory has been more speedy in coming and more crushing in effect than we believed possible. It looks very much as though the Greek Army had been caught in their slippers.....If no armistice is to be accorded them, the Greeks know very well that the alternatives are death by bullet or death from drowning. Not pleasant; but we fear that we have not much pity for them in their plight. It was they who thought themselves strong enough to make the silly adventure. If it has failed whose is the blame?”

An Associated Press of India message dated Patna, Sept. 19, states that Maulana Mawdood-ul-Haque, Editor of the *Motherland*, has been released from jail before the expiration of his sentence as the fines imposed upon him have been realised by the attachment of his property.

A Ruter's message from London dated Oct. 28, states—

Dr. Moton, head of the Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, who is at present in Britain in connection with the Scottish Church's Missionary Congress, interviewed by a representative of the *Westminster Gazette* declared that race adjustment was the greatest problem of the day. It had been demonstrated that black and white could live together in harmony, and in his opinion segregation would not prove a success. Negroes could not be kept out of Africa. All that the darker races wanted was treatment on their merits as men not on the colour of their faces. Any body, declared Mr. Moton, which would help to eliminate race prejudice would be enthusiastically supported.

### THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN PROBLEM

By K. R. S. NARAYANAN, B.A., (HONS.)

Though the problem of Indians in South Africa has been engaging the attention of the Government and the public for many a year past, no substantial relief has as yet been afforded to the Indian community settled there, and the period, taken as a whole, has been one of severe tribulation and suffering to our countrymen. Hopes which have never been realised have sometimes been held out of an amicable and honorable settlement between the Indian community and the South African Government, and, in the course of this article, we propose to deal with the historical development of the problem. When the necessity for Indian indentured labour was felt indispensable by the South African Union for the development of the industries in the country, recruiting agents were allowed to work in India under the authority of the Government of India, and continued streams of indentured labour flowed into South Africa year after year. These labourers, it must clearly be realised, contributed largely to the exploitation of the South African resources and to the huge commercial profits of the white population. After the period of their indentures, most of the Indians made South Africa their adopted land. But from the very outset they have been subjected to numerous hardships and difficulties, and, for a historical treatment of the problem, we may roughly divide the period into three stages: (i) The period of the Boer Government; (ii) the period of the Crown Government and (iii) the period of Self-Government.

During the first period of our history, the Indians settled in South Africa were subjected to some harassing laws, but on the whole, their position was not so bad as it subsequently became during the next stages. Every Indian could freely emigrate into the Colony provided he paid a registration fee of £3. There were also some Location Laws but they were never strictly enforced. Besides, during this period, the Indian community could always appeal to the strong arm of the British Government against any injustice done to them by the Boer Government. As a matter of fact, one of the main causes of the Boer War, according to the testimony of Lord Landsdowne and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, was the treatment meted out by the Boer Government to the Indian community in regard to the Location Laws. When the war broke out, there were some 15,000 Indians settled there excluding women and children, and most of them left the Transvaal carrying with them certificates from the Boer Government allowing them to return at the close of the hostilities. The war ended in 1902, and according to the terms of peace, Transvaal was annexed to the British Empire and thus became a Crown Colony.

With the conclusion of peace and the annexation of Transvaal, one would have naturally expected to see an end of the difficulties of the Indians in South Africa. But curiously enough, as if by some strange irony of Fate, the British Government which entered

into the war for the unjust treatment accorded to the Indians in the matter of the Location Laws, themselves began to apply those laws more systematically and rigorously, so that far from any relief being brought to the Indian community their status gradually deteriorated from bad to worse. Then for a period of nearly four years both British and Boer joined hands to shut out the Indian community from all exercise of the elementary rights of free British citizenship. The false and dishonest cry of Indian influx into the Colony was raised though the actual statistics showed that the number of the Indian residents had considerably declined. The result was that in 1906, the Asiatic Amendment Ordinance was proposed and passed in the Legislative Council according to which only pre-war residents were allowed to enter into the Colony, and all Indians had to register themselves under very humiliating circumstances. The whole Indian community rose as one man, protested against this iniquitous measure and sent a deputation to England headed by Mr. Gandhi. As a result of his earnest representations and the justice of the cause that he pleaded, royal sanction was withheld to the Ordinance. Thus closes the second stage.

