

The Dharma Bir

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No. 9

MORE RIOTING IN INDIA.

London, April 19.—Reuter's correspondent at Lahore, telegraphing on April 16, says the Punjab Government has issued a communique which states that a mob, a thousand strong, held up and looted a train from Ferozepore, at Kasue, killed Lieut. Seeldy and Serjt. Mostyn, wrecked the station, and burned the post office. They then attacked Tahsil, but were driven off by the police. One of the rioters was killed and six wounded.

There was a disturbance at Gujranwala on April 14, and a church and some railway property were burned. The police behaved admirably.

The American missionaries have all been sent to Sailkot. The European population took refuge at the Treasury, where, with the assistance of the police, they successfully defended themselves against the mob.

An aeroplane from Lahore arrived and dropped bombs, causing a number of casualties.

Troops were also sent to the scene.

A score of men were arrested and brought to Lahore.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

London, April 19.—It was officially stated late to-day that reports from the Punjab show that two British officers were injured, a soldier killed and the Treasury attacked at Kasu.

A message from Amritsar, dated April 13, reports that, in defiance of the proclamation forbidding meetings, a number were held, as a result of which the troops were obliged to fire on the mob, among whom there were some 200 casualties.

The disorderly elements in rural areas are damaging Government property and looting trains.

At Delhi, when the shops were reopened after order was restored, a Mohammedan mob interfered, and the police were obliged to fire, when the mob was scattered. Four police were injured. Quiet prevailed in the city after this, but

it was patrolled by troops.

On the North-West Frontier, on April 13, an attempt was made to close the shops at Peshawar, and mass meetings were held, in which the Hindus took part. Speeches were made advocating a boycott of British Goods, but there were no disturbances.

The position in Calcutta is normal. The moderate elements of the population have issued a manifesto condemning passive resistance, and deploring recent events.

Bombay is quiet, but there is suppressed excitement among the Mohammedans. A meeting of the Ulama is being held on April 25.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

London, April 19.—The Viceroy, in a further report to-day, says the city mobs at Amritsar are reported generally to be composed of Mohammedan goondas (hooligans). These have been directed by Pan-Islamic and Hindu agitators. The disposition of Sikh villages appears to be good. Up to the present the Mohammedan trouble has not spread northward.

On the North-West Frontier a split is developing between Mohammedans and Hindus, and the situation is causing nervous anxiety to the Hindus. The offer of the Afridis in Amritsar to support the Government has exercised a depressing effect upon the agitators.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

London, April 20 (delayed).—The Press Bureau announces that the Viceroy has telegraphed that all is quiet at Lahore. A number of people are coming in repentant.

The mob to-day attacked the station at Marodi. The regulation has been extended to Gujarat district. Arya Samaj, and Mohammedan emissaries from Delhi are attempting to stir up trouble in the neighbouring districts of the Punjab.

Pension is reported at Ferozepore and Multan. Railway communication has been restored, and mobile columns are at work, and arrests are being effected. In the North-West Frontier province nothing is reported. At Delhi the shops are open and all is quiet. All is quiet at Bombay, but near the Presidency two agitators, who were distributing inflammatory leaflets, were arrested. From Calcutta nothing is reported, and Moslem associations and also moderate bodies have issued satisfactory manifesto.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

LONDON, April 21 (delayed).
Reuter, Simla, telegraphing on April 18, says the Governor-General has promulgated a fresh Ordinance, providing that any court-martial or Commission may sentence a person convicted under martial-law to transportation for life, or to 10 years, or rigorous imprisonment for seven and not exceeding 14 years.

The Defence of India Rules have also been amended so as to provide that no newspaper can be printed or published without the previous sanction of the local Government.—Reuter's Special Service.

London, April 22.—Latest telegrams received by Reuter from India indicate that the moderate elements are rallying in support of law and order against the extremists.

Reuter's Bombay correspondent, telegraphing on April 18, says that Gandhi has issued a statement advising a temporary suspension of the passive resistance movement, and urging his supporters to assist the Government to restore order in every way possible.

Reuter's Calcutta correspondent states that the leaders of the moderate section of the population have issued a manifesto deploring the disturbances, and declaring that the passive resistance is not sound, and calling on the Indians to eliminate the elements of disorder.

Renter's Lahore correspondent reports that the Mohammedan leaders in the Punjab in a manifesto drawn up by them earnestly appeal to their countrymen, especially the Moslems, to abandon the passive resistance and obey the authority, and take effective steps to restore law and order.

Renter's Simla correspondent in a message dated April 20, announces that martial law has been proclaimed in the Gramat district.

THE DHARMA VIR.

Friday, May 2 1919

THE BLACK COBRA BILLS.

Further widespread demonstrations of a serious and violent nature is reported by Renter this week, and these demonstrations do but serve to indicate the intensity of the feelings of Indians against the Black Cobra Bills. Our European contemporaries, though contemptibly ignorant of the condition of affairs obtaining in India, have allowed their imaginations to run riot. They have freely indulged in vehement wholesale condemnations of those patriotic Indians, whom circumstances unfortunately forced to resort to violence in defence of their liberty and freedom. Our contemporaries conveniently forget that their glorious history, which is replete with incidents of dazzling splendour in defence of the God-given rights of man, has been read and re-read by Indians many times, and that Indians had been taught in the Indian Universities to admire the grit and determination of the British People in defence of their rights as free men. Hampden has been immortalised for smashing the head of a tax collector and in the heart of the British Empire a statue has been erected to keep alive in the minds of the British People, the noble spirit of freedom that pulsated the heart of Hampden. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, and, why, should one section of the King-Emperor's subjects condemn another without rhyme or reason for doing the very thing they proudly applaud among themselves. We do not desire to be misunderstood. We do not for a moment advise our countrymen to resort to violence, but, we do say that to deny another a right which one claims for himself is unjust in the extreme. The rioting and violence displayed in India is not directed against British Rule or the British Nation. It is directed against the Anglo Indian Bureaucracy, which has sullied the National Character of the great British Nation, by endeavouring to place on the

statute book a sordid and dirty piece of legislation, subversive of the primary principles of the British constitution. The contents of the Rowlatt Bills will cause even Satan to blush, and, it might be forcibly asserted, that the Statute Books of the world will be searched in vain for provisions analogous to those contained in these black bills. These deplorable bills set at naught the fundamental principles of jurisprudence and overthrow the basic principles of ordered government and well regulated civil society. In truth, these cobra bills bid good-bye to all notions of justice, good faith, honesty and civilisation, and tend to establish instability and insecurity in every department of human activity. They smash with a sudden crashing blow the sacred rights of Freedom of Speech and liberty of the Press—rights which the British People had rendered inviolate by shedding their life's blood for many a century. The Anglo Indian bureaucrats lightly schemed to stem India's progress by strangling the intelligence of the country. In the modern age the thoughts and ideas of any progressive nation find expression and development in its press and in its exercise of the right of free speech. The rights of the freedom of the press and the freedom of speech are the two powerful engines of progress in modern times. In their onward movement of progress they crush every impediment however colossal that withstands them. Before their mighty and terrific onrush many kingdoms have been made and unmade, great empires have been demolished and reconstituted, tyrants and autocrats have tottered to their fall. Is it possible then for that superb system of highlanded autocracy—the Anglo Indian Bureaucracy—to form an exception to this onrush in India. This bureaucracy was even condemned in scathing terms by Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India a few days before he assumed the Indian Secretaryship. Its very foundation has been rendered unstable by the onrush of Indian thought and the days may be numbered when it will fall to a thousand pieces all of a sudden with a terrific crash. The overpowering fear of such an occurrence has thrown the Anglo Indians into a wild frenzy, and in their madness, they have sought to deal the last blow to Indian freedom and liberty. The spirit of tyranny and autocracy is infectious and Englishmen, whose forbears have shed their blood to eradicate it in their glorious country, should not be in haste to countenance it in other lands, lest, it finds its way to their own shores sooner or later. The fight for freedom and the progress of democracy is noble and divine in whatever clime it is waged, and, we do hope

that Englishmen will be the last people to decry the warriors in such a divine cause. The Anglo Indians are an interested party and their Statements ought to be taken with a pinch of salt to arrive at a correct appreciation of the Indian situation. India had demonstrated her loyalty during the hour of the Empire's crisis by pouring out all her best. It is fortunate that Lord Hardinge was at the helm of affairs at the time. The policy of trust enunciated and followed by that nobly viceroy was amply repaid, as compared with the policy of mistrust and suspicion now established by the arch enemy of human freedom—Lord Chelmsford. The Anglo Indian Bureaucracy is a source of danger to the continuance of the British Raj in India. It is the sole cause for the disturbed state of India. We hope our local European contemporaries will display a keener appreciation of the freedom they enjoy and thus afford their moral support to their Sister press in India which is in danger of being throttled in common with the freedom of speech.

THE MASS MEETING

Last Sunday's mass meeting of local Indians to protest against the Rowlatt Bills was very strongly attended. Trenchant speeches were made by all the speakers and the C. I. D. force was present in strong numbers though there was no need for its presence. In addition to resolutions of condemnation, a resolution of support was unanimously passed without taking any tangible step in that direction. Knowing our brothers, as we do, we venture to affirm that beyond passing the resolutions nothing further would be done. It appears to us that this meeting was called for the purpose of making capital for the Gandhi Party, where, as it is, as present constituted, lacking in strength, vitality and intelligence. The prime movers of this meeting gave considerable significance to Gandhi, though the happenings in India, which instigated them to hold this meeting have occurred voluntarily and spontaneously without instigation from Mr. Gandhi. The people of India protested against the black bills from one end of that country to another without Gandhi warning them of the provisions of those bills. India is not South Africa, and, the people there are intelligent enough to know things and act for themselves. Gandhi, of course, now is one of them and along with others protest against a provision which affects others equally with him. When Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, in a speech, indirectly invited Mr. Gandhi to start passive resistance and thus first suggested

passive resistance against the bills, Mr. Gandhi open a list of Passive Resisters and called for signatures. Long before this, the country was seething with resentment and a number of people appended their signatures. These number about 1000. Some of the signatories gathered and formed a Passive Resistance Committee and elected Gandhi as its chairman on account, presumably, of his considerable experience in South Africa as a Passive Resister. These being the facts and Gandhi being guided in all his actions by the Committee it should be understood by the Gandhi Party here, that they have no especial reason to be elated and overjoyed. The leaders of India are all acting and just as they made Mrs. Annie Besant the mouth-piece at one time, so they have now made Mr. Gandhi. The time, when Gandhi Party here will be justified in crowing too much, will be, when Mr. Gandhi is able to influence India in spite of and in opposition to India's tried leaders.

ARYA SAMAJ.

In a telegram from India, it is reported that in common with others, Arya Samaj emissaries are creating trouble. We, as Arya Samajists, resent most strongly this insinuation against Arya Samajists. It is quite probable that individual Arya Samajists may have taken part in the disorders in India, and, for their individual actions, the Arya Samaj cannot, as a body be held responsible. The Samaj is a religious body and we are sure that this mischievous insinuation lacks foundation.

Local Press Comments.

The *Natal Mercury* of 19th April 1919 under the heading "Disturbances All Round" writes:—

Are the Germans continuing their campaign of intrigue? It was stated by one of their leaders that if they were beaten in the field they would make governance impossible in most of the States of the British Empire. Before and during the war, German agents organised rebellions in different parts of the Empire, and we cannot help thinking that the disturbances in Egypt and India are the work of the Germans, and probably of the Bolsheviks in Russia and Germany. Mr. Gandhi, who will be well remembered in South Africa, appears to be taking a prominent part in India, and serious riots have broken out in consequence. It does not seem quite clear what the rioters want. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, has recently visited India, and in conjunction with Lord Chelmsford, the

Viceroy, he has evolved a scheme which gives a large measure of self-government to the great Dependency. Those proposals have been accepted by the Indian Council, on which is represented practically all the elements of the population. The Indian National Conference was also favourably inclined to the new scheme. It, therefore, seems that the Germans are making a supreme effort to promote a Holy War among the Moslems against the British. This is their object in Egypt, where, as far as one can ascertain, there is no reason for trouble. Egypt has never been as free or so self-contained as she is at present, in all her modern history. Her enormous debts of half a century ago were consolidated by the late Lord Cromer, and her whole finances were put in order by the same superb authority on administration and finance. Egypt has not suffered from invasion, and it is difficult to understand the present outbreak. What has happened, we imagine, both in India and in Egypt, is that there is a certain section who have obtained a veneer of Western education, have imbibed some of the principles of self-government that obtain in the West; but they do not recognise that the conditions are peculiar to itself. There is, however, no doubt that the war has produced a vast movement in the Moslem world, and it will be one of the tasks of the League of Nations or the Peace Conference to direct it on right lines. Peoples who are to a large extent unfamiliar with self-government have been awakened to a sense of power by the great upheaval, and they wish to use it. They do not quite know how to do so for the best advantage, but they are determined to do something. Such developments are the natural outcome of a universal war. The whole character and ideals of men have been blown to atoms, and the outbreaks in India and Egypt are the result. Time alone can allow of these populations returning to normal conditions.

The *Natal Mercury* of 23rd April 1919 under the heading "Tumult in India" writes:—

Whilst the statesmen of the Empire are engrossed in settling the terms of peace which are to be imposed on our European enemies, they are face to face with one of the gravest crises that has been experienced in India since the days of the great Mutiny. The causes of the present upheaval in the Dependency are multifarious, but generally it may be ascribed to that spirit of unrest which has been the concomitant and the consequence of the war. The reaction produced by the war is not confined to one part of the Empire, nor to one continent. A specific pretext for the Indian riots is the popular

resentment against what are known as the Rowlatt Acts, but the official statement issued by the Indian Government to the effect that these measures are being used merely as a handle by the extremist faction, and that the real explanation of the trouble is traceable to a variety of other sources, is in strict accord with the facts as vouched for by official and nonofficial authorities upon Indian affairs. The demand for Home Rule for India was heard long before the Great War broke out. It was encouraged by doctrinaire English Radicals. The British Government made large concessions, years ago, in the direction of identifying the Indian people with their own system of governance; but the Indian agitator has sought to force the pace. Before the outbreak of the war symptoms of disaffection were discernable; and how far those sentiments were stimulated by German intrigue, it is impossible to say; but certain it is that the agents of the ex-Kaiser were carrying on their sinister work in India, as in Egypt, in Ireland, and in the British Dominions, hoping that when the day came for Germany to make her bid for world-power the British Empire would fall to pieces or be paralysed by internal dissensions. The conquest of India was one of the achievements which the ex-Kaiser hoped to accomplish by his war of aggression. "We shall," he is reported to have said, "not merely 'occupy' India, but shall conquer it; and 'the vast revenues that the British allow to 'be taken by the Indian princes will, after 'our conquest, flow in a golden stream to 'the Fatherland.'"

