

# Indian Opinion

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## NOTES AND NEWS

A very interesting lecture was delivered by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri on the caste system of India before the Library Group, Durban, on Wednesday night. It was attended by about a thousand Europeans. Mr. Sastri spoke for a hour and ten minutes and created a great impression upon his hearers. We hope to publish the full text of Mr. Sastri's address in our next week's issue.

Mrs. A. W. Clarke who while driving a motor car near Albert Park, Durban, on Jan. 3 had knocked down an Indian child who died from the injuries received was found guilty of culpable homicide and was sentenced by the Magistrate Mr. Harding Barlow to a fine of £20, with the alternative of three months' imprisonment with hard labour, accused being permitted to pay the fine at the rate of £5 a month. The life of an Indian child is evidently in the eyes of our courts of justice only worth £20.

The matter of private motor bus service at present existing in Durban is seriously being considered by the Durban Town Council. It appeared from a report on the subject that in the Free State there is a Local Government Ordinance which prohibits the running of buses or any other similar form of transport intended for the use of the public without the consent of the Council. This Ordinance was passed at a date when there were no private buses running in the Free State, so that no vested interests have been interfered with, and the Council retains its monopoly of public transport. The Electricity Committee of the Durban Town Council decided to pass on the matter to the General Purposes Committee, with a strong recommendation that the necessary legislative powers of monopoly be sought by the Corporation in respect of motor buses. In the event of such legislation being passed by the Town Council it will have a detrimental effect on the present private owned buses.

On Tuesday the 16th instant the Committee Members of the Indian Child Welfare Society met at Mrs. V. Lawrence's residence to bid goodbye to Mrs. Hume Stanford, Honorary Presidency Magistrate of Madras, and to thank her for all the trouble she had taken on behalf of the Indians in Durban in inaugurating the above Society among them. The Right Honourable. V. S. S. Sastri P. C., honoured the party by his presence and kindly consented to be photographed with the members as Patron of the said Society. Afternoon-tea was provided by Mrs. Lawrence and music was rendered by the Misses Lawrences. The happy gathering dispersed after the singing of Auld Lang Syne.

Union Parliament which was prorogued to Aug. 31, 1927, has been further prorogued to Oct 14.

As a Special Supplement to this issue we give the full text of the address delivered by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri at Maritzburg on "South Africa, India and the Empire."

### MR. SASTRI'S GROWING INFLUENCE

THE strides in the direction of enlisting the support of the European public in the Indian cause, that have been made during the last week by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri are astounding. His lecture on "South Africa, India, and the Empire" at the invitation of the European public of Maritzburg—always known to be an Anti-Asiatic Town was attended by an unexpectedly large gathering and has created a profound impression on the minds of the hearers. His speech at the Natal University College also created so good an impression that Professor Roseveare who was in the chair was prompted to say that "he looked forward to the day when there would be Indian students on the roll of the college, and he hoped that at least one of them might become as famous as Mr. Sastri himself." Mr. Sastri's lecture before the Library Group last Wednesday on the "Caste System" also attracted an unexpectedly large audience and was listened to with rapt attention. And invitations to Mr. Sastri for further public lectures by European public are still pouring in.

Though the *Natal Mercury* did sound an unfortunate note in the beginning one can feel the change of atmosphere. There is a better feeling generally on the Indian question and it is being discussed by the press and the public in a more sympathetic manner.

Mr. Sastri's proposal of improving the educational facilities of the Indian community is gaining the support of the European public and one wonders if the moral support of the Europeans to the scheme will not perhaps exceed the material support of the Indian community.

Thus whilst we may feel jubilant over the success of Mr. Sastri in this direction let us not forget our own duty to

Mr. Sastri which is a far greater one and which is in reality a duty to our own selves and to our own children. We have heard it often said by Europeans that "we do not mind having an Indian of the type of Mr. Sastri among us." We are children of the same Motherland that has begotten Mr. Sastri and let us do our utmost to be worthy of our Motherland even as Mr. Sastri is.

It does not become us to look at only the material side of the question and cast thoughtless effusions on Mr. Sastri or the Indian Government or the Union authorities. The agreement arrived at is an honourable agreement and it is up to both parties to see that it is honourably fulfilled. Mr. Sastri has come to us to see to the fulfilment of that agreement and we should do everything in our power to assist him in fulfilling our part.

## Mr. Sastri and the Indian in Natal.

The *Natal Advertiser* in its issue of the 11th. instant has the following leading article under the above heading:

Since coming in our midst as Agent for the Indian Government, Mr. Sastri has found for himself that the problem he has to deal with is baffling enough to tax the resources of the ablest minds of his own and of this country. It is not as if South Africa were divided broadly into two camps—Asiatic and anti-Asiatic—and that those who were not for Mr. Sastri were against him. In some such circumstances, he would at least know the dimensions of his difficulties, and understand how far enlightened public opinion was on his side. Unhappily those who most wish him well are not in agreement as to the path he should pursue in helping to carry out the terms of the Capetown agreement; and there is danger that, early in his South African career, he may be puzzled to know why this is.

We would like to suggest the answer and at the same time, throw our weight in the scale on the side of the Agent in those circumstances where he is to-day meeting friendly but resolute opposition. "Education," says Mr. Sastri, "is the first reform of Indian conditions that matter." "Education," say his critics, "comes second. Housing and hygiene come first." "I want," he says, "to get my education commission in being as soon as possible." "You ought to tackle the problem of sanitation in the suburbs first," comes the answer. "Education can wait."

This broadly represents the early friendly clash between two enlightened opposites, and, because we feel there is a great danger that some of the initial goodwill and momentum of the reform temper may be lost if the difference continues, we want to show wherein we think Mr. Sastri is right and should receive the fullest support of all who wish him and his work well.

