

# Indian Opinion

VOL. VI.

PHOENIX, NATAL, SATURDAY, MAY 30TH, 1908

No. 22

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## Indian Opinion

SATURDAY, MAY 30TH, 1908.

### Empire Day

CABLES and telegrams from all parts of the world indicate rejoicings on a large scale, throughout the Empire, in commemoration of the anniversary that has been marked out as the day which should be set aside for contemplation upon the wonders, virtues, and extent of that Empire. The 24th day of May was the birthday-anniversary of the late Queen-Empress, and every one of her subjects was not only in duty bound to rejoice at the completion of another year of life by a wise sovereign, but did so because of the bond of affection that linked him so closely to a sympathetic ruler.

To-day, however, the personal element has disappeared, and the rite of Empire-worship alone remains. What can that mean to British Indians, and other Asiatics who are British subjects, resident in the great dependencies of the British Empire? Why should they be expected to rejoice at a fact which has no meaning for them, or, if it have any at all, but connotes the intolerant and tyrannical conduct of their white fellow-colonists towards them? Are the Transvaal Indians, for instance, to offer panegyrics of praise over a institution which is avowedly impotent to secure their most elementary rights against invasion by co-subjects of the crown? Are Indians in this Colony expected to utter rapturous pæans over the fact that their white neighbours, owing allegiance to the same throne, are given *carte blanche* to rob them of their means of livelihood, without the right of appeal, and who now seek to annihilate them absolutely? What

grateful protestations are asked for from the British Indians in Canada, who are thrown from hand to hand by the Dominion authorities like a child's plaything?

No, British Asiatics, resident in the Colonial portions of the British Empire, have very little to gloat over when they contemplate the wonderful Empire to which they belong, and from whose simplest privileges they are rigidly excluded by the white Imperialists engaged in flag-wagging, by and with the assent of His Majesty's Cabinet Ministers. Perhaps a day will dawn when Empire Day will be observed with smiles and genuine rejoicings by these colonially-resident British Asiatics, instead of with misgivings lest it should merely indicate a recrudescence of chauvinism that constantly threatens them with cruel attack. But that day is not yet, nevertheless, we hope, not far distant.

### Criticism of Lord Amphill

As a rule, the *Natal Mercury* is scrupulously fair in its criticism of public men and affairs, but, in our opinion, our contemporary did less than justice to Lord Amphill in its comments on his statement in the House of Lords, last week. Much of the misunderstanding seems to be due to the reference, in Reuter's cablegram, which furnished the text for the *Mercury's* onslaught, to the term "coolie." A careful perusal of the telegram in question, and a knowledge of the circumstances of Lord Amphill's remarks, convince us that he did not make use of that expression at all, or, if he did, it was in an entirely different context. Much, therefore, of the *Mercury's* argument must, of necessity, be bottomless.

But we maintain that Lord Amphill had every right to affirm that the whole tendency and purpose of Natal's legislation in regard to Asiatics has, since 1906, been to reduce the resident Asiatic population to so low a degree of public esteem and private comfort as to be akin to a state of slavery, whence the only escape would be the compulsory exit or active revolt of the prospective victims of this devious policy. The Dealers' Licences Act, the Immigration Acts and their amendments, the heavy licence fees imposed upon freed Indians, had only one object in view, namely, to make the life of the domiciled Indian unendurable.

Unfortunately, Lord Amphill, like the Indian community whose cause he has so chivalrously consented to advocate in circumstances where but little *kudos* could be obtained, is unable to conceive in the *Mercury's*

benevolent belief that the proposed spoliatory legislation recently gazetted will not meet with the hearty support of quite a number of members of the Legislature, if not also of a no mean proportion of the electorate itself. Lord Amphill, in the face of plain warning such as those indicated, with the knowledge of the avowed hostility of a very large section of Colonial opinion to the competing Asiatic, is certainly well advised not to take on trust generous sentiments for which there is no basis in fact.

Nor will the *Mercury's* debatable statement that the swamping of the Colony with time-expired Indians, and the Arab traders who have come in their wake, has swept a good many white Colonists into the Bankruptcy Court, or is threatening to deprive them and their children of the opportunities for making a decent livelihood, reassure those who realise that the only connexion between Asiatics and European insolvents is that both are fellow-Colonists, that Europeans are keen upon securing a trade that has been developed successfully by Asiatics only because of the latter's higher business aptitude, because they believe that business success does not depend upon strenuous effort and close application and that, to paraphrase the memorable words of an ex-minister of the Colony, their children would prefer to sit idly by deriving their income from squatter's rents rather than till their own inheritance. Unlike our contemporary, we believe that one of the most potent influences upon the legislature will be, not the feeling of injustice brought against the Indian trader by these precious Bills, but the knowledge that, in their present and unemasculated form, their rejection is certain at the hands of the Imperial Government.

WE REPRODUCE ELSEWHERE A LENGTHY

report from the *Cape Times* of an important test case in the Cape Supreme Court wherein a British Indian was the potential victim and, as it turned out, the actual victor. There have been several of these test-cases fought there recently, notably those of Bapau and Feinstein, and in each, the Supreme Court has ruled in favour of the potential victim. The natural inference is that, where arbitrary discretion is left to an official, it is but too often incumbent upon those, whose interests are suddenly threatened, at very great expense to themselves, to seek a declaration of rights before the highest tribunal of the land, where justice is, indeed, very seldom sought in vain; and this is proof of all that

South African Colonies, a fact that may well rejoice the hearts of all those liable to persecution, and well remembered by those willing to persecute, as in the instance of the Natal General Dealers' Licences Act, which refuses the right of appeal to the Supreme Court to the injured Indian trader. But, to return to the Cape Immigration Act, it is not only the discretion granted to the Chief Immigration Officer that is so objectionable. The whole spirit of the Act is bad. We think that the following comment of the *South African News* should be of value to those who feel their conscience pricking them :

The whole spirit of the Act is illiberal, and as long as such Acts are on the statute-book unpleasant cases, such as this undoubtedly has been, are bound to arise. We cannot blame the late Government for not having foreseen the possibility of prohibited immigrants entering the Colony innocently. But the incident emphasises the justice of the criticisms passed upon the Act at the time of its introduction. The necessity for an Act dealing with the subject may be admitted. But any such Act is bound to deal with questions closely and essentially affecting the liberty of the subject, and nothing could be more perverse than to deal with such questions by regulation instead of by statute. Colonel Crewe said the other day that until the Feinstein case there had been no difficulty in administering the Act. But it may well be that there have been many mute, inglorious Feinsteins who have never come before the courts and whose cases have been settled in an off-hand manner without the public knowing anything about them. This unsavoury case may not have been without its value if it induces the Government to look into the matter and introduce legislation providing that the law shall only be applicable to cases in which action is necessary in the public interest and that it shall be carried out in accordance with rules definitely contemplated and accepted by Parliament.

There *have* been many "mute, inglorious Feinsteins," not only at the Cape, but in Natal and the Transvaal, too. How could it well be otherwise, when restrictive laws are passed, not for the benefit of those who are within the territorial limits, but to harm those who are unfortunate enough to be without them?

### The Hamidia Society and Mr. Essop Mia

The following resolution was passed at the weekly meeting of Johannesburg Hamidia Islamic Society, held on the 24th instant :—

The Hamidia Islamic Society hereby sympathises deeply with Mr. Essop Mia in the serious injury inflicted on him by an ignorant Indian, and sincerely regrets the act committed by the latter; copy of this Resolution to be forwarded to the British Indian Association, to Mr. Essop Mia personally, and to INDIAN OPINION.

INDIAN MAIL. For Colombo, Calcutta, and Madras, per *S.S. Umlast*, on or about 18th June.

## Playing Foul

### An Exhibition of Slime

#### Transvaal Government and the Asiatic Act

#### Passive Resistance Once More

The following correspondence, sent to us for publication, needs no explanation :—

26th May, 1908.

The Honourable,  
the Colonial Secretary,  
Pretoria.

Sir,—Mr. Gandhi has just explained to me that it is the intention of the Government to legalise voluntary registration under the Asiatic Act and to make it applicable to Asiatics who have voluntarily registered, save for the penalties for non-registration under it hitherto. I beg to state that Mr. Gandhi, when, after the interviews with you, he explained the compromise to the British Indian community, gave a totally different version. He declared emphatically before vast audiences that, if the community represented by my Association accepted voluntary registration, the Asiatic Act would be repealed. The news now given by Mr. Gandhi, therefore, comes to the British Indian community as most disagreeable surprise. The documents exchanged between you and Mr. Gandhi, in my humble opinion, also bear out the version given by the latter.