The German attempts to foment conspiracies in India did not prevent large masses of the Indian people from making a gratifying display of loyalty when the world-conflict began, Indian princes raised armed forces from their peoples, and contributed large sums of money to aid the Empire in resisting the German challenge. Nevertheless, the seeds of sedition continued their noxious growth; and events occurred in the war which had unsettling effect upon various sections of the population. The extremists became more clamorous; their agitation was fanned by the talk about "self-determination" for all nations; and the Imperial Government gave serious thought to the question of introducing such further reforms as they hoped might satisfy the reasonable demands of the Indian Home Rulers. The result was the report jointly issued by Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State, and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy. This historic document was the sequel to a visit which Mr. Montagu paid to India in the year 1918 for the purpose of studying on the spot the question of constitutional reforms. Its publication has led to a fierce controversy amongst both Europeans and

Indians. It was proposed to replace the present nominated Legislative Council of India (which is mainly composed of Indian ex-officials, and includes two natives of India) by a Council of State, in which 21 members should be elective and 29 nominative; and there was to be a Legislative Assembly of 100 members, of whom two-thirds were to be elective and one-third nominative. It was also proposed to appoint Provincial Governments, with the widest independence from superior control in legislative, administrative, and financial matters. The scheme caused a deep cleavage between moderate and extremist opinion in India. The Viceroy declared that the scheme elaborated by Mr. Montagu and himself was a substantial step in the direction of self-government for India, and that no further advance in that direction could at present be made. The extremists became more insistent than ever in their demand for complete autonomy. The agitators for complete Home Rule repudiated any desire for the dismemberment of the Empire. Their aspiration has been defined as "partnership on a footing of equality with the Oversea Dominions."

Mr. Montagu, the part author of the Indian reform scheme, speaking in London last month, laid stress upon its merits as a project of decentralisation, and said that his desire was to see how India learns to use the vote, on which the whole working of the Provincial machinery would depend. "If," he said, "the British Parliament is the custodian of the growth 'of self-government in India, they must 'have a few years in which to study the 'stages of that growth; and Indians had 'no right to tell them that in providing 'for this we are acting too cautiously or 'with too much hesitation.' The misfortune is that the reform scheme was propounded at a time when India was seething with uneasiness and unrest, generated by the later developments in the war and by the false rumours as to how the war was going. The Indian people had heard of the great advances made by the German armies in the early part of last year. Disturbing reports came from Central Asia, and it was widely believed that the Germans were advancing close to the frontiers of India. The Indian extremists sought to bargain with the Government for immediate political concessions as the price of their support in the war. A labour campaign was started, aiming at the organisation of Indian workers in opposition to the forces of capital. The Mohammedan community were excited by the news of the capture of Bagdad and the fall of Jerusalem, and identified themselves with the Indian Home League. The people of India, like the rest of the world, suffered from the high cost of living. In these circumstances local in-

cidents occurred which added fuel to the fires of seditious sentiment. The Rowlatt Committee was appointed in the middle of last year to investigate all the evidence bearing upon the disaffection, which was then exhibiting its dangers by sporadic acts of public violence. The report of the Committee proved that the ordinary provisions of the law were unsuitable for such a situation as the Government had to face, and it strongly urged the necessity for legislation permanently strengthening the hands of Government. The Indian moderates were fortified in their determination to act in co-operation with the Government, but the extremists became more violent than ever. The result is seen in the riots that have been recorded at many centres in India in the last few days. The Government have unquestionably an anxious and difficult task in their efforts to cope with this outbreak of disorder; but it need not be doubted that the forces at their command will prove equal to the emergency. Meanwhile, the instigators of these disturbances are simply proving to the world that the Government are well advised in advancing slowly along the path towards Indian autonomy, and confirming the opinion of those who fear that the Government may have gone too far in that direction in deference to agitators whose loyalty to the Empire is open to serious question. Such disorders as have lately been engineered in India can only have the effect of postponing concessions to the principle of "self-determination" in a country which includes one-fifth of the human race.

The *Natal Mercury* of 24th April 1919 under the heading "The trouble in India" writes:—

We regret to see that the trouble in India still remains acute. At Delhi, Lahore, and other important centres the riots have continued to necessitate military intervention, whilst in many country districts in the Punjab Government property has been looted, trains have been stopped, and a condition of organised lawlessness prevails. The Government have, however, taken sharp action to remedy matters; troops have been rapidly drafted to the disaffected districts, and the heads of villages have been informed that the community as a whole will be held responsible for and damage done to Railways passing through their boundaries. As such communal responsibility is well recognised in India, these measures should have a very salutary effect. It is satisfactory to note that the two Presidency capitals, Calcutta and Bombay, remain quiet; the attempt to cause trouble at Peshawur, on the north-west frontier, also, entirely failed, and, in view of the sil-

ence of the cables, we may presume that the disaffection has not spread to Southern India. Whilst it is impossible to say that German emissaries are directly responsible for the present outburst, the fact remains that they were specially active in the Punjab during the earlier part of the war, and it seems almost inevitable that the trouble now occurring, and which chiefly centres in that Province, is in a measure due to their intrigues in the past. Mrs. Annie Besant, who has been one of the stormy petrels of Indian politics, is now strongly condemning the extremist policy; but we fancy that she and others have raised forces which they are entirely unable to control. There is, as a matter of fact, no possibility of satisfying the extremists in India. They condemned the Montagu-Chelmsford Report root and branch, although they were by no means agreed why they did condemn it, and the presumption is that they were angered because it deprived them of valuable political wares, and the more moderate section, who completely broke with them on the question, were prepared to accept the report as a satisfactory basis for the future government of India. The Rowlatt Bills, which dealt with sedition, however, provided them with a handle for activity, and, in view of the fact that the saner elements of Indian society were not attracted by their propaganda, they used these measures to stir up the fanaticism of the illiterates, in the hope that they would force the government to grant from fear the concessions which ordinary constitutional means could not secure. The present disturbances are a grave misfortune to India, especially in view of the fact that the country as a whole is suffering a serious shortage of its staple food, and it may be some considerable time ere they will be completely suppressed. Despite the outcry of a noisy minority, there is no doubt that the vast majority of the peoples of India prefer the strong arm of the British Raj, to be left to the mercies of that small proportion of their fellowcountrymen who think they should be entrusted with the Government of millions of their fellows in India.

Durban Indians meeting.

Over 3,000 persons, at very short notice, assembled at Messrs. Kawa's Bioscope Hall, in Victoria Street, on Sunday afternoon, to demonstrate their sympathy with their countrymen in their homeland. The meeting was very enthusiastic throughout, and was presided over by the well-known passive resister, Mr. Parsee Rastomjee, who had suffered 18 months' imprisonment for his compatriots.

Numerous telegrams were received from all parts of South Africa,

Mr. Shaik Methab's blind pupil sang of the sufferings of his countrymen in India, and this was followed by the Chairman's speech.

The following resolutions were then unanimously passed, the speakers dealing vigorously with the subjects:—

Proposed by the Chairman, seconded by Mr. B. L. E. Sigamoney, and supported by Mr. T. C. Moody: "This mass meeting of Natal Indians assembled at Durban learns with deep regret of the determination of the Government of India to force upon the Indian people legislation based upon the Rowlatt Commission, calculated to deprive even the most law-abiding citizen of that liberty which the British Constitution holds sacred."

Proposed by Mr. Beethasee Maharaj, seconded by Mr. S. Latchman Panday, and supported by Mr. H. J. Joshi: "Whilst deploring the reported acts of violence and loss of life, this meeting records its absolute confidence in the principles of passive resistance as the only weapon that can be used by our compatriots in times of extreme urgency, and resolves to support by every means possible the legitimate aspirations of those who are patriotically opposing these unjust laws."

Proposed by Mr. M. B. Naik, seconded by Mr. R. Bughwan, and supported by Mr. Mohamed Ebrahim: "This meeting of Natal Indians offers its strong sympathy with the Transvaal brethren in the lawful claim to hold and occupy land—ed property, and considers the attempt to deprive Indians of the right to earn their livelihood by means of trade unworthy of those bearing the name of British citizens, and trusts that the Government will abide by its undertaking to respect to the existing rights of the Indian community."

Proposed by Mr. M. C. Anglia, seconded by Mr. R. Lugenberthy: "That this meeting of Indians requests the Union Government to take into favourable consideration the removal of Provincial restrictions against inter-Colonial movements of Indians, and for the just and sympathetic administration of the Immigration Restriction Acts and the rules and regulations framed thereunder."

Proposed by Mr. Rooknudeen, seconded by Mr. A. H. Kajee, supported by Mr. Poonater: "This meeting of Natal Indians resolves to oppose by every constitutional means the repeated attempts on the part of the Natal Municipal Association

to deprive resident Indians of the municipal franchise by, introducing year after year in their draft Municipal Consolidating Ordinances clauses deliberately designed to rob Indians of their existing rights and places on record its grateful thanks to his Honour the Administrator and the Provincial Executive of Natal for so far disallowing all such attempts at racial legislation, and trusts that the rights of the Indian community may continue to be so safeguarded.

Proposed by Mr. B. A. Megraj, seconded by Mr. M. A. Gomiet, and supported by Mr. A. J. Koobair, "This meeting of Natal Indians considers that the time has now arrived for the extension of the political franchise to all men and women lawfully resident throughout South Africa who may be able to comply with the requirements of the Union Act on the subject, and that the liberal policy existing in the Cape Province should be adopted in all the Provinces of the Union."

Proposed by Mr. A. Christopher, seconded by Mr. A. D. Pillay, and supported by Mr. S. S. Amod, "This meeting of the Natal Indians earnestly requests the Provincial Executive to include Indians in the scheme for free education now enjoyed by Europeans, and about to be extended to the coloured people, and respectfully points out the unfairness of taxing amongst others, Indian agriculturists by means of a wheel tax to provide free education for certain sections of the community only."

Proposed by Mr. L. Gabriel, seconded by Mr. Goolabsingh, and supported by Mr. Viojee, "That this meeting authorises the Chairman to forward the substance of the foregoing resolutions to our countrymen and to the authorities."

The following resolution, "This mass meeting of Natal Indians ask their Indian representatives on all Peace Celebration Committees to resign their positions as there can be no Peace celebrations for South African Indians while their Brethren in India are tortured under the lawless law called as the Rowlatt Bills, may

"Black Bills," submitted by Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee.

At the termination of the mass meeting a special mass meeting was immediately held under the chairmanship of Mr. Abdool Hack Kanjee Rahimtoola, comprising practically the same audience, when the last resolution, ruled out at the first, was proposed by Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee, seconded by Mr. Abdula Kajee, and supported by Mr. B. L. E. Sigamoney, and carried with only two dissentients.

WIDESPREAD MOVEMENTS.

London, April 22.—The Press Bureau issues a report from the Viceroy of India dated April 20, which states that in the Punjab five rioters were killed and twelve arrested in a recently reported collision with rioters at Chuharkana. Unrest is reported from Basul, in the Campbellpur district. Mobs burnt Saugla Hill railway station, Sidhwan flag station, and damaged Kaithal station.

The practice of cutting telegraph wires continues in several districts. The mob wrecked Gujerat station on April 15 necessitating troops firing on them. All is now quiet there; so it also is at Amitsar and Lahore.

On the North-West frontier of the Province of Peshawar the movement is essentially Hindu. The Chief Commissioner interviewed a body calling itself "the Committee of Union."

Delhi is quiet, but it is reported that Delhi merchants are exercising pressure on merchants elsewhere by refusing to honour hundis (letters remitting money), and emissaries from Delhi are stirring up trouble in the Punjab.

Bombay is quiet.