### The Highest Level

When Mr. Sastri stresses the all-importance of education in the "uplift" of the Indians in South Africa he is viewing the Asiatic problem from a far higher level than those who oppose his order of

precedence. There is dirt, squalor, unhealthiness and peril of the gravest kind in the conditions which surround the towns of this province; and no doubt it would be a fine thing if, with a magician's wand, the Agent could dispel these things at once. But (whether he feels this way or no) Mr. Sastri is entitled to say that, after all, the remedy for these ills is in the hands of the European. If the Indian in the suburbs and villages is squalid, it is poverty that keeps him squalid. If he lives in hovels that one would not use to house one's cattle, it is because he is paid such a wage by his European employer as precludes his living in any better way. If every other action of the adult Indian is an offence against the sanitary laws of the Province, the remedy is in the Province's own hands. It did not need Mr. Sastri bringing to South Africa to clean up Mayville or reduce Sydenham to order. Our Town Councils and Provincial Council have powers enough and to spare to make Indian life in Natal conform to reasonable standards of cleanliness without our waiting for the Indian Agent to do the work for us. As a matter of fact, our community's indifference to Indian living conditions is largely accounted for by the knowledge that it is impossible to house the Indian better unless he earns better wages than are ordinarily paid him. If, however, we imagine that Mr. Sastri can make the Indian live more decently and hygienically without his economic standard being raised at the same time, we are living in a fool's paradise. Poverty and dirt, save in rare cases, go together, and they will continue together to the end of the chapter.

### Civilise the Young!

Mr. Sastri's business, as an Indian, is not to solve our European problem, but solve the Indian's. His work is not to clean up our squalor, but to raise his own people to such a pitch that, when there is a cleaner and better standard in Natal, they will not disgrace it. We hold no brief for high falutin' schemes of higher education and university courses for Asiatics at the present time. But we do say that a great step forward will have been registered in the polyglot life of South Africa when the Indian children of this Province are assured of primary education; and we do say that Mr. Sastri has the right perspective when he maintains that the instruction of the young is the first obligation to be redeemed under the Capetown Agreement. Civilisation is largely an affair of soap and water; and what is the unvarying human experience with the child? The baby loves mud and revels in squalor. The growing boy washes his neck under compulsion. Then comes a stage a little later when, by precept and example, he comes to understand that there is something intrinsically good in cleanliness, some merit in being clean for the mere sake of it. He is the barbarian no longer. He finds that, to grown-up minds, dirt is taboo; and, in the end, he succumbs to the remorseless civilising agency of cleanliness.

### "Save the Children"

That is the sort of conversion that really counts, and it is the sort that will come about when the Indian child is taught in the classroom how to be a decent little citizen of the State, and is taught, too, that sanitation, health, and various other Western conventions are things good and desirable in themselves. Mr. Sastri has not said he will not help his people to clean up some of the squalor in which they live. As a matter of fact, he is devising machinery for the right sort of crusade among the hardened offenders on the fringes of the towns. But if there is anything in civilisation at all he is right every time and all time in putting the salvation of the young in the very forefront of all his efforts in South Africa. Whether the school age Indian in Natal stays in this Province or goes back to India, he is a far greater asset to his race and to

the Empire taught than untaught. If he remains in Natal he is going to elevate his own people and retrieve their environment in the measure in which he is instructed in his schoolgoing years. If he is going to India he is going to help along, if only in an infinitesimal degree, the vast toil of emancipation in that complex land. "Save the children" is the supreme slogan of civilisation; and Mr. Sastri is showing the unerring instinct of the statesman in thinking of the schoolroom first. He is making—or seeking to make—the future secure. It is no fault of his that the present is a poor unmerited thing, full of stench and squalor, of exploitation and recrimination, of colour bars and mutual repugnances. That is not his fault, nor is it his work to repair it. He will help all he can. Who can doubt it? But again it is not his affair either to work miracles or to cast out the devils of degradation and disease.

### Natal's Job

We have said many times that, while we deplore with everyone the belt of wretchedness that confines Durban and makes its suburbs potential plague spots we do not blame the Indian for this, save in a secondary degree. The province has had the power for years to clean things up. That it has not done so is due, in great measure, to the readiness of Natal to take up the risk of the grim ogres of Dirt and Disease so long as Cheapness was their maid of all work. Natal has known that any resolute campaign for better housing conditions for the Indians would mean directly or otherwise, a demand for higher Asiatic wages, and this demand the Province has not encouraged. It has preferred to wallow in a largely fictitious prosperity irrigated by a thousand conduits from poverty, squalor, and wretchedness and now that it has achieved to a great measure of affluence it is tempted to ape the knight who complained of common soldierly to Hotspur, and

.....Called them untaught knaves, unmannerly,

To bring a slovenly unhandsome course

Between the wind and his nobility.

Natal must do something about the Indian housing problem: not expect Mr. Sastri to solve it. He will help as much as any one man can; but the necessary powers are already (and for years have been) in the hands of European Natal.

## Servants of India Society ✓

### Mr. Sastri Addresses Toc H

During his short visit to Maritzburg last week Mr. Sastri addressed Toc H on "The Servants of India Society." On entering the hall Mr. Sastri was welcomed with a hearty round of applause.

Mr. Sastri explained that the Society was founded in 1905. It was in many ways unique. It undertook to train its members in the service of India. The members had to be of high educational abilities, and had to be of the finest character. They were tested for five years, and had to live for a year with the other members before they themselves could become members. Seven vows were made by the members on their enrolment, and they were paid £40 a year, and after several years, £80 a year for their service. This, of course, was "under the market price," the members being, of necessity of great ability. The idea, however, was one of sacrifice—the members sacrificing themselves for the bettering of their country.