In this connection, I wish to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that the leaders of the Asiatic community, with much personal risk to themselves, endeavoured throughout the last three months unceasingly to help the Government to identify the British Indians resident in the Transvaal. The least, therefore, that my Association had a right to expect was a scrupulous regard for the part of the compact to be carried out by the Government. But, as I understand from Mr. Gandhi, you have irrevocably taken the step and stated that the new legislation that is to be passed will be merely to legalise registration under the Asiatic Act.

It will be the duty of my Association, therefore, again most reluctantly to take up the position that it occupied three months ago. My Association is advising British Indians in the Transvaal to withdraw their applications for voluntary registration and all documents lodged with Mr. Chamney. This was an act done by the community as a matter of grace and in order to show the Government its complete *bona fides*. It is impossible for the community to do otherwise than what I have above indicated, for the simple reason that it was never the intention to submit to an Act which the community was bound by a solemn obligation not to accept and moreover to strive to resist.

In conclusion, I venture respectfully to point out that the departure by the Government from the original intention and undertaking given to the Asiatic community through Mr. Gandhi and his co-signatories is a most unfortunate event and likely to intensify the feelings of suspicion among the Asiatic races inhabiting the Colony, and, as I deem myself a citizen of this country, it hurts me to think that those who are in authority and who govern this country in my name should have little regard for solemn obligations.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
ESSOP ISMAIL MIA,  
Chairman, British Indian Association.

26th May, 1908.

M. Chamney Esq.,  
Colonial Office,  
Pretoria

Dear Sir,—I beg to apply formally for a return of my application for voluntary registration and all the papers given by me to you in connection with the matter, for the following reasons.

I have just learnt that it is the definite intention of the Government to legalise voluntary registration under the Asiatic Act making the Act applicable to such Asiatics in every other respect. This I consider to be a distinct breach of the compact arrived at between the Government and the Asiatic communities of the Transvaal.

General Smuts told me at the interview at which you were present that, if the compact on the part of the Asiatic communities was carried out, he would repeal the Act. This, as you are aware, was in answer to my letter of the 1st February last, asking for a definite assurance on the matter. I claim that the Asiatics have more than fulfilled their part of the contract. It was, therefore, the Government's duty to declare their intention to repeal the Act. Moreover, the letter accepted by General Smuts shows clearly that the Act was in no case to apply to those who might be voluntarily registered. The draft letter placed before the prisoners read that "to all who so register the penalties of the Act be not applied." Knowing what I was doing, I deliberately struck off the words "the penalties of" in order that, even if the bulk of the Asiatics did not accept the compromise, those who did so might in any case be exempted from it entirely. In proposing to legalise voluntary registration under the Act, therefore, General Smuts not only departs from the promise made by him to me but also from his acceptance of the letter above quoted.

The decision of the Government not to accept voluntary registration from the domiciled Asiatics now returning from Asia also means, in my opinion, a breach of the spirit of the compromise if not of its letter. This unfortunate decision shows that the General has failed entirely to ap-

preciate the essence of the late struggle now about to be revived. It was never to obtain individual rights but to preserve and assert the communal rights and self-respect of Asiatics.

Under the circumstances, there is no course left open to me but the one I have now adopted. I am once more prepared, as a loyal citizen, to submit to the punishments involved in non-submission to the Asiatic Act. The compromise was never accepted by me or my fellow-workers to escape personal hardships but to show the reasonableness of our struggle. I propose to ask my brother-Asiatics to follow the same course that I have adopted.

You will, I have no doubt, perceive the gravity of the situation and comply with my request on or before Friday next. This gives you time, should you desire it, to consult General Smuts by wire as to my letter. I am sure you will see that you have no legal right to the documents, including the application, possessed by you and which were given to you only as a matter of grace, and not in virtue of any law.

I am,  
Yours faithfully,  
M. K. GANDHI.

26th May, 1908.

M. Chamney Esq.,  
Colonial Office,  
Pretoria.

Dear Sir,—Mr. Gandhi has informed me that it is the intention of the Government to legalise voluntary registration under the Asiatic Act and to apply that Act to voluntary registrants in every respect, except that they will not be subject to the penalty for not having complied with it hitherto.

That is not how the compromise was explained to me and my Society by Mr. Gandhi. He, on returning from General Smuts on Thursday night, the 30th January last, and on returning from General Smuts on the 3rd February last, emphatically assured huge audiences of Indians that, if the Asiatic communities carried out their part of the contract of voluntarily offering to register, the Asiatic Act would be repealed. I, for one, would never have accepted a compromise on any other basis, much less that of having to submit to the Asiatic Act under any conceivable circumstances. I was bound before the compromise, as I am bound now, by a solemn obligation not to submit to the Act for reasons I need not now go into, except one—that I, as Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society, would be totally unworthy to retain that position if I ever accepted an Act which puts an unwarranted affront on Turkish Mahomedans.

I must, therefore, ask you kindly to return to me my voluntary registration application form filled in by me and other documents in your possession. I have read the letter addressed to you by Mr. Gandhi, and I associate

myself entirely with the contents thereof. Should the Government at any time wish to carry out both to the letter and in the spirit the compact with the Asiatic communities, I will be pleased to return the documents. Till then I propose to keep them myself.

I am,  
Yours faithfully,  
IMAM A. K. BAWAZER,  
Chairman, Hamidia Islamic Society.  
26th May, 1908.

M. Chamney Esq.,  
Colonial Office,  
Pretoria.

Dear Sir,—I understand from Mr. Gandhi that it is the intention of the Government not to carry out the contract come to with the Asiatic communities. I am fully aware of the contents of the letter signed by me in conjunction with Messrs. Gandhi and Naidoo, and it was explained sufficiently that the Act was never to apply to those who registered themselves voluntarily. The only reason we accepted the compromise was in order to bring about the repeal of the Asiatic Act, and of that I and my fellow prisoners were sure, because we were sure of the honesty of the community to which I have the honour to belong and, therefore, also that voluntary registration would be gladly accepted by the people.

I have now to ask you to be kind enough to return my voluntary application form as also other documents in your possession; and, should the Government ever intend to carry out the compact come to with the Asiatic communities through General Smuts, I shall be pleased to return the documents. I have read Mr. Gandhi's letter addressed to you, and I associate myself entirely with the sentiments expressed therein.

I am,  
Yours faithfully,  
LEUNG QUINN,  
Chairman, Transvaal Chinese Association.

P. O. Box 4736,  
Johannesburg,  
26th May, 1908.

M. Chamney Esq.,  
Colonial Office,  
Pretoria.

Dear Sir,—I understand from Mr. Gandhi that it is the intention of the Government not to carry out the contract come to with the Asiatic communities. I am fully aware of the contents of the letter signed by me in conjunction with Messrs. Gandhi and Quinn, and it was explained sufficiently that the Act was never to apply to those who registered themselves voluntarily. The only reason we accepted the compromise was in order to bring about the repeal of the Asiatic Act, and of that I and my fellow prisoners were sure, because we were sure of the honesty of the community to which I have the honour to belong, and, therefore, also that voluntary

registration would be gladly accepted by the people.

I have now to ask you to be kind enough to return my voluntary application form as also other documents in your possession; and, should the Government ever intend to carry out the compact come to with the Asiatic communities through General Smuts, I shall be pleased to return the documents. I have read Mr. Gandhi's letter addressed to you, and I associate myself entirely with the sentiments expressed therein.

I am,  
Yours faithfully  
C. K. T. NAIDOO.

### “No End to the Trouble”

The *Yorkshire Daily Post* writes as follows on the Indian question in South Africa:—

It looks as if there were to be no end to the trouble with the British Indians in South Africa. The Botha Government are giving offence again. In the new Gold Law that is being passed by the Transvaal Parliament, and will arrive shortly at the Colonial Office seeking the Royal Assent, there is a provision which affects disastrously the opulent Indians in business in the Transvaal. It proposes to prohibit Asiatics from trading in any of the gold towns, that is to say, in Johannesburg, Krugersdorp, and the lesser towns that have grown up in the vicinity of gold mines. The Indians hotly resent this proposal. They are to be deprived of their chances in the market, and relegated to separate bazaars or locations. They discern in this new movement an indication of the continuous determination of the white population to use the Botha Government for their oppression, the ulterior purpose of the whites being to deplete the Transvaal and in fact the whole of South Africa, of Asiatics. Natal is also on the war-path against prosperous Indians. The Government of Natal propose to buy out Indian traders at ten years' purchase, and so compel them to leave the colony. More will be heard of these new phases of the problem after Parliament has resumed its sittings. A piquant feature of the Asiatic question in the Transvaal was a gift recently of 100 gns. by the Chinese community there to the association formed for relief of the unemployed white population—that is to say, for the citizens who are insistently clamouring for the exclusion from the colony of all races and classes of Asiatics. The Chinese are ill to beat in diplomacy.