A United Provinces railway strike has been threatened, but no trouble has yet arisen. The leaders' attitude is as hitherto, successfully restraining Moslems, despite the strong feeling regarding Turkey and cognate questions. Notices put in inflammatory terms addressed to troops have been posted up at Meerut.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

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No. 10

VICTOR HUGO ON THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

"GENTLEMEN,—My emotion cannot be expressed. You will be indulgent if words fail me. If I had only to reply to the honourable chief magistrate of Brussels, my task would be easy; I would only have to repeat what is in all your minds; I need only be an echo. But how can I thank the other eloquent and cordial voices which have spoken of me? By the side of those great publishers to whom we owe the fruitful idea of a universal publishing house—a kind of preparatory bond between nations—I see journalists, philosophers, eminent writers, the honour of literature, the honour of the civilized continent. I am troubled and confused at finding myself the centre of such a fête of intellect, and at seeing so much honour reflected upon me, who am but a conscience accepting a duty, a heart resigned to sacrifice. How can I thank you? How shake hands with you all together? The means are simple. What do you all—writers, journalists, publishers, printers, publicists, thinkers—represent? All the energy of intelligence, all the forms of publicity; you are mind—Legion—you are the new organ of a new society—you are the press. I propose a toast to the press—to the press of all nations—to a free press—to a press powerful, glorious, and fertile. Gentlemen, the press is the light of the social world, and wherever there is light there is something of Providence. Thought is something more than a right; it is the very breath of man. He who fetters thought strikes at man himself. To speak, to write, to print, to publish are in point of right identical things. They are circles constantly enlarging themselves from intelligence into action. They are the sounding waves of thought. Of all these circles—of all these rays of the human mind—the widest is the press. The diameter of the press is the diameter of civilization itself. With every diminution of the liberty of the press there is a corresponding diminution of civilization. When the free press is checked we may say that the nutrition of the human fam-

ily is withheld. Gentlemen, the mission of our time is to change the old bases of society, to create true order, and to substitute everywhere realities for fictions. During this transition of social bases, which is the colossal work of our time, nothing can resist the press, applying its power of traction to catholicism, to militarism, to absolutism, to the dense blocks of facts and ideas. The press, is force. Why? Because it is intelligence. It is the living clarion; it sounds the *reveille* of nations; it loudly announces the advent of justice; it holds no account of night, except to salute the dawn; it becomes day and warns the world. Sometimes, however, strange occurrence! it is it that gets warnings. This is like the owl reprimanding the crow of the cock. Yes, in certain countries, the press is oppressed. Is it a slave? No, an enslaved press is an impossible junction of words. Besides, there are two modes of being enslaved—that of Spartacus and that of Epictetus. The one breaks his chains; the other shows his soul. When the fettered writer cannot have recourse to the first method, the second remains for him. No; let despots do what they will; I call on all those free men who hear me to witness—there is no slavery for the mind. Gentlemen, in the age in which we live there is no salvation without liberty of the press, but, on the contrary, misdirection, shipwreck, disaster everywhere. There are, at present certain questions which are the questions of the age, which are before us, and are inevitable. There is no medium; we must break upon them or take refuge in them. Society is irresistibly sailing on this stream. These questions are the subject of the painful book of which such splendid mention has been made just now. Pauperism, parasitism, the production and distribution of wealth, money, credit, labour, wages, the extinction of proletarianism; the progressive decrease of punishments, the rights of women, who constitute half the human race, the right of a child who demands—I say demands—gratuitous and

compulsory education, the right of soul, which implies religious liberty—these are the problems. With a free press they have light thrown upon them; they are practicable; we see the precipices about them, and the issues from them; we may attack them and slave them. Attacked and slaved they will save the world. Without the press there is profound darkness. All these problems become immediately formidable. We can only distinguish sharp outlines; we may fail of finding the entrance, and society may founder. Quench the pharos, and the port becomes a rock. Gentlemen, with a free press error is not possible; there is no vacillation, no groping about in the progress of man. In the midst of social problems, of the dark cross-paths, the press is the indicating finger. There is no uncertainty. Advance to the ideal, to justice and to truth; for it is not enough to walk, you must walk forward. How are you going? That is the whole question. To counterfeit movement is not to accomplish progress. To make a footprint without advancing may do for passive obedience. To walk about for ever in the path is but a mechanical movement, unworthy of man. Let us have an aim. Let us know where we are going. Let us proportion the effort to the result. Let an idea guide us in each step we take. Let every step be logically connected with the other. Let the solution come after the idea, and let the victory come after the right. Never step backwards. Indecision in movement shows emptiness of the brain. What is more wretched than to wish and not to wish? He who hesitates, falls back, and totters, does not think. Gentlemen, who are the auxiliaries of the patriot? The press. What is the terror of the coward and the traitor? The press. I know it: the press is hated, and this is a great reason for loving it. Every indignity, every persecution, every fanaticism, denounces, insults, and wounds it as far as they can. I recollect a celebrated encyclical, some remarkable words of which had remained

on my memory. In this encyclical Pope, our contemporary Gregory XVI., the enemy of his age, which is somewhat the misfortune of Popes—and having ever present in his mind the old dragon and beast of the Apocalypse, thus described the press in his monkish and barbarous Latin—*gula ignea, caligo impetus immanis cum strepitu horrendo*—(a fiery throat darkness, a fierce rush with a horrid noise). I dispute nothing of the description. The portrait is striking. A mouth of fire, smoke, prodigious rapidity, formidable noise. Just so—It is a locomotive which is passing; it is the press, the mighty and holy locomotive of progress. Where is it going; where is it dragging civilization? Where is this powerful pilot engine carrying nations? The tunnel is long, obscure, and terrible, for we may say that humanity is yet underground, so much matter envelopes and crushes it, so many superstitions, prejudices, and tyrannies form a thick vault around it, and so much darkness is above it. Alas! since man's birth the whole of history has been subterranean. We see nowhere the divine ray; but in the 19th century, after the French revolution, there is hope, there is certainty. Yonder, far in distance, a luminous point appears. It increases, it increases every moment; it is the future; it is realization; it is the end of woe, the dawn of joy; it is the Canaan, the future land where we shall only have around us brethren and above us Heaven. Strength to the sacred locomotive! Courage to thought; courage to science; courage to philosophy. Courage to the press; courage to all of you writers! The hour is drawing nigh when mind delivered at last from this dismal tunnel of 6000 years will suddenly burst forth in all its dazzling brightness. I drink to the press, to its power, to its glory, to its efficiency, to its liberty in Belgium, in Germany, in Switzerland, in Italy, in Spain, in England, in America, and to its emancipation elsewhere."

THE DHARMA VIR.

Friday, May 9 1919

MR. HORNIMAN.

The order served upon Mr. Horniman, Editor of the "Bombay Chronicle", to leave India is a typical instance of how the Indian Government propose to use the arbitrary powers vested in them. Mr. Horniman could not be suspected for a moment of having been involved in the recent disturbances in India. On the contrary, he decided to conduct a passive resistance movement against the provisions of the Black Acts against which his con-

science revolted. No human being, whatever be his race, creed or colour, could view with equanimity the commission of the enormities contemplated by the authors and sponsors of the sordid Rowlatt Acts. Much less could Mr. Horniman, whose humanitarian impulses led his heart to beat in unison with the helpless and downtrodden millions of India who are groaning under the tyrannical heels of the Indian bureaucracy. The constitutional agitation of Passive Resistance has been recognised and approved by the Indian Government. Mr. Gandhi, the soul of the Passive Resistance Movement in this country was honoured with the Kaisar-i-Hind decoration upon his arrival in India, and in the face of these facts, why Mr. Horniman, the Vice-president of the Passive Resistance Committee in India, should be made the victim of the Indian Bureaucracy's displeasure passes our comprehension. Perhaps, the Indian Government discovered to their discomfiture that Passive Resistance in India was a more effective and forceful weapon than in South Africa. Whatever be the motive of the Indian Government, it cannot be gainsaid that they are earning the derision of the world. So far as Indians are concerned, we are sure, every endeavour would be made to see that Mr. Horniman is not punished for expressing his noble convictions and enrolling himself as a crusader in the interests of Indian liberty and freedom. The foolhardy action of the Indian Government will only serve to give additional impetus to the movement in India.

The unrest in India

Telegraphic Reports

London, April 21.—The Press Bureau issues a report from the Viceroy of India, dated yesterday.

It says that in the Punjab a strike is reported at Gogra and Lyallpur. Martial law has been proclaimed in the latter district, in view of the strong anti-British propaganda and constant cutting of telegraph wires.

The curfew hours at Lahore have been shortened.

A flying column from Ferozepur made some arrests at Manjha, and a column from Lahore visited Kamoke and Gujranwala. Cases of incendiarism are reported from Gullundur.

Further reports of evil Delhi influences have been received in Rehtak district.

A report on April 24 states that all is quite at Lahore and Amritsar.

The cutting of a water channel 15 miles to the south of Lahore flooded the Multan road. Fines amounting half a

year's revenue were imposed on certain villages near Lahore.

Chief Kalsudwar at Amritsar sent a message to the Sikhs requesting them to refrain from any movement calculated to disturb the peace.

An armoured train is operating along the Samasata Railway. It is stated that strikes have been prevented by the presence of troops.

The Nawab of Loharu has placed 50 armed camel sowars at the Government's disposal.

London, April 27.—The situation in the Punjab is officially declared to be well in hand. Many wandering fakirs, who are suspected of spreading false reports, are being arrested, their activity being counteracted by widespread distribution of pamphlets, also by all district officials explaining the scope of the Rowlatt Acts to the ignorant classes.

London, April 29.—Reuter, at Bombay, telegraphing on April 26, reports that the Governor of Bombay with the sanction of the Viceroy, has ordered that Mr. Horniman, editor of the "Bombay Chronicle," who was associated with Gandhi in the passive resistance movement, to leave for England immediately.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

LONDON, May 1 (delayed).

The Viceroy of India reports that the Seditious Meeting Act has been extended to Sind.

Delhi, Allahabad and Bombay are reported quiet.

Nine men have been sentenced to transportation for life for a serious assault on an inspector of police.—Reuter's Special Service.

TRANSVAAL INDIAN DISABILITIES.

Select Committee's Report.

Capetown, May 7 (Reuter).—The report of the Select Committee on Indian disabilities in the Transvaal is published. A draft Bill is appended, which the Committee urges should be submitted this session, giving effect to its recommendations. These are to the effect that (a) the vested rights of Indians who were carrying on business in the proclaimed mining areas in June, 1914 (when the agreement was arrived at between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi), should be respected; (b) that the vested rights of Indians who since that date obtained trading licences, and are carrying on business in such areas,

should also be respected; (c) that Indians should have the right to transfer existing businesses to other Indians legally resident in the Transvaal; (d) that steps

should be taken immediately to render it impossible after the 1st inst. for any Indian or Asiatic to obtain a trading licence for a new business; (e) that the Trans-

vaal Law of 1885, which debars Asiatics from owning property in the Transvaal, should be amended so as to render it impossible for prohibited individuals to evade it by forming limited companies.

THE BLACK COBRA BILLS

DEMONSTRATION IN DELHI.

MANY CASUALTIES.

On March 30th all business was suspended in Delhi. It was however discovered that on the Railway premises two dealers in sweatmeats kept their stalls open, whereupon, three patriots approached the proprietors and were inducing them to close when they were arrested and lodged in a room on the station premises. News of this incident spread like wild fire, and in a moment over a thousand people gathered at the station and demanded the release of the three men. A police officer appeared on the scene and while discussion was taking place between him and the spokesmen of those assembled, the railway officials sent urgent messages for troops, who arrived with machine guns and fired on the mob causing many casualties.

The mob dispersed and gathered near the Town Hall now numbering several thousands. The Troops again arrived with machine guns and children simply laughed at the troops which were composed of Gurkhas and Europeans and threw stones upon them. The troops then fired three volleys killing 20 persons and wounding 40.

It is said that the people behaved in a very orderly manner. They merely demanded in a peaceful manner the release of the three innocent persons who were arrested. The police who were requested to fire refused and the troops were then brought to the scene.

In the afternoon a monster meeting was held in the People's Park and a crowd of over 10,000 people assembled. Swami Shardhanand (Munsi Ram) presided. The District Magistrate, the Chief Commissioner and two military officers arrived and endeavoured twice to disperse the crowd without success. Thereafter they told the Swami that he will be held responsible, whereupon the Swami said, that he will not be responsible for peace if the police interfered with the progress of the meeting. He further told them that the meeting was a peaceful one. Thereupon the government visitors left. In the evening complete tranquility prevailed. All the streets were deserted and not a

soul was to be seen except men in Uniform. The streets were full of blood stains.

A reign of terror reigns in Delhi. The people were all in a very excited and discontented mood. Rifle shots were fired near the Town Hall during the night. Sentries were placed throughout Delhi and troops were guarding European civilians.

The blood stains were seen many days and the sentries remained on duty. The next morning funeral processions were the order of the day. One procession was followed by over 80,000 persons, including the Swami. The corpse was that of a Mohammedan Youth who died of bullet wounds while he came shopping for his marriage requirements.

After the monster meeting of 30th March while the Swami was returning to his place followed by a large number of people a Gurkha pointed his rifle at the Swami and fired a blank cartridge. The Swami rushed to the sepoy and said, Shoot! Shoot!! The Gurkha became afraid and was led away by European officer.

The following day no further disturbances took place. In the evening a meeting was held at the house of a leading Mohammedan which resolved that the public should appoint a Commission to enquire into the occurrences.

One student who had come to Delhi to sit for his examination was bayonnetted in his abdomen very seriously. When he was bravely bearing his pains and was proceeding to Hospital his younger brother who was following began to cry. The wounded brother turning said, "Do not cry brother, I am wounded in the service of our motherland." The noble soul passed away and over 200,000 persons followed his coffin.

CABLE TO INDIA.

The following cablegram has been forwarded to Viceroy, Gaudhi, *Chronicle*, *Times*, *Gujrati*, *Jame-Jamshed*, Mrs. Sorajine Naidoo, Jinnah Barrister, Hon.

Sarima:—

"Monster mass meeting Natal Indians regret determination Government India force upon Indian People coercive legislation based Rowlatt Bills depriving most law abiding citizens liberty held sacred British constitution. Deplore violence loss life absolute confidence principles policy Passive Resistance support legitimate aspirations those patriotically opposing unjust laws Pray Government repeal legislation."

Parsee Rustomjee
Chairman.

The above was forwarded to us for publication on 2nd May 1919 while before that date all our Indian contemporaries received copies for publication in time to be published in their last issue. Does this not afford an instance of how the Gandhi Party act in this country? This puny-minded action on their part indicates that our remarks as to the recent Mass Meeting being called to serve their party purposes was but too true. (Ed.)

Held Over.

The report of Aryan Benevolent Society has been held over.

To Subscribers.

All subscribers whose subscriptions are in arrear are hereby requested to kindly forward same without further delay. It is unnecessary to state that by so doing they will enable us to continue our work without hindrance. In these days, when prices are ruling high in the market, it is no easy matter to run a journal; and with subscriptions being long overdue and unpaid one could well imagine the difficulties that have to be weekly overcome. We hope this intimation will not be overlooked.

The **PHARMA** **WEEKLY** **WILL**

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN ENGLISH AND HINDI.

VOL 4.

Springfield, Durban, Friday 16 May 1919.

No. 11

NEW REPRESSIVE BILLS.

Bill No. 2 of 1919.

The "superstitious" Indian generally tries to begin the day with something auspicious, so that the whole day may bring good fortune. In accordance with this predilection of the Indian mind, the Government of India have proposed to begin the work of legislation of the year 1919, with the auspicious Bill No. 1 of 1919, of which we have given some idea. As that Bill is auspicious for Indians it is only to be expected that other bills of a similar nature should characterise the year. So we have Bill No. 2 of 1919, which, when passed, would be called the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Act, 191—

A principle recognised in civilised jurisprudence and embodied in the Philippine Organic Act is that "no person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." Section 12 of Bill No. 2 would practically go against this principle under certain circumstances.