### Political Field

"We all work in the political field," said Mr. Sastri, "and we aim towards making India a self-governing dominion. We are bound by our vows, however, that we do our work peacefully. We can-

not use violence, and unlike many political societies we were not born in an hour of enthusiasm. We seek to get all our objects from the Government in the ordinary course of constitutional development."

Social service was among the attractive plans of some of the members. Perhaps three-fourths of the works of the Society was in social service, and only one fourth in political progress. It was felt that too much concentration on political development would defeat its objects, and very little benefit would be reaped from it.

Control of their national defence was perhaps the most baffling problem faced by the society. While progress was being made fairly satisfactorily in all directions progress in this object of the society was most disappointing, and it was being felt that very little could be done in this particular direction.

### Social Work In India

There was a considerable amount of work, said Mr. Sastri, to be done socially all over India. This caused a certain amount of difficulty as far as the young men were concerned. Young men in India as in South Africa, no doubt, had a longing for politics. They clamoured for notoriety—some of them even preferring to spend their time in gaol than in enjoyment outside.

Mr. Sastri spoke of his visit to London in 1918, when he gave evidence before a committee in connection with drawing up a new constitution for India. The difficulty he had had to work under was that he could not make it clear that the Servants of India Society was working both politically and socially.

The Government, when the public began to get in the grip of political despondency, noticed a society springing up, binding itself together with vows, and taking a strong interest in political affairs, and began to get suspicious.

"If we had resented these things," said Mr. Sastri, "and allowed ourselves to be provoked, or if we had defied the objects of the Government, then we might never have existed as a society, but we went our way quietly, and now are well through the wood.

Today, you find me, a member of the society, sent out here as a representative of the Indian Government, and I now have the power to get the Government into a very tight corner if I so wish. I am not the only member of my society that has been entrusted with Government missions, I am telling you this to show how we have succeeded in living down the distrust of both the people and the Government of India."

### Jesuit Principles

For the foundation of the Society the principles of the Jesuits was followed in part. The members were able to keep their own property and to marry, but they were required to devote their lives to the aims of the society and draw very limited sums of money from its coffers. The membership was small and the reason why it was so small was because of the great sacrifices demanded of the members. The society could not promise any sudden rise to fame as many ardent politicians might require, and consequently there was no rush of members.

Mr. Sastri explained the way in which the members of the society were trained, and of the sacrifices they had to undergo. He said that the members called themselves public servants, but this was not in the way in which public servants were known at the present time. The name public servants suggested a body of officers drawing lordly salaries, looking forward to annual promotions and keeping an eye on their pensions. His public servants were very different indeed from this. They worked with all they had in them for the good of their country.

Mr. M. G. Fannin, the Maritzburg Magistrate, thanked Mr. Sastri for his interesting address,

## Mr. Sastri at the University

Mr. Sastri also addressed the staff and students of the Natal University College. Professor Roseveare introducing Mr. Sastri, said that he looked forward to the day when there would be Indian students on the roll of the college, and hoped that at least one of them might become as famous as Mr. Sastri himself.

Speaking on the caste, Mr. Sastri traced its origin, and development. He pointed out that caste primarily was based on colour, but lately it had become occupational. The Hindus recognised four great divisions, the priest and teacher, the soldier and governor, the business and agriculturalist and the labourer. There was also a body of outcasts or "untouchables" but an attempt had been made by the Brahmins themselves to reorganise them as a class.

"Much" he said, "is being done to break down the artificial barriers of caste, and the spread of Western civilisation is doing much towards that end." He explained that there was no barrier of colour in India as there was in the case of South Africa.

Mr. Sastri spoke warmly on the justice and equality which was characteristic of British rule in India. Its one drawback being that it did not interfere with India's social life.—*Natal Witness*.

## Mr. Sastri's Speech Creates Profound Impression

*Natal Witness*' On "Our Obligation"

The *Natal Witness* contains the following leaderette under the heading "Our Obligation" on the speech delivered by Mr. Sastri at Maritzburg last week on "South Africa, India and the Empire."—

Not the least impressive moment in Mr. Sastri's impressive speech on Thursday was when he said that, given an opportunity to appeal to the British sense of fairplay he had never appealed in vain. And we think that Maritzburg may reasonably pat itself on the back both for turning up in such surprising strength to hear the other man's point of view, and for hearing it with such evident attention and sympathy. In a small way the City set an example to South Africa by showing its appreciation of the fact that, however difficult a question may be, and however complicated by race prejudice, it can do no harm to consider it coolly. Natal's position in regard to the Indian is not an easy one. The problem is her's, and she alone is seriously affected by it. The Capetown agreement was passed by a Government with which she is completely out of sympathy and fathered by men for whom, she may argue, it needs no great effort to be magnanimous, since their own interests are not touched. Yet she cannot go back on the agreement without going back on the Imperial Government, to which he has so recently been professing her devoted and unalterable attachment at the very moment when, with the Montagu Chelmsford reforms coming up for revision, any embarrassment of Anglo-Indian relations might be disastrous to the British Commonwealth. The cynic will say that she has been manoeuvred into an impossible position and is faced with a dilemma of which the two horns are getting the worst of the deal with the Asiatic and betraying the British Government which is counting on her. We do not believe that this is a true reflection of the case. The Capetown agreement, to our mind, provides the seeds of a solution of a problem which, before, appeared impossible to solve, and that view is strengthened by Thursday's meeting. And if it be argued, as some are said to have argued after the meeting, that fine sentiments about justice and fairplay cannot be car-

ried into everyday life, we say that they can and must, and that if their practice involves some personal sacrifice (though we cannot see that it will) then the sacrifice must be faced. The British Empire has endured because justice and fair play have not been merely words, and if we are to hold to the British connection we must hold to what alone makes it valuable and valued. The same duty lies upon the Asiatic, who is also a British subject, but as our whole case against him is that he is not educated up to our standard, we shall have to set him the example even if he be slow to follow it. Actually it is probable that by the time that Mr. Sastri leaves South Africa, he will not be so slow, or so unwilling, as we imagine him.