In 1907, Self-Government was agreed to the Colony and the new Colonial Parliament was bent on passing the principle of the old Ordinance in the shape of a new Bill called the Asiatic Law Amendment Act. As in the case of the Ordinance, the object of this new measure was to restrict habitation in the Colony to pre-war residents only, and to compel Indians to register themselves under conditions that were galling in the extreme to their sense of self-respect. This time royal sanction was not withheld, on the ground that it was a Self-governing Colony that was legislating. The law required the Indians to register themselves before the end of October, 1907. Then followed the passive resistance movement and a sharp struggle in the course of which the passive resisters did nothing of which any nation may not feel justly proud. Many persons including Mr. Gandhi were arrested, but their courage was undaunted, and finally an agreement was arrived at between Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts. Though the agreement was not reduced to writing, the terms according to the testimony of Mr. Gandhi were: (i) The Asiatic Law Amendment Act should be repealed; (ii) The Indians should voluntarily register themselves free of any humiliating conditions; (iii) Whatever restrictions the Government wanted to impose on the Indian community should be under the provisions of a new law—the Immigration Registration Act, which was of a general nature and did not impose any disabilities on the Indian as Indian. Believing that the Boer Government would act in earnest according to the terms of the agreement Mr. Gandhi set himself to the difficult task of persuading his followers to undergo voluntary registration. But strange to say, General Smuts played false and without performing the conditions of the agreement merely hastened to pass a law to validate voluntary registration. The Indian community therefore assembled in a public meeting and burnt their registration certificates, thus issuing a challenge to the Government to do their worst. The people had to suffer much, and another deputation, again headed by Mr. Gandhi, was sent to England to present the state of matters before the Imperial Parliament. As a practical politician, Mr. Gandhi did not ask for the unrestricted immigration of Indians into South Africa, but only objected to the disabilities thrown upon lawful Indian residents as Indians. Since then the struggle has continued in some form or other and numerous representations on the subject have been made to the Imperial Government. At times, even the Government of India have gone out of their usual course to support the Indian claims.

Having briefly sketched the history of the South African problem, let us for a while consider the moral of it. At the back of all the troubles is race and

colour prejudice. In his farewell address at Pretoria Mr. Gokhale pointed out: "I must say that I am astonished at the strength and intensity of the colour prejudice that exists in this land. I have heard a good deal about it before my arrival and I was prepared for a certain measure of it. But not till I actually was in this country did I realise the full force with which it operates, nor the extent to which it prevails." The treatment accorded to Indians in the Dominions and other parts of the Empire is certainly an Imperial problem for which both the Indian Government and the British Parliament have in a measure to share responsibility. For the first time in our history, the Imperial Conference of 1921 resolved that the status of India as a free and equal partner of the Commonwealth was incompatible with the status that her citizens were given abroad. The theoretical equality of the Indian with any other of His Majesty's subjects has been frequently proclaimed and solemnly promised. Now the Imperial Conference resolution referred to above was passed by an august gathering of the representatives of the various parts of the Empire, and is it but another sorry instance of a promise solemnly uttered to the ear to be sadly broken to the hope? In the face of this resolution we find an impending danger to the Indian community, whether, on the one side, we look to Natal in South Africa or to Kenya in East Africa. The most fundamental and elementary rights of citizenship are being denied to our countrymen settled in that sub-continent, and though we have often been told in theory that we are the subjects of England and the fellow-subjects of the white subjects of the King, yet we have been taught in practice to feel that we are not the equal subjects of the King but the subjects of our fellow-subjects, the subjects of the white subjects. The situation has become so grave that while, on the one hand, we do expect much good as a result of Mr. Sastri's labours in the Dominions, yet, on the other hand, the Government of India dare not continue their self-complacent attitude for a single day more. The Government of Lord Reading have to come forward boldly and tell the Imperial Government how India feels in the matter. Considerations of equity and justice no less than discretion must show to the Imperial Government that there is no going back in the matter of the Imperial Conference resolution. The British Government have not even the semblance of defence so far as Kenya is concerned. It will indeed be a woeful day for the Government if even at this late hour justice is not done to the Indian cause. It is not a meaningless saying that Righteousness alone will exalt a nation, injustice will bring down the mightiest to ruin.—*New India*.