The Court constituted for trials of offences under the proposed law would have the power to prohibit or restrict the publication of the reports of trials, only the substance of the evidence of witnesses shall be made a memorandum of, and the judgment of the courts shall be final and conclusive and non-appealable. So these trials are not to be *public, open* and *satisfactory*, as these terms are ordinarily understood.

Considering that it is from the police that Government derives all its information regarding the dangerous or suspicious character of certain of its subjects, the reader will find how dangerous the powers of the police would be under the sections extracted below:

20. "If the Governor-General in Council is satisfied that movements which are, in his opinion, likely to lead to the commission of offences against the State are being extensively promoted in the whole or any part of British India, he may, by notification in the Gazette of India, make a declaration to that effect, and

thereupon the provisions of this Part shall come into force in the area specified in the notification.

21. (1) Where, in the opinion of the Local Government, there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person is or has been actively concerned in such area in any movement of the nature referred to in section 20, the Local Government may, by order in writing containing a declaration to that effect, give all or any of the following directions, namely: that such person—

(a) "shall, within such period as may be specified in the order, execute a bond with or without sureties to be of good behaviour for such period not exceeding one year as may be so specified;

(b) "shall notify his residence and any change of residence to such authority as may be so specified;

(c) "shall remain or reside in any area in British India so specified;

provided that, if the area so specified is outside the province, the concurrence of the Local Government of that area to the making of the order shall first have been obtained;

(d) "shall abstain from any act so specified which, in the opinion of the Local Government, is calculated to disturb the public peace or is prejudicial to the public safety; and

(e) shall report himself to the police at such periods as may be so specified.

When an order has been made under section 21, there would be an inquiry *in camera* by "the investigating authority" into the facts of the Government case against the person upon whom the order has been passed. Every investigating authority shall consist of three persons, of whom one shall be a person having held judicial office not inferior to that of a District and Sessions Judge, and one shall be a person not in the service of the Crown in India. So these investigating authorities cannot be expected to have perfect judicial independence, or at least as much judicial independence as our

High Court Judges. Not only is the inquiry to be held *in camera*, but the person in question shall not be entitled to appear or to be represented before the investigating authority by pleader, though he himself may appear before the authority and furnish any explanation he may have to offer. As orders under section 21 may be renewed by the Local Government after the expiry of a year, a man's liberty of action and movement may be restricted or taken away for an indefinite period.

There are also powers given for the arrest of persons without warrant, the confinement of persons for a period not exceeding fifteen days without any trial or any reason given, and for the search for and seizure of anything found in the place searched "which the person executing the order has reason to believe is being used or is likely to be used for any purpose prejudicial to the public safety."

And in order to make it quite clear that the Act is intended to arm the executive and the police with powers for the exercise of which they are not to be responsible to any judicial authority, section 41 lays down:—

No order under this Act shall be called in question in any Court, and no suit or prosecution or other legal proceeding shall lie against any person for anything which is in good faith done or intended to be done under this Act.

The late war may have been fought for the world's freedom; but the year 1919 does not promise to make us personally more free than we have been, hitherto. On the contrary, it promises to forge for us new fetters of a lasting character.

(To be Continued)

Afghans invade India

London, May 8.—The "Times" says that, according to private dispatches from India, Afghan regulars have seized lofty

positions inside the Indian border commanding the Khyber and Toishelmon Passes.

It is impossible yet to say how far the new Ameer is cognisant of this violation of British territory, but his proclamation claiming the independence of Afghanistan and his polite dismissal of three Englishmen in his employ are ominous.

Probably the origin of the Afghan outbreak is connected with the unrest in the Mohammedan world.

The journal expresses the opinion that if the trouble is swiftly countered it will not be dangerous, and says it is a good omen that the Afridi tribesmen at Peshawar remained staunch while rioting was taking place in Amritsar.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

THE DHARMA VIR.

Friday, May 16 1919

THE DELHI DEMONSTRATION.

The peaceful demonstration, of the citizens of Delhi against the drastic Rowlatt laws, was met by extraordinary violence on the part of the Indian Government causing many casualties among the people. It will appear, from the report published by us last week, that the actual facts surrounding the occurrences in our motherland are in complete variance with the reports supplied by Reuter. Reuter's information misleads the world as to the true state of affairs, and does very great injustice to the peaceful demonstrators against the most iniquitous law ever promulgated by man. The extraordinary action of using machine guns, aeroplanes, etc. against unarmed peaceful demonstrators is most inhumane and disqualifies those responsible from occupying the position of rulers. The Indian Government's action indicates how nervous they are over their actions in passing a tyrannical law against the unanimous protests of the people and their representatives. The using of machine guns etc. against unarmed people is the last thing that peo-

ple can be reasonably expected to put up with, and one need not wonder, why the people's protest thereafter took a more tangible form. The shameful treatment meted out to Swami Shardanand by the satanical Gurkhas will throw into the back ground all similar iniquities perpetrated by the representatives of the Indian Government in the past. We hope the Viceroy will in the interest of justice bring those responsible for the assault upon the Swami to book, and we also hope, that he will disclaim the action of the troops at Delhi and cause appropriate punishment to be meted out to them. In the absence of such action on his part we hope the people of India will draw the attention of the League of Nations to these gross iniquities.

TRANSVAAL GRIEVANCES.

While the hands of our countrymen in India is full owing to the passage of a infamous law our countrymen in the Transvaal are to have no peace.—The Select Committee appointed to inquire into their grievances have recommended a bill depriving Indians of their rights to new trading licenses and of their rights of acquiring land by forming themselves into limited liability companies. This bill has now been introduced in Parliament and will in all probability be passed into law. The introduction of this bill indicates that the so-called settlement arrived at between Gandhi and Smuts was a farce. Every struggle commenced by Mr. Gandhi ended by the deprivation of some existing right though Gandhi artfully managed to hoodwink the people by construing every defeat into a victory. Be that, as it may, the Transvaal Indians are now faced with a difficulty, which, if not overcome, will overwhelm them and reduce them to a position of helotage. The Europeans are resolved upon closing to our people every avenue whereby they may make a honourable livelihood and remain respectable citizens. If this bill becomes law, the course of action is clear for the Transvaal Indians, and if they fail in their duty

to their country and their posterity they will only earn the eternal derision of their countrymen. We need hardly assure them that the other provinces will staunchly support them as far as circumstances permit. Resistance to this aggressive law is the duty of the Transvaal Indians.

Transvaal Indians' Protect

New Bill

Johannesburg, May 12 (euter).—A mass meeting of Indians yesterday passed resolutions protesting against the recommendations of the Select Committee concerning future trading by Indians, and the holding of fixed property by limited companies, and appealing to the Government and Parliament to reject any Bill introduced for carrying into effect the disabilities threatened.

Speeches at the Meeting.

Johannesburg, May 12 (Special).—At the Indian meeting yesterday, C. L. Asmat, chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association, referred to the report of the Select Committee on Indian Disabilities, and said that if that report was correct, and if the recommendations of the committee became law, at least two more links in the long chain of Indian disabilities would have been added; good-bye then to the hopes of any non-trader to become a shopkeeper or merchant unless he could purchase some other Asiatic's business. A trader temporarily abandoning trade, say, for a visit to India, would on his return be unable to take out a new licence. Good-bye to the hopes of the trader or merchant acquiring his own business premises, even though he incorporated himself into a limited liability company, as was done at present. In the old passive resistance days they were reproached with having gone to war over an abstraction for the sake of honour. They were told they were fools to suffer imprisonment for sentiment. In more recent years they had been told that the biggest war in history was waged for principle, so

that their folly would appear not to have been so foolish after all. The disabilities with which they were now threatened were substantial, and not sentimental, though, of course, their feelings were outraged at the imputations of their inferiority to their fellow-British subjects, which the threatened legislation implies. The sole question for them to determine to-day was—what were they going to do? Were they going to sit down tamely and allow the great majority of their community to be branded as helots, forbidden to rise in the world merely because they are men with brown skins, who happened to be born in India, or had they still pride enough, courage and determination enough left to fight the good fight for Indian rights and India's honour? That was for them to decide.

Other speeches in similar strain were made.

Unrest in India

Participants Sentenced

London, May 3.—The India Office announces that three rioters at Lahore, who stoned the police, were sentenced to three years' imprisonment. Two were acquitted.

Twenty-five men have been sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in connection with the attack on the Bank at Amritsar.

It appears that the rural population have taken little part in the disturbances and the returned emigrants held aloof.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

Ward VI-Ratepayers

A general meeting of the above Association will be held on Thursday next the 22nd instant at 187, Umgeni Road, (Native Church) near Mr. Moula Bux, Store at 6.30. P.M. Sharp.

BUSINESS:—

- (1) An address on Municipality by an Official of the Association.
- (2) To protest against the contem-

plated disenfranchisement of Indians.

A. J. Koobair & N. Rossool,
Jt. Hon. Secretaries.

The 9th session of the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan was held under the presidentship of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya during Easter Holidays in Bombay on the 19th, 20th and 21st April. His Holiness the Shankaracharya of Karveer-Peeth was elected Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Hitherto 29 Mahomedan newspapers have suffered under the Press Act! The *Independent* says that in all no less a sum than Rs. 42,500 was demanded as security, but it was not paid and this prematurely killed many newspapers. The total amount of security forfeited of both the Muslim and the non-Muslim papers is Rs. 31,500. What a havoc this terrible Act has wrought in India? This is the freedom of speech and writing in India!

Aryan Benevolent Society

Annual Meeting

The 5th Annual General Meeting of, the Aryan Benevolent Society was held at 495 Church Street, on Sunday, the 30th March 1919 last. The Meeting commenced with prayers and there were present Messrs S. R. Naidoo, R. M. Moorgas (Secy). L. M. Pillay, M. Subramaniam R. Manicam, R. G. Moodley, Dasrath Panday, R. B. Mahmaj, R. N. Moodley, P. R. Singh, R. Aroomagum, S. Narasoo and several others. Mr. S. R. Naidoo (Vice President) in the absence of the President occupied the chair. The Secretary read the minutes of the last Annual Meeting which were confirmed.

The Secretary thereafter read his annual report, a summary of which is as follows:—

Chairman and Gentlemen.—In submitting my annual report, I regret to state that this year was the blackest of all years so far as the work of the Home is

concerned, owing to lack of usual support, due to various causes, from the community; to the Epidemic Flu and to other circumstances all of which greatly hampered the progress of our work.

Govt. Grant. Your Society is much thankful to the Provincial Council which kindly increased the yearly grant from £25 to £30. As the grant is insufficient to meet $\frac{1}{2}$ of the expenses of the Home. I trust the Government will be prevailed upon to still further increase the grant.

Corporation Grant. Your Society had a desire since the establishment of the Home to make an application to our Corporation for a grant, and I trust that the Society will lose no time in approaching the Corporation.

Crematorium & Burial Fees. I regret to state that since the commencement of the Home there occurred 20 deaths, the corpses were cremated. The expenses of cremating a body cost the Home not less than £5. For every funeral the Corporation charged the sum of £1. 7. 6. for wood and burial certificate and so far an amount of £27. 10. 0. was paid to the Corporation in connection with cremating bodies. The Corporation does not seem to give any consideration to encourage and ease the work of this Society in this direction, and out of a Home chiefly founded to help the poor destitutes it seeks to derive revenue. Had it not been for the Home the responsibility of burying the destitute dead bodies would have fallen on the shoulders of the local authorities, the expenses of which would naturally be borne by it. I seriously impress upon the Society to make application to the Corporation for the supply of free wood and burial certificate. By this means expenses incurred would be diverted to meet other useful necessities of the Home.

Insufficient Light. I regret very much that there is insufficient electric lighting in the vicinity of the Home. About 3 years ago your secretary wrote to the Borough Engineer complaining of the insufficiency of light but received un-

unfavourable reply. I urge upon you to see the authority to have this remedied, as otherwise considerable inconvenience will be caused as heretofore to the workers of the Home in carrying out their duties at night.

Crematorium Gentlemen, so far no attempt has been made to induce the Corporation to build a crematorium as this is indisputably a most hygienic method of disposing of the dead. At times when there is heavy storm difficulty is experienced, owing to lack of shelter, in setting fire to the pyre.

Health Department. Your Society sincerely thanks the Health Department for rendering every assistance and supplying disinfectant and lime gratis. During flu every precaution was taken to prevent an outbreak and I am happy to state not a single inmate contracted this contagious disease. Mr. Palmore, Inspector of the Health Department, paid the Home a visit, and was satisfied with the cleanly condition of the premises and of the person of the inmates.

Gray's Hospital Board. Your society is grateful to the Gray's Hospital for the supply of free medicine for attending inmates free. But I feel it my duty to mention that a public institution like the Gray's Hospital refused admission to patients suffering from a form of contagious disease and the rejected ones were compelled to seek our assistance. Few months back your Secretary wrote 3 letters to the medical superintendant to admit certain patients suffering from cancer in the mouth and I regret that there was no reply. The patient was sent to seek admission but was refused. I trust your Society will make it a point to interview the Board to make provision for the admission of this kind of patients.

Since the departure from Maritzburg of Dr. Cawston who attended inmates free, your Society was put to some medical expenses. I hope the Society will endeavour to find a generous doctor who can give free attendance.

Death. Your Society was obliged

to bear the funeral expenses of a stranger who had come from Verulam. It appeared that the deceased after coming to the city died suddenly leaving a wife and 3 children. The Society got up a public subscription and cremated the body.

Weekly Collection. I regret very much to state that the weekly collection made by the members have been discontinued this year. In previous years these collections were made every week regularly and the yearly revenue from this source amounted to about £50. The money was helpful in more than one way of relieving emergency expenditures. I strongly urge upon the Society to recommence their collections and thus augment the fund.

Bread & Milk Supply. As there are public spirited men, who, if approached, can supply these free I trust steps will be taken in this direction.

Land. Gentlemen, I have to report that there is still a balance of £3. 15. 0. in respect of the purchase of land in East Street. I trust that this debt will be wiped off and transfer taken this year.