A LECTURE. The Secretary of the Maritzburg Sanatan Hindu Dharma Sabha informs us that on Sunday next, at 2-30, Pundit Satandra Coomer Banerjee will deliver a lecture at 561 Boom Street, on “Swadeshi, Education and Unity.” Hindus and Mahomedans are cordially invited.

## The Protector's Report

For the Year 1907

(Concluded)

The following is the continuation of the Protector of Indian Immigrants' Report for the year 1907:—

In view, therefore, of the large proportion of unsatisfactory servants being introduced, I recommended the Board to attack the trouble at its source; and in October, Government concurring, Mr. A. R. Dunning (Deputy-Protector) accordingly went to India, to indicate to the Agents the quality and kind of Indians who are suitable and unsuitable for work in Natal; and I hope that we shall have a much better stamp introduced in future.

It would be better for all parties concerned, and save much expense, if the inducements to re-indenture were increased. The Board have made a move in this direction by reducing the instalments for each subsequent re-indenture by £1 per annum until a minimum of £1 10s. is reached. This will indirectly promote the main object by enabling the employer to offer higher wages, the minimum rate now being 16s. and 17s. per month, with, as usual, food, medicine and housing free.

There has been a distinct increase, about 10 per centum, in the number of Indians who have returned to India, and about 8 per centum re-indentured during the year. Naturally the numbers liable for licences have correspondingly decreased.

It will thus be seen that the licence question, so far as the Indian men are concerned, is being brought within reasonable proportions. Although there is an improvement as regards licences due by the women (decrease of 813) there will always be the greatest difficulty in securing payments from them, and it may be reasonably surmised that at least 50 per centum will never be in a position to pay.

The following figures show how the Indians who have re-indentured during the year are employed:—

Coal Companies ... ..	269
Tea and Sugar Estates ... ..	1,265
Public Bodies ... ..	288
Up-Country Farms ... ..	199
Others ... ..	200
	<hr/>
	2,221

In April 1907:—

Men ... ..	1,212
Women ... ..	423
Children ... ..	639

Total ... 2,274  
left for Lobito Bay to work under the Railway Contractors there. Of these, 823 being domiciled in Natal, can return here; but the remainder will have to return direct to India. The wages to the men were to be £2 per month, with food, housing and medical care free. The contract stipulated that I should have the

right to send someone each year to see and find out how these Indians are faring, and as soon in 1908 as the season permits, I intend to avail myself of this right.

(N.B.—The Indians have since returned to Natal and India).

The following figures show how the Indians who have completed their indentures during the year disposed of themselves:—

	Men	Women	Total
Finished 1st Indentures:—	3,256	1,425	4,681
Re-indentured ... ..	1,074	435	1,509
Returned to India ... ..	962	374	1,336
Paid Licences ... ..	253	83	336
Unaccounted for ... ..	967	533	1,500
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3,256	1,425	4,681

There were further re-indentures during the year as under:—

	Men	Women	Total
1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th term ... ..	732	369	1,101
Previously taken out Licences (Act 42, 1907) ... ..	415	146	561
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,147	515	1,662

The following figures show the number of Indians who became free during the year, and how they were disposed of:—

	Men	Women	Total
	4,244	1,854	6,098
Re-indentured	1,806	804	2,610
Returned to India	1,470	624	2,094

Giving a percentage of re-indenture of 42.81, increase of 8 per cent.

Giving a percentage of returned to India of 34.33, increase of 10 per cent.

### HEALTH

As anticipated in my last report, deaths from Malarial Fever among Indentured Indians have considerably decreased, having fallen during the year from 195 to 112, or 43 per centum. There has also been a decrease in fatal cases among the Free Indians, but not to the same extent, the fall from 386 to 307 yielding only 20 per centum.

During the year rules have been passed making it compulsory for employers to administer Quinine to their Indians once a week, according to a scale approved by the Health Officer for the Colony, 15 grains being the maximum. The obligation only arises when the employer has been notified by me, the Health Officer for the Colony approving. The systematic use of Quinine will probably reduce the number of cases, and, with other things, such as increased knowledge, operate beneficially, and so still further reduce the death-rate for the coming year.

Phthisis is still a prevalent disease on some of the coal mines. Indeed, only two mines have been altogether free from it during the year, while one mine, which has been working for years, has had some cases for the first time.

The mines which suffer most are in the Hatting Spruit District, which is a very healthy one, being over 4,000 feet above the level of the sea,

I was much struck, on the occasion of my general visit to the mines, with the ignorance displayed on most of the mines with regard to the spread of the disease. For example, I found it to be no uncommon thing for improved phthisis cases to be placed indiscriminately among the healthy Indians. This is a matter so serious that I have made it a matter precedent to further allotments that such cases in future must be housed apart from the other Indians, whether at the mine or on adjoining farms. All of the Managers have readily agreed to this, and are taking steps to provide the necessary accommodation.

It may take some time before the object with regard to this insidious disease is attained, but I anticipate that this action, with more care and oversight, will prove very beneficial.

On only one large estate has there been a very serious death-rate during the year, and, on my suggestion, a special committee was appointed to enquire into the causes. As a result, remedial measures have been carried out, which are already having a beneficial effect, and the death-rate will probably soon be normal.

Inseparable from the well-being of the Indentured Indians is the oversight and attendance given to them by the Medical Officers, and this is a matter of first rate importance.

These Officers, I regret to say, continue to be appointed by the Indian Immigration Trust Board, whose members, it must be noted are elected by constituencies consisting solely of the employers of Indentured Indians.

Naturally only the Medical Officers become cognizant of many matters affecting the medical treatment of the Indians under their care, and unless the cases of neglect are brought to my notice, the employers continue to be careless, and the Indians suffer accordingly, and, in my opinion, the high death-rate among Indentured Indians working on the Coast Districts of Natal is due in no small degree to this state of affairs. This is an elementary lesson in human nature. To carry out their duties satisfactorily, the Medical Officers should be absolutely independent of the employer.

In view, therefore, of this unsatisfactory state of things, I have asked for no reports from the Medical Officers for the year.

### PROTECTOR AND THE INDIAN IMMIGRATION TRUST BOARD OF NATAL

According to the provisions of the Act 24, 1907, the Protector of Indian Immigrants became a member of the Indian Immigration Trust Board of Natal as from the 1st of January, 1908.

The "Board" was created by Law 20, 1874, "to undertake the receipt, disbursement and administration of all moneys for the purposes of Indian Immigration," and was first constituted with the following members:

ed members, one being the Protector of Indian Immigrants.

In 1880 the membership of the Board was increased by the addition of two nominated members, and, so constituted, continued until 1894, when the Protector, by Law, was removed from the Board. In the following year, however, the constitution of the Board was altered to a body elected by the employers of Indentured Indians only.

There are now seven members elected by employers of Indentured Indians, with the Protector of Indian Immigrants and one other member nominated by Government.

The overwhelming majority of a Board so constituted naturally views matters from the standpoint of the employer, and the Protector is placed thereby in a very invidious position, especially as the Indian Medical Officers are under its control.

In no other Colony, introducing Indian Immigrants, is there any such Board of Employers, and I am strongly of opinion that such a constituted Board should not in any way have any power to deal with, or in any way influence, the treatment of the Indentured Indians in the Colony.

**SOCIAL STATUS**

Note, that although the Indian Immigrant population is increasing, there were fewer adult Indians at the close of the year than three years ago, the difficulty of paying the annual licence of £3 and the Poll Tax of £1 being the chief reasons for this state of things. When a man is married there is the additional licence of £3 for his wife.

When wages ruled high, the Indians whose crops failed could make up the difference, but 20s. per month, the current wages for free men, leaves little margin for licence and keep of wife and children.

A married man who leases, say, 4 acres of land for cultivation, has to pay for licences and rent at least £9 per annum, mostly in advance. With a bad season, therefore, it is almost impossible for him to make even a scanty living. Hence, many are re-indenturing to secure the right of a free passage to India, and thus about 80 per cent. of those completing their indentures are re-indenturing and returning to India. Unless, therefore, different conditions arise the free population will probably decrease year by year.

**GOVERNMENT SAVINGS BANK**

The amounts standing to the credit of 1,847 depositors in the Natal Government Savings Bank on 31st December, 1907, was £36,955 os. 11d., as against 1,806 depositors and £40,204 12s. 3d. on 31st December, 1906, so that the number of depositors has increased by 41, while the average to each Indian has fallen from £22 5s. 3d. to £20 os. 2d.

**REMITTANCES**

The Postmaster-General reports that £69,968 os. 9d. was remitted by

Indians to India through the Post Office during the year, the amount last year being £87,305 3s. 11d., showing a decrease.