#### EVOLUTION OF THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE INDIAN PRINCES

The history of the growth of the relations between the British Government and the Native States may be briefly described as follows:—In the early days of the East India Company it found itself one of a number of powers struggling for the provinces over which the Mogal Emperors then exercised a real control, and like other powers, the Company made use of Emperor's nominal sanction, when it suited them, and at other times threw it aside. In fact the only principle on which they acted in dealing with the surrounding States was that of self-interest or self-preservation. But from the time when the proceedings of Warren Hastings attracted the attention of the people of England and the Government there created the Board of Control in 1784, an attempt was made to act according to European international principles. Lord Cornwallis attempted to establish the European idea of *Balance of Power* between the Nizam, Mysore, and the Marathas. This idea was based upon the theory of

the equality of these powers and the British, but proved to be a failure. Sir John Shore succeeded Lord Cornwallis. His policy was to remain at peace, and refrain from interference with the ruling princes. But the English had made treaties to give their help in time of war. This policy of non-interference could not be maintained and their treaty obligations carried out at the same time. When the Marathas attacked the Nizam, British help was not given. In 1795, the Nizam was utterly defeated at Khanda. In the case of Oudh, however, misrule on the part of the Nawab Wazir caused the Governor-General to interfere. He deposed the Nawab, and put another ruler in his place.

The arbitrary governments of the Native States recognised no rules and systems such as to regulate the relations of States of Europe. There was no desire to save and protect a weak State. In fact such a State was the immediate object of attack by all stronger than itself. Hence it soon happened that the growth of Native powers, who recognised the security of no State and whose object was to collect tribute, destroyed the possibility of a 'balance power.' Lord Wellesley thought that the only way to bring peace to the British possessions and the whole of India was to establish British supremacy beyond doubt. What was the only way to secure permanent peace in India was to place the whole country under one strong rule. In the first place he concluded a treaty with the Nizam. He thereby stationed a British Resident at the court of Hyderabad, and a British army was placed in the State. The treaty had the effect of placing the Nizam's actions under the British control and was one of the so-called *subsidiary treaties*. Lord Wellesley made similar treaties with the Rajput princes and undertook to protect them from the Marathas.

Lord Wellesley was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis. For some years the Company had made no profits from their trade with India. "The reason for this was that the wars had eaten up all the profits, and the Company began to grow tired of wars. The policy pursued was of once more leaving the Native princes to themselves." The policy of Lord Wellesley, to keep the whole land at peace, and that could only be done by a ruler who was too strong to be resisted, was abandoned. Sir George Barlow, who succeeded Lord Cornwallis, also believed in not interfering with the princes. He broke off alliance which the Company had made with the Rajputs. Lord Minto's instructions were to avoid interference with the Native Princes, and not to go to war. The Marquess of Hastings arrived in India with the intention of following the peaceful policy of his predecessor, but the disorders in Central India connected with the Pindharies forced him to go to war. The success of the Third Maratha war brought the whole country ruled over by the Native Princes under the control of the British Government at Calcutta. The policy began by Lord Wellesley was completed by Lord Hastings by the introduction of the system of subsidiary alliances, according to which the British undertook to provide subsidiary forces for the protection of each State, both externally and internally. In return the States acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government, and gave up the right of making war with other States and of dealing with them in any way except through the British Government. By this agreement the States entered into a habit of obedience to a political superior, and from this point ceased to be a 'sovereign' i.e., they lost their independence.