Officials. I am glad to state that the officials sacrificing their own business and time a little have worked in the cause of the Home in a suitable manner for which thanks are due to them.

Donations Thanks are due to the "Times of Natal" for supply of a free copy and also to Mr. G. V. Pillai for the supply of "Viveka Bhano" and to the following Gentlemen:— Messrs P. N. Naidoo, Mr. Reddyar, R. G. Moodley, Lala Rama, D. K. Soni, N. Bhoola, S. Devshi, G. Apparao, Tajooddeen, S. R. Naidoo, Abdool Rehman and others for supply of necessities.

The Hon'y Treasurer thereafter submitted his report together with a statement of Receipts & Expenditure which showed a total income of £50. 9s 7½d. expenditure £61. 3s 10d. the Society being indebted in the sum of £10. 14s 2½d. The report was adopted.

The Hon'y Supervisor Next submitted a statement of provisions collected free and used which was adopted. He stated

in his report that 15 inmates were admitted during the year, 3 deaths occurred, 12 were discharged, 10 special cases were given temporary assistance and there were 9 inmates at present.

The supervisor was heartily thanked for the efficient manner in which he carried out his duties.

After the adoption of the Rules, election of officials was proceeded with, which resulted as follows:—

Patron: Col A. T. G. Wales V. D.

Trustee: A. G. Moodley Esq.

Hony Life Vice-Presidents: Messrs P. N. Naidoo, S. R. Naidoo, R. N. Moodley, & Dr. F. G. Cawston.

President: M. Subramaniam Esq.

Vice President: Messrs R. G. Moodley, Valoo Billy & D. Panday.

Hony Secretary & Treasurer: Mr. R. M. Moorgas.

Hony Life members: Messrs R. G. Moodley, R. M. Moorgas, G. M. Lall, S. Narasoo, R. Manicam, L. M. Pillay, M. Sudramantrm & S. C. Pillay.

Committee men: Messrs S. Narasoo, P. R. Singh, R. Aroomogum, R. B. Maharaj & Kupie Murrie.

At the conclusion Mr. R. N. Moodley donated a sum of £1. 1. 0. for the Home. It was decided to make a collection at the Hindu Temple on Good Friday. Mr. S. R. Naidoo has kindly promised to print 5000 collection badges free.

The meeting closed with prayers.

R. M. Moorgas

Hony Secy & Treasurer

ARYAN BENEVOLENT SOCIETY.

To Subscribers.

All subscribers whose subscriptions are in arrear are hereby requested to kindly forward same without further delay. It is unnecessary to state that by so doing they will enable us to continue our work without hindrance. In these days, when prices are ruling high in the market, it is no easy matter to run a journal; and with subscriptions being long overdue and unpaid one could well imagine the difficulties that have to be weekly overcome. We hope this intimation will not be overlooked.

The Dharma Vix

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN ENGLISH AND HINDI.

VOL 4.

Springfield, Durban, Friday 23 May 1919.

No. 12

THE AFGHAN WAR.

Simla, May 8.—It is officially stated that the position in Afghanistan has changed with remarkable rapidity. Disaffection has been spread among the troops, who demanded vengeance for the late murdered Ameer Habibulla. Despite ostentatious unanimity with which the recent Durbar executed Col. Ali Raza and condemned Nasrulla Khan to imprisonment for life it is now stated that innocent persons were punished and the real culprits escaped.

Ameer Amanulla, fearing rebellion resolved on the perilous measure of embarking on war against India, and spread to this end false stories among the soldiery of the troubles in the Punjab, and depicting the rich bazaars as being at the mercy of Afghan invaders.

The Viceroy sent Ameer Amanulla a message by express, couched in the strongest terms, and conveying a stern warning, but without success.

Afghan troops are now arriving at various points on the border, and British troops are already moving to their allotted places of concentration.

The attitude of the tribesmen at the moment is admirable. The Afridis remain staunch, and Mohmands told Lieut.-Col. Sir George Roos Reppel Chief Commander and Agent-General to the Governor-General in the North-West Frontier Province, they were prepared to fight on our side.

Much discussion is believed to be proceeding at Kabul.

Amanulla is reported to have visited Nasrulla (brother of the late Ameer) and Ibrahimulla (son of the late Ameer) in prison, and offered them their liberty in return for their leading the army against India; but both refused. Nasrulla is now believed to have been poisoned in gaol.

Aeroplanes will probably play an important part in the fighting.

The Afghans and the British forces are rapidly nearing each other.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

Simla, May 9.—The Khan of Kalat

sent a message to the Agent of the Governor-General in Beluchistan deploring the insensate conduct of the Ameer Amanulla, which must inevitably lead to his destruction. The Khan gives a renewed assurance of loyalty. Sirdars of Kalat, leaders of the Qnetta community, and tribesmen have done likewise.

Simla, May 9.—Martial law has been proclaimed at Peshawar (the capital of the North-West Frontier Province, and 10½ miles from the entrance of the Khyber Pass).

The Afghan Postmaster at Peshawar has been grossly abusing his position, and has been distributing inflammatory literature, and becoming the centre of an agitation of the wildest character. This Postmaster was no diplomatic agent, but merely the head of the post office, which, as a special concession, the Government allowed Afghanistan to maintain at Peshawar. He left his office, went to the heart of the city, and surrounded himself with gangs of armed ruffians from the dregs of the Afghan population, and openly defied the British authority. A secret cordon was, however, swiftly drawn round the city, and the Postmaster and his staff, completely taken by surprise, surrendered. Three Indian agitators were also captured. Thanks to the secrecy of the arrangements and the skill with which they were carried out, Peshawar was cleared of dangerous elements without any loss of life. One Indian, who was sent to Parley, was stabbed and dangerously wounded.

Simla, May 10.—The following was the position on Friday with regard to the Afghan trouble:—

Following the crest of the ridge dividing Lundikotal from the plains of Afghanistan the enemy had small detachments at Ashkel and Pirakhel, small villages in British limits, near Lundikotal. The enemy force is estimated at 4,000 Afghan infantry and eight guns, with 3,000 tribesmen.

The main Afghan strength is concentrated at Bagh and the spurs commanding it. Bagh is an important centre, owing to its proximity to the springs supplying water to Lundikotal.

Our advance troops, under General Crocker, pushed forward on the 9th, and ejected the Afghans from Ashkel, and an advance was made down the pass west of Lundikotal. The operation proved successful. We secured our first objectives at a cost of light casualties.

Our troops at Lundikotal are now enabled to cover the concentration of troops operating in the Khyber area.

In these operations aeroplanes co-operated with good effect, using bombs and Lewis gun on excellent targets.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

Simla, May 10.—The Viceroy has issued a proclamation, in which he desires to make known to the loyal subjects of the King-Emperor the regrettable news that the Ameer of Afghanistan, violating all treaties and disregarding the steadfast policy of his wiser predecessors, has resolved on a sudden wanton attack on India.

The Viceroy believes (continues the proclamation) that this folly is due directly to internal events in Afghanistan, and there is also reason to apprehend that the present breach of faith with India is possibly the long-delayed fruit of the efforts of friends of Germany at Kabul, who failed in their endeavour to shake the loyalty of the late Ameer.

The Viceroy states that he holds evidence showing that the Ameer excuses his treachery by pretending that India is in a state of revolution, which would react on Afghanistan. He also told his people that in India neither property nor religion was safe. Relying on such a falsehood, the Ameer called upon Hindus and Mussulmans to show him allegiance. He also freely stated that the Sikhs fired on British troops, that Germany was about to re-commence the war, and that the

English were destroyed.

The Viceroy also possesses proof that the Ameer prepared false leaflets for dissemination in India, and made plans to corrupt and buy certain newspapers, inspired by the futile hope of seducing his Majesty's subjects.

The Ameer commenced military operations in suicidal folly. He ventured to measure his strength against the Power which had just emerged victorious from the greatest war ever fought. The Government possesses overwhelming strength, and the criminal and wanton incursion will meet with the speedy punishment it deserves.

The Viceroy, having thus confided in the people, earnestly appeals to them not to believe false rumours, and refrain from any conduct which may add to the burden of the Government. He refers to the sorrowful experience of past invasions from the frontier, from a repetition of which the Government is well able to protect them.

In the name of the King-Emperor, the Viceroy enjoins all loyal people to assist the Government to crush the enemy of peace to India, and refrain from giving colour to the false stories assiduously disseminated.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

London, May 10.—A man named Melonghlan, who was the last man to leave Afghanistan, has reached Peshawar, after an exciting experience.

He states that the Bolsheviks have taken in big part in the war movement in Afghanistan.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

THE DHARMA VIR.

Friday, May 23 1919

PEACE CELEBRATIONS AND INDIANS

The date of the signing of the Peace Treaty is at hand. It is well that the public should be informed what action the Indian representatives on the local peace celebrations' committees are intending to adopt, in view of the resolution passed at the recent monster meeting, concerning the participation of Indians in the prospective peace celebrations. To flout the opinion of the public would be most unwise and dangerous. If the Indian members feel that the resolution was passed without due consideration at a moment of undue excitement, we suggest to them the advisability of calling representative Indians together for the purpose of further discussing the point. For ourselves, we feel that the decision of the mass meeting was most unwise, in view

of the fact that the British people are not to be held responsible for the high-handed actions of the Anglo-Indian Bureaucracy. The fact that local Europeans admitted our right to participate in the general function without distinction or limitation must not be lost sight of. It is absolutely essential that this theoretical admission should be con-

verted into a practical act and established on record. We are sure that if representative Indians were called together and the situation explained, there is very chance of the former decision being revoked. In the absence of such revocation there could be no other alternative but to resign their posts.

The Asiatic Amendment Bill.

Discussion in Parliament.

Gandhi-Smuts Settlement.

ASIATICS LAND AND TRADING AMENDMENT BILL.

Mr. ROTH (Pretoria, Central) moved the second reading of the Asiatics (Land and Trading) Amendment Bill, as recommended by the Select Committee, of which he was chairman. He pointed out that the Select Committee dealt first with Asiatics trading, and in the second place, with the registration of companies for the purpose of evading the law, whereby Asiatics individually were prohibited from owning land.

Mr. ROTH proceeded to refer to the arbitration on the question of Indian rights in the Transvaal. In 1887 the Law of 1885 was still in force. Subsequent to the British occupation a case cropped up in which the granting of trading licenses to Asiatics had been refused, but an appeal to the Transvaal High Court, a decision was given that the licenses could not be refused. Mr. Roth proceeded to refer briefly to subsequent legislation affecting the Indians, pointing to the clauses in the Gold Law prohibiting the occupation of premises by coloured persons in proclaimed areas. Subsequent to that again there was the Passive Resistance movement of 1914; and the subsequent agreement arrived at between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi, when the Government undertook that vested rights of Indians would be protected. Mr. Roth pointed out how, during the course of the present year there arose

TROUBLE AT KRUGERSDORP

as the result of Indians having opened new businesses at Krugersdorp. The Krugersdorp Municipality, under the Gold Law, applied for the ejectment of certain Indians who, however, were not made a party to the action. Mr. Justice Mason on this occasion, granted an order that the Indians should leave the premises on proclaimed ground. The question was what was to be done in the case of Indians on proclaimed land, who had acquired trading rights under law? In accordance

with the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, those rights would be respected up to a date fixed in the Act. Mr. Roth pointed out that between 1904 and 1911, the Indian population of the Union increased by 30,000. There was no likelihood of the Indian population being increased immigration, but there would be the natural increase. It was prepared to recognise trading rights on mining areas up to May 1, 1919. Proceeding, Mr. Roth said that since 1914, the number of new general dealers licenses granted to Indians in proclaimed goldfields was 71. The position, therefore was that the Indians who had acquired rights even after 1914 should be recognised.

Dealing with the question of INDIANS ACQUIRING LAND

through limited liability companies, Mr. Roth pointed out how, in former years, Indians being prohibited from owning land, they had land transferred in the name of a European, who then passed a permanent bond to them. However, trouble ensued owing to one of the Europeans in whose name the property was held, going insolvent. The new device, which he was told came from Japan, was thereupon resorted to, under which Indians formed themselves into liability companies which were able to hold land, though the individual shareholders could not own land. The company, Mr. Roth pointed out, was regarded by law as an entity, and could at present hold land. In the manner 37 Indian companies had been registered, while, added Mr. Roth, a telegram from Pretoria informed him that 14 more such companies had been registered during the past few weeks; while 40 to 50 more had applied for registration. (Laughter.) The Select Committee decided to recommend that the terms of the Law of 1885 should be extended to limited companies controlled by Asiatics. One member of the Select Committee (Mr. Alexander) suggested and moved that Indians should have no restrictions placed on their rights

and movements, and should be placed on the same plane as Europeans. Mr. Blackwell, on the other hand, suggested, that companies of Asiatics should be compulsorily liquidated. (Hear, hear.) He however, regarded this as drastic and unjust. (Hear, hear.) He held that the rights which had been legally acquired should be recognised. The Judge-President of the Transvaal and Mr. Justice Ware had opposite views as to the

LEGALITY OF SUCH COMPANIES, but the Select Committee and the Bill did not propose to go so far as to declare existing companies illegal. The provisions of the Bill, therefore, were in the first place to legalise trade rights existing up to the first inst. under the registration of companies, which were controlled by Asiatics. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. DE WET (Minister of Justice) pointed out that in ordinary circumstances the question of Indian administration fell under the Minister of the Interior, but owing to the latter's time having been fully occupied, he (the speaker) had served on the Select Committee. The Bill, which applied only to the Transvaal, dealt merely with two points—trading on the proclaimed areas and the acquiring of property by Indians. The law of 1886 laid it down that no Asiatic could own property in the Transvaal, at the same time respecting the rights of those who already owned land. The law did not prevent Asiatics from trading or leasing ground, although provision was made under which the Government could define areas in which Asiatics were to live. They could, however, carry on business where they pleased. Thus a number of loopholes were left. The question of companies acquiring land had not cropped up in those days. In the legislation of later days, however, provision was made, for instance, that companies consisting of Natives could not own land. Asiatics, however, were not dealt with. Mr. De Wet proceeded to say that the number of private Indian companies was steadily increasing every day. The Select Committee had felt that it was

THE OBJECT OF THE LAW of 1885 that neither Indian nor Indian companies should be allowed to own land, and it was with that object in view that the report recommended that companies formed after May 1, 1919, should not be able to own land. There had been a tendency in the committee also to deal with people who had acquired land before May 1, 1919, but, after all, the Indians had legally acquired the land, although through a loophole in the law. The Minister incidentally pointed out that a case was "subjudice" in regard to the question whether the present Indian companies could legally own land. Mr. De Wet

proceeded to deal with the question of trading rights, pointing to the agreement arrived at between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi, which was to the effect that all vested rights would be protected. At the same time, it was understood that there should be no extension of the existing rights. As a result of the war and other circumstances, that agreement was never put into law, and since 1914 some 71 new trading licences had been granted to Indians on the proclaimed areas. It was felt that these new licences had been secured owing to Government, as well as the local authorities, allowing those licences, and in the circumstances the committee had felt that it would be unwise to go back on the licences which had already been granted, as otherwise a great cry of an injustice being done to the Indians would be raised. It was felt that the door must be closed against any further licences or rights being granted. That was the attitude which he had taken up, which Mr. Rooth had taken up, which Mr. Joubert (Pretoria, North) had taken up, and also which other members of the committee had taken up. It was useless crying over spilt milk and saying that steps should have been taken in 1914. There was no doubt about it that steps must be taken now, and he urged the House to pass the Bill, and see that it appeared on the Statute Book during the present session.