## European versus Indian Tailors

The Other Side of the Picture

The following leading article of the *Times of Natal* dated August 13 shatters to pieces the case of the European tailors against the Indian tailors:—

The statements published during the week regarding the tailoring industry in the City must have left the public wondering. One fact which emerges very clearly is that a considerable amount of European custom goes to the Indian tailor. The rest is not quite so clear. The European tailors appear to consider that they have the exclusive right to make clothes for Europeans. They asserted in the first place that they would enjoy that right if the Indian did not undercut them, and they explained his ability to undercut them by pointing out that he did not have a shop in central Church Street at a high rental, and rather hinted that he did not pay the same scale of wages to his operatives as they did, and did not, generally speaking, have to keep up the same standard of appearances as themselves. But further disclosures have somewhat shaken the case made out by the tailors. There would appear to be only one Indian master tailor in the City. Documentary evidence shows that the price he charges for a suit is higher than the average charged by the European tailors. He states that he pays the standard rates to his workmen and employs only first-class men. It appears from his books that in the majority of the cases he obtains a substantial cash deposit with the orders, and he buys his materials from the big European firms in the main centers of the Union. So far as working expenses are concerned he would seem to be competing with the Europeans on level terms. He admits that his shop is in the Indian quarter, but in spite of that he claims that two-thirds of his customers are Europeans who go to the trouble of seeking him out although he is not in a central position. He himself, however, would prefer to have his shop in Church Street, believing that the extra business he would attract would repay the extra expenditure, but when he sought to obtain a licence in Church Street his application was opposed by the very men who complain that his shop expenses are lower than theirs. But all this is beside the point; the staggering fact remains that, in spite of the fact that his price is higher, and in spite of his shop being out of the way and in the Indian quarter of the town, he attracts a large number of European customers. Unless European tailors can contradict his statements, their argument that cheapness is the attraction is exploded, and exploded also is the theory that the offenders are young bank clerks and law students. What then is the real reason why these Europeans should put themselves to additional trouble and expense and run the risk of being called traitors to the tradesmen of their own colour?

To the lay mind it looks as if these men, knowing what they want and being prepared to pay for it,

# SOUTH AFRICA, INDIA AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

## MR. SASTRI'S MEMORABLE ADDRESS AT MARITZBURG

### THE SPIRIT OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE

THE following is a verbatim report of the Right Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's memorable speech in the Town Hall, Maritzburg, on August 11. The Mayor of Maritzburg Mr. D. C. Dick presided over a crowded audience.

"Ladies and Gentlemen: I am more than delighted to see this great meeting. It is a pleasure and an honour to be allowed to address an audience so distinguished and so representative. I feel inspired to see you in such numbers and I am grateful for the all too courteous words of the Mayor in presenting me and to receive such a measure of approbation at your hands.

"My subject for this evening embraces such a wide scope that it were impossible for me to deal adequately with it within the hour. Besides even if I had time, my position as Agent for the Government of India in this country imposes upon me the necessity for me to confine myself to the terms of the Capetown agreement but still, if you think of it, it is impossible to do so without taking into view the political institutions which constitute the British Empire.

"It is well recognised to-day that among the nations of the world the British Empire, that great organisation, stands for peace and security in the world. Over and over again, during the war and afterwards, this British Empire has been appealed to and is playing its part in keeping the peace amongst the nations of the world. (applause).

"To belong to such an organisation, to be admitted to its councils, to be permitted to benefit by its great ideals and achievements, is a destiny of which any people in the world may be proud.

"I have no right to speak of South Africa in relation to the Empire but you will allow me to say one word about the attitude of India towards the British Empire. Of that I know something and I believe it will interest you to hear it. Towards the British Empire India has been drawn by ties of affection, esteem and gratitude which it is impos-

sible to describe. At first she was brought within the Empire by force, now we value very greatly our position and the fact that we were born of the "pax britannica." Now that we are fully established we can scarcely realise the terrible fate we have escaped by being drawn within the Empire.

"It would take me too long to explain the psychological foundations of our attachment. You may doubtless occasionally hear and even read in the newspapers of movements calculated to disturb the Empire and disturbances similarly radical in their effect opposed to the continuance of the Empire, but believe me, these movements do not go deep into our heart. They are merely surface feelings such as must arise when our institutions are in danger, and certain patriots of an ardent type declaim as they do in any part of the world, when they believe that national self-respect is being jeopardised. But when such people so talk and write in the papers they dare not contemplate the withdrawal—the consequence of the withdrawal—of British hands from the reins of the Indian Empire.

"Often and often I have heard conversations between Englishmen and Indians. The Indians decry the Empire and say the worst of things. The Englishmen then say "would you then wish us to withdraw?" The answer is always "we wish you to be here but to rule according to our wishes" (laughter). We want only improved administration, we want only certain reforms, we want a change in this and a change in that, but we want you to be here, to be here for a long, long time (applause). Do not then be misled by disturbance in India.