In 1848, Lord Dalhousie landed in India. Since Lord Hastings's time, that is, for fifty years, India had been dominated by the British Government at Calcutta by means of 'subsidiary system.' But by this time the advantage of peace that had followed the subsidiary treaties began to grow of less importance in contrast with the abuses that sprang up from the system itself. The Native princes upheld and protected by British troops could rule as they pleased without fear of con-

sequences. Their position ceased to depend upon justice and public opinion. They used the public money to gratify personal pleasures. In Oudh the Nawab's Government had become corrupt, and yet had been upheld by the British forces. Repeated warnings had no effect on the Oudh Nawabs. Secured by the British troops from revolt, the rulers of Oudh had refused to take warning, until the discontent of the people had arrived at such a pitch that, had the British forces been withdrawn there would have been a general revolt against the Oudh government. Under these circumstances, Lord Dalhousie considered that he had no right to place British troops at the disposal of the King of Oudh, for, by doing so, he was a party to the continuation of an intolerable state of things. The fact was that the Governors-General who succeeded Lord Hastings did not recognise the duty of the British Government to protect the people of the Native States from gross misrule. In their determination to avoid interference with the internal affairs of the States, they took no notice of the oppression of the rulers till at last the evil had gone so great that the English people came to feel their responsibility for the misery of the masses of peoples inhabiting the Native States.

It was in Lord Dalhousie's time that Government of India recognised their duty to make Chiefs whom they protected ruled well. It is the Hindu custom for a man, having no heirs, to adopt a son who succeeds to his property. Rulers have been allowed to adopt sons to succeed to their thrones. But the right of ruling was not strictly a man's property, and was only granted to an adopted son as an act of grace. Lord Dalhousie insisted on this distinction in order to rescue, one by one, the Native States from their wretched condition. When a ruler died without issue, by refusing to sanction an adopted son as his successor, the succession lapsed, and the government of the state was taken over by the British. On the death of the Raja of Satara without an heir, all his property and treasure were handed over to his adopted son, but the State became a part of the Bombay Presidency. Lord Dalhousie judged that it would be unfair to the people of Satara to hand over its government to a boy brought up in obscurity, selected for adoption almost by chance, and of whose character and qualities nothing whatever was known by the Rajah who adopted him. By the exertion of this 'doctrine of lapse' many States of importance came under British rule. Remonstrations having failed, Oudh and Nagpur, the worst instances of misgovernment were annexed.

During the Mutiny, with the exception of a few, the princes of India had stood loyal to the British, and in some cases had given valuable help in the suppression of disorder. Hitherto the British Government in India had regarded the Native princes as so many enemies to their rule, and had reduced their number by the 'doctrine of lapse.' Lord Canning declared that the Indian Government in future would sanction heirs adopted by princes in the inheritance of both thrones and property. This highly valued concession was granted by means of what are known as *adoption sanads* with conditions of loyalty and subordination to the British Crown. Lord Canning, however, made it clear that the removal of any dread of annexation by a guarantee of adoption was not made an excuse for insubordination or misrule. Grant of these *sanads* and their acceptance by the Native princes totally changed the relation of the parties. The Native princes ceased to be in *alliance* with His Majesty and came under his *sovereignty* or *sovereignty*. This put an end to the relations of equality or reciprocity which are to be found in some of the ancient treaties. In other words, since the Government of India was taken over by the Crown after the Mutiny of 1857, there have been no more annexations, but the Government of India punish any ruler who is guilty of oppression or disloyalty, by deposing him from the throne, and replacing him by some member of the family. In this way states of

Mysore and Baroda were deposed, but the States were not annexed.