(To be Continued)

Contents of the New Bill

The following are the provisions of the new bill:—

1. Those provisions of sections *one hundred and thirty* and *one hundred and thirty-one* of Act No. 35 of 1908 (Transvaal) which relate to the residence on or occupation of ground held under a stand licence on proclaimed land by coloured persons and any provisions similar thereto contained in the conditions of any deed of grant or freehold title in a Government Township (as defined in Act No. 34 of 1908, Transvaal) issued under the last-mentioned Act shall not apply:—

- (a) to any British Indian who on the first day of May, 1919, was, under the authority of a trading licence lawfully issued, carrying on business on proclaimed ground or on any stand or lot in such township, or to the lawful successor in title of any such Indian in respect of such business; or
- (b) to any person *bona fide* in the employment of such a British Indian or his successor in title, so long as such British Indian or successor in title continues so to carry on business

on the same ground or stand or lot on which or in the same township in which it was being carried on on the first day of May, 1919:

Provided that nothing in this section shall be construed as abrogating any exceptions contained in the said sections *one hundred and thirty* and *one hundred and thirty-one* or in the conditions aforesaid.

2. Those provisions of Law No. 3 of 1885 (Transvaal) and any amendments thereof heretofore enacted which prohibit a person belonging to any of the native races of Asia from being an owner of fixed property in the Transvaal subject to certain exceptions specified in such amendments shall, subject to the same exceptions, be construed also as prohibiting the ownership of fixed property in the Transvaal by any company or other corporate body in which one or more persons belonging to any of those races have a controlling interest:

Provided that the provisions of this section shall not apply in respect of the ownership of any fixed property acquired by any such company or corporate body before the first of May, 1919.

3. This Act may be cited for all purposes as the Asiatics (Land and Trading) Amendment Act, 1919.

Held Over.

Reports of Messrs R. R. Singh's and D. Singh's marriages and of master Bughwans funeral have been held over together with reports of the Indian disturbances.

We have also held over our comments on the discussion in Parliament with reference to the new bill.

INDIAN REFORM.

London, May 13.—Two Committees, under the presidency of Lord Southborough, who visited India in connection with the Indian reform scheme, to work out franchise proposals and define functional changes in the Government, have issued a report. The Franchise Committee recommends that women be temporarily excluded from voting for Provincial Councils. The effect of the Committee's proposals is to increase the Provincial electorate from 33,000 to 5,188,000. Enfranchisement is contemplated of all retired, pensioned, commissioned, and non-commissioned officers in the Indian Army, a separate communal electorate for Mohammedans, and also Sikhs in the Punjab and Indians Christians in Madras; also Europeans and Aus-

Continued on page 7

पेशावर जो दर्रा खैबर से साढ़े दस मील के फासले पर है वहां फौजी कानून की घोषणा कर दी है।

पेशावर में अफगान पोस्ट मास्टर ने भडकानेवाले नोटिस बांटे बादमें वही पोस्ट मास्टर अपने आफिस को छोड़कर हथियारबन्द अफगानों के साथ ब्रिटिश सरकार का तरिस्कार करने लगा और उसको मय साथियों के अधीन कर लिया। ३ भारतीय जोश फैलानेवाले भी पकड़े गये।

१० मई का तार सुचित करता है कि मि० मकलाफन जो कि अफगानिस्तान को छोड़ कर पेशावर में आन पहुंचा है वह कहता है कि अफगानिस्तान की लड़ाई में बोलशेविकों ने भारी हिस्सा लिया है।

९ मई बोलशेविस्ट रिपोर्ट के अनुसार अफगानों का मिशन मोम्सू में पहुंच गया है।

शिमला मई ९ का तार है अफगान सेना लुण्डी कोटल से अशखल पर बढ़ रहा है और ब्रिटिश की हद में घुस रहा है ॥

शिमला मई ११ का तार खबर है कि हवाई जहाज से अफगान लौनी पर गोले गिराये और जलालाबाद का नायब सालार जो कि डेक्का का सरदार है घायल हो गये।

अफगान सेना खोस्ट और कुरम की सरहद पर पहुंच गयी है।

विवाह संस्कार

ता० ८ मई १९१९ को ट्रांसवाल निवासी म० हरदत्त शाहकी पुत्री कुमारीका शुभ विवाह गलको जंक्शन के म० चंद्रिका शाहके द्वितीय पुत्र चि० लक्ष्मी नारायण के साथ ओवरपोर्टमें होगया। विवाह मंडप

झाड़ फानूसों से सजाया गया था और बीच २ में ओरेंज तथा नाचिस आदि फल लटकाये गये थे। लगभग २०० मनुष्यों ने भाग लिया था जो लोग कुछ कारण वश समय पर उपस्थित नहीं हो सके थे। उन्होंने पत्र द्वारा सहानुभूति प्रगट की थी। विवाह संस्कार हो चुकने पर निम्नित्त सज्जनोंको प्रीति भोज देकर सत्कार किया गया। इस कार्य के लिये हम म० हरदत्त शाहको धन्यवाद देते हैं और परमात्मा से प्रार्थना करते हैं कि इस युगल जो डी की दीर्घायु करे ॥

चन्दौसी के सब मुसलमान भाईयों ने मय कसाईयोंके मसजिद में जाके प्रतिज्ञा करली, कि आयन्दा हम गौ साता की कुरबानी नहीं करेंगे।

यह बड़े आनन्द की बात है कि ९ अप्रैल से पंजाब की चीफ कोर्ट हाइ कोर्ट हो गया। इसमें ७ स्थायी जज रहेंगे। सर हनरी रोड्रिगन इस हाइ कोर्ट के पहले चीफ जस्टिस नियुक्त हुए हैं।

glo-Indians, with exceptions. It is proposed that there be special representation of special interests, including commerce and industry. Several nominated members will represent the depressed classes. The Legislative Assembly will be enlarged to 120 members, of whom two-thirds will be elected. The Council of States will be increased to 56, of whom 24 will be elected.

The Functions Committee, over which Mr. R. Feetham presided, suggests that naval and military matters, currency, commerce, revenue sources, post and telegraphs, and civil and criminal law be administered by the Government of India.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

Provincial Council and Licensing Officer.

The House went into committee on the Dealers' Licence Laws Amendment Draft Ordinance.

Clause 4, which was standing down, was re-passed.

A new clause, dealing with appeals from the decisions of licensing officers and making clear the position in regard to the method of dealing with application for new licences was brought forward. On the motion of Mr. COLEMAN the clause stood down.

In further discussion, Col. RETHMAN said the manner in which licences were given to Indians on the coast was a disgrace while in many instances Europeans who had put up substantial buildings had been refused.

Mr. TAYLOR defended the Licensing Officer, and declared that there was no such partiality shown as had been suggested by the member for Umzimkulu.

Col. RETHMAN explained that he was casting no aspersions on the officer in question, but on the system in vogue today of granting licences to Indians. It was a wrong principle to give to one individual the responsibility of granting these licences.

Mr. CHADWICK thought it better to have one officer who would give his decision impartially on the merits of the case.

Mr. CHIAZZARI agreed that there was no reflection on the Licensing Officer, but supported the principle of a Licences Appeal Board.

Progress was reported.

ग्राहकों को सूचना

धर्मवीर के उन ग्राहकों की सेवा में निवेदन है जिन्होंने अभी तक अपना वार्षिक मूल्य भेजने की कृपा नहीं की। उन्हें चाहिये कि यथासम्भव शीघ्रपत्र का मूल्य भेजकर अपनी उदारता प्रकट करें।

मेनेजर "धर्मवीर" पी० ओ०
बोक्स ११८० दरजन.

The Dhamma Vic

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN ENGLISH AND HINDI

VOL. 4.

Springfield, Durban, Friday 30 May 1919.

No. 13

THE AFGHAN WAR.

Simla, May 11.—No further operations are reported from Lundikotal.

Reports of the air raid on Dakka (Afghanistan) on Friday indicate excellent results were obtained.

The headquarters camp of the Afghans was heavily bombed, and Naib Sulur, of Jalalabad, who is in command at Dekka, was seriously wounded.

Direct hits were obtained on the camps and horse lines, tents were blown up, and fires started. A total of 1½ ton of bombs was dropped at Dekka, which for the time has been evacuated.

No further reinforcements have come to the scene of operations. Afghan regulars are reported to have reached Khost, and considerable liveliness is reported along the Kurram border.

All is reported quiet in other frontier areas.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

London, May 14.—“The Times” says that reports have filtered through from Afghanistan that Nasrullah Khan has been killed in prison.

It points out that the rumour must be received with all reserve, as subsequent statements speak of conferences between the Amir and his imprisoned uncle.

The situation regarding the Afghan advance is believed to be well in hand.

Simla, May 12.—Our advanced troops holding Lundikotal, having been reinforced, we developed an attack on the morning of the 11th against the Afghans holding the Khargali position in force.

The attack was completely successful, and we now hold Khargali, which secures at us Killagebags and its springs.

We captured three guns and two horse teams.

Airmen, carrying out reconnaissances to midday on the 11th, reported numbers of the enemy retiring from the spurs about Khargali into I ala, which is a short distance from Fort Dakka.

Our casualties are stated to be slight.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

Simla, May 13.—Reports show that the Afghans were heavily punished in an action about Lundikotal on May 11. Six guns and one Gardner gun were captured, while the enemy losses in killed are estimated at about 100. The Afghans are in hurried retreat, and have left many of their dead behind whom we buried. These figures do not include casualties inflicted by our aeroplanes in the more distant bombing raids, which are reported to have had an excellent effect, at Jalalabad and Ningrahar. This is evident because Fort Dakka, the advanced headquarters and the concentration point of the regular troops, is reported by aerial reconnaissance to be evacuated.

Successful air raids were also made against Fort Chora, at the eastern end of the Bazaar Valley, belonging to the malcontent Afridi-Malik, who are threatening trouble in connection with communications in the Khyber Pass, and whom the tribesmen asked us to punish.

The enemy on the Dakka front are

reported to be suffering from a shortage of rations, which is very probable, in view of the deserted state of the Jalalabad—Dakka road, as reported by the airmen. All is quiet on the Derajee and Danna borders, while the demeanour of all the independent tribes continues satisfactory.

Our total casualties to May 12 are:—British: Killed 4, wounded 19. Indian: Killed 7, wounded 22.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

Simla, May 14.—The British have made a further advance in the Khyber area, and occupied the important frontier cantonment of Dakka yesterday. We have now captured a total of ten guns. The morale of the Afghan troops is stated to be bad.

News from Chaman shows that the situation is normal, but rumours are current as to activity among the Kandahar garrison.

Other reports from the frontier show that the Woziris and Mahonds are quiet, and nothing untoward has occurred at Khost, Kuran, or at S. The evident signs of hesitation in the Afghan army is a satisfactory feature of the situation.

Pushing forward a comparatively small body of troops into our territory, and leaving them unsupported, Amanullah has been guilty of half measures. His unprovoked violation of our frontier has been answered by an effective and immediate action. We have freed our loyal Shinwari villages from hostile incursions.

and hold Dakka, which the enemy intended to use as an advanced base for future operations. This will doubtless prove an object-lesson to the Afghan people; also to any waverers amongst our independent tribes.

The Nizam of had issued a remarkable message joyfully rejoicing that his subjects fully recognise the nature of past and present events, and that they have maintained a proper attitude to their ruler, who is a faithful ally of the British Government.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

Simla, 16.—The Afghan Commander-in-Chief has sent a letter to the political agent in the Khyber area asking for a cessation of hostilities.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

Simla, May 15.—The Methar of Chitral assured Sir George Ross Keppel, Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, in spirited terms, of the devotion to the Government of himself and his people and of their hatred of the Afghans. The Khan of Teri Bannu has offered his service, while the Nawab of Amb sent his son to Sir George Ross Keppel to offer any services required.

The Nawab of Dir has expelled all Afghan agents and wired his congratulations on the victory of Bagh, with assurances of complete loyalty.—Reuter's Special Service.)

Simla, May 15.—The British representative at Kandahar reached Ghaman on May 14, the same day as the Afghan envoys from Simla reached the Afghan authorities at Loe Dakka.

Orders recently arrived at Herat from Kabul reinstating the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, who had been imprisoned because they were members of the Musahibin, which is still popularly credited with complicity in the murder of the late Ameer. This and the simultaneous news that Nasrulla Khan had been found guilty at Kabul much incensed the troops at Herat, who appear to be in a state bordering on open rebellion against the Afghan Government.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

dering on open rebellion against the Afghan Government.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

Simla, May 15.—The Viceroy has issued a striking proclamation by Great Britain to "the brave and honest people of Afghanistan," and steps are being taken to disseminate it by aeroplane and other agency.