### Indigenous Rule

"Why is it then that our attachment continues unabated? Now in the administration as it is to be found in what we call the 'Indian States.' These occupy on the map of India about one-third of the whole of the country and comprise the population of say a quarter of the population of India and they carry the traditions of ancient Indian

The white man believes that he is the superior of the coloured man. When he asks that the coloured man be handicapped for his benefit, he goes a long way to destroy one's belief in his superiority.

to the 'tin tacks,' to-night we are in the clouds."

Granted it may be so, but surely no true citizen of of the Empire will be any the worse for the inspiring address that so wonderfully described our heritage.

To many Mr. Sastri's address will give a new orientation of the Indian problem that may help to an honourable solution in the interests of South Africa and the British Empire.—Yours truly,  
S. G. H. Sarfudin

### To correspondents

Mr. S. G. H. Sarfudin, (Johannesburg). No good will be served by publishing your letter.—Ed.

politics. We have then the means of comparing British rule and indigenous rule and it is recognised at once that the rule of the Rujas does not reach the high standard and ideals of British rule. In the indigenous rule you have that absolutism while in British rule you have complete constitutional freedom. That contrast is to be seen in its minute ramifications all through the national life. Fair play in a court of law and absolutely even-handed justice—India has these things in far greater measure than in the best administrated Indian states.

"Personal rule cannot compete with the reign of law. The abstract principles of Government, the most vital point of the British Constitution, gives full scope, only limited by the necessity of giving the same full scope to your neighbours that is the vital thing in the constitution of the British Empire. It is that which to us makes us love to live under the ideal rule if we know anything about abstract law. Tempered by high ideals it may be but still deriving its potency from its controlable will. This is one of the distinctions which we see under British rule which we cannot hereafter afford to forgo. More than that there is the great ideal of nationality which for the first time Indian people have learned to cherish.

"You may not fully understand who have never visited India, who have never had personal contact with vastness of the vast varieties of people, races and cultures which make up the Indian Empire, but is really, ladies and gentlemen, a world in itself. You have civilisations from the top to the bottom, cultures from the highest scholarships to the most primitive ignorance. You have races, politics and what we call "castes" of every mark and distinction that may obtain between man and man but still all this multiplicity, this bewildering medley is moulded by one moulder, in one pattern by the British Constitution. It lets no one tyrannise over another or suppress the personality of another.

"You can have no idea of the way in which these British institutions are shaping India. We have learned this lesson that men may live under the common Flag with complete goodwill with the one desire that, to the extent possible they will maintain the British connection unimpaired, (applause).

#### Futile Talk of Secession

"In these times when Politicians so easily get work we may use words without thought and restraint. When for the smallest grievance there is talk of secession. In these days it is well for you who love the British Empire as I do; it is necessary for you all to realise what a great immeasurable asset it is this feeling of loyalty and to preserve it. (Applause).

"I belong to a society known as the Servants of India which in its politics is guided by dispostulate by this purpose of maintaining the British connection. We realise more vividly than other people or organisations how India benefits by being within the British Empire. Our greatest politicians believe and have laid it down in so many words that the British connection has been ordained for the good of both countries and that good has not yet been fully achieved. There is much to be drawn from this connection and we therefore take a vow that we will not do anything which may have the remote effect of weakening this connection.

"But we are not peculiar in the sincerity of this loyalty. I am now going to tell you one fact which may puzzle some of you unless you realise something of Indian sentiment. You may have heard of a strong movement, — a non-co-operative movement. Broadly all its aims are revolutionary. There are a few people in it who are unbalanced and seek to find the political salvation of India outside the British Empire.

"They seek independence but they go further and say 'it is not that independence we want we wish to go out of the British Empire and seek liberation from the yoke of Great Britain.'

#### Depressed By Despair

"In the Indian National Congress during the last five years they have continually brought forward resolutions powerfully supported but even during the worst times when the credit of Britain was low, when men's hearts had been depressed by despair even in the worst times such resolutions have had no chance whatever of acceptance by one general body of Indian statesmen. (applause). The head of one movement is Mahatma Gandhi of South African fame of whom so many misleading reports go round the world. I am not his follower but I will say this for him that he is at every one of these Congress meetings and he has always stood up for the British connection. (applause). He has told his followers that whatever the grievance with Britain may be there is a way of getting satisfaction but not by aiming at the severance of the British connection. When I say that, I hope I convey to your minds which may occasionally be anxious a sufficient impressive measure of the loyalty of India to the British connection. (applause).

"Now I ask you what will be too large a sacrifice to maintain this Empire sentiment. What are the dangers besetting, what are the strains to which it is subjected now and then? For a long time this sentiment has been subjected to a strain by the feelings of our people arising out of hardships and disabilities which have been imposed upon them are incompatible with the ideals of the Empire but they

have even been defended by British people resident abroad in the Empire. We cannot understand it. Do we understand the British Empire better than some Britishers?

### Racial Difficulties

"No one who has travelled outside India can understand the enormous difficulties of the Indian people living outside India. I admit it is sometimes very difficult but there are 300 million people in India and therefore you will realise how many millions there are who believe that the conditions obtaining there must obtain elsewhere. Whatever you may think of India as a backward country I will submit this. Indian has been ruled by Great Britain for 200 years. Some parts have been so ruled for a longer period but during these long decades every part of India has been ruled by Great Britain and according to her ideals.

"In India to-day notwithstanding the great complexity of races, notwithstanding there are Brahmins, who put themselves on the highest pedestal of moral superiority and people who we can scarcely distinguish from hill tribesmen, we know no denial of the franchise to any people. We do not prevent any people from coming to India. We do not prevent any people from buying land or establishing factories. We do not deny people who acknowledge the supremacy of Britain and who are content to be loyal to the King.

"We do not impose any restrictions on the free life of anyone who comes to our country and we imagine in our ignorance that all over the British Empire the same conditions must prevail.