Remittances through my Department for the same period totalled £2,033 11s., against £1,596 6s. 3d. last year, showing a marked increase.

The Indians who make use of my office for this purpose are all Indian Immigrants; but those who avail themselves of the other channel would appear to be mostly of the class called "passengers." As a matter of fact, it is not possible to say with even approximate accuracy how much has been remitted by one class or the other.

**INFORMATION REQUIRED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA WITH RESPECT TO INDENTURED INDIAN IMMIGRANTS IN NATAL**

The following returns supply the required information:—

Died during first year of Indenture...	Infants					
	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
174	84	20	39	31	29	
Died during second year of indenture...	115	41	16	13	2	2

The Indian population for the year 1907 was 102,857, and the death rate 23.25.

Immigrants to Natal, before leaving India, engage for five years at the following rates of wages:—

- Male adults, 16 years and upwards, 10s. per month, increasing 1s. per month up to 14s.
- Minors, 10 till 11 years of age, 5s. per month for the first year, increasing as above.
- 12 to 14 years of age, 6s. per month for the first year, increasing as above.
- 15 years of age, 8s. per month first year, increasing as above.
- Women, 13 years of age and upwards, 5s. per month, increasing 6d. per month up to 7s.

In addition to wages, Immigrants are provided with rations, lodgings, medical attendance and medicine free of charge.

Maximum wage for adult male	14s. per month
Minimum	10s. "
Average	12s. "
Maximum wage for women	7s. "
Minimum	5s. "
Average	6s. "

Under provisions of Act 17, 1895, the wages to be paid to Indians who re-indenture is a matter of arrangement, but the minimum is:—For male adults, 16s. up to 20s. per month, and the women one half the wages of men.

Complaints by Employers against Immigrants, and their nature:—

No. of Complaints	Nature	Con. With- victed	Dis- drawn	Dis- charged
1,620	Absence from roll-call and disobedience of orders	1,499	17	104
84	Insolence to employers and injury to property	76	...	8

54	Assault by Indians	41	...	13
	Other charges against Indians (not necessarily made by employers) without passes	1,241	...	...
	Leaving Estate in a body	100	...	...

Complaints by Immigrants against Employers, and their nature:—

No. of complaints	Nature	Con. With- victed	Dis- drawn	Dis- charged
44	Assault by employers	22	2	20
11	Assault by managers	6	...	5
5	Assault by overseers	4	...	1
10	Assault by sirdars	3	...	7
4	Neglect to provide and keep register or ill-treatment	1	...	3

**Press Comments on the Natal Legislation**

**"South African News"**

It is with sincere pleasure that we publish to-day the announcement that the Natal Government has at last decided to deal drastically and effectively with the question of indentured Indian labour. After the present year no fresh trading licences are to be issued to Indians, and ten years hence all licences held by Indians are to be withdrawn, existing holders being compensated. We are not prepared to approve of these last two measures as they stand, according to the necessarily brief report which we have seen. We have always maintained that Indians already in the country must be fairly treated and regarded as members of the South African community. What is needed is a stringent law to prevent the increase of a tendency which is dangerous to the welfare of South Africa, and we hope to see both these principles carried out in Natal as well as elsewhere in South Africa.

We withhold further criticism and comment until we have fuller particulars, but we at once tender our congratulations to the Government of Natal on having the courage to deal with this difficult problem and express our sincere hope that it will be handled with fairness to all concerned, in a spirit of moderation and at the same time with the determination which the magnitude of the national issue at stake demands.

**"Eastern Province Herald"**

Natal is apparently making up its mind to a drastic policy in the treatment of Indians. The exclusion of the Asiatics from South Africa will not be accomplished easily. No more easily indeed than in other parts of the world. The Asiatic has been slow to receive the inspiration of Western civilisation and all it means, but having caught the spirit the Asiatic will not be barred from the rights even by the condition of the added responsibilities.

## The Imperial Problem

[SPECIAL TO INDIAN OPINION]

Two recent utterances on the relations between East and West deserve more than passing notice. Both analyse these relations very closely, but from different points of view, and, in the end, come to diametrically opposite conclusions. Mr. Ameer Ali, ex-judge of the High Court of Judicature of Bengal, writes on "Anomalies of Civilisation," in the April issue of *The Nineteenth Century*, and discourses on some peculiarities of the only "civilisation" that is popularly conceived to exist to-day, namely, that which appertains to the West. In a lengthy and pseudo-scientific paper, entitled "The Imperial Problem of Asiatic Immigration," Mr. Richard Jebb has made some profound observations, the sum total of which amount to a discovery that the privileges of "Empire" are confined to the white races thereof, all others being, either by implication, or explicitly, excluded from participation in them.

It is a pretty conclusion to arrive at, and affords one more proof of what Mr. Ameer Ali has denounced as Western hypocrisy. The following scathing pronouncement should do much to dispel the miasma created by the ponderous neo-nationalism of Mr. Jebb. "A few years ago, 'Spread-Eagleism' was used for mere purposes of ridicule; christened 'Imperialism,' it has acquired a holy meaning—it sanctifies crusades against the liberty of weaker States. Not only has the Empire of Great Britain an imperial policy, which has enabled it to appropriate vast territories in every part of the globe, but the mighty Republics of the United States of America and of France have similar policies of an equally decided character. One would have thought that 'Imperialism' was inconsistent with 'Republicanism,' but here come into play some of those anomalies which make modern civilisation, with its mixture of humbug and hypocrisy, such an interesting study."

No doubt, a very interesting study, from the special point of view of the student of hypocrisy and humbug in all or any of its manifold disguises. But it is difficult to imagine any more pitiful fraud than that which masquerades under the guise of national idealism, which, affecting to offer equality and freedom of opportunity to all deserving persons subject to the national rule, in effect prohibits that free and equal display of talent, energy and originality that are, theoretically, regarded as being so highly desiderated.

If what Mr. Jebb says of neo-nationalism be true, Mr. Ameer Ali's contrast between Britain of to-day and Rome of the past is no exaggerated one. "The Pagan Empire of Rome," he says "extended to all its subjects the rights of citizenship, and the

'provincial' was as much entitled to those privileges as the Roman-born. The Christian Empire of Great Britain cannot secure considerate treatment for its 'provincials' in its own Colonies." It is that the old order is giving place to the new? Or is it not rather that the true nature of Empire, whether it be characterised as British or as Roman, is being revealed to those who bear the yoke? There is much cant spoken of the radical difference between the British Empire of to-day and all previous and existing Empires. Ours is held to be of permanent and present benefit to the governed even more than to the governors, and many are the protestations of the onerous qualities of the "white man's burden." All other Empires had for their object the spoliation of the conquerors by the conquered. This smooth sugar-water is all very well to feed budding British Imperialists upon in the secluded class-rooms of British scholastic institution at home or abroad. But it is not this innocent neophyte who is in any way able to judge and to criticise the genuineness of the pabulum that is so unctuously offered him. His appetite for the miraculous is so great as to induce him to gulp down the draught without detecting the poisonous after-taste, and his imagination and sympathy so little developed, that he is unable to inquire whether it tastes the same to the little coloured boy who also forms one of the subjects of the British Crown. And truly, the statement is a very miracle of hypocrisy. Whilst it is very true that relations of conqueror and conquered do not exist between the various white races of the Empire, who would be so venturesome as to affirm that they were equally non-existent between the white races and the coloured races within the Empire? Why should the cotton-industry of India have been throttled for the sake of Manchester cotton-spinners, if Britain did not have her hand on the throat of India? But for the dictum that might is right, such a condition of affairs would have been impossible. It is the same spirit of the conqueror that induced the Transvaal to enact recent anti-Asiatic legislation and the Imperial Government to assent to it. It is the same spirit of the conqueror that makes it possible for Natal even to hint at the wholesale spoliation of the Indian trader in this Colony. It is the same spirit of conquest that prompted Lord Crewe, recently, to insult Lord Amthill by reminding him that he was in danger, in his consuming anxiety for his Indian *protégés*, of forgetting the interests of other elements of the Imperial population. It is the old cry of the Imperialist—the spoils of victory to the victors, to whom all one's admiration must be offered, whilst one's sympathy must, of set purpose, be withheld from the conquered, lest the suspicion of disloyalty to the ruling class arise.