The princes, in whom the British Government formerly suspected danger to themselves, had proved to be loyal and friendly during the Mutiny. The Government rewarded them by securing them in their positions. But Lord Mayo would not allow this security to make the Chiefs careless of how they governed. He assured the chiefs that the Queen wished to secure to them their rights and customs; but in return they must respect the rights and customs of those whom they ruled. So long they governed the States well they would receive the support of the Government. Lord Mayo described what he meant by good government as follows:—"Good government required that justice and order should prevail; any man's property be secure; the traveller should come and go in safety; the cultivator enjoys the fruits of his labour; and the trader his commerce; that roads should be made, and education encouraged to improve the condition of the people." When a Chief misruled his State to such an extent that the population suffered, then Lord Mayo interfered, and he made it plain that if misrule continued the Chief would be deprived of his power. This happened in Alwar. The prince so misgoverned that the people rose in rebellion. Lord Mayo established a council presided over by the British Political Agent to carry on the government. In a few years the heavy debts of the State, incurred by the young prince, were paid off, and the State recovered its former stable position. While Lord Northbrook was Viceroy the Government had to exercise its prerogative, and intervene in the government of the State of Baroda. The Gaikwar abused his powers, and the result was that he was deposed. In the case of Manipur the important principle was laid down that resistance to imperial orders constitutes rebellion, and the ruler was deposed, tried and executed.

Lord Curzon never failed in his duty to remind the Native princes of their duties towards their States, their people, and the Indian Empire. He clearly laid down that "the Native States should find in their consciousness of their security a stimulus to energy and to well doing.....If the Native States, however, are to accept this standard, it is obvious that they must keep pace with the age. They cannot dawdle behind, and act as a drag upon an inevitable progress.....They must not rest content with keeping things going in their time. Their duty is one, not of passive acceptance of an established place in the imperial system, but of active and vigorous co-operation and in the discharge of its onerous responsibilities. When wrongs go on in British India, the light of public criticism beats fiercely upon the offending person or spot. Native States have no right to claim any immunity from the same process. It is no defence to say that the standards there are lower, and that, as censors, we must be less exacting." The present position and duties of the Native princes may be summed up in the words of Lord Curzon as follows:—"The Native Chief has become, by our policy, an integral factor in the imperial organisation of India. He is concerned not less than the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of the country. I claim him as my colleague and partner. He cannot remain *vis a vis* of the Empire a loyal *subject* of her Majesty the Queen Empress, and *vis a vis* of his own people a frivolous or irresponsible despot. He must justly and not abuse the authority committed to him; he must be the servant as well as the master of his people. He must learn that his revenues are not secured to him for his own selfish gratification, but for the good of his subjects; that his internal administration is only exempt from corruption in proportion as it is honest; and his *gad* is not intended to be a divan of indulgence but the stern seat of duty. His figure should not merely be known on the polo-ground, or on the race-course, or in the European hotel. There may be his rule."

ations and I do not say that they are not legitimate relaxations; but his real work, his princely duty, lies among his own people. By this standard shall I, at any rate, judge him. By this test will he in the long run, as a political institution, perish or survive..... If he expects his officials to follow an example, he himself must set it. If he desires to conquer torpor or apathy, he must exhibit enthusiasm. Everywhere he must be to his people the embodiment of sympathetic interest, of personal authority, of dispassionate zeal. There is no position to which a prince who fulfills this conception may not aspire in the affections of his countrymen, and there is scarcely any limit to his capacity of useful service to the State."

Mr. Henry W. Nevinnson writes regarding the present position of the Indian rulers as follows:—"You would suppose that such a ceremony was but the childish consolation of some wretched prince, whom we allow to retain on sufferance the pomps and vanities of barbaric splendour, just as an idiot heir is allowed a rocking-horse and a wooden sword by his trustees. And that is partly true. It is in the spirit of interested trustees for idiot children that the British Government gives the Maharaja that artillery to play with and arms his handful of troops with ancient muzzle-loaders that I had despised of ever seeing in use. An ordinary and enfeebled ruler might thus solace himself with pretty shows for a life of miserable impotence, just as Napoleon's son played at soldiers in Austrian palaces. Such is the end of most of those who are born to rule over Native States. Fantation palaces in every street, marble court where fountains play all the summer, bedizened elephants in lordly rows, bejewelled girls beyond the dreams of Solomon, shids of horses ceaselessly neighing, changes of golden clothes for every hour of the day and night, heaps of golden coins piled high in treasuries, drink deep as wells, exquisite foods selected from Paris to Siam.—Oh, but to be weak is miserable!"