### No Indifference

"But, ladies and gentlemen, let me not alarm you too much. I know, having visited British dominions, I know your difficulty but will say this that when we have appealed to any country of the Empire, I have not known any British community from New Zealand to British Colombia to be unresponsive or indifferent.

"I was asked in British Colombia 'do you really wish us to forgo what our ancestors have made so much sacrifice for? Do you expect us to leave to our sons in diminution and decay those privileges which we have won for ourselves?' I can understand and I have spoken to my people in the matter of being excluded where British people have settled. We have to expect that from the necessity of the case. But, ladies and gentlemen, is it equally clear why it is compatible with British ideals of government that when you have excluded Indians by law and you are no more threatened with an influx of people from outside

is it equally clear that among those who have been born in South Africa, pay their taxes and are thoroughly loyal there should be raised a disability not arising out of their own intrinsic qualities. That is a point which I think is well worth considering in view of the preserving of the Empire sentiment.

"I know that it is understood that every self-governing people within the British Empire may treat the Nationals of any other dominion or state as they like. There is no law compelling the extension of citizenship rights to people from other dominions. We know that is a state of law.

"In other words you have a legal right to impose any disability you like. No one questions it! I do not but I will ask you to remember that in this world long before the truth was proclaimed it never has been recognised that this legal right is necessarily also a moral right (applause).

### World's Guiding Force

"Do we in our ordinary life do everything we have the right to do? Is there no necessity then to control our public legislation albeit we are self-governing and regulate these things in accordance with the high principles of justice and fairplay which the British spirit always has meant and still means if it is to maintain its position as the guiding force in the World.

"It has been brought up against the Indian people that they are not self-governing.

"This is not altogether true. We have begun. We have in several Provinces several subjects determined by vote. We call them little because although the least of our Parliaments is as big as yours they are little in the scale of things. Moreover do we realise that the very character of the British Constitution is such that there are people within it to whom you will deny constitutional rights. As historians have pointed out the glory of the British Constitution is that it enables people to rise from the humblest stage of Government through the various stages of crown colony and on to responsible Government to the highest stages of Dominion status.

"Through all these stages it is possible for a people to march upwards and to realise their political salvation. Search the world over for another political organisation for which you may make this proposition. No, you cannot find another and that is why we believe that, although we have only taken the first steps towards self government we are content. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you all to remember this fact that India is marching steadily on to self-government. There is no power to stop it unless it be by force of arms which Great Britain dare not employ against a people striving towards Dominion status by Constitutional means.

### British Supremacy

"You will not treat India because she is still some way from that goal, as a despised nation. That is a point upon which you must answer for yourselves. I know only one answer that can be given for how else, how else, can Great Britain maintain her supremacy amongst nations.

To-day on every hand throughout the wide world conflicts threaten. Even the Europeans are ready for another war, so bitter are national contentions between one people on another. You see too risings among the coloured nations of the world who feel that for a long time they have been denied their due by the dominant white races. Now ladies and gentlemen, wherever these races come into contact in the Empire it is the duty of all alike to see that differences die down, that no room is left for jealous suspicion or hatred that all forces are brought into play that will consolidate the British Empire that is the duty of all Empire citizens.

"People living in remote parts say, "Yes this Empire sentiment is a beautiful thing but then the ordinary conditions are so different with which we have to contend. But the Empire you forget cannot live on air. "It lives in the blood of the British people, It is only if each one constitutes himself the vehicle of the British spirit, only then will the spirit survive. If each one of us betrays it, where then will the Empire be? And so I ask you to consider whether it is right to deny to British subjects common fair play and the elementary rights of citizenship and the means of earning an honest living and the means of enjoying the fruits of their labours.

#### 300 Million People.

I well remember some years ago being struck dumb when I went to a meeting in London at which people were glorifying the Empire. I felt cheered and buoyed up but when they asked me to speak—I generally come at the end of these conferences (laughter). I said this to them: 'Some of you--(Cabinet ministers amongst them)--some of you have spoken of the White Empire, I look at myself and my mind misgives me. Some of you have spoken of the English flag empire. That is true. I speak of India, of the millions of people in India. Some of you spoke of the Anglo-Saxon Empire. Where do we come in in this discussion? I have heard speeches to-day many speeches but I have not heard so much as a mention of India and her 300 million people. Then there was a murmur of applause that grew to such a pitch that I was encouraged. And then man after man came forward and said, "Yes, that was a mistake. I should have included India but somehow or another I forgot".

"Ladies and gentlemen, that state of affairs is passing away and I implore you to remember that you

cannot allow that state of affairs to continue in South Africa.

### Absolute Equality.

"That noted writer on the constitution name Dicey in the latest edition of his work has remarked upon the position today. Speaking of the high ideal of the British Empire he says there was a time in the noble reign of Victoria when we all thought that Empire citizenship would establish absolute equality between one subject and another and we all looked forward to that state of things, but we seem to have gone back. He was referring to the treatment of Indian citizens. Ladies and gentlemen, shall we let constitutional writers of the future say "Yes, we all felt there would be a common British Empire citizenship, but it now seems absolutely clear that such a thing will never be."

"There is a book I would recommend to you. 'Empire Citizenship.' Eminent writers were asked to say what connotes British Citizenship. Shall I tell you the answer which nine out of ten have given? "There is no such thing as British citizenship. There is British subjecthood, that we all understand but no British citizenship."

"That seems to be a legal view today but, Ladies and gentlemen, legal views are one thing and political ideals are another thing. Political ideals are not always to be left as ideals suspended in mid-air. We must work always and the legal view of today will become the legal view of yesterday.