Mr. Ameer Ali points scornfully indeed at the presumption of the white man who arrogantly refuses to acknowledge the existence of any scheme of culture and civilisation in any way comparable with his own, a manifestation of race-pride that, perhaps more than anything else, will prove a disruptive influence within the Empire. Unfortunately, too, in the "Nation-States," as Mr. Jebb ponderously dignifies them, those who are called upon to deal with the more difficult and delicate aspects of the problem are often the least fitted to discuss them and the least capable of realising their importance. Eminently provincial, narrowly patriotic, necessarily selfish, they are unable to exercise that wide Imperial survey so essential to a proper regard for all interests concerned, seen in their true perspective. It is assumed that the destinies of eight hundred millions of Asiatics are, for all time, to be in the hands of a few paltry millions of short-sighted, egotistical whites, whose colorphobia is developing in such rapid geometrical progression as to amount to an obsession, a racial disorder of profound import. There is no display whatever of diplomacy, self-restraint, reciprocity, consideration for the susceptibilities of these vast aggregations of non-whites. It is too seldom realised that, fundamentally, human nature, such as it is, is very much alike, under whatever coloured skin it may be found. Pride and revengeful feelings hide under a black skin or a brown, as well as under a white one. Economic, social, and domestic forces are as imperious in their demands upon the man with the coloured skin as with the white-skinned Westerner. One really is compelled to seriously ask oneself the question—Does the white man deliberately wish to settle the dispute by the dread arbitrament of war? For it would seem that he is doing everything possible to prevent the solution of the problem by any other means. Possibly he does not realise that this is the way things are tending. Possibly he is, in the mass, entirely ignorant or misinformed of the bitter anger with which all thoughtful India is seething at the memory of the multifold insult hurled at the Motherland by the "neo-nationalists" of the outer marches of the Empire that would be non-existent but for India, the very dome of that Empire. Possibly the awakening of China, and the training of armies on Western models in that vast country, have awakened no response in the minds of these same reckless "neo-nationalists." Possibly the outcome of the war between Japan and Russia has held out no meaning to their unresponsive minds. Portents are of no avail to those who cannot read and understand them. Material pursuits have so blunted the senses and sensibilities of these pioneers of the new Imperialism that, unlike the war-horse, they are no longer able to scent the battle from afar. The question is, are they

prepared for the fierce struggle, the awful bloodshed, the tremendous and inspired sacrifice that must ensue as surely as night follows day. Probably they never will be, for if such a conflict come about, it is certain that the world forces operating within the eight hundred millions of Asia will absolutely annihilate the material energies animating the "neo-nationalists," and a new era of racial persecution will have been inaugurated, mainly because of the cold-hearted selfishness of those whose theoretical religion taught them brotherly love, a precept which has never been accepted by them as applying to themselves, and certainly not to those subject to them.

A. CHESSEL PIQUET.

## Cape Immigration Laws

### Domicile Established

#### Chaffiker v. Colonial Government

This was an application upon notice calling upon the Colonial Secretary to show cause why he should not be restrained from deporting or interfering with applicant.

Mr. Alexander was for applicant, Mr. Mahomed Ali Chaffiker; Mr. Howel Jones, K.C., was for respondents.

Applicant, it appeared, arrived in Table Bay by the *Adolf Woermann* on the 10th February, 1908, and was treated as a prohibited immigrant, unable to meet the requirements of sections 3 ("a" and "b") of Act 30, 1906. He was given a temporary permit to land on condition that he left on or before the 10th March, and reported himself in the meantime to the Chief Immigration Officer once a week. On the 23rd April he was charged in the Magistrate's Court with a contravention of section 5 of Act 30, 1906. The charge alleged that on the 19th April he wrongfully and unlawfully entered the Colony. Applicant pleaded guilty, and was convicted.

Applicant, who is an Indian, aged 25 years, said that he came to reside in the Colony in 1900, with the object of remaining here, and making the Colony his home. He carried on business here until May, 1906, when he became ill, and went to India for medical treatment. On his recovery he returned to his home in South Africa. During his absence his business was carried on by another person. A number of affidavits by people in Cape Town with whom applicant had formerly done business, were also read.

Mr. Jones read a replying affidavit by the Chief Immigration Officer, who said that applicant had no papers when he arrived in the Bay, and had never previously claimed a domicile in South Africa.

The Acting Chief Justice asked how in the world applicant could have been convicted of "unlawfully

entering the Colony," seeing that he was given a permit to land.

Mr. Jones: The applicant did not comply with the terms of the permit.

The Acting Chief Justice: It is ridiculous to say that he contravened section 5.

Mr. Jones: He pleaded guilty.

Mr. Alexander: Yes, but he says that he did not understand the proceedings. Counsel referred to the recent case of Bapau, and submitted that the Act of 1906 did not apply to Chaffiker, who really came under Act 47 of 1902. The distinction made in "f" and "g" of section 3 of Act 30, 1906, between European and Asiatics, was not made in the Act of 1902 (section 3). Act 30, of 1906, did not come into force until February, 1907, and applicant could not, therefore, have obtained a permit under that Act when he left in 1906. Applicant's rights were safeguarded under section 1 of the Act of 1906.

Mr. Jones said he did not see how the applicant could ask the Court to prohibit the Colonial Secretary from deporting him in face of the crisp terms of section 5 of the Act of 1906. The section said that any person convicted under that section shall be removed at any time from the limits of the Colony. Applicant, on his arrival, did not make any allegation that he was domiciled, he reported himself for a time in accordance with the conditions of the permit; then he did not report himself, in breach of the conditions, and on being charged with contravening section 5 he pleaded guilty. It was only now for the first time that applicant claimed to be domiciled in South Africa. Counsel submitted that the evidence as to domicile was very unsatisfactory. Applicant absented himself from the Colony for a period of nearly two years, and there was no corroboration of the story that he was absent in order to obtain medical treatment.

The Acting Chief Justice, in giving judgment said: The applicant was formerly in Cape Colony, and domiciled here. He alleges his domicile, and produces a licence as a shopkeeper, and statements from other people, showing that he was domiciled here. The allegation of domicile has not been contradicted, and we must take it, as far as this application is concerned, that he was an Indian domiciled in this colony prior to 1906. In 1906, being in ill-health, he left for India, leaving his business here going on his own behalf. He returned in February, 1907, and on his return objection was made to his landing on the ground of his being a prohibited immigrant. At the time of his leaving the country, Act 47 of 1902 was in existence, and this Act exempted from its operation persons domiciled in South Africa. On his return to the Colony in 1907, Act 30 of 1906 had come into force from February 1st, 1907, and that Act instead of persons domiciled in South

Africa being exempted, altered the law to make it persons born in South Africa and persons of European birth, and for the first time a reference is made that any Asiatic who was formerly living in the Colony, leaving the Colony, should take with him a permit, and if he returned in accordance with the permit, he shall not be considered a prohibited immigrant. Applicant did not apply for, and obtain, a permit when he left, because the law at that time did not require such an application to be made. Section 1 of Act 30 of 1906 says it shall not "affect . . . any rights, privileges, or protection acquired . . . at the commencement of this Act." Now, the applicant being domiciled in the country, and absent only for a temporary purpose, had, under the Act here in force when he left the Colony, acquired a right to return to South Africa, being domiciled in the country. The only point in law to be questioned is whether this Act of 1906 has taken away the right which he, as a domiciled Indian in this country, had to return to South Africa. I do not think it has taken away the right, and consequently he ought not to be treated as a prohibited immigrant. But it is said that, because he was convicted before the Magistrate, he therefore must now be deported. It is said that he never averred that he was domiciled in this country. I cannot overlook the fact that almost immediately on his arrival application was made to the Colonial Secretary stating his domicile. A letter was written on February 26 pointing out these facts. What were the proceedings in the Magistrate's Court? He is charged with contravening section 5 of Act 30 of 1906, in that he did wrongfully and unlawfully enter the Colony, he being at the time a prohibited immigrant within the meaning of section 3 of the Act. Well, he did not unlawfully enter the Colony—he had a permit, although only a temporary one, to enter the colony. He was not charged with violating the terms of the permit and, therefore being subject to prosecution under the Act. The prisoner, being arraigned, pleaded guilty, and judgment was given, and he was cautioned and discharged. Well, he had not had the benefit of legal advice, and considering his being taken before the Magistrate in that way, it must not be pressed too hardly against him that he pleaded guilty to a charge of which he was not guilty, as far as the law was concerned. It is true that he might then have proved all the facts which he brought to the notice of the Immigration Officer, but I think it was the duty of the Immigration Officer under all the circumstances to bring the facts of which he had knowledge before the Magistrate. The allegation that this person did not claim to be domiciled in the Colony is hardly borne out by the declaration put in at the time of his arrival in the country. In this

declaration he gives his address in Cape Town, his previous residence in Cape Town, and the Immigration Officer has filled in the column reserved for remarks of the Immigration Officer, stating that the applicant is in partnership with another Indian in a shop in Bryant-street. Here an allegation of domicile was brought to the notice to the officer. If the Act of 1906 does not apply to the applicant, the Act of 1902 does, and he has acquired a right under that Act to be in the Colony. Under these circumstances, an order must be granted as prayed.