A STUDENT.

—Maharatta.

## THE SITUATION IN INDIA

### AN AMERICAN VIEW

Alice Stone Blackwell contributes an interesting article to the *Christian Register* (Boston) under the title "Some facts about Gandhi."

She says:—

"It was lately said of Gandhi, the great Indian leader, that his only weapons are "firm resistance to Western religion and education, and non-employment of force." This statement is incomplete. Gandhi uses a formidable weapon in a boycott of British goods, and especially on British made cloth.

Before India came under British rule, vast quantities of beautiful fabrics were manufactured in millions of cottage homes and exported far and wide. Indian shawls, silks, and muslins were famous the world over. The British Government has deliberately destroyed India's manufactures, by putting on prohibitive export duties, in order that they might not compete with British made goods. For the same reason, a so-called "excise tax" is levied on every yard of cloth manufactured in India for sale, whether made in factories or cottages. But there is no tax on homespun made by a family for its own use. Therefore, Gandhi urges every family to spin and weave its own clothing, and the spinning-wheel or hand-loom is the emblem of the movement.

Gandhi believes that England holds on to India mainly because India as a possession has been immensely profitable, and that if it ceases to be profitable, there will be much less objection to granting it self-government. The movement has been so far successful that India, which used to buy about three hundred million dollars' worth of cotton goods from England every year, last year bought less than one

hundred million 'dollars' worth. There was also a falling off of \$75,000,000 in the revenue from liquor and opium. Gandhi preaches abstinence from these, both on ethical grounds and as another way of cutting down the revenue.

"The *Christian Register* asks, "Did England make a colossal blunder when it sentenced Gandhi to six years' close confinement?" It is not Gandhi alone, but about forty thousand others who are now in prison, not for any act of violence, but for expressing dissatisfaction with British rule. It is always a mistake to hope to cure discontent by muzzling the expression of it without removing its cause."

After describing the circumstances under which the N. C. O. movement came to be started, the writer concludes thus:—

"A study of the economic history of India shows clearly that the country has been ruled primarily for Great Britain's benefit, not for the benefit of India. The policy has been to use India as a source of cheap raw materials for British manufactures, and then make it to buy back the manufactured goods. This has illustrated afresh the truth of John Stuart Mill's famous saying:—

"The Government of a people by itself has a meaning and a reality; but such a thing as a Government of one people by another does not exist. One people may keep another for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle form to be worked for the profits of its own inhabitants."

"Nothing has been said here of Gandhi's wonderful record as a saint and a religious leader; giving all his wealth to found a school to train young men in arts useful to India; teaching the highest spiritual truths; living the simplest life; breathing a spirit of universal love so pure and so fervent that it has melted away the age-long lines of caste and sect, and welded together Brahmans and pariahs, Hindus and Moslems, in one great brotherly movement to secure freedom for India by peaceful "non-co-operation." That movement deserves the sympathy of all who really believe that governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