"Views only for the historian but no longer subject matter for the active statesmen. Let us do something in our day which will make future historians to say "Yes it seemed as if British citizenship would be eclipsed and overwhelmed but thanks be to British statesmanship it is emerging on the bright horizon and will soon shine with the full blaze of day."

"It is in your power to do great things, ladies and gentlemen. For what is done in South Africa determines what will be done where white and coloured races come into living contact all through our commonwealth. Much depends upon you. Be not swayed by the considerations of the moment, by the fleeting salvation of the hour. These are not considerations for which those who are the vehicles of the British spirit should give assent in their hearts. Have an eye always to the great future of the Empire. Think of what it would mean if you chose the noble course. Think of what it might mean if you yielded to the temptations of the hour. (continued applause).



are going where they can get it. The suspicion is unavoidable that a lower standard of efficiency or craftsmanship is at the root of the European tailors' trouble. We should be glad to be assured that the suspicion is unfounded and that there is a less damaging reason for the Indian's successful competition, and if that is so it will be in the interests of the tailors themselves to give the correct explanation without delay. No impartial observer would, we imagine, be prepared to assert that the men of Maritzburg were the best dressed in the Union, but whether this is due to their own inclination or to the lack of sartorial facilities we are not prepared to say. We agree, however, with the tailors that, on the facts as they have so far been disclosed, the position is serious. If Indian tailors can take away European custom at higher prices there must be something wrong, and the sooner the fault is discovered the better. But who is to blame? We cannot see that the Indian tailor is to blame. He has his living to make and so long as he makes it by giving satisfactory service, and not by price cutting or similar devices, we fail to see how even the Chamber of Commerce can have any just cause for complaint. The man under discussion is a resident of long standing in the City, a property owner and a ratepayer; clearly, he is justified in doing the best he can for himself. Nor do we see how the European customer can be blamed, although the tailors, bereft of his custom, call him traitor to his colour. If he pays more for his clothes as a result of his "treachery," it is reasonable to assume that he believes that he is getting value for the extra expenditure. Must he then sacrifice satisfaction in his clothes for the sake of European tradesmen who are unable to satisfy him? But the European tailor is not even logical in his complaint. He denies the right of the European customer to go to the Indian, but he claims for himself the right to have Indian customers, and only regrets that he cannot get more of them. That is to say, the European customer must not buy a suit from an Indian, but a European tailor can buy his own suit with Indian money. A comic feature of the position is that Indians are driven to the European tailors because the Indian tailor is too expensive for them. According to the European tailor's argument, therefore, the Indian tailor is entitled to complain that the European tailor is underselling him and taking away his customers. The plain truth is that the more the question is examined the more untenable becomes the position of the anti-Asiatic school. They cannot adduce a single legal or moral argument why they should be specially favoured in trade. They can only appeal to colour prejudice, and if, as seems somewhat probable, they even go so far as to exploit colour prejudice as the industrialists have too often used protective tariffs to enable them to give less than the best service, even their last line of defence disappears. The European has a right to protection against unfair competition, but not against competition. And if he cannot prove unfair competition, and still gets the worst of the deal then he must take steps to discover the reason and put the trouble right. The white man believes that he is the superior of the coloured man. When he asks that the coloured man be handicapped for his benefit, he goes a long way to destroy one's belief in his superiority.

### To correspondents

Mr. S. G. H. Sarfudin, (Johannesburg). No good will be served by publishing your letter.—Ed:  
T. O.

## S. A. P. on the Indian Problem

At the annual meeting of the Durban General Council of South African Party Headquarters, Smith Street, on Monday evening. Mr. T. M. Wadley, M.P.C., invited the views of the Party on the Asiatic agreement, particularly in regard to the suggestion that the whole of the Union should be open to the Indians.

Mr. Henderson pointed out that this matter had been repeatedly before Parliament, and he had advocated that the Indians should be dispersed over the whole of the Union. They had put that point very strongly before the Government, and they (the Government) had said most emphatically that they would not agree to the other Provinces being thrown open to the Indians. He (Mr. Henderson) did not think that the present agreement was going to settle the Asiatic question. The Indian Government, through Mr. Sastri, the Agent-General for the Union, was going to press for the betterment of the Indians in this country—they were going to press for better education, better housing and better trading conditions. The agreement had been made without consulting Natal. It was purely an honourable agreement and if it were not satisfactory to Natal they would have to press the Government to make other arrangements.

Mr. Lennox explained that in the course of his speech in the House of Assembly on the Indian question, he made a special point of this matter, and asked the Government to throw open the whole of the Union. They (the Government) looked upon the question as purely a Natal matter.

Mr. C. P. Robinson said the main feature that appealed to him was the appointment of Mr. Sastri. He (the speaker) thought it intensely desirable that the Indian people themselves should learn the difficulties through their own representative on the spot, and added that Mr. Sastri's appointment must make for good.—*Natal Mercury*.

## Tribute to Mr. Sastri

The following letter appears in the *Natal Witness*:-

Sir,—The immense crowd who filled the Town Hall last night showed by their presence their gratitude for your services in arranging the meeting at which the Right Hon. Mr. Sastri spoke.

Every Britisher present must have wished that Messrs Malan, Roos and other rabid Nationalists, who in and out of season, seek to weaken the connection of South Africa with the Empire, could have been present to hear the statesmanlike appreciation of the value of British rule and Empire justice.

With great delight one listened to the masterly survey and closely reasoned and lucid speech of the gifted and distinguished orator.

One was at a loss whether to admire most the brilliant intellect that conceived the subject and arranged the arguments in the clearest manner or the beauty of diction and facility of expression.