Mr. Alexander applied for costs, in accordance with the notice of motion.

Application granted with costs.

Mr. Jones informed the Acting Chief Justice that the letter of the 25th February did not say anything about domicile. It simply said that he had an interest in certain business.

The Acting Chief Justice: It gives the whole particulars. I say nothing about the fact that he deposited £24 with the Immigration Officer, and he could hardly under the circumstances be said to be a man without means.—*Cape Times.*

## At the Heart of the Empire

### A Monthly Survey

London, May 1, 1908.

#### The Passing of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman

Since I last wrote my usual monthly letter to INDIAN OPINION there have been great changes in the political arena, and the resignation of the ex-Premier simply precluded his passing into the Life Beyond. Not only did the veteran unbuckle his armour; he heard the summons setting him free from earthly duties.

Life's work well done;  
Life's race well run;  
Now cometh rest.

It has not been in Sir Henry's case, as, alas, is too frequent in life, that he passed from earth little knowing how much he was beloved. These weeks of increasing weakness, of courageous waiting for the end, have proved how widespread was the appreciation, devotion, yes, even love, which he inspired. From the King on the throne to the working man, who did not grudge his dinner-hour last Monday but stood patiently in drenching rain to pay his silent tribute as the funeral procession passed from Westminster Abbey to Euston, the nation has shown its earnest solicitude for the late Premier. It was one of the consolations of the sick chamber that political friend and foe alike, that rich and poor, gentle and simple, testified their appreciation of Sir Henry as man and statesman. A sure sign of the hold of a public character on public opinion is the use of an abbreviated name, not exactly a nickname, in a ridiculous

sense, but a name, shorn of ceremonial additions. In general conversation and frequently in print, the late Premier was always referred to as "C.—B." The abbreviation carried with it a certain amount of personal affection, even from his political opponents. And Mr. Balfour's tribute, unfortunately written from a bed of sickness and not delivered in the House of Commons, was one of the most notable ever rendered from one opposing politician to another. I quote a sentence: "When he rose to the highest position under the Crown, all men felt that courage, consistency, high ideals, kindness that never fell into weakness, shrewdness that was never edged with malice, had received their fit reward."

The new Prime Minister, too, in moving the adjournment of the House last Monday as a mark of respect to the statesman whose funeral service in Westminster Abbey he had just attended, showed an emotion and tenderness with which few would have credited the brilliantly intellectual Mr. Asquith. It was evident that Mr. Asquith had to exert himself to the utmost to maintain his self-control in speaking of the great loss to the nation, to Parliament, to the individual and his words brought tears to the eyes of many a strong man seated on the green benches. The secret of "C.—B.'s" hold upon followers or opponents was his courage—Mr Lloyd George speaks of him as "absolutely the bravest man in politics I ever knew"—his sincerity, his honesty, his selflessness, and his genial courtesy, never failing even when he was exposed to misrepresentation and contumely. And Mr. Asquith, man of hard facts and figures, concluded his moving speech with a poetical quotation which was not only apt but true:

"How happy is he born and taught,  
That serveth not another's will;  
Whose armour is his honest thought,  
And simple truth his utmost skill!  
This man is freed from servile bands,  
Of hope to rise, or fear to fall;  
Lord of himself, though not of lands,  
And, having nothing, yet hath all."

The service in Westminster Abbey was one which will never be forgotten by those privileged to be present. The Prince of Wales himself came to town to represent the King, and placed two beautiful wreaths on the coffin on behalf of His Majesty and himself. A particularly gracious evidence of esteem was shown by the French Premier, who came to London on purpose to attend the funeral service in the Abbey. The two statesmen were not only close friends but their outlook upon life and public affairs was very similar. There was no fuss or ceremony; the Frenchman came and went quietly, unobtrusively; but he created a precedent in paying so gratifying a tribute to his friend. Nearly all the States of Europe were officially represented, and the wreath sent by the German Emperor was

particularly fine. Mr. Morley was one of the pall bearers, and another was Mr. Walter Long, one of "C.—B.'s" staunch opponents in the House but a true friend as well. Mr. K. G. Gupta was among the representatives from the India Office. Ever since the tidings of Sir Henry's death had been made known there seemed to have been a brooding quietness over the region of Downing Street and it had not passed even when the coffin, drawn slowly past Government offices and through busy thoroughfares, disappeared under the archway of Euston Station. Sir Henry now lies in the little country churchyard near his Scottish home; there, too, rests Lady Henry Campbell-Bannerman, whose death within a year after his attainment of the Premiership was, in reality, his death blow. Life was never the same to him when she had gone, for they were devotedly attached to one another. But he stuck to his duty, and as Mr. Asquith observed, died at his post. His influence was that of a true, high-minded man; predecessors in the Premiership have been more brilliantly gifted, but "C.—B." will always be remembered with affection because of the strength, loveliness, and unselfishness of his character.

(To be continued).

## Chinese and the Opium Ordinance

### Official Reply

We have received the following letter for publication:—

Pretoria, 22nd May, 1908.

Sir,—With reference to your letter of 22nd April and to your subsequent interview as a member of the Church Council Deputation with the Colonial Secretary on the subject of the Opium Trade Regulation Ordinance, I have the honour to inform you that the Colonial Secretary has fully considered the representations put forward by you on behalf of the Transvaal Chinese Association but he regrets that he is not prepared to take any steps to repeal the Ordinance at the present time. The matter can be raised again next year.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

E. M. GORGES,

Assistant Colonial Secretary.

The Chairman,

Transvaal Chinese Association,  
Johannesburg.

BOMBAY'S PROTEST. We have received copies of a pamphlet issued by the *Indu Prakash* Press, Bombay, containing a full record of the proceedings of the public meeting held at the Bombay Town Hall on the 29th January last to protest against the treatment of British Indians in South Africa.



## 'Anomalies of Civilisation'

## A Peril to India

By Justice Ameer Ali

We take the following extracts from an interesting article in *The Nineteenth Century and After* by Mr. Justice Ameer Ali, C.I.E. :—

By far the most important problem of modern times in the domain of practical politics is the future relation of the East and the West. Their impact has created a movement which was inevitable and, in some instances, desired; but which is nevertheless regarded in militant sections of the Western world with the fear which overtakes all monopolists on the least appearance of competition. Under the influence of this feeling what might be welcomed as signs of progress is labelled 'unrest'; and European nations of diverse tendencies are invited to close up their ranks, for the spirit of the age must be kept in check from doing its work among Eastern races. How long these efforts and exhortations will succeed in maintaining the present state it is impossible to tell, but it is somewhat incongruous to find the same sentiment which is honoured in one continent condemned in another; whilst expressions carried from the West to the East either lose their significance or connote different ideas. Thus what is 'patriotism' in Europe becomes 'fanaticism' in Africa and Asia; and the desire for progress and development, 'restlessness' in Eastern lands.

It is not necessary to go far back into history to show the influence mere names have exercised on the destinies of the human race; we have an interesting illustration in our own times. A few years ago "Spread-eagleism" was used for mere purposes of ridicule; christened 'Imperialism' it has acquired a holy meaning—it sanctifies crusades against the liberty of weaker States. Not only has the Empire of Great Britain an imperial policy which has enabled it to appropriate vast territories in every part of the globe, but the mighty Republics of the United States of America and of France have similar policies of an equally decided character. One would have thought that 'Imperialism' was inconsistent with 'Republicanism,' but here come into play some of those anomalies which make modern civilisation, with its mixture of humbug and hypocrisy, such an interesting study.

In the Middle Ages religion furnished the pretext for the spoliation and enslavement of alien races. In the fifteenth century the Pope divided the world beyond Christendom between the Portuguese and the Spaniards. In the prosecution of the task imposed on them by the Head of the Church, the Portuguese in the East Indies, the Spaniards in the West, made hecatombs of races and civilisations.

Spanish ferocity caused the destruction of three brilliant civilisations so widely apart as the Moorish, the Aztec, and the Peruvian, and reduced to helotage three fine races. 'Spain,' said an American Senator in the late Hispano-American war, 'set up more crosses in more lands, beneath more skies, and under them butchered more people than all the nations on earth combined.'