## COLOUR-BAR IN THE CAPE

At the general meeting of the Indian Political Association recently held at Kimberley, Mr. G. Narayanaswamy Naidoo moved to confirm the action of the executive committee in despatching a cablegram to Sir Sivasway Aiyer, emphatically refuting the recent statement made by Sir Edgar Walton at the Assembly of the League of Nations that the Indians in the Cape Province enjoyed equal privileges with their European compatriots. "Is this statement true?" asked Mr. Naidoo. "I am sure, gentlemen, "you cannot allow this statement to go unchallenged" said he. Mr. Naidoo then spoke at length on the Union Constitution which is based on the Colour-Bar. He further declared that the Unionist Party who were supposed to be the friends of the non-Europeans, had sacrificed their rights at the amalgamation of the four Provinces. Gentlemen, no doubt you are all aware, prior to the Union, we in the Cape Colony had the right and privilege to send our own representative to Parliament. At this amalgamation, the Unionist Party whom we trusted, betrayed us, and sold our rights. Continuing, Mr. Naidoo said, "when the Cape Colony was under the Administration of the Late Rt. Hon. Cecil John Rhodes, he upheld the policy of equal rights to all civilized men from the Cape to the Zambesi, and at the time, there was no question of Colour," it was a question of merits. In 1910 those principles were violated. Gentlemen I submit it to you, could our worthy friend Sir Walton deny that he knew nothing about new Railway Regulations, in which the Colour Bar was introduced? Indians and other coloured citizens have been debarrd by legislation from travelling in any other carriages, but

those reserved for them. This regulation was introduced during the Great War, when the British Empire was engaged in a life and death struggle, when India's Sons were demonstrating their devotion to the British Throne by shedding their life-blood on the battlefields, and when Great Britain declared, she and the Dominions were fighting for principles of liberty, justice and freedom of all Nations. Well, gentlemen, I submit to you, for your own consideration, that this piece of legislation is absolutely a contradiction of the principles for which Great Britain and the Dominions had fought. And all will further see, that since South West Africa came under the administration of the Union Government, we have no rights to enter that territory. However, I hope that the people of India will endeavour to take a firm step, to seek for her sons and daughters abroad the full rights of British Citizenship for those that have already domiciled in different parts of the Empire; and I look forward that the day will not be far off, that, we, in the Cape Province, will demand from the Union Government, for the restoration of our rights which were taken away at the time of Union. (prolonged cheers.)

### વેબવાના પુસ્તકો

|                                     | શી. | રૂ. |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|
| હાલે ચોપડી                          | ૨   | ૬   |
| સાતમી                               | ૩   | ૦   |
| બાળચોપડી                            | ૦   | ૬   |
| પહેલી ચોપડીના અર્પ                  | ૫   | ૬   |
| બીજી                                | ૦   | ૬   |
| ૩                                   | ૧   | ૦   |
| પાંચમી                              | ૧   | ૬   |
| છઠી                                 | ૧   | ૬   |
| સાતમી                               | ૨   | ૦   |
| સેકન્ડ-વર્લ્ડીક્રીસ્ટ               | ૩   | ૩   |
| ગુજરાતી ઉચ્ચીક પેકેટ ડિક્શનરી       | ૫   | ૬   |
| ઉચ્ચીક ગુજરાતી                      | ૫   | ૬   |
| અર્ધ-ચોપડી (દેશી હિસાબ)             | ૧   | ૬   |
| પરમાર્થસાર                          | ૧   | ૬   |
| કૃષ્ણ ચરીત્રી                       | ૩   | ૬   |
| પરિવ્રત્ત સતીઓ                      | ૧   | ૬   |
| અનુસુયા નાટક                        | ૩   | ૬   |
| હિતક મળત અને બોધક વચન               | ૨   | ૦   |
| પ્રજાપતિની ભાગ ૧                    | ૨   | ૦   |
| આવૃત્ત કરેલી જમીનને માલિકી હેતુ કરે | ૦   | ૬   |
| ગોક્ષમાળા                           | ૨   | ૦   |
| પહેલી ચોપડી                         | ૧   | ૦   |
| બીજી                                | ૧   | ૩   |
| ત્રીજી                              | ૧   | ૬   |
| પાંચમી                              | ૨   | ૬   |
| નીલી વાળા સુત                       | ૧   | ૬   |
| છવનપર પ્રકાશ                        | ૧   | ૩   |
| અનુચિત અને અન્ય સાહિત્ય વિચાર       | ૨   | ૩   |
| હાલે ગુજા ભાગ ૧ થી                  | ૧   | ૬   |
| નવસહસ્રા                            | ૧   | ૬   |