The proclamation draws the attention of the Afghans to the old friendship and alliance between Great Britain and the benefits which have accrued from the alliance. It refers to how Britain intervened at Abdur Rahman's request and forced Russia to stop the oppression of Afghans, while later Britain rewarded Habibulla's loyalty to the treaty by increasing the subsidy, and presented him with one crore of rupees, and looked forward to a closer friendship after the war. When Habibulla was murdered Britain was filled with horror, and grief and public mourning were ordered throughout India.

The proclamation declares that if the people of Afghanistan help Amanulla in his mad course they will only ruin themselves. It points out the futility of the ambitions of the ill-starred youth already shown by his army at Dakka being forced into flight and guns captured by the advance guard of the vast army Britain is assembling. The proclamation asks: Will the people allow a youth false to the memory of his martyred father to bring calamity to the brave peoples of Afghanistan, ruin to the traders, debar families from obtaining cloths and the necessaries and comforts of life, and camels from their grazing grounds? It says that Britain would like to see Afghanistan again peaceful, prosperous, free, and independent under a wise Ameer and concludes: "May God help the Afghan peoples to take the right path speedily."—(Reuter's Special Service.)

Simla, May 8. (delayed).—A concentration of Afghan regulars and tribal

Lashkars is reported at Ningranar, between Jalalabad and Dakka.

In Khost the elders are disinclined for war, though the younger men probably hold a different view.

All is reported quiet in Waziristan and on the Ghuman railway line, while the arrival of troops at Fort Kurram has re-established confidence.

A few shots were fired yesterday, but no actual encounters took place. One aeroplane was flying in the vicinity of Tor, Sappar, and Bugh, near Lundikotal (the highest point in Khyber Pass).

Orders have been issued for the mobilisation of the Field Army. The concentration of our troops on the frontier is progressing smoothly, according to plan.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

London, May 12.—The attitude of our Independent tribes continues to be satisfactory. The Khostwal tribe, however, is disappointed that the promise of a distribution of arms has not been fulfilled.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

THE DHARMA VIR.

Friday, May 30 1919

THE ASIATIC AMENDMENT BILL.

The Asiatic Amendment (Land and Trading) Bill has passed in Committee with an astounding amendment disentitling Indians to the issue of new licences in any part of the province of Transvaal. As the "Natal Mercury's" Parliamentary correspondent says, for the first time in the history of the British Empire, licences to trade are to be refused to members of the British Empire. Among the many disabilities proposed to be imposed upon Indians by the late South African Republic were those prohibiting ownership of land by Indians, and the payment of a fee of £3 for the privilege of trading. Those provisions were passed into law by Law 3 of 1885. On complaints being made by the Indian community, the Imperial authorities objected to these, and

other provisions of Law 3, as being a direct infringement of the London Convention; and a compromise was arrived at converting the law into a sanitary measure applicable to coolies only and not to traders and other persons of a superior mode of life. Differences, however, continued between the Government of the Republic and England as to the scope of its application, resulting, in the reference to arbitration and the consequent award entitling the Republic to give full force and effect to the law "subject to sole and exclusive interpretation in the ordinary course by the tribunals of the country", the British Government, however, retaining the right to make friendly representations. The grievances of Indians under this law were also advanced as one of the reasons for the Boer War. British Statesmen made some very strong remarks upon the injustice intended to be perpetrated upon Indians. Owing to the strong attitude adopted by England, Law 3 was practically inoperative before the annexation. After the annexation, attempts were made to confine the rights of residence and trade to special locations set apart for the purpose. In reply to suggestions such as these in 1902 by the High Commissioner, the Secretary of State for the Colonies replied that:—"It was impossible to defend what would practically be a continuance of the system of the South African Republic against which His Majesty's Government had so strongly and repeatedly protested. In 1903, again, the High Commissioner forwarded a further dispatch dealing with the relegation of Asiatics to special streets, wards and locations in which alone Asiatics might reside and trade etc etc. In reply, the Secretary of State condemned all except reasonable safeguards of public health and wrote that:—

"An apprehended trade competition from the British Indians now in the country, whose number is now comparatively small, and will, under the proposed restrictions on immigration, be in a diminishing proportion, cannot be accepted as sufficient reason for the legislation proposed.

His Majesty's Government have steadily declined to allow this fear to influence their views in the past. On the contrary, for many years they repeatedly protested before the Empire and the civilised world against the policy and laws of the late South African Republic in relation to the subject. Those laws were, indeed, only partially enforced while His Majesty's Government is now asked not merely to sanction their strict enforcement, but to set aside by legislation the judgment of the Supreme Court, which has given to the British Indian rights for which His Majesty's Government have strenuously contended. . . . His Majesty's Government hold that it is derogatory to national honour to impose on resident British subjects disabilities against which we had remonstrated, and to which even the law of the late South African Republic, rightly interpreted, did not subject them, and they did not doubt that when this is perceived, the public opinion of the colony will not any longer support the demand which has been put forward.

"The second Ordinance proposed, which will take the place of Law 3 of 1885, should, therefore, not interfere with the rights of those now in the country to obtain licences to trade outside locations... With regard to the question of the holding of land, British Indians who are entitled to reside outside locations must at least have the right to acquire property on the premises which they occupy for business purposes."

In spite of the repeated failures in this respect the European (trading) population of the Union are bent upon destroying the rights of Indians in the Transvaal. But whether their hopes would be realised is another question. The farming and industrial population are not opposed to Indian trade and the proposed legislation is the outcome of trade jealousy pure and simple. Whether the Imperial Government will abide by the stand it has hitherto adopted or whether it will succumb to the bogey of interference in the concerns of a Self-governing colony remains to be seen. For ourselves, we are

not too sanguine that we will not be betrayed. We must have our faith pinned on Self Reliance. God helps only those who help themselves. There was much wastage of breath in Parliament and much fuss made upon the Smuts-Gandhi settlement. The Smuts-Gandhi settlement was a farce and was declared to be so by a large number of Indians as vouched for by the Minister of Justice and Mr. Rooth. In the face of this why the present bill founded as it is said on the Smuts-Gandhi settlement should be forced upon the entire Indian population passes our understanding? Those Indians who acclaimed the settlement as a victory and who described it as the Magna Charta must now feel discomfited for being befooled by Mr. Gandhi. The last strike cost us dear and so has the faith in Mr. Gandhi's leadership.

(To be Concluded)

MARRIAGE

Two beautiful marriages were celebrated at Maritzburg on 14, May, 1919. The contracting parties were two daughters of Mr. Namdar Singh and Messrs R. R. Singh and D. Singh respectively. The pandal was very tastefully decorated and lighted with multifariously coloured lights.

The function commenced at 8 P. M. and terminated at 2. 30 a. m. Pandit Sivnarian Panday officiated.

Mr. G. H. Singh through an ingenious contrivance placed on the top of the Pandal caused a shower of confetti to fall all over the Pandal at the moment the nuptial knot was tied.

The gathering numbered over 300 guests and the brides and bridesgrooms were the recipients of many presents.

OBITUARY

Ross Bughwan.

The very sad and sudden death of Ross Bughwan the youngest son of R. Bughwan, Durban, age 13 years 9, months took place on Thursday 15th May 1919, at 56, Startford road Durban. The funeral took place on Friday 16th inst at 3 p.m. to Stellawood Cemetery, where a large crowd of friends gathered to pay their last tribute and respects. The boy who was a student of the Higher Grade Indian School, was well liked by all his friends during his short life. His death was a great shock to all who knew him. Sympathetic messages were received from many friends. A large number of prominent Indians also attended the funeral. We offer our sincerest condolence to Mr & Mrs R. Bughwan and family.

The Asiatic Amendment Bill.

Discussion in Parliament.

Gandhi-Smuts Settlement.

Sir A. BAILEY (Kruger-dorp) said he did not wholly agree that this was merely a Transvaal matter. It did not require a prophet to predict that they would have this matter again before them, especially if they passed this Bill. This was the most important matter brought before the present session, and he was anxious to have the support of members, and also of the public and the press, in obtaining amendments to the measure, so as to produce

A MINIMUM OF EVIL.

He regarded the Bill as an instrument for South Africa to commit suicide, and if they passed this law they would be sharpening the instrument which would make them commit suicide in the future. So far as concerned recognising the rights of Indians up to 1914, he agreed to the recommendation of the committee. As for rights acquired since that time, he could not agree to these being recognised. He was opposed to the provision in the Bill that Indians should be allowed to make over their businesses to other Indians legally residing in the Transvaal, giving them the goodwill. Such businesses in time would be worth enormous amounts of money. He agreed with the principal of rendering the registration of Asiatic companies illegal, but he could not understand that there was anything in the Bill carrying out the recommendation of the Select Committee that no further licences to Indians should be allowed. Sir Abe proceeded to say that there was nothing in the Bill to prevent new trading licences being issued after May 1, 1919. He could not understand how the committee had arrived at its conclusions, after the evidence which it had taken. The Indians themselves in their petition acknowledged that there was an agreement between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi, and in their petition they asked no more than he now proposed doing. (Hear, hear.) It was recognised that by the agreement between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi the Indian question had been finally settled.

Mr. DUNCAN: No.

Under the Bill, Sir Abe continued, every Indian anywhere in the Transvaal was given the right of becoming the successor of any other Indian anywhere else in the Transvaal. Ever since the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, the Indians had gone out of their way systematically to

It was all very well to say that the Government should not have granted the licences, but when the Government tried to refuse, the Court declined them that right.

He wanted to see the Gold Law carried out, the hon. member remarked, in reply to an interruption from Mr. Alexander.

Regarding the registration of Indian companies, Sir Abe said that the time had come to put a stop to that. There was no doubt about it that the Indians had broken the spirit of the agreement, and for that reason he would insist on the Bill going back to the position as it was in 1914. Mr. Rooth had said that a number of members of the community had supported the Bill. Where were those people? There were a number of merchants who had signed a petition stating that they would be sorry to lose the custom of the Indians. (Laughter.) Mr. Jagger's name was on that list, and but for that and another he would have thought that the petition came from the internment camp.

Mr. JAGGER: I have never seen that list.

Proceeding, Sir ABE BAILEY quoted from the report of the Land Bank to the effect that there was a danger of

COOLIE FARMERS IN NATAL ousting the Europeans. He contended that all the legislation of the Transvaal Parliament, that of British Colonies and the Union Parliament, was against this law. He wanted to know what the policy of the Government was, because the Bill disclosed no policy. It was a compromise without finality. He recognised the good services of the Indians in the war, but they had no better friend than the British Empire, and there had lately been unrest among them. He would move an amendment in committee to the effect that they should abide by the position of 1914. If they wanted to see a social and economic menace they should go to Natal. In conclusion, Sir Abe Bailey urged that should take the same action as the other Dominions in keeping out Asiatics.

Mr. DUNCAN (Fordsburg) agreed with the last speaker that this Bill would not bring finality, but finality was in sight. This was one aspect of a wide struggle between white and Asiatic. The Bill was meant to be a compromise pending a more permanent settlement of our relations with Asiatics, but it was intend-

ed to draw the line bluntly. Sir A. Bailey was illogical, because he was not prepared to go back to the Gold Law. It was true that the Indians had asked for their rights of 1914, but the interpretation placed by Indians upon those rights was that they be allowed to trade now, though the agreement of 1911 overlooked the existence of the Gold Law. Others had come in since. Mr. Duncan proceeded to point out that the Town Councils had been given certain powers to grant licences, but when the Councils refused, appeals to the Courts had succeeded, notwithstanding the very definite provisions of the Gold Law. The only point in which the Bill could be said to go beyond the agreement of 1911 was in that it proposed to allow businesses which had been established since 1914, and it did so because it did not wish to do a wrong by winding up businesses which had been allowed to be started as a result of the authorities shutting their eyes to the provisions of the Gold Law. He did not say that the Bill was the end of the matter as far as the Indians or the white man was concerned, but it imposed the

LEAST POSSIBLE HARDSHIP

on any section of the community.

Mr. MALAN: It is not a new disability.

Mr. DUNCAN agreed that it was not new, and he considered that the proposal was reasonable, and should be respected. He was not one who advocated unrestricted Asiatic trading. The white traders would disappear under such a system. What was going to be the position in Natal with its Indian population it was impossible to say; but in the other Provinces, as trustees for the white population of the future, they had the duty to see that unrestricted Asiatic trading was not allowed. The time would come when Asiatics would have areas demarcated in which they would be allowed to trade, but the time had passed when we could treat Asiatics as we liked. We had done a good deal by restricting immigration and trade, and were now trying to get back to the position of the old Gold Law. Rights had been created in spite of the old prohibitions, and he appealed to Sir A. Bailey to take a wider view, and look at interests outside Kruger-dorp. As for the companies which had acquired land, it might be said that companies formed for an unlawful object should be liquidated, but he considered it would be most unjust to liquidate companies which had been in existence for years. The Bill was necessarily a compromise, and we should not spoil our case by unjust dealing towards Indians. He appealed to the House to accept the bill, and the hands of Parliament would then be all the stronger in dealing with Asiatics in the

future. It was an unpleasant task that they were asked to perform, but it was justified on the ground that European and Asiatic civilisation

COULD NOT LIVE SIDE BY SIDE with advantage to either. There must be some demarcation, and in drawing a line, they should do so in a clear, firm, and certain way, in order to inflict the least possible amount of harshness. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. PAPENFUS (Hospital) said he would accept a Bill to confirm the rights existing in 1914, but he didn't see why the House should go out of its way to legalise what might be declared by the Law illegal, namely, the owning of land by Asiatic companies. If the Indians were given a finger to-day, we should have to give them a hand to-morrow. They were encroaching on European traders, and he was averse to giving them more than they already had.

Mr. DE BEER (Harrismith), said that the Free State, fortunately, did not have the difficulty of having to cope with a large Indian population. How, he asked, could a decent white man try to compete with people who could live on the smell of an oil rag? It struck him as very peculiar that a number of merchants in Johannesburg, whose names included that of Mr. Jagger, supported the Indians, apparently not caring what became of future generations, so long as they kept their profits. He agreed with a great deal of what had been said by Sir Abe Bailey, and also urged that a provision should be made in the Bill similar to that appearing in the Free State Law, that no Asiatic should be allowed to take part in farming enterprises.