To-day other shibboleths have taken the place of older ones; religion has made room for what is called 'Western civilisation.' 'The white man's burden' has elbowed out the Gospel, whilst trade has become more important than 'evangelisation.' Although the missionary, in his efforts to avoid martyrdom, has always at his back ironclads and big guns, the Bible is not forced upon unwilling people with the same fierce proselytising zeal as a few centuries ago: it is now trade, which they are compelled to admit whether they will or not. They are no more converted, they are 'civilised.' Civilisation is brought to their doors with beat of drums and clangour of arms, in the shape of trousers and top-hats, drink, disease, infant-murder and prostitution. There was something definite and ennobling in the conception of religion; and though the adoption of a new faith did not usually bring the converted equality of rights with the converting missionary, soldier or priest, it promised at least some compensation in the next world. The new creed does not hold out any such prospect. They drink and they die, and there is an end of it. But the fat lands remain to reward the labours of the civilised man. In the intensity of conviction in his 'mission,' the follower of the new creed rivals those of the old. The champion of Jehovah restricted salvation to birth in Israel; the champion of 'Western civilisation' confines it to a special colour. With him it is a primary article of faith that, whatever may be the case in heaven, the kingdom of the earth is for the white skin. And the products of the ghetto and the slum are equally vehement, equally clamorous in the assertion of special claims to civilisation, with the privileges which it carries.

We are thus face to face with a peculiar situation which in the struggle for 'grab'—that delightfully simple yet expressive Americanism—we have neither the time nor the wish to study; the incongruity does not strike us as anything out of the common. The Pagan Empire of Rome extended to all its subjects the rights of citizenship, and the 'provincial' was as much entitled to the full enjoyment of those privileges as the Roman-born. The Christian Empire of Great Britain cannot secure considerate treatment for its 'provincials' in its own Colonies. South Africa presents at this moment an extraordinary spectacle of what a mixture of high altruistic pretensions and rank selfishness can produce in the name of civilisation.

One would have thought that with the spread of civilisation and a higher conception of humanity and justice, European communities would evince greater toleration and accord a larger recognition to the rights of weaker nationalities. The desire to seize upon the most favoured spots of God's creation in every part of the habitable globe and prevent others from coming in can hardly be regarded as a commendable characteristic. It civilisation and humanity have any meaning, members of all civilised nationalities have *prima facie* a title to abide, if they can find room, wherever their presence is of general use. Certainly all subjects of the same Sovereign might be presumed to possess an inherent right to move from one part of his dominions to another without molestation or hindrance. But modern civilisation does not seem to acquiesce in the equitable treatment of all races with which it has civilised dealings, and from which it expects civilised treatment. It places the claims of special communities before those of humanity at large. If the contention be right that European settlers should be allowed to flourish and multiply in new possessions which did not belong to them, and where they have recently established themselves, without the intrusion of Asiatics, might not the latter urge with greater emphasis that the intrusion of Europeans of lower grades has an unwholesome and demoralising effect on their social system? The British Indian can easily point his finger to the difficult and complicated problem which civilisation has created in the midst of his people by the creation of a community commonly called by educated Europeans 'mean whites' and 'Eurasians.' Might not he ask with equal show of justice that undesirable aliens should be prevented from entering his country?

A little while ago a suggestion was seriously put forward that Asiatics should be 'rigidly and absolutely excluded from the African continent,' which should be specially reserved for Europeans and the black races. In the width of its scope the suggestion was startling; probably this very fact made it more or less innocuous. But the assertion that Europeans are the 'trustees' for the black races is somewhat humorous. It is one of the anomalies of 'Western civilisation' that in its dealings with the weak it makes its own interests the standard of the gospel it preaches to the world. The Asiatic cannot ordinarily be reduced to helotage; more or less he is in the same plane of advance as the lower grade European, the same spirit of enterprise takes him into new countries. The black races, save in some special tracts, are in a primitive state; their labours can be exploited for others; they dare not compete with members of the higher or better-endowed nationalities. If they were more advanced we should probably hear less of 'trusteeship.'

Although 'civilisation' eschews the word 'slavery,' it requires that the conditions of slavery should be more or less perpetuated for its benefit. We have heard much of the 'white man's burden'—the burden of civilisation he is supposed to carry. But when we come to examine it we find it extremely light. The burden is only nominally on his shoulders; in reality the weight is transferred to those whose labours are exploited for his enrichment and comfort. The galley and the scourge have disappeared; the taskmaster still flourishes, and modern ingenuity has armed him with new instruments of punishment. The names are changed, but the substance remains. That this is no exaggeration any fair-minded student of the subject in the Congo, in parts of South and East Africa, will not hesitate to admit. The fearful havoc the work of 'civilising the Dark Continent' has caused among the tribes of Africa can be witnessed not only in the Congo Free State but also in the German East African Protectorate, where, according to the German Colonial Secretary, 75,000 natives perished through hunger and war in the course of the last year, whilst the fierce opposition roused by the efforts of the Minister to improve the status of the negroes illustrates the general thesis. The German settler does not clothe his aims or motives in altruistic language, nor does he call himself the 'trustee' of the black races. He frankly tells the world that 'the native must be compelled to work for him and that when the use of the stick and whip no longer avails, recourse must be had to the imposition of taxes, which he must be forced to pay by his work if by no other means.'

Civilisation has driven the Red Indians into reservations where they are fast disappearing. It has decimated the fine races of Polynesia and Maori-land. One is sometimes shocked to hear the pious hope expressed in unmistakable language that the black races will in course of time disappear, under the same process, from the favoured spots occupied by European settlers, leaving their possessions as assets to 'civilisation.'

The contact of a vigorous and progressive nationality with communities who had become stationary, or lost the genius for striving for advancement, might in India have given birth to an eclectic civilisation such as was witnessed after the settlement of the Arabs in Spain. There the result was achieved by making racial coalescence the goal. Such a consummation does not seem possible in India. Racial assimilation, owing to national idiosyncrasies, is not practicable; friendly relations between the West and the East afford the best and most likely means of bringing the two on a common platform. Intermixture of ideas where intermixture of races is not possible acts as a solvent to the ignorance and prejudices of both.

And an Indian Sovereign has proved how successful this process can be.

To think of impressing European civilisation on the country, and not to enter into the feelings of the inhabitants; of promoting their welfare without attempting to reach their hearts; to talk of Western culture and its requirements and not to understand the virtues or idiosyncrasies of those among whom it is sought to be introduced; to condemn Oriental ways and yet to perpetuate in public life the methods which are deprecated in Oriental Governments, is mere waste of energy.

A few students turned out from one or two institutions with a pat on the back, as the products of advanced education conducted on Western lines, are hardly the harbingers of that progress to which we all look forward with anxiety and hopefulness. The high priests of European culture would probably obtain better results if they were to encourage in the first place among their neophytes the cultivation of originality of thought, independence of character, manliness of spirit, and self-respect, and not merely opportunism or intellectual imitativeness.

At no period in the world's history has there been so much talk about international peace with such ill-disguised preparation for war; so many protestations about and yet such unashamed contempt for the rights of weaker nations; such high appreciation of 'civilised' morals with such flagrant disregard for the dictates of ordinary morality. In olden days nations and individuals made no special claims to special virtue, and their shortcomings passed unnoticed. Nowadays the assumption of superiority naturally attracts criticism.

The difference in the standpoints of Europe and Asia, with regard to social conventions and duties of life, make it essential that in endeavouring to introduce Western civilisation among Eastern communities their ethical standards should be raised and not lowered. Unfortunately the tendency, with rare exceptions, has been in the contrary direction; wherever the West has obtruded itself the general result has not been satisfactory. The Protestant missionary from Madagascar, the observant traveller in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the inquiring visitor in Algeria and Tunis, all tell the same story—of deterioration of morals, destruction of the old standards of right and wrong which imparted strength and character to the races, spread of drunkenness, introduction of the 'social evil' where it was wholly unknown.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, inhabited by a fine race of soldierly men, possessed of admirable qualities, were wrenched from the Ottoman Dominions to satisfy Austrian ambitions, although the ostensible reason assigned to justify the spoliation was the pacification of the country and the introduction of the 'requirements

of European civilisation.' The Austrian Government has made roads, pulled down the castles of the feudal lords and established hospitals, jails, and penitentiaries; hotels have sprung up in all directions, and all the outward forms of civilisation are in full display in the 'occupied provinces.' With these ordinary adjuncts of progress have come also casinos and other places of a less desirable character. And in Bosnia particularly it is observed that the manhood of the country is fast dwindling from the effects of drink, which formerly was under the ban of religious law.

From the fall of the chivalrous Abd el Kader, the French have been engaged in introducing 'Western civilisation' in Algeria, and not long ago they brought Tunis within the ambit of their operations. A nation bent on secularising its own institutions has naturally little regard for the old ideals of other communities. In Algeria and Tunis the traditional conventions of morality, that helped to form the backbone of the people, have either disappeared or made room for standards and modes of life borrowed from France. Arab Lolas figure in Algerian casinos and café-chantants, and give a Parisian tone to the manners and customs which have sprung up in the country under the influences of a civilisation which considers a code of morals sanctioned by religion as old-fashioned and antiquated. A meretricious taste in art and architecture imported from a foreign land has given a bizarre turn to the national genius which is deplored by all artistic natures; whilst the habit of absinthe drinking is on the increase among men, and the 'social evil' reprobated in former days has become a recognised institution. A notable Mussulman who recently visited the country draws a pitiable picture of the derelict condition of the people.