## BOOKS FOR SALE

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

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |      |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-----|
| The Hon. Mr. Gokhale and the Indenture System                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 2    | 0   |
| My Indian Reminiscences by Dr. Paul                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 2    | 6   |
| Indian Home Rule, by M. K. Gandhi                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 1    | 6   |
| A Book—and its Misnomer                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 1    | 0   |
| Bhagavad Gita. Mrs. Besant's Translation                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 2    | 6   |
| Asiatics Registration Amendment Act (1908)<br>in English and Gujarati                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 0    | 9   |
| Shri Madhwa Charya                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 1    | 6   |
| Position of the Women in the Vedas                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 2    | 6   |
| Improvement of Indian Agriculture                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 2    | 6   |
| The Tragedy of Empire                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 1    | 9   |
| Hindu Social Ideals, by P. J. Mehta                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 2    | 0   |
| Rise and Growth of Bombay Municipal Govt.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 4    | 6   |
| Agricultural Industries in India                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 2    | 6   |
| The Story of the Ramayana, the Epic of Rama                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 2    | 0   |
| A Study in Indian Economics by P. Bannerji                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 4    | 6   |
| The Indians of South Africa, by H. S. L. Polak                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 2    | 6   |
| Life of M. K. Gandhi (in Tamil)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 2    | 6   |
| " " " (in Hindi)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 2    | 0   |
| The Golden Number of "Indian Opinion"                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |      |     |
| Paper covers                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 2    | 6   |
| Bound in cloth                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 3    | 6   |
| Sri Ramanujacharya                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 1    | 6   |
| Sri Sankaracharya                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 2    | 6   |
| Mr. Gandhi's Speeches and Writings—1896 to 1917                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 3    | 3   |
| The Indian Demands, by G. A. Natesan                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 2    | 6   |
| Nation Building, by Annie Besant                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 2    | 0   |
| Warfare in Ancient India                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 2    | 6   |
| BIOGRAPHIES OF EMINENT INDIANS:—                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |      |     |
| Aggressive Hinduism                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 2    | 6   |
| Aspects of the Vedanta                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 2    | 6   |
| Indian Industrial and Economic Problems, by Prof. L. Kale                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 3    | 6   |
| Essays on Indian Economics, by Ranade                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 4    | 6   |
| Essays on Nationalism, by Dr. Coomaraswamy                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 2    | 6   |
| FRIENDS OF INDIA SERIES:—Lord Morley, Sir Wm. Wedderburn, Rev. Dr. Miller, Sir Edwin Arnold, Chas. Bradlaugh, Edmund Burke, Lord Minto, Sister Nivedita, Henry Fawcett, John Bright, A. O. Hume, Sir Henry Cotton, Lord Macaulay, Lord Ripon, Mr. Mrs. Annie Besant — A Sketch of her Life                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 1    | 0   |
| BIOGRAPHIES OF EMINENT INDIANS:—                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |      |     |
| Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Rabindranath Tagore, M. K. Gandhi, Budruddin Tyabji, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, The Right Hon. Sayed Amir Ali, H. H. Shri Sayaji Rao Gackwar, Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, H. H. the Aga Khan, Swami Rama Tirth, V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Kristo Das Pal, Dewan C. Rangachari, W. C. Bonnerjee, A. M. Bose, Ravi Varma, Lala Lajpat Rai, Kashinath Trimbak Telang, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Swami Vivekananda, Toru Dutt, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Sir Salar Jung, V. P. Madhava Rao, D. E. Wacha, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Rahimtulla Mohamed Sayani, Dr. Raah Behari Ghose, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Sir C. Sankaran Nair, Lal Mohun Ghose, Raja Ram Mohan Roy. | each | 1 0 |
| India's Untouchable Saints                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 2    | 0   |
| The Governance of India, by Govinda Das                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 7    | 6   |
| Sri Sankara's Select Works                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 3    | 6   |
| King George's Speeches                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 2    | 6   |
| For India's Uplift, by Annie Besant                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 3    | 6   |
| Vaishnavite Reformers of India                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 2    | 6   |

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