As the huge audience dispersed one overheard remarks—"An intellectual treat"—"Beautifully Utopian"—"The Indian problem does not concern men of the Sastri type"—"To-morrow we will get down to the 'tin tacks,' to-night we are in the clouds."

Granted it may be so, but surely no true citizen of of the Empire will be any the worse for the inspiring address that so wonderfully described our heritage.

To many Mr. Sastri's address will give a new orientation of the Indian problem that may help to an honourable solution in the interests of South Africa and the British Empire.—Yours, etc.)  
SUNDAY JOURNAL

# The Story of My Experiments With Truth

[By M. K. GANDHI]

Part III.

Chapter V.

## EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.

When I landed at Durban in January 1897, I had three children with me, my sister's son aged 10, and my sons aged 9 and 5. Where was I to educate them?

I could have sent them to the schools of the European children, but only as a matter of favour and exception. For no other Indian children would be allowed. For them there were schools established by Christian Mission, but I was not prepared to send my children there, as I did not like the education imparted in those schools. For one thing, the medium of instruction there would be only English, or perhaps incorrect Tamil or Hindi, which too could be arranged not without difficulty. I could not possibly put up with this and other disadvantages. I was making my own attempt to teach them but that was at best irregular and I could not get hold of a suitable Gujarati teacher.

I was at my wit's end. I advertised for an English teacher who would teach the children under my direction. Some regular instruction was to be given them by this teacher and for the rest they should be satisfied with what little I could give them irregularly. So I engaged an English governess on £7 a month. This went on for some time but not to my satisfaction. The boys acquired some Gujarati through my conversation and intercourse with them, which was strictly in Gujarati. I was loath to send them back to India for I believed even then that young children should not be separated from their parents. The education that children naturally pick up in a well-ordered household is impossible in hostels. I therefore kept my children with me. I did send my nephew and my elder son to be educated at residential schools in India for a few months, but I had soon to recall them. Latter, the elder son, long after he had come of age, broke away from me and went to India to join a High School in Ahmedabad. I have an impression that the nephew was satisfied with what I could give him. Unfortunately he died in the prime of youth after a brief illness. The other three of my sons have never been at a public school, though they did get some regular schooling in an improvised school which I had started for the children of Satyagrahi parents in South Africa.

These experiments were all inadequate. I could not give the children all the time I wanted to give them. My inability to give them enough attention and other unavoidable causes prevented me from giving them the literary education I desired and all my sons have had complaints to make against me in this matter. Whenever they come across an M.A. or B.A. or even a Matriculate, they seem to labour under the handicap of a want of school education.

Nevertheless I am of opinion that if I had insisted on their being educated at public schools somehow they would have been deprived of the training that could be had only at the school of experience or from constant contact with parents. I should never have been free, as I am to-day, from anxiety on their score, and the artificial education that they could have had in England or South Africa, torn from me, would never have taught them the simplicity and the spirit of service they show in their lives to-day and their artificial ways of living might have been a serious handicap in my public work. Therefore, though I have not been able to give them literary education either to their or to my satisfaction, I am not quite sure, as I look back on my past years

that I have not done my duty by them to the best of my capacity. Nor do I regret having not sent them to public schools. On the contrary, I have always felt that the undesirable traits I see to-day in my eldest son are an echo of my own undisciplined and unformulated early life. I regard that part of my life as a period of half-baked knowledge and indulgence. It coincided with the most impressionable years in my eldest son's life and naturally he has refused to regard them as my days of indulgence and inexperience. He has on the contrary believed that was the brightest period of my life, and the changes effected in later life have been due to delusion miscalled enlightenment. And well he might. Why should he not think that my earlier years represented a period of awakening and the later years of radical change were years of delusion and egotism? Often have I been confronted with various posers from friends: What harm had there been, if I had given my boys an academical education? What right had I thus to clip their wings? Why should I have come in the way of their taking degrees and choosing their own careers?

I do not think that there is much point in these questions. I have come in contact with numerous students. I have tried myself or through others to impose my educational 'fads' on other children too and I have seen the results thereof. There are a number of young men to-day contemporaneous with my sons and I do not think man to man they are any better than my sons, or that my sons have anything to learn from them.

But the ultimate results of my experiments is in the womb of the future. My object in discussing this subject here is that a student of the history of civilisation may have some measure of the difference between disciplined home education and school education, and of the effect on children of the changes introduced by parents in their lives. The purpose of this chapter is also to show the extent to which a votary of truth is driven by his experiments with truth, as also to show the votary of liberty how many are the sacrifices demanded by that stern goddess. Had I been blind to a sense of self-respect, and allowed myself to be satisfied with having for my children the education that other children could not get, I should certainly have given them a literary education, but deprived them of the object-lesson in liberty and self-respect that I gave them at the cost of a literary education. And where a choice has to be made between liberty and learning, who will not say that the former has to be preferred a thousand times to the latter?

The youths whom I called out in 1920 from those citadels of slavery—their schools and colleges—and whom I advised that it was far better to remain unlettered and break stones for the sake of liberty than to go in for a literary education with the chains of slavery, will probably be able now to trace my advice to its source.

## BOOKS FOR SALE

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

The life of Mr. Gokhale and the Indenture System	2	0
Indian Home Rule, by M. K. Gandhi	1	6
A Book— and its Misnomers	1	0
Asiatic Registration Amendment Act (1926)		
(in English and Gujarati)		
Hindu Social Ideals, by P. J. Mehta	2	6
The Indians of South Africa, by H. S. L. Polak (Helots within Empire and how they are treated)	2	0
Life of M. K. Gandhi (in Tamil)	2	6
Ten Golden Number of "Indian Opinion"		
Paper covers	2	0
Bound in Cloth	3	6
Speeches on Indian Affairs, by John Morley	3	9