The Moors, who have the French nation at their door and have watched the civilising process at work in Tunis and Algeria, object to undergo a similar treatment. But Europe will not hear of this; they have been arraigned at the bar of civilisation and condemned as a fanatical people, and France is entrusted with the mission of bringing them to reason, which she is busily engaged in doing with the help of guns and ironclads.

Every lover of humanity must recognise the blessings which modern civilisation has brought to the world; but it would be sheer self-deception to shut one's eyes to the ills to which it has given birth or which it has intensified; to the hypocrisy of a great part of modern life; to the relegation of national and individual duties to the back-ground in favour of hollow show and pretensions, above all to the apotheosis of money and power.

## “The Lords and the Coolies”

### “Natal Mercury’s” Comments

In the course of a leading article on the House of Lords debate on the condition of Indians in Natal, the *Natal Mercury* says:

The subject was introduced by Lord Amphill, who knows a great deal about the Indian in India, and much less than he professes to know about the Indian in Natal. Lord Amphill has been Governor of Madras, and was for some time the “locum tenens” of Lord Curzon during the late Viceroy’s absence. His experience in India has inoculated Lord Amphill with the notion that he has become charged with a responsibility for the Indian’s welfare, both in his native land and in all parts of the Empire. During the Transvaal’s Asiatic crisis, Lord Amphill did much to enlighten the Home public upon the merits of the controversy, and made a worthy stand for the principles of British justice towards subject races. But, like many less eminent men imbued with good intentions, he is not immune from the danger of allowing his zeal to ride away with him in dealing with the Imperial problem of the Indian’s status in the self-governing Colonies. That was clearly the case, when he contended that Natal would have been bankrupt but for the assistance of the coolie, and that the object of Natal’s recently-announced legislation is to reduce the coolie to a state of slavery. It is a debatable question whether the coolie has been an economic benefit to Natal, and whether the Colony could not have got on as well without him, by making a more earnest effort to train the native kafir to industrial habits. At any rate, the fact is that the swamping of the Colony with time-expired Indians, and the Arab traders who have come in their wake, has swept a good many white Colonists into the Bankruptcy Court, or is threatening to deprive them and their children of the opportunities for making a decent livelihood.

The sympathetic spirit which Lord Crewe is manifesting towards Natal was again displayed in his wholesome advice to Lord Amphill, that, while showing devotion to the cause of the Indians, he should not forget the interests of other races. One strong claim that British Colonists have upon members of the Imperial Parliament, whether Peers or Commoners, is that they shall not be uncharitably charged with motives incompatible with the traditions which they inherit from the Mother Country. To say, as Lord Amphill does, that the intention of Natal’s policy towards the coolie is to reduce him to a state of slavery, is pure clap-trap—if one may be permitted to use such language to a Peer of the Realm and an ex-Viceroy. If it were intended to enslave the Indian, we should be con-

triving to keep him here, while the main desire of Colonists is to get as many Indians as possible out of the country. Indeed, Lord Amphill contradicts himself by recognising this fact, and making it a cause of complaint that there are people in Natal who aim at driving out the Indian trader. The elimination of the Indian trader is certainly the object of one portion of the new legislation which our Government propose to submit to Parliament. We have expressed doubts as to the wisdom of certain parts of these legislative proposals, and we question whether the Parliament of the Colony will pass them in their present shape. We believe the Legislature will do nothing that would be confiscatory or unjust to those Indians who have acquired legal and natural rights in the Colony, and it will be soon enough for Lord Amphill to pass judgment upon the Colony when he sees the actual enactments. Even then, Lord Amphill would do well to remember Viscount St. Aldwyn’s admonition, that the less the Imperial authorities interfere with the self-governing Colonies, the better for the Empire.

## The Registration Act Again

### Prompt Repudiation

Mr. M. Chamney, Registrar of Asiatics, writes as follows to the Chairman of the British Indian Association:—

Pretoria, 22nd May, 1908.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that several cases have recently occurred of Asiatics introducing into the Transvaal minors between the age of 8 and 16 years other than their *bona fide* sons. In this respect I would invite your attention to Section 8 of Subsection (2) of Act 2 of 1907 and would suggest that you warn your countrymen of the penalties they make themselves liable to by such action. If any further cases of this nature occur I shall be obliged to put the provisions of the Law in force against the offenders.

To the above, Mr. Essop Ismail Mia, Chairman of the British Indian Association, replies:—

23rd May, 1908.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. E/2698/7 of the 22nd instant with reference to the introduction of minors. If you will be good enough to let me have the names of the persons who have introduced minors, my Association will make careful inquiry and assist the Government to the utmost. But I respectfully beg to point out that in so far as the British Indian community is concerned and in so far as the Asiatic Act quoted by you is concerned, in view of the fact

that the part of the compact between the Government and the British Indian community that was applicable to the latter has been fulfilled, the Act is considered a dead letter, and the British Indian community will consider it a breach of the compromise if the Act is enforced. This does not mean that my Association wishes to encourage the entry of Asiatic minors who may have no right whatsoever to be in the country. All that my Association respectfully submits is that Act 2 of 1907 cannot operate on the British Indian community, but that a new Act of a general character should cover attempts of the nature described in your letter.

## South African Indian Association

### A Conference Suggested

The chairman of the above Association writes to the various Cape associations as follows:—

Since my communication to you dated the 30th ulto., I have received a letter from the Indian Political Association at Kimberley suggesting that a conference be held as soon as practicable at Cape Town wherein delegates from all the Political Centres in Cape Colony should meet and discuss the various points indicated in my letter to you.

In view of the fact that Parliament meets next month, it is imperative that the Conference be held at as early a date as practicable.

Will you kindly inform me at your earliest convenience whether your Association is prepared to send one or more delegates and the earliest possible date when they can attend?

MR. ESSOP MIA’S ASSAULT. Maula Bagas, the Pathan, who assaulted Mr. Essop Mia, as well as Shahji Saheb are remanded to the 4th June.

INDIAN SCHOOLS VISITED BY THE GOVERNOR. His Excellency the Governor of Natal (Sir Matthew Nathan) paid visits to the following Indian Schools recently. Higher-Grade Indian School on the 30th March, Sanatorium Indian Orphanage on the 6th April, St. Anthony’s Indian School on the 9th April. At all these institutions His Excellency showed great interest and kindly sent a donation of £5 to the Orphanage.

WHO ARE THE HAPPIEST PEOPLE? Where standards vary so enormously it is hard to estimate who enjoys the greater sum total of happiness, the average European or the average Chinese, but probably the latter, as he appears to possess the larger fund of natural philosophy.—*Pinang Gazette*.

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મારો જલનો અનુભવ.

જાખનાર મી. એમ. કે. ગાંધી.

કિંમત ૬ પેની, પોસ્ટેજ ૦૧ પેની.

### મળવાનાં ઠેકાણાં:—

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" મકનજી બ્રધર્સ,	૧૮૨ એ સ્ટ્રીટ	"
" પી. વી. સંઘવી,	૨૦૧ એ સ્ટ્રીટ	"
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" જી. સી. પટેલ,	બોક્સ. ૬૭	સ્ટેંગર.
" એમ. કે. ગાંધી,	બોક્સ. ૬૫૨૨	જોહાન્સબર્ગ.
" પી. એમ. જોશી,	બોક્સ. ૧૧૫૭	પ્રીટોરિઆ.
" ખેડેરીઆ એન્ડ મહેતા બ્રધર્સ,	બોક્સ. ૧૧૦	પીટર્સબર્ગ.
" ત્રીકમદાસ બ્રધર્સ,	બોક્સ. ૫૩૧	પોર્ટ બ્લીઝબેથ.
" ટી. ડી. ત્રીવેદી,	બોક્સ. ૩૭૨	કીંબરલી.
" બી. આર. નાયક,	બોક્સ. ૫૯	સોલસબરી, રોડેશીઆ.
" જ્ઞાનદાસ અને લાલચંદ,	બોક્સ. ૬૨	ડેલાગોઆબે.
" એ. એન. નાયક,	બોક્સ. ૭૭	બોક્સબર્ગ.
" કે. કે. પટેલ,	બોક્સ. ૨૬૨	જરમરિટન.

ઘાણ વખતમાં બહાર પડશે.

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