Col. COLLINS (Ermelo) regretted that the Bill had been introduced so late in the Session. The Bill was a compromise, but the public of the Transvaal did not wish to make compromises any longer. There was a feeling that the Indians should be compensated, and he got rid of Whether that was fair or not, that was the feeling. There was a great deal to be said for the arguments of Sir Abe Bailey, that they should go back to the position which existed in 1914. However, he could also see much in favour of the arguments used by the Minister of Justice. No provision was made in the Bill for the carrying out of the recommendation of the Select Committee, that no further licences should be granted, and he was going to move that in the whole of the Transvaal, Asiatics would not be allowed to get further licences. He also asked whether the Bill would legalise the holding of property by Indians. If in the case which was at present sub judice, the court held that they did not hold land legally and could not do so.

Mr. BEZUIDENHOUT (Heidelberg) also trusted that if the Supreme Court found the Indian companies could not hold property the Bill would not legalise their position.

Mr. SCHURINK (Lydenburg) said that the Free State was in an enviable position as regarded Indians. He feared that the Bill might have the effect that Indians who were unable to get licences on the proclaimed areas would gravitate to the outlying districts, where, even if they were refused licenses, the Courts might uphold their applications. He feared that members who so strongly supported the claims of the Asiatics took very little account of the unfair competition which resulted between Asiatics, whose standard of living was much lower than Europeans. Regarding Asiatics and the ownership of land, he felt that in the registration of private Indian companies which had acquired land the Indians had contravened the law, and it was going a bit too far to condone such contraventions.

Mr. RENNI (Springs) said it seemed to him an extraordinary thing that they should seek to legalise evasions of the law since 1914. The law was plain, and he thought it was a pity that they did not go a little further and give the municipalities more power in this matter. While he was in England he went generally into the Asiatic question, and found that all the British Dominions had been confronted with it, and each had affirmed its right to treat Indians as it chose, while the Government of India had the right to do the same with people from the Dominions. He preferred that the question of the rights of Asiatic land companies should be settled in the Courts. He would like to see the Bill draw the line more tightly in regard to trading on other than mining areas. If they legalised encroachments now there was no saying where other evasions might crop up. He urged that the date of the operation of the Bill should be July 1, 1914, instead of May 1, 1919. They should be just, but should not punish European traders by sanctioning evasions of the law.

Major VAN HEERDEN (Rustenburg) complained that the Bill did not extend to the villages in the Transvaal, where the Indian trader was ousting the European.

Mr. ALEXANDER (Capetown) Castle emphasised that there was no law that prohibited Indians from trading in the Transvaal. The only reason why the contrary view was held was the traditional interpretation of the Gold Law of 1885, which laid down a registration fee for Indian traders. Nor was there a word in the Act of 1908 that prohibited Indians from trading, and there was no question of

trading, but only of the acquisition of mining rights. If hon. members realised this they would, he thought, be fairer in dealing with this question. Moreover, the passive resistance movement was not concerned with the question of trading complained of. In Sir A. Bailey's partisan and one-sided utterance he found nothing to bear out the assertion that the Indian had undertaken not to apply for new trading licences, and contended that it was unfair to accuse them of having broken any agreement. Not a word was said in the correspondence with Mr. Gandhi in 1914 in regard to Asiatic land companies. In every case, so far as he knew, where an Asiatic had been refused a trading licence by a municipality, he had succeeded on appeal to the magistrate. The Gandhi agreement provided for the successors to existing Indian Business, so that Sir A. Bailey wanted to go behind that agreement in this respect. The Bill was asked for solely by the retail traders of the Transvaal, and not by the farmers. The word "evasion" in relation to land companies was phrased to evade the issue, as an eminent judge had said. Although the Bill was not what he would have liked, he regarded it as the fairest compromise possible in existing circumstances, and hoped it would pass.

Mr. GRAUMANN (Commissioner Street) said there was no doubt that the antagonism against the Indians on the part of the European community had grown stronger each year by reason of the trading and living conditions of the Indian community as compared with those of the Europeans. Touching on the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, Mr. Graumann said that nobody wished to go back upon that, but the question was whether the 81 new licences granted since 1914 should be cancelled. If he could cancel those licences without doing a very great injustice he would do so. He feared, however, that the cancellation of those 81 licences would constitute a breach of faith, and he was not prepared to break faith. Without going into legal niceties he held that everything that had happened before May 1 in regard to the registration of Indian companies and the acquisition of property by such companies was matter for the Law Courts to decide. If the Courts said that the Indian companies had not contravened the laws he would say, "Well, at any rate we have now a chance to protect ourselves for the future." In all those circumstances, he would support the Bill, making it clear, however, that he desired to get rid of the Indian, because he felt that his presence here was inimical to the best interests of the European community. He hoped, however, that the Bill would bring about the finality which everyone wished for.

Dr. DAVIES (Yeoville) said he was quite prepared to support the Bill if he could be given the assurance that the lawyers knew their minds and that no further vested rights would be created between now and 1925. (Laughter.)

Dr. MACNEILL (Boksburg) said the object of the Bill seemed to legalise occupation of land which was declared to be illegal in the past. He was prepared to stand by the Gandhi-Smuts agreement, but did not wish to legalise anything after 1914. If South Africa was to be a white man's country then they were to protect the white man from the competition of the Asiatics. There was no doubt about it that the Government should have taken action sooner, although under the conditions prevailing in the past one could hardly blame the Government for not having done so.

Mr. NATHAN (Von Brandis) said it was quite true that there was no specific legislation in the Transvaal against Indians holding trading rights, yet in 1911 Mr. Gandhi, in a certain letter, gave the impression that the law of 1908 interferes with the Indian trading rights. He held that there could be no doubt that by the registration of Indian companies holding land the Indians had evaded the law. If the Indians came to the House with clean hands the House would support them, but if not he did not think the House should uphold them. He could not see how the Indians could have secured a vested right by evading the law.

Col. Sir JOHN HEWAT (Woodstock) supported the Bill as being a fair compromise.

Mr. DREW (Germiston) said the Bill was the only possible compromise which the House could in all equity come to.

The sitting was suspended till 8 o'clock.

Evening Sitting.

Mr. DREW resumed his speech after adjournment. He recognised the evils of Asiatic competition, but considered

that they had been sufficiently restricted to limits in which he considered it was no longer a menace, but a service to the community by keeping down prices. He said we should stand by our contract in dealing with the Indians, and it was not worth while inviting trouble for the sake of 71 miserable businesses.

Mr. FICHART (Ladybrand) feared that as the Asiatic population increased more and more, land would have to be set aside for them. The people of the Free State would support the Bill, and see that their interests were safeguarded.

Mr. JAGGER (Capetown Central) said the signature to the testimonial to the Indian traders, incorporated in the Select Committee's report was that of his partners in Johannesburg. His position was much the same as that of Mr. Duncan, and he was almost as much opposed as anyone to the spread of Asiatic trading.

Col. Commandant PRETORIUS (Waterberg), said he regarded the Indians as a very real menace to the existence of the white trader in South Africa because wherever the white and Indian trader competed, the European went to the wall. The Bill was a very dangerous one, as he considered that it gave the Indians rights which they had never had in the past. In olden days, South Africa had found it practically impossible to cope with the Indian question because of the danger of coming into conflict with the Empire. To-day, however, the danger had passed, and the Empire did not mind South Africa putting its house in order. In Krugersdorp, the European traders had practically disappeared as a result of Indian competition, and he appealed to members for assistance to put an end to this danger. Let the Indians be paid and go to British East Africa if they liked, but there was no reason why they should come here.

Mr. McALISTER (Georgetown), said he supported the attitude of Sir Abe Bailey, and regretted that he could not endorse the views of Mr. Duncan and others, who had supported the Bill. Whatever phrase-

ology might be used it seemed to him that the Indians had set themselves to circumvent the law.

Mr. STUART (Tembuland), said the Natives of this country did not wish to see any Indian traders in Native areas.

Col. CRESWELL (Troyeville), said he and his colleagues proposed to vote for the second reading. In regard to this Bill, it seemed difficult for members to be consistent. There were many grounds, both for opposing and for supporting the Bill. It was curious that when the white labouring population of this country was concerned, the labour members had small sympathy and support for protesting against cheap competition from unskilled imported labour, but when it came to the trading population, they had many advocates and when Asiatics invaded the territory of the landowner it was less majestic and must be got rid of at once. The white people in the country districts and the Reef towns were large patrons of the Indian trade. He pleaded for consistency in seeking to build up a European civilised population in this country. He saw nothing in the Smuts-Gandhi agreement which could override the law. He could not make up his mind without hearing argument as to whether the Bill should operate from May 1, 1919, or 1914. He thought that that in Committee it should be made very clear that there should be no enlargement of India land owning companies, and their holdings. He did not think they should have much fear of offending the Empire in view of recognised rights of British Dominions in the matter of coloured immigration.

Mr. J. JOUBERT (Pretoria North), regretted that nothing had been done to settle the whole question, as it concerned the whole of the Transvaal. The Indians could not object if they were all repatriated, after having been given an opportunity to settle their affairs.

Mr. LE ROUX VAN NIEKERK (Waterberg), regretted the attempts to deal piecemeal with the question and sup-

ported the views advanced by Sir Abe Bailey.

The bill was read a second time, and the Committee Stage fixed for Monday.

The House went into Committee on the Asiatic Disabilities bill.

On Clause 6, Sir ABE BAILEY moved an amendment to the effect that the provisions of the bill should be extended to cover all coloured persons.

The CHAIRMAN ruled the amendment out of order as the bill applied only to Asiatics.

Mr PAPENFUS moved an amendment, the effect of which would be to legalise the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, but would go no further than 1911. He also moved an amendment that the bill should apply not merely to the proclaimed areas, but to the whole of the Transvaal.

Mr. ALEXANDER argued that the amendment in the form proposed was outside the scope of the bill, and would affect all coloured persons.

The sitting was suspended.

The House resumed in Committee on the Asiatic (Land and Trading) Amendment bill.

The ACTING PRIME MINISTER appealed to the Committee to come to a vote. He pointed out that the two specific points referred to the Select Committee was the trading of Asiatics on proclaimed ground, and the securing of land by Indian limited liability companies. He asked the House to confine itself to those matters, and not to bring matters into the bill which had not been inquired into. It was the greatest importance that those two matters should as soon as possible be dealt with on the Statute book. It was undesirable that other matters should be introduced without proper inquiry. In regard to making the provisions of the bill come into effect from 1914, instead of 1919, Mr. Malan said the Gandhi-Smuts agreement was nothing but an agreement which had never been passed in law; this was due to the fact that the war had

broken out, and it had been considered undesirable to deal with the matter during the war. Since the armistice the question had assumed formidable proportions as a result of certain legal decisions at Krugersdorp. Although Gandhi had been considered the spokesman of the Indian community there had been people who had refused to acknowledge him, and refused to be bound by the agreement. One could not say that the Indians had contravened the law, although it might be argued that a number of them had broken the spirit of the agreement. At the same time he pointed out that the agreement not having been made law, the receivers of revenue had not the right to refuse trading licences to Indians who applied for them; in fact, the Court had held that licences could not be refused, and even the municipalities which so strongly protested, could not refuse the granting of licences. In the circumstances he appealed to the House not to do anything that might be construed as being an injustice. After all the people who had got their trading licences since 1914 had not done so in contravention of the law. In a country like South Africa where the white man was faced with a large coloured population, and where the white man was regarded as the trustee of the coloured people, it was all the more necessary that they should act with the utmost meticulous justice. If they wished the bill to have been in force since 1914 they should have passed it in 1914. In reference to extending the provisions of the bill to the whole of the Transvaal, and even to the whole of the Union, Mr. Malan asked whether those proposals were reasonable. This point had not been inquired into by the Select Committee. Both sides of the question had not been looked into, and he asked the House not to interfere with anybody's rights without the most careful inquiry. He promised the House that a Commission would be appointed during the process to go into the whole question, and he trusted that this assurance coming from him as a responsible Minister, would be accepted by the House. The House had an opportunity now to do a great deal of good. He appealed to them not to spoil their good work by doing something which might tend to create considerable hardships and do a great deal of injustice.

Mr. GELDENHUIS regretted his inability to support the plea of the Minister. He had seen the evil effects of the Asiatic competition. Had not the Indians themselves contravened the agreement entered into between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi? Why should Parliament now legalise a position which in itself was illegal?

Mr. STEWART (East London), said every unbiassed man who read the Smuts-Gandhi letters must arrive at the conclusion that it was not a final agreement, and did not deal with trading. A number of the people dealt with Indian dealers. It did not mean that these dealers were cheap, but that these dealers gave credit as others would not. Unless the municipalities saw to it, that the trading and dwelling places of Indians were of a high standing, they could not expect much sympathy. It was a tall order to ask the House to sweep away licenses that had been granted through the legal channel. What was to be done, he asked, with those Indians who were born in this country? It was not that he wished to see the intermixture of races, but this was going on already. If the bill was wrecked there would be a worse state of affairs in twelve months' time. The bill would give a sense of security both to holders of the licences and to the municipalities.

Mr. W. STUART (Tembuland), said he could not agree that there was any grievance in respect of the eight licenses granted at Krugersdorp since 1914. He would vote for the operation of the bill from 1919, and not 1914.

Mr. SCHURINK commented on the laudable sentiment of Sir Abe Bailey in putting South Africa before Imperial concerns. He did not think that the services of the Indian people in the war required any sacrifice from the people of this country, though they should reap their reward in India. He was of the opinion that the Smuts-Gandhi understanding should be faithfully observed, even if it had not been translated into law. He did not wish to jeopardise the passing of this bill as being a step in the right direction, hoping that next Session further steps would be taken. He would strongly support the proposals made by Commandant Pretorius, and would only be deferred from doing so by the fact that the amendment, if accepted, might jeopardise the bill.

(To be Continued)